

# LEGACY

A Journal of Student Scholarship

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Volume 19

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## Benjamin Bradley

### Finding the Sweet Spot: The Culture and Economics behind SIU Parking Policy, 1946–1989

On Wednesday night, January 30, 1980, a Southern Illinois University Carbondale student leaves Quatro's Deep Pan Pizza's famous one dollar pitcher night, and steps into the twenty-degree Fahrenheit weather. Five inches of snow crunch beneath his feet, flurries blur his vision. Through the fluttering snow, he sees a tow truck hauling away a 1971 Ford Pinto Wagon. It is his 1971 Ford Pinto Wagon. Despite the inclement weather, the city towed twenty-seven cars for being "parked on snow routes."<sup>1</sup>

This incident highlights an often-overlooked part of life at Southern Illinois University (SIU), and cities and towns across the United States: parking. Between 1946 and 1989, the term "parking" appeared in the student-run *Daily Egyptian*, and its antecedent *The Egyptian*, more than 3,300 times in journalistic reports, complaint letters to the editor, and ads promoting local businesses' free parking.<sup>2</sup> This was evident both at SIU as a whole and the main campus in Carbondale (SIUC).<sup>3</sup> While often an afterthought, parking policy was a powerful undercurrent in the lives of SIU students, faculty, staff, and visitors. These policies shaped the SIUC campus, both physically in its layout, and culturally by influencing its students' behaviors. From 1946 to 1989, parking policy was contingent on student enrollment, the university's economics, and the culture of its students.

A student interested in the history of SIU's parking situation has few options in finding a centralized source. Books such as *Southern Illinois*

- 1 This incident is a creation of the author based on oral histories and the Daily Egyptian article; Midwestern Regional Climate Center, "The Weather the Day You Were Born," Accessed October 6, 2018, [https://mrcc.illinois.edu/CLIMATE/birthday/birthday\\_out2.jsp](https://mrcc.illinois.edu/CLIMATE/birthday/birthday_out2.jsp); Mary Ann McNulty, "Snowclouds Dump Fines, Tow Fees on Cars Left Parked on Snow Routes," *The Daily Egyptian*, February 1, 1980, [https://opensiu.lib.siu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1000&context=de\\_February1980](https://opensiu.lib.siu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1000&context=de_February1980).
- 2 Searching: "Daily Egyptian," Accessed October 26, 2018, [https://opensiu.lib.siu.edu/do/search/advanced/?q=%22parking%22&start=0&start\\_date=01%2F01%2F1946&end\\_date=01%2F01%2F1990&context=4100544&sort=score&acet=-](https://opensiu.lib.siu.edu/do/search/advanced/?q=%22parking%22&start=0&start_date=01%2F01%2F1946&end_date=01%2F01%2F1990&context=4100544&sort=score&acet=-). University Online Archives only have Daily Egyptian articles up to 1989.
- 3 Throughout this paper both SIU and SIUC will be used. The former refers to a policy of the university as a whole, the later refers to only the Carbondale campus, which is the focus of this paper.

*University, A Pictorial History* fail to mention the parking situation.<sup>4</sup> The only source that contains information about the campus's parking history is the Department of Public Safety's (DPS) website. That history is limited to five short paragraphs, four of which are about the 1950s.<sup>5</sup> Attempts to find evidence in support of some of the DPS's claims ended in failure, though it appears University administration reviewed parking tickets on a case-to-case basis in the early days.

The lack of scholarship directly tied to the parking situation requires a broadening of the investigation into potential sources. Frequently, this present study draws on the history of parking policies, the adaptation of parking into cities and towns, and the history of American car culture. *Rethinking a Lot* by Eran Ben-Joseph provides historical details of the design of parking lots. Ben-Joseph's work focuses largely on the aesthetics and cultural impact of parking lots.<sup>6</sup> *Parking Management Best Practices* advises urban planners to take an economical approach to parking design. At the time of the book's publication, its author, Todd Litman, served as the director of a research organization, which focused on solutions to parking and transportation issues.<sup>7</sup> While brief, Litman's work provides parking tips for university settings. Although his specific examples are for Canadian universities, there are similarities to SIUC. Dr. Donald Shoup uses many critical sources for this work, allowing a comparison between SIU policies and what today is considered good parking practices. Shoup served as a Distinguished Research Professor in the Urban Planning Department at UCLA as recently as 2018.<sup>8</sup> He published *The High Cost of Free Parking* in 2005.<sup>9</sup> In 2016, he gave a fifty-five-minute interview in an episode of the "Adam Ruins Everything" podcast. Adam Conover, the show's host, refers to Shoup as "America's foremost parking guru."<sup>10</sup> This present study compares SIU parking policy with what these experts consider to be good parking policy to

4 Betty Mitchell, *Southern Illinois, A Pictorial History*, (Saint Louis, MO: G. Bradley Publishing Inc., 1993).

5 SIU Department of Public Safety, "History of the Department of Public Safety," "Parking Division," Accessed October 24, 2018, <https://dps.siu.edu/history.php>.

6 Eran Ben-Joseph, *Rethinking a Lot*, (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 2012).

7 Todd Litman, *Parking Management Best Practices*, (Chicago: American Planning Association, 2006).

8 Luskin School of Public Affairs, "Donald Shoup," Accessed October 24, 2018, <https://luskin.ucla.edu/person/donald-shoup/>; "Donald Shoup," Accessed October 24, 2018. <http://www.shoupdogg.com/>. This is a real website, he and rapper Snoop Dogg grew up in the same part of LA.

9 Donald Shoup, *The High Cost of Free Parking*, (Chicago: American Parking Association, 2005).

10 Donald Shoup, interview by Adam Conover, *Adam Ruins Everything Podcast*, Spotify, September 28, 2016.

demonstrate how SIU succeeded and how it struggled, and paints a picture of consumer and car culture clashing with economical parking practices.

SIU changed drastically during the twentieth century. The campus, then called Southern Illinois Normal University (SINU), did not appear on the official state map in 1950, while other universities did.<sup>11</sup> Its parking policy followed that trend, hardly being mentioned throughout the first half of the century. The first surviving mention of a parking policy on campus occurred in a 1946 article of *The Egyptian*.<sup>12</sup> The article was tucked in a small corner of the paper overshadowed by grander titles. "Parking Rules" served more to inform drivers where to park and boasted that SINU had gone without an "accident ... within the last fifteen years."<sup>13</sup> The fledgling Carbondale campus had just a few thousand students, and the war kept cars off the road. As a result, SINU did not see parking as a problem.<sup>14</sup>

The laid-back attitude toward parking continued only briefly into the 1950s. Leonard Turner, one of the five campus police officers in 1950, told *The Egyptian*, "the only trouble we have with students is the disregard for parking rules and driving too fast on campus."<sup>15</sup> The disregard for parking rules became enough of an issue that SIU banned parking in the most crowded areas on campus to anyone other than faculty and students who were either disabled or commuting. These rules went into effect on October 13, 1950.<sup>16</sup> According to the reporter, "Some students and faculty protest[ed] the new rules." By June 22, 1951, Dean of Men Ian Clark Davis, head of the recently created Parking Committee, loosened the regulations at least for the summer term.<sup>17</sup> At least eight articles in *The Egyptian* from September 1950 to June 1951 reference complaint letters, tickets and problems with the implementation of the parking system. By January 1951, SIU issued

11 Illinois Automobile Department and Illinois State Library, "1950 Illinois Road Map," Accessed October 24, 2018, <http://www.idaillinois.org/cdm/compoundobject/collection/isl9/id/76/show/74>.

12 "Parking Rules," *The Egyptian*, October 4, 1946, [https://opensiuc.lib.siu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1000&context=de\\_October1946](https://opensiuc.lib.siu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1000&context=de_October1946).

13 Ibid.

14 SINU was renamed Southern Illinois University in 1947.

15 "Campus Cop Turner Describes Policing Job," *The Egyptian*, June 22, 1950, [https://opensiuc.lib.siu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1002&context=de\\_June1950](https://opensiuc.lib.siu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1002&context=de_June1950).

16 "New SIU Parking System Goes into Effect Today," *The Egyptian*, October 13, 1950, [https://opensiuc.lib.siu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1001&context=de\\_October1950](https://opensiuc.lib.siu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1001&context=de_October1950).

17 "Davis Releases Parking Rules for Summer Term," *The Egyptian*, June 22, 1951, [https://opensiuc.lib.siu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1001&context=de\\_June1951](https://opensiuc.lib.siu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1001&context=de_June1951); B.H., "A Lot of Complaints" *The Egyptian*, September 22, 1950, [https://opensiuc.lib.siu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1002&context=de\\_September1950](https://opensiuc.lib.siu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1002&context=de_September1950).



450 parking tickets.<sup>18</sup> The pushback by students forced the university to implement a more structured parking system.

As the university struggled with the parking issue into the 1950s, those in charge of the campus made one thing abundantly clear. SIU wanted to keep the revenue generated from parking tickets for itself. On May 27, 1955, the Board of Trustees voted to allow the university to levy parking fines themselves, rather than the City of Carbondale.<sup>19</sup> This raised questions as to the relationship between campus and city: Was the growing campus trying to separate itself from the city, or was the city trying to distance itself from the campus? Perhaps the school felt it could efficiently handle its own parking situation. SIU began to apply money collected from fees to parking infrastructure and upkeep. These early campus wide parking programs worked toward once again offering free parking across campus. Throughout the mid-1950s, parking was available to all students, however the University reserved the most accessible spaces for the disabled, commuters, and faculty. The goal in mind was to keep campus traffic moving with parking for all.

Free parking for all came to a halt in 1957. A “decision by the board on [August] 3, 1956” went into effect the following year. The policy stated that “no freshmen will be allowed automobiles.”<sup>20</sup> The Carbondale campus banned parking during the school day for all undergraduate students.<sup>21</sup> SIUC also banned any student living on campus or on academic probation from having a car. The University made exceptions to the ban for commuters, which they defined as anyone coming from beyond two miles, community residents, those permanently living in Carbondale, married students, and the physically disabled. The university identified these groups as people who needed a car to commute to work, or to serve their families.<sup>22</sup> SIU

18 Searching: “Daily Egyptian,” Accessed June 30, 2019, [https://opensiuc.lib.siu.edu/do/search/?q=%22parking%22&start=0&context=4100544&facet=publication\\_year%3A1950](https://opensiuc.lib.siu.edu/do/search/?q=%22parking%22&start=0&context=4100544&facet=publication_year%3A1950); Searching: “Daily Egyptian,” Accessed June 30, 2019, [https://opensiuc.lib.siu.edu/do/search/?q=%22parking%22&start=0&context=4100544&facet=publication\\_year%3A1951#](https://opensiuc.lib.siu.edu/do/search/?q=%22parking%22&start=0&context=4100544&facet=publication_year%3A1951#); Dates include 1950: September 15, September 22, October 13, November 3, November 14, November 17, 1951: January 19, and February 16. It should be noted, one positive review also makes the paper on November 21, 1950, and the paper’s official stance was in support of the parking policy.

19 “Proceedings and Minutes of the Board of Trustees Meeting May 27, 1955,” 4, 9. Southern Illinois University Board of Trustees records, 1873–2018: Series 1: Minutes and Matters File, 1873–2018. Southern Illinois University Special Collections, Carbondale, Illinois.

20 “Morris Appoints Group for Studying Parking,” *The Egyptian*, January 29, 1957, [https://opensiuc.lib.siu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1006&context=de\\_January1957](https://opensiuc.lib.siu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1006&context=de_January1957).

21 SIU, DPS, “Parking”.

22 “Revised Vehicle Regulations Released by University,” *The Egyptian*, July 24, 1957, [https://opensiuc.lib.siu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1001&context=de\\_July1957](https://opensiuc.lib.siu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1001&context=de_July1957).

attracted students who traditionally could not afford college; if a job was necessary for a student to attend, then SIU could accommodate. Notably, community residents and those living in Carbondale could have a car but could not park on campus. Those students who had cars also paid a three-dollar fee for a parking permit. The permit did “not entitle the student to a parking privilege.” In other words, having the permit did not guarantee students a parking space.<sup>23</sup> The laid-back rhetoric allowing free parking for everyone had completely disappeared in less than a decade. Why the sudden change?

Enrollment figures provide some of the evidence needed to explain this policy shift from free to paid parking. When parking policies first began to appear in 1946, SIU’s enrollment had gone from 1,073 students, in 1945, to 2,718 undergraduate students in 1946. By 1949, when talks of a parking committee first began, enrollment rose to 3,100 undergraduate students. As for the brief relaxation of parking policy between 1951 and 1954, enrollment fell slightly due to the draft and war breaking out in Korea, but the GI Bill soon brought more students to Carbondale. By the time parking enforcements picked up again, SIU was setting attendance records every year, a trend that continued until 1971.<sup>24</sup>

The parking problem went beyond rising enrollment. The demand for consumer goods in the post-World War II economy extended to the automobile. For example, most “automakers didn’t have all-new designs until 1948 or 1949,” meaning it was not until the early fifties that automobile makers met consumer demand. Between 1950 and 1958, the number of registered cars on the road in the United States increased nearly 170 percent. The Federal Aid Highway Act of 1956 signed by President Eisenhower brought multi-lane interstates, the dawn of billboard advertising, and the drive-thru restaurant.<sup>25</sup> As car ownership boomed, so did student population, which grew over 140 percent from 1950 to 1958, even with the brief lapse between 1951 and 1954.<sup>26</sup> A large ad appearing in *The Egyptian* from January 22, 1952 proclaimed “Chevrolet Brilliantly New For ‘52! ... It’s Big, Bright and Beautiful!” and

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23 Ibid.

24 Mitchell, *Southern Illinois*, 212.

25 Jesse Snyder, “No New Cars, but That Didn’t Stop U.S. Automakers, Dealers during WWII,” Accessed October 31, 2018, <http://www.autonews.com/article/20111031/CHEVY100/310319970/no-new-cars-but-that-didnt-stop-u.s.-automakers-dealers-during-wwii>; Elizabeth Woessner, “The Lasting Effect of 1950’s Car Culture,” Accessed December 2, 2018, <https://gunthertoodys.com/1950s-car-culture/>; “Federal Aid Highway Act of 1956,” Accessed August 25, 2019, <https://www.ourdocuments.gov/doc.php?flash=false&doc=88#>.

26 Mitchell, *Southern Illinois*, 212.

depicted a happy young couple driving through a bustling modern city.<sup>27</sup> American car manufacturers designed vehicles in multiple bright colors, tail fins, and convertible tops made to catch the eye. The car parked itself into the picturesque idea of the American Dream. The rising middle class not only attended college, but they brought their new cars with them.

Of course, with all this money to spend on cars, students would not have minded spending a little extra on parking. At least this seems to be the thought process of the SIU Board of Trustees. In 1957, the Board of Trustees had a surplus of \$1,000 from parking permits and tickets, which had not been spent on parking upkeep. It was agreed the money should be spent on some other aspect of the university. At their meeting on June 25, 1957, it was agreed that the funds would go towards the construction of the new Student Center.<sup>28</sup> This would begin a trend at SIU using parking to fund ambitious construction goals. While there were few accounts of student dissatisfaction found in *The Egyptian* for the rest of the decade, the students of the 1960s saw it as a point of major contention.

