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American higher education has been shaped by an often conflicting set of forces from both without and within. External forces, be they affirmative action, revolutions in science and technology, or an ever-advancing professionalization in national life, confront the political, economic, social, and cultural realities of region and locality. From this comes the rich mixture of curricula, standards, patterns, and perspectives that make higher learning in the United States unique among the nations of the world.

The consequences of these themes on the campus of the University of New Mexico can be clearly seen in the university's first encounter with the outside forces of war and military mobilization. Scholars of the modern West rightly address the profound changes brought to the region by the more prolonged and traumatic involvement of the United States in the Second World War. Yet the instability of the "Great War," as it was known in its day (1917–1919), both blessed and cursed the state university in Albuquerque. The school, the community, and the state would be different places by 1920, thanks in great measure to the

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David Ross Boyd, president of the University of New Mexico from 1912 to 1919, saw the university through substantial changes during World War I. Courtesy of Special Collections, Zimmerman Library, University of New Mexico.

forces from Europe, and from home, that transformed the university from a glorified high school to an accredited institution in 1922.

On April 6, 1917, President Woodrow Wilson announced that the nation would enter the European conflict against Germany. The Southwest was no stranger to armed violence, for the revolution across the border in Mexico had touched the state, and the UNM campus, in the raid of Francisco "Pancho" Villa against Columbus, New Mexico, in 1916. Had it not been for the "mobilization at the border" for the Pershing expedition, said UNM President David Ross Boyd, the school's fall enrollment would have been fifteen to twenty percent higher. But few university administrators anywhere knew how to plan for the exigencies of war. What ensued was a rapid decline in the male population of college campuses, followed by shifts in curriculum from the classical training in the liberal arts to more pragmatic course work in engineering and science. How institutions adjusted to these phenomena would say much about their futures, in time of war and in the remainder of the twentieth century.[1]

Within six weeks of Wilson's declaration of war, UNM entertained a visit from a local civic group bearing the cumbersome title, "The Committee for Securing a Mobilization Camp for the National Guards for Albuquerque." Because the United States Army lacked sufficient numbers of troops ready for combat in Europe, the federal government called upon state militia to train at home. By locating New Mexico's training camp (eventually known as "Camp Funston") on the UNM campus, the university could realize some revenues for utilities and rental of space, and also attract young men who might enroll in wartime academic programs. Many of these young men were poorly educated, however, and not attuned to the sensitivities of a liberal arts campus. President Boyd thus told the organizers that the soldiers could not trespass on university property, and that he would prohibit students from visiting the military camp.[2]

To accommodate the irregularity of wartime planning, Boyd asked the regents to change the university calendar to a four-quarter system, with UNM offering classes forty-six weeks of the year. Many students found work in the summer of 1917 on farms as the federal government's "Food Administration" subsidized agricultural production to supply

1. Minutes of the Regents' Meeting, University of New Mexico, December 11, 1916, pp. 95–96, Zimmerman Library, University of New Mexico; Michael McGiffert, *The Higher Learning in Colorado, An Historical Study, 1860–1940* (Denver: Swallow Press, 1964), 120–24.

2. Regents' Minutes, May 25, 1917, p. 122.

America's beleaguered European allies. UNM would thus remain closed until October 1 to permit students to complete the fall harvest.

The president also kept abreast of the consequences of mobilization nationwide and the impact of the war on Europe. Many young New Mexican men left home for active duty, and rumors circulated that UNM would lower its admissions criteria and its academic standards to overcome this drain upon the student population. Boyd protested that nothing had changed, and that UNM would follow directives from the federal government to train students at the highest level possible. Europe's great universities had closed because of the war, and the United States needed to keep its schools active for a more efficient war effort. When Boyd received notice that UNM students in the service had transferred their credits to New York colleges without incident, he trumpeted this as proof that UNM could prepare young people to compete nationally.[3]

As the fall term of 1917 neared, UNM's administration realized that the war would affect campus life far more than first imagined. Prices for food and lodging reflected wartime scarcities, but UNM kept its charges for room and board to prewar levels of eighteen dollars monthly. Boyd called this policy "good advertising," which would be "appreciated both by students and their parents." Ralph Hutchinson, UNM's athletic director, resigned to join most of the student-athletes in the military. Boyd chose not to replace him, thus saving money, while retaining "various athletic exercises, together with some rudiments of military training." The increased traffic from town to campus caused by the National Guard camp also led UNM to approach the trolley company requesting that the travel time from town be decreased from twenty minutes to twelve.[4]