The 1960s began with the same policies as the 1950s. Rules were shortened but tightened and University officials streamlined the process. SIU policy continued to allow commuters to apply for exemptions throughout the decade. The following policy published in the 1963–1964 bulletin best sums up the decade’s “Motor Vehicle Policy”:

Southern Illinois University is dedicated to provide the best possible experiences in higher education for talented students regardless of financial means. Expenditures for unessential student motor vehicles are not compatible with this philosophy, and the use of motor vehicles is not deemed a necessary part of an education. A student who feels a strong desire to have a motor vehicle at the university but who has no real need for one should accept the fact he will not have a motor vehicle at Southern.<sup>29</sup>

The official statement from the university painted a picture of the SIU culture not being compatible with inessentials, such as owning a car or needing to park it on campus. Ironically, the growing Edwardsville campus was excluded from this policy. As Dr. Donald Shoup pointed out in *The High*

27 “Chevrolet Brilliantly New For ‘52,” *The Egyptian*, January 22, 1952, [https://opensiuc.lib.siu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1005&context=de\\_January1952](https://opensiuc.lib.siu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1005&context=de_January1952).

28 “Proceedings and Minutes of the Board of Trustees Meeting June 25, 1957,” 11, 5, Southern Illinois University Board of Trustees records, 1873–2018: Series 1: Minutes and Matters File 1873–2018, SIU Special Collections, Carbondale, Illinois.

29 *Southern Illinois University Bulletin: Student Guidebook 1963–1964*, (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1963).

*Cost of Free Parking*, free parking is not free.<sup>30</sup> The expense of development and upkeep had to be passed on to someone. Early 1960s SIUC decided to avoid the additional expenses by banning the automobile for a significant portion of the student population, arguing a car was not necessary, whether the students agreed or not.

Another point found in the 1963–64 bulletin revolved around the term “motor vehicles” rather than automobile. The term “motor vehicles” may have applied to all forms of transportation, not just cars. Motorcycle policies could not be found until the 1970s when the campus designated specific parking spots for them.<sup>31</sup> By calling for a ban on “motor vehicles,” the university kept multiple forms of transportation in check, which it limited just to the commuters approved by the university and willing to pay for a parking sticker.

According to the SIUC Department of Public Safety’s Parking Division history, the crackdown reached a point where “students found with an illegal vehicle parked within twenty miles of the campus were fined fifty dollars and faced a possible suspension from school.”<sup>32</sup> Students had to report directly to the Office of Student Affairs at the time, but it remains unclear how the Dean of Men, Ian Clark Davis dealt with individual situations.<sup>33</sup> If the fifty-dollar fine proved to be true, this suggested the low cost of commuter parking stickers could not cover the expenses of parking lot upkeep.

Despite the ban for on-campus students, commuters still needed to attend class. The city curbs became so rife with student parking that it installed meters in 1963. The student council president, Dick Moore, told the recently renamed *Daily Egyptian* these parking meters were a top priority of the student government.<sup>34</sup> Dan Finke, SIU class of 1967, recalled: “I commuted from Herrin. I would park at the meters because they were reasonable, and a lot closer than a commuter parking permit allowed you to park.”<sup>35</sup> The city cashed in on students like Finke. The city had lost its revenue source from university parking a decade prior, and now provided what some considered a necessity to the students. The university’s apparent refusal to spend and develop parking became a revenue source for the City of Carbondale.

SIU still desired cheap parking for its commuters in order for them to be able to hold jobs or help family members, and it continued to make

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30 Shoup, *Parking*.

31 “Bicycle and Motorbike Traffic Regulations,” 673, 10. David R. Derge Collection, SIUSC, Carbondale, Illinois.

32 SIU DPS, “Parking”.

33 Ibid; “Revise,” 1957; *Bulletin* 1963–64.

34 “Council to Concentrate on Students’ Problems,” *The Daily Egyptian*, September 24, 1963, [https://opensiu.lib.siu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1000&context=de\\_September1963](https://opensiu.lib.siu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1000&context=de_September1963).

35 Dan Finke, Personal Interview with author, October 20, 2018.

exceptions to the parking rules.<sup>36</sup> Finke, however, provided evidence that not all commuters in the 1960s did so for strictly economic purposes. “I drove a lighting blue 1958 Chevy Convertible,” Finke recalled his car fondly, a long sleek design with tail fins, “you pick up a lot more girls in a convertible than you do in a dorm room.”<sup>37</sup> Finke’s case displays the cultural power behind owning an automobile. The students were not interested in what was economical for the university, nor were they on board for being told what the culture of a university should be. The young men and women attending SIU were no doubt attracted to the notion of having a car, and for more than just practical reasons.

Even while many students were barred from parking, commuters, staff, faculty, and graduate assistants took a significant hit to their wallets in the late 1960s and early 1970s. In 1968, parking permit cost went from three dollars for a general parking pass to forty-five dollars for a blue faculty pass, twenty dollars for a red student pass, and five dollars for a silver student pass.<sup>38</sup> The prices increased again in 1969 to sixty-five dollars for blue, thirty-five dollars for red, and fifteen dollars for silver.<sup>39</sup> While the prices returned to reasonable rates by 1971, parking ticket enforcement also seemingly increased. A 1970 report titled “Faculty and Staff Outstanding Traffic Tickets” revealed twenty-eight ten-dollar tickets issued to a Carol Halstead and forty-four ten-dollar tickets issued to Educational Psychology professor Joe Liberto in the course of a year.<sup>40</sup>

The university in the 1960s and into the early 1970s strongly considered constructing a monorail. The first hint of the monorail appeared in the *Daily Egyptian* in 1962. Mrs. Dorothy Morris, wife of then President Delyte Morris, mentioned the interesting “elevated-car system” at the 1962 Seattle World’s Fair. The plan gained traction in the late 1960s, often echoing calls for a system of public transport. By 1973, SIU’s new President David R. Derge expressed “an optimistic outlook” for the monorail project. *The Daily Egyptian* reported plans to attempt to make the monorail a city-wide endeavor, which Derge saw as an opportunity to alleviate traffic issues. Derge reported to *The Daily Egyptian* that the monorail would “‘focus a great deal of attention on this University’

36 *Bulletin*, 1963-64.

37 Finke, Interview.

38 “Letter from Traffic and Parking Committee Chairmen R. C. Anderson to SIU President Dr. Derge,” Box 634, 20. David R. Derge Collection, SIUSC, Carbondale, Illinois. According to “CPI Inflation Calculator,” Accessed October 24, 2018, <https://data.bls.gov/cgi-bin/cpicalc.pl>, in 2018 dollars: \$315 for a blue pass, \$140 for a red pass, and \$35 for a silver.

39 “Anderson to Derge,” According to “CPI,” in 2018 values: \$430 for blue, \$230 for red and \$100 for silver.

40 “Faculty and Staff Outstanding Traffic Tickets,” Box 635, Folder 7, David R. Derge Collection, SIUSC, Carbondale, Illinois; “Liberto” Accessed December 1, 2018, <http://hosting-15103.tributes.com/obituary/show/Joseph-C-Liberto-92626236>.

because it will provide an impetus for academic research into urban mass transit systems ... [and it] 'will allow me to get from Anthony Hall to the barbershop in less than eighteen minutes.'" <sup>41</sup> A 2013 study by *Daily Egyptian* reporter Stephanie Danner found the 1970s plan would have put large parking garages where the dorm towers now stand. <sup>42</sup> This would keep campus largely car free, as the monorail would shuttle students into campus, and possibly all around Carbondale.

SIU also considered less costly options. In the same article that Derge expressed his "optimistic outlook" for the monorail, he reported "the budget outlook for next year [1974] is still at a standstill."<sup>43</sup> With half of its students living off-campus and enrollment being projected to be in the 20,000s or even 30,000s by 1980, SIU's parking infrastructure was still inadequate, monorail or not. In 1970 SIU created a Traffic and Parking Advisory Committee (TPAC) to come up with solutions in addition to the monorail to help alleviate the situation at the Carbondale campus. A 1971 letter from John Lonergan to TPAC showed SIU had inquired about receiving federal funding to upgrade parking facilities. <sup>44</sup> The budget issues forced TPAC to find alternatives. These alternatives would include parking garages, additional surface parking lots, and remote lots with a more traditional transit system, such as electric tram cars or diesel-powered buses. Ultimately, the university scrapped the monorail in favor of a more traditional solution.

SIU moved in favor of a plan created in conjunction with Carl Walker and Associates (CWA), an engineering firm from Elgin, IL. *SIU Parking and Traffic Study* published in August 1973 by CWA took an in depth look at the parking and traffic situation in 1973, and outlined plans to build and expand current parking infrastructure in anticipation for a growing SIUC campus. The most notable plan evolved into the Faner Parking Garage, a multi-story garage placed between the student center and Faner Hall. Positioned as the first accessible building on the campus's main entrance, the parking garage would open in 1976.

CWA's study provided concrete details as to the parking situation at SIU. In 1973, the study concluded that the campus had 8,100 parking spaces

41 David R. Derge quoted in: Marcia Bullard, "Derge Sees Benefits of SIU Monorail," *The Daily Egyptian*, May 17, 1973, [https://opensiuc.lib.siu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1014&context=de\\_May1973](https://opensiuc.lib.siu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1014&context=de_May1973).

42 Stephanie Danner, "Old Monorail Plan Offered Solution to Parking," October 7, 2013, <https://dailyegyptian.com/9305/news/old-monorail-plan-offered-solution-to-parking/>.

43 Bullard, "Monorail," *Egyptian*.

44 Mary Wright, "Minutes of the Traffic and Parking Advisory Committee, 07/16/1970," Box 635, Folder 7, David R. Derge Collection, SIUSC, Carbondale, Illinois; John Lonergan, "Memo To: Traffic and Parking Advisory Committee, 03/09/1971," Box 634, Folder 20, David R. Derge Collection, SIUSC, Carbondale, Illinois.

available, but 980 spaces were in remote parts of campus and an additional 419 were restricted for university vehicles. Thus, in practice, only 6,700 parking spots were “effective.” CWA’s idea of an effective space consisted of parking spots that could be used daily by commuting faculty and students. The remote parking space could still be useful, though, as overnight parking for on-campus students. CWA also estimated a deficit of 410 efficient spaces in 1974, and a total deficit of 2,400 spaces. By 1980, they estimated a deficit of 1,480 efficient and 4,500 total spaces.<sup>45</sup> The CWA study further cemented the campus’s fears that parking demand would cripple university infrastructure.

The CWA solution offered three new surface parking lots and what would become the Faner Parking Garage. According to evidence in the report, only first-year students were then barred from having a car.<sup>46</sup> To accommodate, new overnight lots were to be added on west campus near the dorm rooms and law school, and on east campus with access from Wall Street and walking paths back to the tower dorms. Over the next few years, SIUC added commuter lots across from the Student Recreation Center, next to the science building, and opposite the campus on Illinois Avenue. Of course, the Faner Parking Garage (simply called “Parking Structure” at this point) would also serve as commuter parking, offering 410 centrally located parking spots. SIUC eventually constructed all the lots, with the exception of the one on Illinois Avenue, which, the city constructed.

The CWA’s plan largely succeeded and would be the last major parking development on SIUC campus. Dr. Joseph Karmos was a Professor of Educational Psychology at SIUC from 1976–2006. He recalled some minor problems with parking, stating “it would be once a month I’d have difficulty finding a parking space.”<sup>47</sup> Dan Shannon worked in a few different roles, largely around the Department of Health and Department of Safety from the mid-1970s until 2013. He chuckled when he remembered, “people complain because they would get a ticket over this or that ... but most who complained were those who parked where they shouldn’t be parked!”<sup>48</sup> Both men recalled having to purchase parking passes but could not remember exact prices. Neither man thought the University over-priced permits and both described their experiences with the parking department as positive. The two men’s experiences exemplify the faculty’s overall satisfaction with parking at SIUC. This is not to say dissenters did not exist.

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45 Carl Walker and Associates, John Holm, *SIUC Parking and Traffic Study*, (Elgin, IL: Carl Walker and Associates Inc., 1973). Found in: Box 678, David R. Derge Collection, SIUSC, Carbondale, Illinois.

46 Ibid.

47 Dr. Joseph Karmos, Personal interview with author, September 26, 2018.

48 Dan Shannon, Personal interview with author, October 6, 2018.

The blue faculty and red commuter student parking system that had existed since the 1950s became a point of contention for many students on multiple occasions. Joyce Hudson and Sarah McCree penned a letter to *The Daily Egyptian* disapproving SIU's use of student parking fees to build the Faner Parking Garage and only allow blue faculty passes to park there.<sup>49</sup> Bud Vandersnick, a staff writer for *The Daily Egyptian*, penned a column calling for student access to blue parking permits, stating "there are many more parking spaces available for faculty and staff members than there are for students even though students far outnumber faculty and staff." Vandersnick wanted equal opportunity at parking, saying some but not all students would be willing to pay "an additional \$20" for a blue sticker.<sup>50</sup> These students showed frustration at an artificial lack of parking spots as a result of parking policy.

On top of the artificial shortage, students also continued to call for a public transportation system for the university or city. As early as 1965, calls for a city-wide bussing system appeared in *The Daily Egyptian* from students and faculty alike.<sup>51</sup> While SIU acknowledged this in its early 1970s parking solutions, it is unclear as to why the university did not go through with these plans. There are at least two possible answers. The first, a lack of cooperation with the city of Carbondale. Many articles in *The Daily Egyptian* are aimed not just at SIU, but at city hall as well. It was ultimately the Carbondale City Council that needed to approve mass transit, though a committee of SIU students and faculty lobbied hard for it in 1989.<sup>52</sup> Further research into Carbondale archives could prove this theory. The second answer is that not all students saw a need for a centralized bussing system. Many living communities had their own bussing systems to and from campus, and a city bus did run from Murphysboro to Carterville. Both Sarah Haas and Dan Shannon remember such services. Shannon also worked closely with bus services in Southern Illinois to create shuttle services between cities, stopping at key points such as hospital. Perhaps these privately-run services were doing enough in the eyes of the university.

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49 Sarah McCree later changed her name to Sarah Haas.

50 Joyce Hudson and Sarah McCree, "More Parking?" *The Daily Egyptian*, December 18, 1974, [https://opensiuc.lib.siu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1011&context=de\\_December1974](https://opensiuc.lib.siu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1011&context=de_December1974); Bud Vandersnick, "Parking Privilege Must Be Equitable," *The Daily Egyptian*, October 13, 1977.

51 David Omar Born, "A Proposal to the Carbondale Merchants," *The Daily Egyptian*, November 10, 1965, [https://opensiuc.lib.siu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1006&context=de\\_November1965](https://opensiuc.lib.siu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1006&context=de_November1965); "CDBG program: A Lot of Planning, A Little Dreaming," *The Daily Egyptian*, October 31, 1975, [https://opensiuc.lib.siu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1022&context=de\\_October1975](https://opensiuc.lib.siu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1022&context=de_October1975).

52 Lisa Miller, "City Council to Review Transit Issue Tonight," *The Daily Egyptian*, September 19, 1989, [https://opensiuc.lib.siu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1012&context=de\\_September1989](https://opensiuc.lib.siu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1012&context=de_September1989).



Not all students saw a need for additional parking. Dan Shannon earned both a bachelor's and master's from SIU from 1967–1974, and then worked for SIU until 2013. Shannon, who owned a car in his final year as a student, recalled “You don’t need to be spending ten minutes driving around for a spot to park, like sometimes we did ... but most times as a student, I found out it was because they didn’t want to park and have to walk.” Shannon, who lived close to campus, remembered: “It never bothered me to walk, I didn’t even need a car on campus when I went to school.”<sup>53</sup> Shannon was not alone in this view. Sarah Haas, who attended and golfed for SIUC from 1973–1976, remembers many students riding bikes to campus, something she herself did.<sup>54</sup> Haas claimed biking was just more convenient than having to find a parking spot. SIUC began encouraging bike traffic in 1973, requiring students to register bikes at a price of one dollar.<sup>55</sup> The actions helped cut back bike theft, and organized bicycle parking. Registration fees and ticketing offenders raised money to pay for bike infrastructure including paths and parking racks.

Biking and walking remained the choice of many students throughout the 1980s. Mike Bradley, class of 1986, drove his 1971 Ford Pinto Wagon from Springfield, Illinois and lived at the University Village apartment complex on Grand Avenue during the 1984–1986 school years. Bradley remembered five out of six of his roommates (himself included) owned cars, but only one of them ever bought a SIUC parking permit. “It was just easier to walk, but it was nice to have a car to drive back home, or sometimes around town.”<sup>56</sup> For those living close to campus, SIUC and the City of Carbondale provided street walks and bike paths for easy access to campus.

Even as enrollment boomed, parking complaints were manageable because of the CWA’s and SIU’s planning to accommodate up to 30,000 students. While *The Daily Egyptian* printed the occasional complaint about a ticket, these were few and far between, often with special circumstances surrounding the situation. Interestingly, there was little praise for parking policy getting it right, perhaps because parking only entered the minds of those who had negative experiences with it.

In providing viable parking options on campus, SIUC was in many ways ahead of its time. Dr. Donald Shoup’s, Eran Ben-Joseph’s, and Todd Litman’s work on modern day good parking practices emphasize the need for good bike and walking infrastructure. The CWA’s master parking plan called for the construction of pedestrian bridges across Illinois Avenue, and argued to

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53 Shannon, Interview.

54 Sarah Haas, interview with author, October 7, 2018.

55 “Board Staff Comments - 09/14/1973,” Box 673, Folder 10, David R. Derge Collection, SIUC, Carbondale, Illinois.

56 Mike Bradley, interview with author, August 24, 2018.

re-route US Route 51 and IL Route 13 around Carbondale.<sup>57</sup> The investment in centralized parking infrastructure and providing alternatives to parking is similar to modern good practices. After the 1973 improvements were completed, SIUC parking was very much in-line with many of the modern parking practices outlined in Dr. Shoup's *The High Cost of Free Parking*. The centralized parking structures, like the Faner Parking Garage, would be applauded by modern day parking plans, like those dreamt up by Shoup or Litman, as parking lots take up valuable space that can be used more efficiently for other endeavors. SIUC implemented another good modern practice in the abundance of parking alternatives. Despite a lack of public transportation provided by the university, SIUC encouraged bike and foot traffic. Shoup's principles condone using student fees to fund parking, as free parking would otherwise have to come from tuition payments or additional fees. His model called for those who are parking to pay for it themselves. While this might have resulted in higher parking permit costs, it would have both encouraged commuters to find alternatives and the burden of the fees would not have fallen on those who did not own cars or drive them to campus, such as Bradley or Haas.

Parking at SIUC was a blend of budgets, enrollment, and culture coming together to play a key part in the academic community. In many ways the history of parking reflected the culture of the university, and the cultural shift of the nation. Parking required faculty and staff to compromise and listen to students on how to ensure students would be able to attend classes. It pushed for compromise, innovation, and balanced budgets. It reflected the boom and growth of a university, which went from a few thousand to 25,000 students in a forty-year period. By no means could this essay cover every detail of parking's history. 3,309 mentions in *The Daily Egyptian* alone do not even include questions of mass transportation or the relationship between the City and the University. From the time of this paper's first draft to its publication in this journal, I have found many exciting new avenues and possibilities for future research. It is upsetting not to be able to include them here. This paper was limited to 1946–1989 because the 1990s are an awkward period for SIU Archives, which have not transcribed many of the documents from that decade to digital formats. Likewise, the early digital formats from that era may be lost forever.<sup>58</sup> Visual culture, such as maps from early parking policies, no doubt existed, but rarely survived to the present day. The picture we are left with at this time is one of a university and its relationship with those participating in academic community. It is a story of economic and cultural shifts hashing out

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57 Walker, Holms, *Study*.

58 "Wayback Machine," Accessed December 12, 2018, <https://archive.org/web/>, The Wayback Machine is currently the only way to view this period of SIU History.

their differences, and in the process physically and bureaucratically shaping a college campus. Consumer culture and demand, fiscal booms, busts and budgets, and the thousands who enrolled in SIUC influenced these dynamics. While some relationships had their ups and downs, the positive optimistic outlook that President David Derge had for the monorail serves as a good overall representation for SIU's parking history.

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# Matthew Edmier

## Movies at Sea: Silent Films and Soldier Leisure Time during the First World War

### Introduction

As the *U.S.S. Agamemnon* journeyed across the Atlantic Ocean headed to France, hundreds of American soldiers sat idle throughout the journey. For hours, they waited patiently until the door opened to a viewing room fit with seats and a film projector. For a time-period of about two hours, the biggest movie stars of the time entertained them in the grey screen onboard of the battleship. Afterwards the soldiers discussed their thoughts on the films they just watched; for two hours, the films distracted the soldier of the reality of their mission in a world at war.

During the 1910s, Hollywood underwent a series of systematic changes to the format of their film production. In fact, they experienced a revolution within the film industry with unprecedented numbers of silent films produced ushering the development of what we know today as feature films. Public film viewing raised the popularity of films and increased demand for new and longer films. As the United States entered World War I in 1917, the film (colloquially known as the motion picture) became part of the entertainment experience for soldiers both on the frontlines as well as in all bases near the conflict. Soldiers greatly enjoyed films, often filling theaters for show times. Many soldiers wrote about their joyful experiences at the picture show, especially the positive ones. While we have the testimonies of some soldiers and their experiences, unfortunately, the destruction of silent films of that era has obscured the full content of the films soldiers watched.

This paper seeks to expand upon our understanding of the way troops experienced films during World War I by focusing on the content of films screened on the troopship *U.S.S. Agamemnon* during one of its many voyages from New York to France. Through newspaper clippings and army documents, this paper analyzes the storylines as well as themes of the silent films screened in the absence of viewable copies to understand the ways the army structured leisure time of the troops. The paper shows the different genres screened on board the ship: including westerns, crime thrillers, comedy, propaganda musicals, and espionage. This paper also shows that all films

screened remained within the army's policies, as well as falling in line with the censorship code of the time. These films promoted good American values such as good morals and happily ever after conclusions as ending of success where good triumphed over evil. For soldiers away from their loved ones, watching these films reminded them of home, and put them at ease prior to their engagement in one of the most brutal conflicts in human history: The Great War. While a few scholars have noted that soldiers enjoyed silent films in the same fashion as the general public, this paper argues in the Foucaultian sense of "the control of activity" that even during their leisure time, the armed forces not only structured the way military personnel enjoyed their free time, but also structured the nature of that free time.<sup>1</sup>

### Literature Review

There is a dearth of research on films consumed by American soldiers during the First World War. Recently, some articles have begun to investigate films from this historical period, but few have described the contents of the films. Using available literature on these films and research into similar topics, then it is possible construct a framework centered on WWI films to explore the content of the films shown to the soldiers.

There are some challenges the historian faces when analyzing old films, especially those produced in the silent film era (1894-1927). A major challenge stems from the lack of films from the era because the great majority of them no longer exist. One contributing factor for the loss of silent films pertains to the type of materials used to produce them. Over time, the film stock deteriorated making the library of silent films limited. Depending on the quality of the material, based on chemical composition and acetate conditions, the films range from mildly deteriorated to indecipherable.<sup>2</sup> As David Pierce has noted, industry practices of the time were to blame since production companies usually only kept a handful of screening copies to go with the master copy, usually destroying the rest within a few years of release.<sup>3</sup> In addition, Pierce noted that to free up storage space many films were destroyed when they no longer brought revenues to the film companies.<sup>4</sup> In addition, given the dismal storage conditions and the high flammability of film stock, many films were lost to warehouse fires.<sup>5</sup> Finally, Pierce showed the life span of films produced

- 1 Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punishment: the Birth of the Prison*, trans., Alan Sheridan (New York: Second Vintage Books Edition, 1995), 140-155.
- 2 John B. Kuiper, "Silent Film for Contemporary Audiences," *Image* Vol. 25, No. 1 (Mar 1982), 1-6.
- 3 David Pierce, "The Legion of the Condemned - Why American Silent Films Perished," *Film History* Vol. 9, No. 1 (1997): 5-22.
- 4 *Ibid*, 6.
- 5 *Ibid*, 10-11.

pointing that it took between two to three years of release of any given film before taken out of circulation to be destroyed or stored away.<sup>6</sup>

In her article "Film, Cultural Policy, and World War I Training Camps: Send Your Soldier to the Show with Smileage," Sue Collins assessed entertainment practices within the army. She claimed that learning from past conflicts the army sought to prevent soldiers from performing "unsavory acts" and to "promote good morals" within the ranks. The army attempted to achieve this by providing organized entertainment programs meant to keep idle soldiers distracted. The most important and popular of these programs was silent films screenings. They kept soldiers who attended screenings content by implementing measures ensuring that the films screened were enjoyable. She underscored the film policy of the War Department (WD) and the film industry, including the heavy censorship that troubled filmmakers.<sup>7</sup> In addition, she discussed the reasons films did not meet the standards set by the WD, "[i]n terms of content, reviewers rejected films that were considered "uninteresting," "unconvincing," "poorly done," "worthless," "cheap," "salacious," "not funny," "unpleasant," or "without entertaining value."" Finally, she discussed the unwavering restriction of any sexual related content as well as any film that included gambling and drinking. Films including such content faced exclusion or heavy editing.<sup>8</sup>

In his article, "George Creel: Freedom of Speech, the Film Industry, and Censorship during World War I," Donald Fishman supported most of the arguments presented in Collins's work. Yet, unlike Collins, he showcased the role of the Committee of Public Information (CPI) and the struggle for free speech within the film industry. The efforts of Creel for suppression over free artistic expression paralleled the wishes of the state, which sought to control ideas within the film industry, thereby leading to restriction on the content of the motion pictures.<sup>9</sup>

In spite of increasing war-related propaganda reels shown in civilian theaters, films depicting war themes were not dominant in the narrative film genre. In her book, *Reel Patriotism*, Leslie Midkiff DeBauche found that the number of war related films and serials (episodic shorts) were miniscule among the overall narrative films produced in the United States.<sup>10</sup> Production studios predominately chose to make "cheerful" films while eliminating

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6 Ibid, 5.

7 Sue Collins, "Film, Cultural Policy, and World War I Training Camps: Send Your Soldier to the Show with Smileage," *Film History* Vol. 26, No. 1 (Mar 2014): 1-49.

8 Ibid, 25.

9 Donald Fishman, "George Creel: Freedom of Speech, the Film Industry, and Censorship during World War I," *Free Speech Yearbook* Vol. 39, No. 11 (Jan 2001): 34-56.

10 Leslie Midkiff DeBauche, "The Films of World War I," in *Reel Patriotism* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1997), 35-74.



“depressing stories”.<sup>11</sup> DeBauche concluded that this practice was due in part because people went to the movies to relax and escape from their everyday troubles. However, upon analyzing distribution lists, she found that around half of big budget and prestigious movies produced by large studios were in fact war related in theme.<sup>12</sup> However, this did not necessarily mean that this genre of films was the norm since big budget films were proportionally few. In “Star Testimonials and Trailers: Mobilizing during World War I,” Sue Collins added that, production studios protected themselves financially, as an industry, by assisting in the production of propaganda films promoting the sale of liberty bonds as a way to promote assistance to the war effort by general audiences. This resulted in an increase in nationalistic themes present in Hollywood films.<sup>13</sup> This included films that directly portrayed the defeat of Germany, and as noted in her previous article, the promotion of American values.<sup>14</sup>

There are few notable studies examining the leisure experience between soldiers and the motion picture. In her article, “Forgetting Their Troubles for A While: Australian Soldiers’ Experiences of Cinema during the First World War,” Amanda Laugesen examined this relationship in the Australian Army.<sup>15</sup> She claimed that there was an almost universal relationship between soldiers and films in all English-speaking countries.<sup>16</sup> She concluded that soldiers regularly enjoyed the cinema since there were numerous cinemas set up near the frontlines and on troopships that regularly played films for idle troops.<sup>17</sup> She determined that films provided a morale boost to soldiers based on reports detailing how soldiers enjoyed themselves during film screenings. In addition, she pointed out the similarities between the way soldiers and general audiences engaged with films in terms discussing and critiquing just about every aspect of the film from plotlines to shot composition.<sup>18</sup> In his article “‘He Sees Now What He Looked Like’: Soldier Spectators, Topical Films, and the Problem of Onscreen Representation during World War I,” Chris Grosvenor argued that soldiers did not enjoy all genres of film. The appearance of “topical” films (films relating to real war events such as a specific battle) was

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11 Ibid, 41.

12 Ibid, 38.

13 Sue Collins, “Star Testimonials and Trailers: Mobilizing during World War I,” *Cinema Journal* Vol. 7, No. 1 (Oct 2017): 46-70.

14 Ibid, 57-59.

15 Amanda Laugesen, “Forgetting Their Troubles for A While: Australian Soldiers’ Experiences of Cinema during the First World War,” *Historical Journal of Film Radio & Television* Vol. 35, No. 4, (Dec 2015): 596-614.

16 Ibid, 596.

17 Ibid, 597.

18 Ibid, 602.

rare and controversial. This did not prevent all warring states, engaged in the war, to commission films intending to depict realistic images of warfare for the consumption of the general public. This genre of films, for example *The Battle of The Somme* (1916), received very poor reviews by soldiers because they saw flaws that differed immensely from their experiences in the trenches and in battle.<sup>19</sup> In response, the governments prevented topical films from reaching the viewing pleasure of soldiers.

In sum, the lack of scholarship about the soldier viewing experience during the First World War leaves much to be understood on the topic. Through a methodology combining different areas of research, it is possible to reconstruct a general framework that allows the historian to reconfigure the general plot elements and themes of the films screened to American World War I soldiers. This paper seeks to expand on that knowledge base by connecting the available literature to evaluate if the *U.S.S. Agamemnon* indeed followed army film policy, at the time, while describing the films shown on board during one of its many journeys. This is to reassemble the trends common in films screened at the picture shows to understand why films were popular and highly sought after by soldiers; and the role of the government (WD) in structuring the leisure time of soldiers.

### Background

When the United States declared war on Germany in 1917, movies, or motion pictures, were gaining domestic popularity. Beginning in the early 1910s, films obtained respect in American society as an art form; however, critics of the industry felt that films challenged national values in its content, a contradiction to American core values.<sup>20</sup> The emergence of feature films dominated productions within the film industry. The combining elements of film availability, the rise in popularity, and new format of feature films increased the number of Americans who frequented movie theaters. As a result, there was an increase in revenue, which fueled an increase in film productions and large profits for film studios. It is no surprise that the medium found its way into the hands of the U.S. Army. Motion picture shows became one of the leading types of entertainment for soldiers at U.S. camps, near the front lines and on troopships carrying soldiers to Europe. The U.S. War Department (WD), according to moral and entertainment standards, carefully selected films for screening across the branches of the military. The films screened on the *U.S.S. Agamemnon* consisted of many different subject

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19 Chris Grosvenor, "‘He Sees Now What He Looked Like’: Soldier Spectators, Topical Films, and the Problem of Onscreen Representation during World War I," *Film History* Vol. 30, No.4 (Winter 2018): 84-106.

20 Collins, "Film, Cultural Policy," 18.

matters, ranging from action to comedy, subjected to the standards put in place by the WD.

The process by which the WD selected the motion pictures was straightforward in terms of the contents of the films. The WD rejected or approved motion pictures based on their internal standards, banning films with any sexual content, alcohol, and gambling because these actions violated the ethics of good morals among the military. Films with such content on occasion appeared in a heavily edited form. In addition, motion pictures underwent scrutiny based on other criteria including entertainment and comedic value, craftsmanship, and a film's realistic portrayal of events.<sup>21</sup> The CPI, an arm of the WD, reviewed all films to decide if a film needed to be edited or simply banned before screening them for soldiers. This included any anti-war material or any other content that painted the U.S. or any of its allies in a negative manner.<sup>22</sup>

While the U.S. Government attempted to influence Hollywood productions, and most narrative films did not contain any war related materials, this was not always the case as Hollywood did produce a handful of war films. Nevertheless, studios focused on producing films with positive subject matter, many of which were comedies. This was due, in part, because happy films provided an escape for the masses from their everyday troubles.<sup>23</sup> As a result, filmmakers opted to minimize the amount of war related content in their films. Soldiers were no the exception: as their civilian counterparts, soldiers enjoyed watching and discussing motion pictures. However, the WD was reluctant to show soldiers war-related films to avoid conflict or stress to soldiers since they potentially could call into question what they saw on screen. Films selected by the WD shied away from the truth, as it sought to keep morale on the home front as high as possible.<sup>24</sup> Therefore, war related films were not shown to the troops crossing the Atlantic.

Most films produced during the period under review no longer exist. Either film companies destroyed them or films themselves succumbed to the passage of time in inadequate storage and conditions. On occasion, films were lost to storehouse fires.<sup>25</sup> As a result, the ability to watch the films, too, was lost in the destruction. It was common practice for motion pictures to have a distribution cycle of about two or three years. This suggests that any films shown to soldiers, in 1918, premiered within three years of their screening on the *U.S.S. Agamemnon*. Given the scarcity of surviving silent films, one way to attain an understanding of the contents of these motion pictures is through

21 Ibid, 21.

22 Fishman, "George Creel", 45.

23 Midkiff-DeBauche, "The Films of World War I", 41-43.

24 Grosvenor, "He Sees Now What He Looked Like," 94.

25 Pierce, "The Legion of the Condemned," 5.

a close reading of newspaper clippings of the time. Many papers had weekly or daily sections dedicated to the description of films playing at local theaters. Certain dailies contained brief summaries of the stories, while others had much more in-depth ones.

### Contents of the Feature Length Motion Pictures

During the voyage of any given troopship such the *U.S.S. Agamemnon*, traveling from New York to France, the crew enjoyed a variety of feature films amounting to 16 in total.<sup>26</sup> Programs handed out included both the film's titles, and the name of the biggest star involved with each respective film's production. All films discussed appear on said programs. The motion pictures shown to the soldiers fell under multiple and different genres. Generally, troopship command tended to favor action films to entertain the troops. For example, they selected films such as *Six Shooter Andy*, among many others, to occupy the leisure time of everyone onboard. In that film, Andy Crawford, the main character, and his father headed west in search of wealth and fortune at the time of the Gold Rush. In their journey, they came across the small mining town of Bannack, Nevada. As Andy approached the town, he found a wagon on the side of the road. Inside, he found eight children of varying ages along the lifeless body of their murdered father. Andy learned that the corrupt sheriff of Bannack had killed the father of the youngsters.<sup>27</sup> In time, Andy discovered that he ran a group of criminals who not only stole the hard-earned gold from the miners of that Bannack, but also constantly harassed the townsfolk, especially targeting the women. As Andy observed the town and the relationships of the town people and the band of bandits, he concluded that the town was indeed "reeking" of gold and criminals. Andy had seen enough! He took matters into his own hands and confronted the sheriff and his band of thieves. A conclusion trope of good always wins. As the title implies, he had one method to combat the thieves of the town: his trusty six-shooter gun. The *Cairo Bulletin*, a local Southern Illinois newspaper described the action film as "thrilling."<sup>28</sup> Andy engaged the criminals, defeated them, and slowly but surely restored order to the town. His victory was not without sacrifice, as the sheriff's men killed both his father and the eldest boy he encounter in his journey. Though Andy found love in the family's eldest daughter, with whom he presumably lived a happy life.<sup>29</sup> *Six Shooter Andy* strongly upheld the moral code of the WD as it clearly promoted good American values.

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26 Morris Library Special Collections. Southern Illinois University Carbondale; Carbondale, IL. "Lester Lincoln Correspondence 1918": Program List, Box 1, Folder 2.

27 "At the Lyric," *The Daily Illini*, May 11, 1918, 6.

28 "At the Gem," *The Cairo Bulletin*, March 1918, 3.

29 *Ibid*, 3.

A different action film titled, *Headin' South*, centered on an outlaw, strangely named "Headin' South." The film pit this central character against a bandit named "Spanish Joe" and his gang of "Mexicans," who had been terrorizing the southern border.<sup>30</sup> After years of avoiding law enforcement, the responsibility of catching these bad guys fell upon Headin' South. In an action adventure spanned across the distance between Mexico and Canada, Headin' South managed to infiltrate into Spanish Joe's band of marauders to Joe and bringing him to justice. In the process of plotting and fighting to capture the band, Headin' South saved a woman from Joe's gang named Donna Valdether. The two grew close together eventually falling in love with each other. However, this affair did not distract Headin's plan from taking down Joe. Similar to *Six Shooter Andy*, this film again upheld good American values in the face of those who undermined them. Good moral and justice afforded these heroes a happy conclusion with the women they saved and fell in love with.<sup>31</sup> Finally, *The Disciple* followed the same format plot of the aforementioned films. From the available source, the film took place in the American frontier. In line with the other action films, it contained shootouts and other tense action scenes concluding with the victory of the hero of the film.<sup>32</sup> Many elements of these action films show similar plotlines falling in line with the War Department's films policy.

Unlike the typical adult hero featured in most action film of the time, the film *Kidnapped* centered on David, a young boy, who grew up in what must have been a wealthy family. One day his life unraveled when his uncle connived a plot to kidnap David. The lack of historical sources to understand fully the entire plot of this film obscured the motivations that drove the uncle to kidnap David. Regardless, David escaped his "redcoat" and "Jacobite" captors, likely referencing the period enacted in the film and the types of criminal behavior assigned to those individuals hired by his uncle to perpetrate the crime: treason to his own family.<sup>33</sup> At the end, the escape of David foiled whatever plans his uncle conjured. The uncle appeared to have been taken under custody as justice was served. As for David, he simply returned to his normal life. Again good prevailed and the "bad guy" was soundly defeated and taken into the hand of the law.

A different genre circulated by the WD to entertain the troops was the thriller films. These movies focused on more intense personal situations than full-scale battles. The film *A Small Town Girl* was one such film. It was the story of a young woman from a rural area named Jane. Jane moved to New York,

30 "At the Colonial," *The Daily Illini*, April 26, 1918, 6.

31 "Feature Film Reports: 'Headin' South,'" *New York Clipper*, March 6, 1918, 35.

32 "Sixth Triangle Program: Colonial Today and Sat.," *The Daily Illini*, January 21 1916, 6.

33 "'Kidnapped' Film Shown For Relief Yesterday," *The Daily Illini*, December 2, 1917, 3.

into a tenement on First Avenue referred to as “squalid” to take care of her little cousin.<sup>34</sup> Unbeknownst to Jane, she reunites with her former sweetheart Frank, a young man from her hometown that had come to the city before her arrival. One day, Jane and her little cousin found a large jewel plausibly attached to the sole of one of her shoes.<sup>35</sup> As result of this unexpected discovery, they found themselves mixed up in a criminal plot involving a group of men who lived in the same tenement she did. The crooks tried and failed to capture her because she called for Frank to assist her. Frank showed up with the police who in turned arrested the criminals. Now safe, she fell into the arms of Frank, reigniting the romance that started years before.<sup>36</sup>

The film, *Widow's Might*, told the story of a college man, Dick Taush, who lost his fortune to the criminal tactics of his crooked landlord. To recover his fortune and to expose his landlord, Taush went undercover cross-dressed as a widow named Princess Martini.<sup>37</sup> While undercover, he secured evidence of crooked dealings involving the landlord and presented them to the police. The evidence exposed the landowner for who he truly was: a thief. At the end of this film he regained his fortune and like most other heroes in films, he won the heart of a girl signaling the ended his story on a high note.<sup>38</sup> These films in a similar fashion reflects to those of the action films which sought to tell stories that uphold the good moral values that the army instilled in its soldiers.

Romance films, also, entertained the troops. Films such *Love Me*, told the story of a woman named Maida. Maida fell in love with Gordon Appleby, a hardworking man. The family of Gordon, however, opposed the marriage between the two. In a turn of events, Eunice, the younger sister of Gordon planned to elope against the wishes of her family. Here, Maida convinced her to stay and to obey their family moral code. In return for her assistance in discouraging Eunice, from running away, the family of Gordon realized that Maida was a moral woman and therefore allowed to pursue a relationship with Gordon.<sup>39</sup> Among these films, the film *Stella Maris* powerfully signaled its viewers the dangers of alcohol consumption and low morals as contrast of the values held high by the WD. The film told the story of two women, Stella, an orphan living with her aunt and uncle, and Unity, an orphan who alone in the world. They are on complete opposite sides of the social and economic spectrum, as Stella belonged to the “extremely rich,” class. Unity, on the other hand, “live[d] on scraps and wears rags.”<sup>40</sup> However, they both fell in love

34 “June Caprice at Lyric,” *The Daily Illini*, July 10, 1917, 4.

35 “At The Princess Tonight,” *Urbana Daily Courier*, August 1917, 4.

36 *Ibid.*, 4.

37 “Rialto Has Eltinge Film,” *New York Clipper*, January 23, 1918, 36.

38 “Feature Film Reports: ‘Widow’s Might,’” *New York Clipper*, January 31, 1918, 33.

39 “Feature Film Reports: ‘Love Me,’” *New York Clipper*, March 20, 1918, 34.

40 “At Colonial,” *The Daily Illini*, March 22, 1918, 6.

with the same man, John Risen. Risen was already married to a woman who described as a “drunkard.” Risen began to fall in love with Stella, but his vows prevented him from perusing any physical relation with any other women. Unity decided to give up everything, including her own life, to make John happy. This meant the assassination of his “useless” wife and her suicide. The death of both women, in turn, allowed John to pursue a relationship with Stella, who, now, understood the suffering world beyond her social class.<sup>41</sup> Romance films continued the pattern of previous films adhering to guidelines of the War Department, and even took it to the next level with the defeat of the social practices rendered immoral by the army, namely alcohol consumption.

Finally, comedy films were widely popular in military picture shows. Most of the shorts screened to the army were of a highly comedic nature. *The Book Agent* starred George Walsh in the role of a peddler. He was a man with many enemies, who used his charm to turn enemies into friends.<sup>42</sup> While there were many shorts screened on the *Agamemnon* centered on comedy, newspapers of the time did not offer reviews for such short films. In addition, films with propaganda content escaped reviewers in the press. For example, a film titled *They're Off* did not call the attention of those reviewing the films. However, while it was difficult to find anything about this particular film, the evidence suggested that it was a propaganda film. The film seems to be a musical of sorts, with many songs and the appearance from the 71st Regiment from an unspecified branch of the military. The central message of the film emerged when an officer pleaded to the audience for new recruits.<sup>43</sup> This film likely underwent editing since it was odd for any serving soldier to see a call for new recruits to an audience of people already in the service.

Given the contents of the motion pictures, there was a formula for the screening of films to the soldiers, during their transatlantic voyage, in adherence to the policies and practices implemented by military authorities during the WWI. The films shown on the *U.S.S. Agamemnon* all pressed “American values” onto the viewing soldiers—just what the War Department wanted. In all genres of films, there was the defeat of corrupt people and unlawful or immoral actions, especially in the action and thriller films. The crooked sheriff of a mining town, an elusive bandit, a scheming uncle, and a band of robbers succumbed to defeat by honorable heroes. The films, also, showed a challenge to bad morals symbolized by the murder of an alcoholic woman and the prevention of an eloping couple. None of the narrative

41 “At the Princess,” *DeKalb Daily Chronicle*, July 13, 1918, 4.

42 “George Walsh at Lyric,” *Daily Illini*, July 17, 1917, 3.

43 “Vaudeville Reviews,” *New York Clipper*, August 29, 1917, 21.

films were war related and the one film that was, was shown for the use of its musical numbers. Perhaps most importantly, most of the films had a positive tone or at least a happy ending. This in turn, at least for a short time, these films provided a period of enjoyment for the soldiers who watched them. As the films fit all the appropriated codes adopted by the WD, the entertainment life on the *U.S.S. Agamemnon* still maintained the structure that dominated the rest of life in the armed forces.

Finally, given that films were a form of escapism, it was not surprising that all films concluded with happy endings. A pattern that emerged across the films was romantic subplots that involved two characters falling in love at the end of the film. While the depiction of marriage was not always the climax in the films, it is clear that the characters started a relationship out of whatever situation they were dealing with. Love sprouted between people of all backgrounds, two small towners living in a city, a gruff cowboy, and a young woman on the frontier, a college man, and a captive woman, all shared this pattern of joy and happiness in their love relationships. All actors seemed to be relatively young, as well as female actors well known for playing the role of the innocent young woman. In all but a select few films screened on the ship, finding true love was the ultimate reward for the characters at the ends of their stories.

In stark contrast to the fictional world of the films, the reality the soldiers faced had a distinct lack of romantic love. After their departure to Europe, soldiers were away from their loved ones for an extended period of time. Other than their letters, there was no contact between them and their families. For the soldier on their way to Europe, it very well may have been the first time away from home; for many more, it was the first time separated from their spouses. Then, as they reached the battlefield, this lack of love was further accentuated by the acts of war.

It comes as no surprise then that the motion picture was so common and popular. Clearly films reminded soldiers of their loved ones and reminded them of the good times and comforts of home. Given the evidence that the army knew very well what content soldiers enjoyed the most, the WD intentionally selected the films filling the leisure time of its armed forces. They were certainly trying to keep soldiers comfortable and distracted during their idle time, yet always structuring their lives.

### Conclusion

Films screened on the *U.S.S. Agamemnon* fell in line with what scholars have identified as the army's entertainment policy. The films screened always made for an enjoyable experience, whether that meant watching a gruff hero saving a town, foiling a criminal plot, watching dance routines, and without



exception watching a blossoming romance. Given the information, it is clear that the films offered a way for soldiers to escape from their immediate troubles and distract themselves while off duty at sea. With a war around them, soldiers watched films to remind themselves of better times ahead upon their returned home. With the strictly adhered to parameters set by the War Department, it was clear that while the soldiers did enjoy watching films during the supposed leisure time, their “free” time was still heavily structured and controlled like the rest of the aspects of military life by the state represented by the officials at the War Department.

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### The Metal Box That Transformed Global Trade: The Innovative Vision of Malcom McLean behind the Container Revolution

Containerization has been one of the most important innovations in contemporary history. The introduction of container boxes to the shipping industry made large-scale international trade possible. The man behind this innovation was Malcom P. McLean. McLean was such a visionary he was able to find market opportunities others could not and integrate different businesses into his shipping industry. The introduction of shipping containers changed the way the shipping industry ran its business. It significantly reduced loading time at ports and cut the shipping cost. When the cargo arrived at the destination, the unloading time was shortened by moving the containers directly to the vehicles without opening the containers. McLean combined existing resources and invented containers which had a powerful impact on international trade and led to intermodal transportation.

In 2006, on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of container shipping's invention, several authors took the opportunity to make the public aware of the influence of container shipping in world trade and shed light on the unsung hero of globalization. Marc Levinson, in his book *The Box: How The Shipping Container Made The World Smaller And The World Economy Bigger*, and Arthur Donovan and Joseph Bonney in *The Box That Changed the World*, offered insightful tales of the container revolution wrought by Malcom McLean. As the industry's leading innovator, McLean started building cranes on board ships, so that they could unload the containers at any remote port. He also realized that to utilize this technology to its full potential, the size of the containers needed to be standardized. These books provide great visual images, but they fail to analyze the future of container shipping and its impact on the environment.

The effect of container technology on local economic growth is described briefly in *The Local Impact of Containerization*.<sup>1</sup> While port cities experienced a rise in the population, the demand for unskilled workers at port decreased

1 Leah Brooks, Nicholas Gendron-Carrier and Gisela Rua, "The Local Impact of Containerization," (2018-07-10). FEDS Working Paper No. 2018-045. Available at SSRN: <https://ssrn.com/abstract=3213282> or <http://dx.doi.org/10.17016/FEDS.2018.045> (Accessed July 20, 2019).

despite the increase in cargo. In his paper “Rise of the Machine: Evidence from the Container Revolution,” David Gomtsyan talks about the decline in employment in the early 1960s due to automation technology at ports.<sup>2</sup> Ports experienced a 90% reduction in their workforce, which gave rise to militancy by longshoreman unions. The paper “Effects of Automation in The Lives of Longshoremen” describes the 134-day long strike in 1971 in all the fifty six ports of West Coast of America by International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU) to secure the wages, benefits and employment.<sup>3</sup> The paper “Estimating The Effect of The Container Revolution On The World Trade” provides in-depth statistical details about the time when this invention was being adopted.<sup>4</sup> It provides a summary of resource saving from the adoption of container technology in Europe between 1965 and 1970. In 1967, the British Transport Docks Board (BTDB) commissioned McKinsey & Company, a management consulting firm, to conduct analysis on containers before spending funds on ports.<sup>5</sup> However, the data in the study is limited to the UK and Japan.

Based on the literature above, this paper analyzes the rise and fall of McLean’s trucking empire with historical facts and uses multiple sources of data to show the impact on the future of shipping industry. The paper argues the containerization of shipping industry has greatly boosted world economy and saved natural and human resources. However, it faces challenges such as mass unemployment of labor and pollution of ocean and these are urgent issues to be solved.

The 18th century economist Adam Smith linked the level of the market to the availability of cheap transportation. He argued that transportation added cost to the products, thus made it more expensive to the people. He also pointed out that waterways were a cheap way of transportation for goods.<sup>6</sup>

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2 David Gomtsyan. “Rise of the Machine: Evidence from the Container Revolution,” [https://editorialexpress.com/cgi-bin/conference/download.cgi?db\\_name=SAEe2016&paper\\_id=224](https://editorialexpress.com/cgi-bin/conference/download.cgi?db_name=SAEe2016&paper_id=224) (Accessed August 10, 2019).

3 “1971 ILWU Strike,” Harry Bridges Center for Labor Studies University of Washington. [https://depts.washington.edu/dock/1971\\_strike\\_history.shtml](https://depts.washington.edu/dock/1971_strike_history.shtml) (Accessed July 25, 2019).

4 Daniel M. Bernhofen, Zouheir El-Sahli, Richard Kneller, “Estimating the effects of the container revolution on world trade,” [https://project.nek.lu.se/publications/workpap/papers/WP13\\_4.pdf](https://project.nek.lu.se/publications/workpap/papers/WP13_4.pdf) (Accessed July 20, 2019).

5 “How Container Shipping Could Reinvent Itself for the Digital Age | McKinsey,” McKinsey & Company, 2018, <https://www.mckinsey.com/industries/travel-transport-and-logistics/our-insights/how-container-shipping-could-reinvent-itself-for-the-digital-age>. (Accessed September 1, 2019).

6 Adam Smith, “That the Division of Labor in limited by the extent of the Market,” *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*. Edinburgh: A. and C. Black, 1859 [1776], 10.

As McLean said, “Freight is the cost added to the price of goods.”<sup>7</sup> Lower transportation costs contributed to the development of global economy after container boxes were used. The standardized containers further stimulated the economy. The decision to standardize the dimensions of containers played a significant role in the success of the containerization of trade. Today, the shipping cost of products from a manufacturer to an overseas market halfway across the world is approximately one percent of the total retail price. For instance, it costs roughly 45 cents to bring a \$45-dollar pair of shoes from a factory in Asia to a market in the USA.<sup>8</sup> With lower transportation cost, the volume of goods moving between countries has increased exponentially. Containerization of trade has become one of the most influential innovations in the 20th century.

### The Start of the Trucking Empire

The most interesting fact about the container technology is that it was developed by McLean who started his business from trucking and his intermodal transportation revolutionized the cargo handling. It all started during the Great Depression, when America was suffering from a bad economy. As the Depression tightened its grip, President Franklin D. Roosevelt ordered the government to create federally funded jobs through the Work Progress Administration (WPA) on May 6, 1935.<sup>9</sup> In 1931, McLean refused to continue his studies after graduating from high school because of the Great Depression. While working as an operator at a service station in the village of Red Spring in North Carolina he also earned supplementary income by delivering freight locally. Later, when McLean learned that the federal government was funding jobs through the WPA, he bought a 125-dollar truck with a \$35 down payment for transporting dirt at a nearby road construction site sponsored by WPA. After several months, McLean obtained another truck. When he realized it was hard to survive in the competition of delivering vegetables to the Northeast, he turned to a local textile mill in Fayetteville, NC.

The brutal winter of 1937 turned out to be miserable for McLean. Bad weather caused accidents, grounded most trucks and cost his company a fortune. McLean, therefore, had \$15,000 in debt. The textile mills, along with

7 Joe Nocera, “A Revolution That Came in a Box.” *The New York Times*, May 13, 2006, <https://www.nytimes.com/2006/05/13/business/13nocera.html> (Accessed Nov 20, 2019).

8 Wade Motawi and Andrea Motawi, *How Shoes Are Made* 3d ed. (CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform, 2015), 140.

9 Franklin D. Roosevelt, “Executive Order 7034 – Creating Machinery for the Works Progress Administration,” May 6, 1935, in *The American Presidency Project*, <https://www.library.ucsb.edu/research/db/1193> (Accessed Nov 25, 2018).

many other businesses including McLean's trucking company, had a hard time of survival. In 1937, while running his truck back and forth to New Jersey with loads of cotton bales, McLean was not pleased that the laborers at the port spent a long-time unloading cargo from his truck and loading it onto ships. Ships had to wait at the ports for several days until the longshoremen broke down the loads and manually fit them into the tight space under decks. This was an old method that had been used for thousands of years and caused traffic congestion at the port known as breakbulk method. Insurance was very expensive at the time for marine freight because damage and theft frequently happened during the loading and unloading. There was a famous saying that "twenty dollars a day and all the scotch you could carry home," longshoremen used to get twenty dollars a day and also they used to steal liquor bottle from the shipment while loading and unloading.<sup>10</sup> When McLean was waiting at the port, an idea struck him that "it would be easier to lift my trailer and, without any of its content being touched, put it on the ship."<sup>11</sup> This idea brought a revolution in the world nineteen years later.

The trucking industry in 1937 was very fragmented and competitive because of the lack of any regulation. During World War I (1914-1918), the American government felt a need for an alternative transportation system because there were congestion problems on railroads. Clydesdale Motor Truck Company manufactured trucks for the U.S. Navy and exported them to England for military purposes.<sup>12</sup> The demand for trucks was high, and the Clydesdale Truck Company had a hard time keeping up with the call. However, after the U.S. Navy canceled a large order in 1938, Clydesdale Motor Truck Company collapsed, and the government sold fleets of trucks to the farming, shipping, and other industries at low prices. The trucking industry took over much of highly profitable intercity shipping from the railroads.<sup>13</sup> Railroads objected that trucks had access to the public roads because railroad companies paid for the road maintenance and had to accept the fixed price of shipping set by the government. When the Great Depression slowed down the trucking industry, the industry came under the supervision of the Interstate Commerce Commission (ICC), and they were regulated under the Motor Carrier Act of 1935.

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- 10 Mark Levinson, "The Box: How the Shipping Container Made the World Smaller and the World Economy Bigger Princeton," (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2008), 9.
  - 11 Oliver E. Allen, "The Man Who Put Boxes on Ships," *Audacity: The Magazine of Business Experience* no. 2, Spring 1994, 13.
  - 12 Tiffany Willey Middleton and James M Semon, *The Clydesdale Motor Truck Company: An Illustrated History 1917-1939* (North Carolina: McFarland, 2013), 21-23.
  - 13 Thomas Gale Moore, "Trucking Deregulation, The Concise Encyclopedia of Economics," *Library of Economics and Liberty*. <https://www.econlib.org/library/Enc1/TruckingDeregulation.html>. (Accessed September 1, 2019).

McLean survived the Depression, and in the late 1930s, when textile mills returned to business, he quickly acquired more trucks to keep up with his expanding business. When he formed McLean Trucking in 1940, his company had 30 trucks and the gross annual revenue was more than \$230,000. In 1950, his company employed 2,000 people at 37 different terminals, and it was one of the top truck freight carrier corporations in the southeast with annual gross revenue of \$12 million.<sup>14</sup>

As an entrepreneur, McLean always looked for ways to expand his company, and he also wanted to help the returning veterans. McLean found that veterans were qualified for the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944, also known as the GI Bill of Rights, under which veterans were provided funds to start their own business.<sup>15</sup> McLean called several veterans and offered them to be owner-drivers of his company. In this way, he was able to expand his business with government funding. In December 1950, McLean offered a special prize, a fully furnished house worth \$25,000 that would be given to the driver with a perfect driving record. Even though this decision cost the company \$25,000, the money he saved by dropping insurance on his freight was much more.

Truck traffic doubled every decade, and the number of trucks on the road jumped to nine million in 1952 compared to one million in 1920.<sup>16</sup> As truck drivers were paid by the ton-mile carried, the size of trucks increased exponentially. Vehicles with axle weight more than 18,000 pounds wore out the highways. In 1950 nine states implemented an out-of-state tax to trucks. The tolls made it difficult for truck drivers to maintain a profit. McLean realized that the free use of roads was coming to an end. He visited several railroad companies and offered to work together by carrying his trailers on rail flatcars, which was called piggyback service. By using this cross-modal transportation, McLean knew he could easily avoid those rising road taxes. However, because of the long ongoing tension between the Southern Railway and trucking industry, the companies declined his offer.

Once McLean learned that railway was not interested in "piggyback," he began to pay close attention to the marine industry to ship his company's truck trailers. In 1954, McLean told the ICC that "highway transportation costs had hiked up to 50 percent since 1940," and he was looking for new methods of

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14 Arthur Donovan and Joseph Bonney, *The Box That Changed the World: Fifty Years of Container Shipping – an Illustrated History* (New York: Commonwealth Business Media, 2006), 20.

15 "The G.I. Bill of Rights: An Analysis of the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944," *Bulletin*, July 1944, n.d., 3 <https://www.ssa.gov/policy/docs/ssb/v7n7/v7n7p3.pdf> (Accessed May 5, 2019).

16 Donovan and Bonney, *The Box*, 23.



interstate shipping at a lower price.<sup>17</sup> As a standard rule of thumb, goods could be moved eight miles on the deep waters at the same cost as one mile by rail. But, because of high costs in the seaports, five major intercoastal carriers were spending half of their total income in 1953 in merely loading and unloading the cargo.<sup>18</sup>

McLean had to come up with a new way to replace the breakbulk method. In 1954, after getting inspiration from a railways method to carry freight cars by water, also known as “Fishyback.” McLean sent a request to the ICC to convert his trucking business into a fifty-million-dollar Sea-Land transportation company providing services between southern and eastern ports of America. Even though building a new shipping industry required enormous capital investment, McLean was able to find that some surplus ships manufactured through the Jones Act in World War II that were available at a low price.<sup>19</sup> Even though a trip from Wilmington, North Carolina to New York City would take 30 hours by sea instead of 18 hours by road, it would cost 50 percent less.<sup>20</sup> After getting permission from the ICC, McLean started Sea-Land services in 1955. The original method used to handle the cargo trailers was roll-on, roll-off, or “ro-ro.” On January 1956, McLean acquired a loan of \$22 million and he brought two World War II-vintage tankers.<sup>21</sup>

In the same year, while looking for the companies that were already operating shipping business coastwise, he came across Waterman Steamship Corporation located in Mobile, Alabama. He tried to acquire the corporation but failed. However, he succeeded in buying one of the Waterman’s subsidiaries, Pan-Atlantic Steamship Corporation.<sup>22</sup> Pan-Atlantic Corporation provided McLean the operation certificate for his shipping business between the Mexico Gulf and east coast ports, and Tampa, a Gulf terminal company of Florida.

McLean knew that he could not own two competitive companies—McLean Trucking and Pan Atlantic—because they both provided transportation service in the same market. Following his attorney’s advice, McLean resigned from his trucking company and he re-registered the stock to a new company named McLean Securities Corporation. Later, he sold his

17 Donovan and Bonney, *The Box*, 34.

18 Dodge, William H., and Marvin J. Barloon. “Discussion of ‘The Interrelationship of the Changing Structure of American Transportation and Changes in Industrial Location’ (Barloon).” *Land Economics* 41, no. 2 (1965): 180-82, doi:10.2307/3144274.

19 Frittelli, John. “Shipping Under the Jones Act: Legislative and Regulatory Background,” *Congressional Research Service*, 28. May 17, 2019. <https://fas.org/sgp/crs/misc/R45725.pdf> (Accessed on September 1, 2019).

20 Frittelli, Shipping under the Jones Act, 35.

21 Markey, David, “Modern Piracy,” *ABC-CLIO*, 2011. 156.

22 “Waterman Steamship Corporation, Petitioner-Appellee, v. Commissioner of Internal Revenue, Respondent-Appellant, 430 F.2d 1185 (5th Cir. 1970).” <https://law.justia.com/cases/federal/appellate-courts/F2/430/1185/463249/> (Accessed July 5, 2019).

shares of his trucking company and used the six million dollars to buy Pan-Atlantic on the same day.<sup>23</sup> Within a month after the transaction went public, seven railroad companies sued McLean to stop him from starting a new sea-trailer service. However, the complaint against McLean was dismissed.<sup>24</sup> Three months later, McLean bought the Waterman Corporation, one of the largest shipping companies with more than 120 ships. Surprisingly, Waterman was so conservatively managed that it held a cash reserve of \$25 million, while the company's entire market value was only \$20 million. After taking over as the chairman of Waterman's board of directors, McLean announced that the company had sent the *Ideal X* and the *Almena*, two World War II tankers, to Bethlehem Steel shipyard in Baltimore as a trial extension to sea-trailer service.

On April 26, 1956, Pan-Atlantic Steamship Corporation launched a new 524-foot-long tanker named *Ideal X* with metal platform installed.<sup>25</sup> McLean changed his original idea of ro-ro ships, and instead of using conventional truck trailers, he used reinforced trailer boxes separated from their wheels and undercarriage. Those containers were lifted off to ships through crane at a rate of seven minutes per container. It took just eight hours to load 58 containers on *Ideal X*, and the ship had its maiden voyage from Newark, New Jersey port to Houston on the same day. The dimensions of container boxes were thirty-three feet long, eight feet wide and six feet high because that was the maximum size of a container truck trailer could carry. After realizing the advantage of container shipping over conventional shipping, the Waterman Corporation's main focus shifted and aimed to improve the technology for more efficiency. Before the launch of *Ideal X*, Waterman Corporation needed to make sure all the new technology was safe and efficient before they could reveal it to the public. The president of Waterman contacted the Brown Trailer Company to order container boxes. Brown Trailer Company had built 200 reinforced aluminum boxes for military transportation purpose from the Pacific Northwest to Alaska. McLean was so impressed with the quality of the containers that he ordered 200 boxes with dimensions of 33-foot at \$2,800 apiece.<sup>26</sup> Keith Walto Tantlinger, the vice president of the engineering department at Brown Trailer Company, resigned at that company and became the vice president of the engineering department at Waterman and Pan-Atlantic. After having enough quality containers, Waterman started to try to lift containers onto the ships faster and safer. Instead of developing a new crane, Tantlinger and his team used Sun Shipbuilding's rotating cranes. They were readily available and cost half of the new cranes. Tantlinger designed

23 Ibid.

24 Donovan and Bonney, *The Box*, 45.

25 "The JoC: 175 Years of Change," *The Journal of Commerce* (April 27, 1956), [https://www.joc.com/sites/default/files/joc\\_inc/history/p15.html](https://www.joc.com/sites/default/files/joc_inc/history/p15.html) (Accessed November 30, 2018).

26 Donovan and Bonney, *The Box*, 56.

and patented a new spreader to lift the boxes off the trucks. In a process which was known as “fitting,” a steel apparatus claw grabbed the object from the top, and an electrical device locked the claws. This new invention made the loading cost drop from \$5.86 per ton to \$0.16 per ton.<sup>27</sup>

From his early days in the business, McLean knew that even with the most advanced and futuristic equipment, a corporation could not survive without enough customers. He recruited new college graduates to promote his company, and they suggested the customers ship their overland freight by his company’s ships. At first, most customers were anxious to put their cargo on ships because they wanted to see the results of the Ideal X experiment before making up their mind. After several months of the successful launch of Ideal X, Pan-Atlantic operated three more converted tankers, the Almena, Maxton, and Coalinga Hills. This new shipping method allowed McLean to cut the freight prices. Within the first two years, Pan-Atlantic moved more than 67,000 tons of containerized freight.<sup>28</sup> McLean’s company continued to expand his domestic trade after he moved the headquarters from Mobile, Alabama to New Jersey in 1962. Furthermore, he started shipping service from Seattle to Alaska. A decade after launching Ideal X and establishing a firm foot in the domestic market, McLean bid for military shipping through Sea-Land, an unsubsidized U.S.-flag carrier, which allowed him to take his ships overseas. Through Sea-Land, McLean won the two most crucial contracts with the Army for about \$82.5 million, which gave him sufficient financial support to carry out the experiment with containers and to gain the overseas market.<sup>29</sup>

As the demand for containerization increased, several other companies like Matson and the federal US Liners adopted this technology, but they used different sizes of containers, which created a problem at the international ports. In 1961, the Federal Maritime Board and American Standard Association established 10, 20, 30, and 40 feet as the standard length with the fixed height and width of eight feet for each container. The International Organization for Standardization adopted the ASA standards in late 1968. Along with standard containers, other specialized containers like “high-cube” boxes of nine feet six inches high and 53-foot high were introduced in 1991 to the shipping routes between the U.S. mainland and Puerto Rico.

Many countries did in-depth research on the flexibility, cost, and benefits of containerization before funding port facilities for containers. For instance, the British government conducted an in-depth analytical study of container

27 “The History of the Shipping Container,” *Freightos*, <https://www.freightos.com/the-history-of-the-shipping-container> (Accessed November 24, 2018).

28 Donovan and Bonney, *The Box*, 63.

29 Marc Levinson, “The Box That Changed Asia and the World,” *Forbes*, July 16, 2012, <https://www.forbes.com/global/2006/0313/030.html#732c4d4a4cd7> (Accessed December 1, 2018).

shipping in 1960. The consulting firm McKinsey & Company conducted a quantitative assessment from 1965 to 1972. The research indicated that productivity of the dock labor increased from 1.7 tons per hour to 30 tons per hour, and the insurance cost decreased from £0.24 per ton to £0.04 per ton after adopting the container technology.<sup>30</sup> Like the UK government, many countries waited for a couple of years to see the efficiency of new technology before making any change.

Containerization of shipping took a new turn in the late 1960s and early 1970s when big purpose-built container ships were under construction. This period was full of dramatic events in the transportation business. In 1968, the Federal Maritime Commission and the antitrust division of the Justice Department refused to approve the deal to charter U.S. Liners' container fleet to Sea-Land. To maintain a position in the market, Sea-Land needed more funds, and McLean turned to Reynolds Tobacco Company, a company based in the home city of McLean Trucking, Winston-Salem, N.C. R.J. Reynolds purchased the Sea-Land for \$530 million in cash and stock, and he employed McLean as the president with a five-year contract.<sup>31</sup> McLean sold the company's shares at its peak price and received a total of \$160 million. With the money, Sea-Land was able to fund the SL-7 program, which bought eight ships for \$250 million. These SL-7 ships carried 2,000 TEUs (a measure of volume in units of twenty-foot long containers) at the speed of 33 knots. They were designed for the new market of time-sensitive cargos, and the first SL-7 was into service in October 1972. In 1973, the Yom Kippur War broke out, and Arabic members of OPEC took revenge on the United States (for supporting Israel in the war) by imposing an oil embargo on America. By mid-1974, the embargo caused the oil price to rise four times higher than that before the war. The SL-7 turned out to be a white elephant for the Sea-Land. In 1981, it had to sell few SL-7 ships to the U.S. Navy for \$268.4 million, less than two-thirds of the original price.<sup>32</sup>

After the SL-7 program failed and the embargo ended, Sea-Land ordered 12 new D-9s diesel-powered container ships which helped the company reduce its fuel cost. At the same time, R.J. Reynolds (RJR) made internal changes such as reorganizing the financial management department of the company and centralizing the cash management system. McLean was not happy with all these changes. He did not want to develop his company in such a way.

30 Daniel M. Bernhofen, Zouheir El-Sahli, and Richard Kneller, "Estimating the Effects of the Container Revolution on World Trade," *Journal of International Economics* 98, (February 2012): 36-50, doi: 10.1016/j.jinteco, 9.

31 Debbie Norton, "Reynolds to spin off Sea-Land," *Star News*, Feb 22, 1984. <http://news.google.com/newspapers?nid=1454&dat=19840222&id=PEhOAAAIAIBAJ&sjid=kBMEAAAIAIBAJ&pg=4837,6105106> sec 4B. (Accessed August 23, 2019).

32 Donovan and Bonney, *The Box*, 150.

Therefore, he resigned from the director position of RJR in 1977. A year later, after cashing out much of his RJR stock, McLean acquired U.S. Liners for \$160 million. However, the shipping industry had another shock in 1978 and 1979 due to a hike in oil price. Many experts, including McLean, predicted that the oil prices would go up to \$100 a barrel within the next few years. Instead of manufacturing the SL-7, a fast-paced container ship, he ordered container ships that would be comparatively low in speed but consume less oil and were supposed to sail around the globe, loading and unloading the cargo at ports along the way. These new ships were built to carry around 4,400 TEUs that was approximately 50 percent more than the conventional ships.<sup>33</sup> Due to the rise in fuel price, Sea-Land was still not able to use its existing SL-7 ships; however, like most corporations, Sea-Land changed its existing vessels to make them more fuel-efficient.

In June 1984, when the U.S. Liner's first Econship started its service, the company received the worst news. A conflict among the OPEC members caused the price of oil to collapse suddenly, and instead of raising from \$30 to \$50 per barrel, the price dropped to nearly \$10 per barrel. This caused massive damage to the U.S. Liners' plan. The company lost its Middle East shipment service because of the collapsed oil market, and the slow fuel economic ships did not help the company at all to gain the market share. After losing \$3.5 million in the first quarter of 1985, the company lost \$15.3 million, \$43.6 million, \$71.2 million, \$62 million, and \$77.4 million respectively in the next five quarters. U.S. Liners did not survive long enough. It filed for bankruptcy protection on November 24, 1986.<sup>34</sup> Later, Sea-Land made a low and profitable bid for the 12 Econships of U.S. Liners, and after some structural changes, the ships began to operate in 1988.

McLean made no excuse for the failure of U.S. Liner. Many factors worked behind the container industry, and failure of one factor could break the whole empire. Despite the giant failure, five years later McLean founded a new company named Trailer Bridge which served between cities of the U.S. mainland and Puerto Rico by operating 53-foot roll-on, roll-off trailer barges. McLean was the sole owner of all three companies: McLean Trucking, Sea-Land, and Trailer Bridge. All of them were listed on the New York Stock Exchange. Although McLean lost the leading position in the container revolution, his idea sparked a revolution which completely changed the world.

### Impact of Containerization

After World War II, there was tremendous growth in world trade, and containerized shipping played an important role in promoting this aspect of

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33 Donovan and Bonney, *The Box*, 154.

34 *Ibid.*161.

globalization.<sup>35</sup> In the past half-century, container shipping has turned into a mature global transportation industry. International shipping is responsible for 90% of the world trade carriage.<sup>36</sup> A study shows that from 1990 to 2008, the container traffic grew continuously at an average rate of 9.5%.<sup>37</sup> As per 2018 reports, APM-Maersk is the world's largest container shipping company based in Denmark with more than 600 ships in service and a fleet of more than four million TEUs.<sup>38</sup> International trade enhanced by container revolution has played a key role in the second wave of globalization and the fast development of the world economy in the past few decades. Globally, the container shipping industry generated more than \$436.3 billion in revenue and provided 13.5 million jobs in 2007.<sup>39</sup>

Despite the positive change to the world economy, the containerization of shipping also had negative effects. First, some workers lost their jobs. The American Association of Port Authorities stated that labor cost accounted for half of the cost of the shipping from Chicago to Nancy, France. However, with the introduction of machinery, the labor cost per unit decreased by half, along with the time spent in ports and the money spent on insurance for cargo.<sup>40</sup>

This rapid development created a substantial challenge to port labor. Laborers opposed this change because they saw the threat of losing their jobs, and it had shifted the power away from longshoremen. To maintain the influence over the ports and new dockside equipment, longshoremen preserved their work by imposing new rules on container packaging. In 1960, the International Longshore and Warehouse Union and the PMA signed the Mechanization and Modernization Agreement. According to the M&M agreement, the employer would subsidize the laborers who either retired early or were replaced by machines.<sup>41</sup> In 1971, a 134-day strike on the West Coast was the last attempt by longshoremen union to oppose the container

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35 "The Humble Hero," *The Economist*, May 18, 2013. <https://www.economist.com/finance-and-economics/2013/05/18/the-humble-hero>. (Accessed Jul 23, 2019).

36 "Shipping and World Trade," *International Chamber of Shipping*, <http://www.ics-shipping.org/shipping-facts/shipping-and-world-trade> (Accessed May 31, 2019).

37 "World Container Traffic and Throughput, 1980-2015 (Millions of TEU)," *The Geography of Transport Systems*, [https://transportgeography.org/?page\\_id=2629](https://transportgeography.org/?page_id=2629) (Accessed on Nov 15, 2017).

38 "Total TEUs of Leading Container Ship Operators in 2018," *Statista*, <https://www.statista.com/statistics/198214/total-teus-of-worldwide-leading-container-ship-operators-in-2011/> (Accessed Dec 1, 2018).

39 "Valuation of the Liner Shipping Industry," *world shipping council* (December 2009). [http://www.worldshipping.org/pdf/Liner\\_Industry\\_Valuation\\_Study.pdf](http://www.worldshipping.org/pdf/Liner_Industry_Valuation_Study.pdf) (Accessed Aug, 2019).

40 Daniel M. Bernhofen, Zouheir El-Sahli, and Richard Knelle, "Estimating the Effects of the Container Revolution on World Trade," *Journal of International Economics* 98, (February 2012): 36-50, doi: 10.1016/j.jinteco, 36.

41 Donovan and Bonney, *The Box*, 88.

revolution. They demanded all the containers except those packed by the shippers to be packed and unpacked by the longshoremen instead of the manufacturer. Even though mechanization took away many jobs, however, the increased workload at the ports provided highly paid skilled jobs like crane operators, engineers, port managers, and marine pilots.<sup>42</sup>

The second bad effect was pollution. With the advancement in shipping technology, the volume of the ships in the ocean increased. According to one study in 2012, the total shipping industry accounted for 961 million tons of CO<sub>2</sub>. In addition to air pollution, container ships were also accused of damaging marine life through noise, waste-dumping, and oil spillage in ecologically sensitive locations. The data from the maritime industry insider suggests that fifteen biggest ships in the world can emit as much as 760 million cars.<sup>43</sup> The data is based on the size of the engine and quality of fuel used in container ships. However, companies like Rolls Royce are presenting their prototypes of future container ships which will run on electricity.<sup>44</sup>

After the terrorist attack on September 11, 2001, containerization gained massive attention of the press. Many containers entered the US ports without being inspected, raising nationwide concerns. Containers provided a safe medium for people to smuggle illegal stuff into America. It was common for human traffickers to use container boxes.<sup>45</sup> However, several initiatives have been taken over the past few years. Cargo shippers are required to transfer the data of the shipment in advance to be analyzed. U.S. Customs and Border Protection introduced the Customs-Trade Partnership Against Terrorism [CTPAT] to fight against the security threat. CTPAT participants agreed to adopt tighter security standards at their ports and reduce the inspection delay at U.S. customs.<sup>46</sup>

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42 Daniel Stoker, "Working in Ports," <https://www.imarest.org/membership/education-careers/careers-in-the-marine-profession/how-about-working-in-ports> (Accessed Nov 30, 2018).

43 John Vidal, "Health Risks of Shipping Pollution Have Been 'Underestimated,'" *The Guardian*, April 9, 2009, <https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2009/apr/09/shipping-pollution> (Accessed Nov 30, 2018).

44 Fred Lambert, "Rolls-Royce Launches New Battery System to Electrify Ships," *Electrek* (blog), August 17, 2018. <https://electrek.co/2018/08/17/rolls-royce-new-battery-system-electric-ship-boat/>. (Accessed Nov 27, 2018).

45 Michael Maggie, "13 People Suffocate in Libya Shipping Container Tied to Human Traffickers: Aid Group," *The Star*, Feb.23, 2017, <https://www.thestar.com/news/world/2017/02/23/13-people-suffocate-in-libya-shipping-container-tied-to-human-traffickers-aid-group.html> (Accessed Dec 3, 2018).

46 "The Post-9/11 Global Framework for Cargo Security," *United States International Trade Commission*, March 2008, [https://www.usitc.gov/publications/332/journals/cargo\\_security.pdf](https://www.usitc.gov/publications/332/journals/cargo_security.pdf) (Accessed August 23, 2019).

### Conclusion

Malcom P. McLean died in 2001. He was named “Man of the Century” by the International Maritime Hall of Fame for his innovative ideas, but his contribution is little known by the public.<sup>47</sup> McLean never claimed the invention of containerization, but he was proud of introducing container ships. McLean was always on the hunt for new opportunities to make a profit. When he ran a trucking company, he hired hundreds of veterans as owner-drivers who could benefit from GI bills to fund his company. Later he made use of government’s surplus ships to save himself from large capital investment in expanding his business. McLean was wise enough to place all his companies at right spots where he could take advantage of government subsidies. He used his unsubsidized SeaLand Company to compete with other non-US-flag liners and international shipping corporations. Although shipping containers such as Conex boxes in the military, Sea Train in 1929, and Higgin box in 1945, existed before containerization, none of these systems was well developed or coordinated to explore their real potential as McLean did.<sup>48</sup>

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47 “McLean Named Man Of The Century; Lowman Earns Humanitarian Award,” *MarineLink*, July 12, 1999, <https://www.marinelink.com/news/humanitarian-century320566> (Accessed Dec 4, 2018).

48 “History and Development of the Container,” *U.S. Army Transportation Museum*, <https://web.archive.org/web/20170922142604/http://www.transportation.army.mil/museum/transportation%20museum/CONEX.htm> (Accessed Sep 19, 2017).



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## Jacob Staley

### University of Chicago: A Free Speech Experiment

In the summer of 2016, incoming freshmen at the University of Chicago received letters that would spark a national debate. A debate that would thrust the staff, history, and policies of the university to center stage. Instead of the typical welcome letter filled with pleasantries, campus maps, and lists of student organizations, recipients found a provocative argument. Upon welcoming the incoming class, John (Jay) Ellison, Dean of Students at the University, warned students of the intellectual challenges students should be prepared to face during their tenure. He denounced ideas of “safe spaces,” “trigger warnings,” and the practice of censoring speakers with controversial views.<sup>1</sup> He stated that students should be prepared to be “engaged in rigorous debate ... and even disagreement,” a situation that “may ... even cause discomfort.”<sup>2</sup> These statements began a national conversation, with political pundits and journalists arguing them from every angle. Despite this, an important question arose: what should free speech look like in education, specifically at a university? The University of Chicago represents the most successful example of free speech policy on college campuses today. Despite challenges to its practices from all levels of society, it has remained committed to defending free speech—and its benefits to education—on its campus.

Throughout history, debates surrounding freedom of speech on campus commonly revolve around one of three essential questions: first, how do the role and situation of a university affect its responsibility toward speech and expression? Secondly, what kind of responsibility do universities have in providing a diverse curriculum? In other words, is there ever an instance in which a university is justified in censoring a certain person’s or group’s ideas and beliefs? Lastly, do topics or situations exist that are so controversial that unchecked expression could instigate harm, thereby forcing universities to intervene?

Many legal and educational minds have provided different definitions for the role of universities throughout history. However, a common belief revolves around the practice of deep, philosophical inquiry. In 1915, the

1 John (Jay) Ellison, *Dear Class of 2020 student...*, (2016), UChicago News, [https://news.uchicago.edu/sites/default/files/attachments/Dear\\_Class\\_of\\_2020\\_Students.pdf](https://news.uchicago.edu/sites/default/files/attachments/Dear_Class_of_2020_Students.pdf) (accessed on Oct. 15, 2018).

2 Ibid.

American Association of University Professors (AAUP) stated three essential purposes for which a university exists. These were: “A. To promote inquiry and advance the sum of human knowledge. B. To provide general instruction to the students. C. To develop experts for various branches of public service.”<sup>3</sup> The practice of inquiry, it believed, would allow for “the opportunity for the gradual wresting from nature of her intimate secrets,” which would prove pivotal in the advancement of humankind.<sup>4</sup> The AAUP was not alone in this idea. Robert Maynard Hutchins, John Dewey, and many others championed the deep responsibility universities have in advancing the social order. Even modern-day thinkers, such as writer and UC Berkeley graduate David Horowitz, ascribe to this view of education. In a piece entitled the *Academic Bill of Rights*, Horowitz describes the product of universities’ promotion of free inquiry as “help [-ing students] become creative individuals and productive citizens.”<sup>5</sup>

With the universities’ larger role in mind, a foundation exists for the second debate. This debate rests on the institutional distinction of academic freedom. “Institutional Academic Freedom” simply refers to the power universities have to decide what material is included in curriculum and campus activities, a power reaffirmed by the Supreme Court in 2000.<sup>6</sup> However, to remain consistent with the concept of sustained, meaningful inquiry, these institutions face challenges when deciding which perspectives to include. In 1906, speaking on the condition of German universities, German philosopher Friedrich Paulsen stressed the importance of universities facilitating clear paths to the discovery of truth. “The people and the state ... can have no desire to place obstacles in the way of an honest search for truth in the field of politics and social science, either by forbidding or favoring certain views.”<sup>7</sup> This view would seem to apply to the diversification of curriculum,

3 Edwin R. A. Seligman et al., “General Report of the Committee on Academic Freedom and Academic Tenure: Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Association: December 31, 1915,” *Bulletin of the American Association of University Professors* 1, no. 1 (December 1915): 29, [https://www.jstor.org/stable/40216731?seq=14#metadata\\_info\\_tab\\_contents](https://www.jstor.org/stable/40216731?seq=14#metadata_info_tab_contents) (accessed May 15, 2019).

4 Ibid.

5 David Horowitz, *Academic Bill of Rights*, (2004), <http://la.utexas.edu/users/hcleaver/330T/350kPEEHorowitzAcadBillTable.pdf> (accessed May 1, 2019).

6 David Souter quoted in Clay Calvert, “Professional Standards and the First Amendment in Higher Education: When Institutional Academic Freedom Collides with Student Speech Rights,” *St. John’s Law Review* 91, no. 3 (2017): 622-623, <https://scholarship.law.stjohns.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=6801&context=lawreview> (accessed May 21, 2019).

7 Friedrich Paulsen, *The German Universities and University Study* (New York: C. Scribner’s Sons, 1906), 244. <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=hvd.32044012766218;view=lup;seq=9> (accessed May 22, 2019).

allowing for an honest and unabated “search for truth.” In the United States’ history, this idea has undergone a rather rigorous journey.

There are those, however, who believe that logistics and the existence of institutional academic freedom provide ample justifications for university intervention. Consider the longstanding practice of inviting guest speakers and lecturers to speak on current events or specific issues. These panels, discussions, and accounts are a way for universities to provide students with information and ideas they may not be able to access through standard classroom study. Aaron Hanlon, Professor of English at Colby College, writes: “We should think about campus speakers less in terms of the so-called marketplace [of ideas] and more in the terms that guide other kinds of educational programming on campus. Inviting quality speakers to share expertise and experience is an important part of the educational mission.”<sup>8</sup> He continues: “One of professors’ core responsibilities, in every discipline, is to develop a syllabus. With roughly fourteen weeks per semester, composed of two seventy-five minute meetings per course per week, every syllabus I put in front of my students is a product of immediate practical limitations.”<sup>9</sup> Therefore, in addition to judging educational value, the decision to leave out certain points of view “aren’t about ‘shutting down’ points of view; they’re about finding the most valuable ways to use our limited time and resources.”<sup>10</sup>

The final question regarding free speech and college campuses centers around members’ use of “individual academic freedom.” This term “denote[s] ... the freedom of the individual teacher (or in some versions-indeed in most cases-the student) to pursue his ends without interference from the academy.”<sup>11</sup> The problem arises when an individual uses speech in a way that incites unrest. Often synonymized with “hate speech,” or “fighting words,” this type of speech regularly accompanies controversial issues. With the existence of individual academic freedom and the dynamic makeup of university campuses, it is inevitable that speech and expression will stray into controversy, to the point where some individuals may feel threatened. What then is the university’s role? Richard Epstein, professor of law at New York University of Law, states: “[w]henver speech inspires violence, it should be

8 Aaron R. Hanlon, “Why Colleges Have a Right to Reject Hateful Speakers like Ann Coulter: Disinviting Right-wing Provocateurs Isn’t Suppression of Free Speech. It’s a Value Judgement in Keeping with Higher Education’s Mission,” *The New Republic*, April 24, 2017, <https://newrepublic.com/article/142218/colleges-right-reject-hateful-speakers-like-ann-coulter> (accessed May 19, 2019).

9 Hanlon, “Hateful Speakers,” (2017).

10 Ibid.

11 Richard Posner, quoted in David M. Rabban, “A Functional Analysis of “Individual” and “Institutional” Academic Freedom Under the First Amendment,” *Law and Contemporary Problems* 53, no. 3 (1990): 282, <https://scholarship.law.duke.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=4057&context=lcp> (accessed May 20, 2019).

shut down."<sup>12</sup> However, this does little to clear an already cloudy situation, as differing interpretations exist for what "inspires" violence. Definitions of other key terms, such as "hate speech," are similarly unclear.

Nevertheless, many universities have already enacted measures to help prevent these incidents. In his book *You Can't Say That!* George Mason Law Professor David Bernstein examines the growing practice of "speech codes." These codes set guidelines for what speech the university considers appropriate, as well as speech labeled as "offensive" and banned.<sup>13</sup> However, a problem lies in the terminology of many such guidelines: "Some codes are so broad that, when taken literally, they are absurd."<sup>14</sup> He references one such code at the University of Maryland, which in an effort to curb sexual harassment, bans "comments about a person's clothing."<sup>15</sup> "So," he argues, "at the University of Maryland, saying 'I like your shirt, Brenda' is a punishable instance of sexual harassment."<sup>16</sup> Consequently, the codes create a context where both sides, university and student, are unsure of their abilities and limitations. Other writers have brought up the concept of the "Heckler's veto."<sup>17</sup> This provides a potential for individuals to bully universities into censoring controversial speakers by using threats of violence. In this system, "restriction is seen not as a punishment for those making threats of violence ... but instead, as a restriction on the speaker being threatened."<sup>18</sup>

In light of these debates, the University of Chicago provides a blueprint for the role of speech and expression on campus. Since its inception, the University of Chicago stood out from others in terms of its academic ideas. Chicago's leaders believed that the University, in its ideal incarnation, provided a place where students would face rigorous intellectual challenges. University leaders envisioned a campus where competing ideas flowed in from every direction. As a result, they prioritized a policy of free speech and

12 Richard Epstein, *Mob Censorship on Campus*, (Hoover Institution: March 13, 2017), quoted in R. George Wright, "The Heckler's Veto Today," *Case Western Reserve Law Review*, 68, no. 1 (2017): 178-184, <https://scholarlycommons.law.case.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article+4738&context=caselrev> (accessed May 28, 2019).

13 David E. Bernstein, *You Can't Say That!* (Washington D.C.: CATO Institute, 2003), 59-72.

14 *Ibid*, 61.

15 *Ibid*, 61-63.

16 *Ibid*, 61-63.

17 R. George Wright, "The Heckler's Veto Today," *Case Western Reserve Law Review* 68, no. 1 (2017): 178-184, <https://scholarlycommons.law.case.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=4738&context=caselrev> (accessed May 28, 2019).

18 LaQuasha Combs, "The Importance of Free Speech on Public Campuses and the Restriction of Free Speech on University Campuses Due to Safety Concerns," *Journal of Law and Education*, (2018), 173, <https://eds-a-ebSCOhost-com.proxy.lib.siu.edu/eds/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?vid=5&sid=42622f9f-96f8-41e9-955f-1821aae1729c%40sdc-v-sessmgr02> (accessed on Oct. 15, 2018).

expression at all costs. William Rainey Harper, the founding president of the university, espoused this view. In a 1902 address, barely ten years following the University's inception, he stated: "the principle of complete freedom of speech on all subjects has from the beginning been regarded as fundamental in the University of Chicago."<sup>19</sup> The constant pressure guaranteed by competing ideas would force students to grow intellectually, think critically, and establish beliefs rooted in reason.

As time passed, successive presidents continued this practice, perhaps none as strongly as Robert Maynard Hutchins. Hutchins assumed the presidency of the University of Chicago in 1929.<sup>20</sup> Upon his taking office, Hutchins already possessed a reputation as one of the most radical minds in American education. A former dean of both Oberlin College and Yale University, Hutchins consistently indicted the system of higher education in the United States. The university, he believed, should not exist for mere vocational training as some were promoting, but instead should be a place of intellectual struggle. "The common aim of all parts of a university may and should be the pursuit of truth for its own sake."<sup>21</sup> Like others before him, Hutchins saw freedom of speech and expression as the chief way to ensure students would be intellectually engaged. Provocation, and the continual exchange of competing ideas would define the University of Chicago and set it apart. However, this devotion was not shared by all. Throughout its history, Chicago faced challenges to their policies at all levels. Yet, the University's response to these challenges showed just how committed they were in creating the environment of intellectual exchange they desired.

For example, in the early twentieth century, the nation found itself entrenched in a period of suspicion against "foreign" ideologies. Socialism, Communism, and the concept of labor unions were inflammatory issues in the public's mind. However, the university, staying true to its practice of intellectual discourse, did not hesitate to allow these ideas onto campus. In the year 1919, the university even possessed a socialist student organization on its campus. The *Chicago Tribune* covered news of this group and disseminated it throughout the area.<sup>22</sup> As one might expect, the fact that such 'dastardly' ideas resided on an American campus created quite a firestorm. Members

19 Geoffrey R. Stone et. al., *Statement on Principles of Free Expression*, (2012), Chicago, University of Chicago, <https://freeexpression.uchicago.edu/page/statement-principles-free-expression> (accessed on Oct. 4, 2018).

20 Robert Maynard Hutchins, (Chicago: Office of the President), <https://president.uchicago.edu/directory/robert-maynard-hutchins> (accessed on Sept. 30, 2018).

21 Robert Maynard Hutchins, *Higher Learning in America*, (Yale: Yale University Press, 1936), 95.

22 H. Rowland Curtis, *Letter to H.P. Judson*, written on May 16, 1919 (Chicago, Illinois, University of Chicago Special Collections), <https://www.lib.uchicago.edu/ead/pdf/ocpreshjb-0044-018.pdf> (accessed on Oct. 8, 2018).



of the community did not shy away from expressing their anger toward the university. H. Rowland Curtis, a local businessman, wrote a scathing letter to the university president, Harry Pratt Judson. "The enclosed notice seems to justify the growing opinion of the Chicago people that the university is a hotbed of socialism and every other 'ism' except Americanism."<sup>23</sup> He went on to attack the university's student makeup, stating, "[h]ad it not been for the accumulation of wealth, your scatter-brained, misfit students would not have the privilege of a college education for thirty cents on the dollar."<sup>24</sup> However, the president of the university was quick to come to the defense of the organization. The next day, he composed a response to Mr. Curtis, citing the school's commitment to free speech as the motivation for allowing such a group. "It is far better in our opinion," he wrote, "to have such views ventilated freely than to try and prevent free speech."<sup>25</sup> Additionally, he lamented that the *Tribune* article fell victim to its "usual inaccuracies."<sup>26</sup>

Along similar lines, Chicago's free speech policies intersected with the movement for organized labor. Leon C. Marshall, a faculty member and well-known economist, invited the Ex-Secretary of Labor, William Wilson, to come and give a series of lectures on the labor movement in the fall of 1921.<sup>27</sup> Wilson was considered radical by many business owners and even by fellow union supporters. As a result, his invitation again caused a stir among those acquainted with the university. Thomas Donnelley, president of a large printing business in Chicago, wrote to President Judson fearing the consequences that a Union radical could bring to the student body. He referenced a message he had received from a Union lawyer, warning him of the dangerous tendencies of the speaker.<sup>28</sup> In Judson's reply, he acknowledged Donnelley's fears, and, to an extent, sympathized with them. However, he still refused to relinquish his practice of allowing free speech to stir educational thought: "Marshall thinks he [Wilson] will be especially careful not to be extreme, and he [Marshall] has in mind arranging another series of lectures if Mr. Wilson comes. His idea is that students in economics ought to hear the subject discussed authoritatively from both sides."<sup>29</sup> Judson solidified that

23 Ibid.

24 Ibid.

25 Harry Pratt Judson, *Letter to H. Rowland Curtis*, written on May 17, 1919, (UCSC), <https://www.lib.uchicago.edu/ead/pdf/ofcpreshjb-0044-018.pdf> (accessed on Oct. 8, 2018).

26 Ibid.

27 Thomas E. Donnelley, *Letter to H.P. Judson*, written on June 30, 1921, (UCSC), <https://www.lib.uchicago.edu/ead/pdf/ofcpreshjb-0044-018.pdf> (accessed on Oct 8. 2018).

28 Ibid.

29 Harry Pratt Judson, *Letter to Thomas E. Donnelley*, written on July 1, 1921, (UCSC), <https://www.lib.uchicago.edu/ead/pdf/ofcpreshjb-0044-018.pdf> (accessed on Oct. 9, 2018).

Chicago's brand of free speech not only extended to student expression, but to the sovereignty of teachers to provide opposing viewpoints as well.

Perhaps the biggest challenge the University of Chicago's policies faced from an outside source came in the 1930s-40s, during the height of anti-communist movements in the United States. In 1935, following a tip from a local businessman, the University was accused by the Illinois state legislature of indoctrinating their students with communist ideas.<sup>30</sup> Senator Charles A. Baker, the man who presented legislation legitimizing an investigation, warned that such teachings would create a "generation" with disrespectful and disruptive ideas.<sup>31</sup> However, despite a thorough investigation—one which even required faculty to take loyalty oaths—the committee acquitted the university.<sup>32</sup>

A mere fourteen years later, the university appeared before the committee again on the exact same charges. This time, the Illinois Senate focused its attention on two different schools: The University of Chicago, and Roosevelt College. The Senate's suspicion was based on two pieces of evidence. In a similar fashion as prior instances, Chicago's campus was home to a communist student club, albeit that it housed a mere eleven students.<sup>33</sup> This, combined with the fact that the University "refuse[d] to rid themselves of Communist front professors ... and activities, fueled the legislators to a deeper investigation.<sup>34</sup> School professors and other high level faculty, including President Hutchins and Laird Bell, Chairman of Chicago's Board of Trustees, were called to testify before the committee.<sup>35</sup> It was in this investigation that Chicago's leaders gave perhaps their best defense of the school's policy.

Upon first news of the investigation, Bell penned a stinging response to the allegations in a twelve-page statement titled "Are We Afraid of Freedom?" Possessing the backing of the university's Board of Trustees, Bell launched

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30 Stanley Armstrong, "Senate Acts to End Radicalism in Universities," *Chicago Tribune*, April 18, 1935, <https://search-proquest-com.proxy.lib.siu.edu/docview/181683209/200F471BD27F4FCFPQ/1?accountid=13864> (accessed on Oct. 7, 2018).

31 Ibid.

32 Ibid; Laird Bell, "Are We Afraid of Freedom?," *Bulletin of the American Association of University Professors*, 1949, 302, [https://www-jstor-org.proxy.lib.siu.edu/stable/40220354?origin=crossref&seq=1#metadata\\_info\\_tab\\_contents](https://www-jstor-org.proxy.lib.siu.edu/stable/40220354?origin=crossref&seq=1#metadata_info_tab_contents) (accessed on Oct. 15, 2018).

33 George Eckel, "Illinois Inquiry Hears Dr. Hutchins Deny Subversion at U. of Chicago," *New York Times*, 1949, <https://search-proquest-com.proxy.lib.siu.edu/docview/105640659?accountid=13864> (accessed on Oct. 6, 2018).

34 Johnson Kanady, "Red Schools Face Loss of Tax Freedom," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 1949, <https://search-proquest-com.proxy.lib.siu.edu/docview/177745534?accountid=13864> (accessed on Oct. 8, 2018).

35 Johnson Kanady, "Vote to Reopen Red Probe at U. of Chicago," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 1949, <https://search-proquest-com.proxy.lib.siu.edu/docview/177650369?accountid=13864> (accessed on Oct. 6, 2018).

into a defense of the university's policies. He, like others before him, appealed to the connections of free speech and academic freedom with intellectual growth. He went so far as to include quotes from past U.S. presidents, such as Thomas Jefferson and Woodrow Wilson, as well as other intellectual minds to bolster his argument. In the document's concluding paragraphs, Bell made his final case:

To be great, a university must adhere to principle. It cannot shift with the winds of passing public opinion ... It must rely ... upon those who understand that academic freedom is important not because of its benefits to professors but because of its benefits to all of us. Today our tradition of freedom is under attack. There are those who are afraid of freedom. We do not share these fears.<sup>36</sup>

Appearing before the Senate Committee, Hutchins crafted a similar defense. "The danger to our institutions," he asserted, "is not from the tiny minority who do not believe in them. It is from those who would mistakenly repress the free spirit upon which those institutions are built."<sup>37</sup> Even in the face of government pressures, whose recommended disciplinary action included the expelling of faculty members and students who would not affirm loyalty oaths, Hutchins and Bell refused to budge.<sup>38</sup> Academic freedom for both faculty and students was imperative for the university to be able to continue its pursuit of truth.

As the twentieth century progressed, the nation began to confront past sins and wrestle with new challenges. The Vietnam War, as well as the Civil Rights Movement, energized and often divided the population. In May of 1966 and 1968, the University of Chicago saw both events spill over onto their campus. As with previous examples, the university's response would prove vital in shaping the future of free expression on the campus.

In 1966, the conflict in Vietnam was in full swing. Thousands of young men found themselves outfitted with materials and shipped off across the ocean. In fact, as the conflict intensified, the U.S. military was hard pressed to fulfill recruitment quotas set out by the government. As a result, the Selective Service System (SSS) turned its attention to universities. Previously viewed as an escape from service, eligible college males soon saw their safeguard disappear. In 1965, the SSS introduced the Selective Service Qualification Test, essentially an aptitude test, administered to male students across the

36 Laird Bell, "Are We Afraid of Freedom?", (1949).

37 Eckel, "Illinois Inquiry," (1949).

38 Kanady, "Red Schools," (1949).

country.<sup>39</sup> The results of test scores, combined with a student's outright standing within their grade, were then provided to draft organizations. The highest performing students were immediately exempt from consideration. Conversely, as a student's score dropped further down the leaderboard, the chance of their selection rose dramatically.<sup>40</sup>

In part due to the growing anti-war sentiment on college campuses at the time, many students from across the country were appalled to learn that their grades were used as determinants of draft status. Beyond this, the mere fact that their academic information changed hands without their consent infuriated many. In the week of May 5, 1966, the University of Chicago administration issued a statement informing students that local draft boards could obtain information regarding class rank.<sup>41</sup> This sparked a wide scale protest, drawing both male and female dissenters. On the night of May 12, over 350 students staged a sit-in at the school's six-floor administrative building.<sup>42</sup> The students remained inside the building, singing, studying, and listening to speakers within the group. The next morning, they stationed themselves in a blockade of the doors to prevent any administrative officials from entering. However, they permitted teachers to enter and engage in discussions about the policy.<sup>43</sup> Overall, the demonstration lasted five days before the students voted to disband.<sup>44</sup>

The university's administration and faculty had a bit of a mixed response to the event. The chief point of contention seemed to be the methods used by the protestors: namely, the blockade of administrative officials. The president at the time, George W. Beadle, condemned the methods used by the protestors. He viewed the apparent blockade as "coercive," and decried it as "unacceptable in a university devoted to inquiry and discussion."<sup>45</sup> However, at the same time, he reaffirmed the right of students to express dissenting

39 Laura E. Hatt, "LBJ Wants Your GPA: The Vietnam Exam," *The Harvard Crimson*, May 23, 2016. <https://www.thecrimson.com/article/2016/5/23/lbj-wants-your-gpa/> (accessed on Dec. 13, 2018).

40 Ibid.

41 "U. of C. Protests Aid To Draft Lists," *Chicago Tribune*, May 12, 1966, <https://search.proquest.com/docview/178995675/1AEE5512F48448A5PQ/1?accountid=13864> (accessed on Dec. 13, 2018).

42 Ibid.; Austin C. Wehrwein, "Chicago U. Students Seize Building in Draft Protest," *New York Times*, May 13, 1966, 2,

<https://search-proquest-com.proxy.lib.siu.edu/docview/117038945/679C7D0E65574B06PQ/1?accountid=13864> (accessed on Oct. 11, 2018).

43 Wehrwein, "Students Seize Building," (1966).

44 Austin C. Wehrwein, "Chicago U. Students End 5-Day Sit-In...," *New York Times*, May 17, 1966, <https://search.proquest.com/docview/117491696/1AEE5512F48448A5PQ/9?accountid=13864> (accessed on Dec. 13, 2018).

45 Wehrwein, "Students Seize Building," (1966).

ideas.<sup>46</sup> Many faculty members, such as Professor McKim Marlott, tried to promote alternative measures to the students. He encouraged the students to take their concerns to the university council members who he believed could make real changes.<sup>47</sup>

Just two years later, a nearly identical event occurred involving a group of African American students on Chicago's campus. More than sixty black students took control of the same building on May 15. They locked all doors into the building, shut down all incoming and outgoing calls, and issued a list of demands to the administration.<sup>48</sup> They sought the admission of more black students, separate dormitories for black students, a black student committee to serve alongside the administration, and aid programs for incoming black students.<sup>49</sup> Charles Daly, Director of Development and Public Affairs at the school, gave them an ultimatum that afternoon threatening to suspend or expel the students the longer they kept up their blockade. However, the school's administration did offer to meet with many of the students to discuss their concerns the next night.<sup>50</sup> As a result, the students relented and dispersed.

Fast forward to the twenty-first century, and Chicago has once again begun to face challenges to free discourse. A new form of dispute often termed a "mob protest," has sprung up across the country's campuses. It commonly consists of shouting, bullying, making threats of violence, and the defacing of property. In the past, these demonstrations arose as responses to inflammatory language. However, nowadays they are often employed to censor individuals from speaking in the first place. Like the aforementioned example of labor advocate William Wilson, the University of Chicago's commitment to the discussion of controversial issues has often provoked this mode of resistance.

In 2016, the Institute of Politics (IOP) at Chicago invited Anita Alvarez, the Cook County State's Attorney, to speak and answer questions at an event. Alvarez was embroiled in controversy at the time, as she had previously hindered the release of footage of a policeman shooting an African-American teen sixteen times.<sup>51</sup> As one student put it, "[the event was] a unique

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46 Ibid.

47 Ibid.

48 "Chicago Students Seize A Building," *New York Times*, May 16, 1968, <https://search.proquest.com/docview/118443065/2AE13E93BA844EDFPQ/2?accountid=13864> (accessed on Dec. 13, 2018).

49 Ibid.

50 "Chicago Students Seize A Building," *New York Times*, May 16, 1968, <https://search.proquest.com/docview/118443065/2AE13E93BA844EDFPQ/2?accountid=13864> (accessed on Dec. 13, 2018).

51 Tamar Lewin, "State's Attorney Seeks Recusal in Chicago Officer's Trial," *New York Times*, May 06, 2016, <https://www.nytimes.com/2016/05/06/us/states-attorney-anita-alvarez-seeks-recusal-in-chicago-officers-trial.html> (accessed on October 29, 2018).

opportunity to challenge her on the disaster of her tenure."<sup>52</sup> Instead, the conversation was never allowed to blossom. Moments after the event began, protestors from student organizations within Chicago joined with others from outside the school to shout down any attempt Alvarez made at the address. This forced her to leave less than twenty minutes into the event.<sup>53</sup>

A similar event took place just a week later. The university invited Bassem Eid, a Palestinian native, to speak at a campus event. Eid had previously raised objections towards the Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions Movement (BDS), a movement that has been a vocal critic of Israel's actions in the Gaza Strip.<sup>54</sup> The event was structured in a similar way to Alvarez's presentation, allowing a question and answer session with Eid following his address. However, not long into questioning, the event ended prematurely. A group of audience members began shouting at Eid, including one member threatening physical harm.<sup>55</sup> Security escorted Eid out of the event.

Following both occurrences, Chicago leaders expressed regret at what had transpired. David Axelrod, Director of Chicago's IOP, stated that the university understands community members and students have passionate views and opinions, yet he was disappointed that "a discussion was unable to take place."<sup>56</sup> However, despite the apparent failures of these meetings, the university refused to back down. In fact, before the next year's incoming class set foot on campus, they received the letters with which this paper began.

In the end, the central argument of the University of Chicago is this:

... education should not be intended to make people comfortable; it is meant to make them think. Universities should be expected to provide the conditions within which hard thought, and therefore strong disagreement, independent judgment, and the questioning of stubborn assumptions, can flourish in an environment of the greatest freedom.<sup>57</sup>

The second half of that statement is vital. The author, former University of Chicago President Hanna Holborn Gray (1978-93), carefully penned

52 As quoted in Rob Montz, *Silence U Pt.3: Can the University of Chicago Solve the Campus Free Speech Crisis?*, (We The Internet, 2018) 06:00-06:30.

53 Ibid.

54 Emily Kramer, "Police Intervene as I-House Event Turns Heated," *Chicago Maroon*, Feb 23, 2016. [www.chicagomaroon.com/article/2016/2/23/police-intervene-as-i-house-event-turns-heated/](http://www.chicagomaroon.com/article/2016/2/23/police-intervene-as-i-house-event-turns-heated/) (accessed on Oct. 29, 2018).

55 Rob Montz, *Silence U Pt. 3: Can the University of Chicago Solve the Campus Free Speech Crisis?* (We The Internet, 2018).

56 Kramer, "Police Intervene," (2016).

57 Hanna Holborn Gray, *Searching For Utopia: Universities and Their Histories*, (Oakland: University of California Press, 2011), 52.

her defense. Not only should the university be expected to deal with the uncomfortable, it should invite it. Or, in her words, the university “should be expected to provide the[se] conditions...”<sup>58</sup> University professors and faculty, when creating yearly curriculum, should refuse to shy away from controversial beliefs and stances. Instead, they should seek to provide students with the loudest voices, strongest allies, and most diligent supporters of these opinions. It is only in this setting that President Hutchins’ search for truth can be fulfilled. It is only in this arena that students will be able to hold fast to and defend what they know to be right. Likewise, lending opportunity to bad ideology does not equal promotion of it. Rather, the airing out of these opinions allows students to see them for what they truly are, as well as providing them with opportunities to soundly and intellectually refute them. This type of intellectual confrontation provides a greater benefit to students than censorship ever could. So, what about the controversy of this practice? What about the potential disagreements and potential ridicule of the university and its staff that may arise? As with most of the free speech question, Hutchins had a response for this too: “The University is good in terms of the amount of controversy that goes on in it. If everyone thinks it’s great, chances are it’s going to hell.”<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>58</sup> Ibid.

<sup>59</sup> As quoted in Montz, *Silence U. Pt. 3: Can the University of Chicago Solve the Campus Free Speech Crisis?*, (We The Internet, 2018).

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