The fall term opened with nearly seventy percent of the male students absent from campus. Among them was the entire football squad, which left UNM no choice but to cancel the season. Both men and women took military training in lieu of physical education, and Boyd assured some concerned citizens that UNM had no desire to take over the programs already offered by the Military Institute in Roswell. Federal officials encouraged campuses to grow vegetables and fruits to increase the amount of foodstuffs, and in February 1918 regents' president George Brooks called for the purchase of three quarter-sections

3. Albuquerque *Evening Herald*, July 12, 16, 26, 1917.
4. Regents' Minutes, September 24, 1917, pp. 139, 148.

of federal land one and one-half miles northeast of campus for a "University farm."[5]

The most serious challenge to campus serenity that year came not from the war itself, but from charges lodged against John W. Gruner, professor of German, that he was unpatriotic and a threat to student involvement in wartime programs. Although German-Americans comprised the largest single group of European descent in the country, federal programs to instill patriotism engaged in harsh propaganda against the "atrocities" suspected of the German army. Organizations sprang up across the country like the American Protective League, which had adherents among New Mexicans. Given tacit support by the U.S. Justice Department, the league took it upon itself to purge American institutions of unwanted foreign elements and to sustain pro-American sentiment at a fever pitch.[6]

The consequences of the league's actions spread onto every university campus in the nation. Dissent by students and faculty evaporated, if any had existed. Enrollment in German language and history courses also collapsed, bringing faculty layoffs or reassignments. In Colorado, the private University of Denver fired its professor of German, Martha Cook, because she refused to join the local "Patriotic League." The state legislature of Colorado, in an effort to eliminate foreign subversives and also to save money, prohibited the teaching of German in the public high schools. Not to be outdone, the state of Oklahoma solved the problem by outlawing instruction in all foreign languages; a gesture that had to be corrected at war's end.[7]

The Gruner case never reached the proportions of those in New Mexico's neighboring states, in part because New Mexico in 1918 was still more than fifty percent Hispanic and Indian. Gruner himself seemed an unlikely target, as he had emigrated from Germany in 1912 and worked as a civil engineer for a western railroad. Upon his arrival in New Mexico he enrolled at UNM to study geology and after graduation in 1917 accepted an appointment as an instructor in that subject as well as in his native language. The New Mexico War Defense Board, chaired by wealthy landowner Charles Springer, learned of Gruner's presence at UNM and demanded his dismissal. The regents asked the Albuquerque Council of Defense to investigate the charges and report its findings as soon as possible.

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5. *Ibid.*, February 1, 1918, p. 176; Albuquerque *Evening Herald*, August 27, 1917.

6. William M. Dabney, "A History of the College of Arts and Sciences, University of New Mexico," unpublished manuscript, 1986, pp. 27–28; Albuquerque *Evening Herald*, April 23, 1918; Regents' Minutes, April 21, 1918, p. 177.

7. McGiffert, *Higher Learning in Colordo*, 121–22.

The local patriotic organization could find no evidence of Gruner's pro-German sentiments. The adverse publicity generated by the Gruner case, however, required UNM to mollify its critics with a vigorous statement of patriotism. Since only two students remained in Gruner's German class, President Boyd gave them their credits and terminated the course. The regents then stated publicly that German would no longer be taught at UNM, and that Gruner would be reassigned to the geology department. He left soon thereafter, earned a doctorate and had a long and distinguished career in mineralogy at the University of Minnesota. Years later, in quieter times, UNM gave Gruner an honorary doctorate for his contributions to science, which included exploration of western uranium deposits, being a "pioneer in the field of geochemistry," and being the "recipient of all the highest offices and awards in American mineralogy."[8]

Not until late in the spring term of 1918 did the federal government prepare a comprehensive plan to involve American universities in the war effort. Boyd had written to the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers in Washington, D.C., asking that UNM be placed on the list of corps-sanctioned engineering schools. The Chief of Engineers granted Boyd his request in February, but no funds or programs emanated from the corps before the semester's end.[9]

The volume of correspondence between the War Department and American universities escalated dramatically on May 8, when Secretary of War Newton D. Baker issued a circular describing the general plans to be implemented on college campuses by the fall term. Every school with one hundred or more "able-bodied [male] students over the age of eighteen" would be given a commissioned army officer to conduct "military instruction." Equipment would also be provided, except in certain circumstances of scarcity. "Enlistments will be purely voluntary," said Baker, since the United States had no selective service (or draft) program yet in place, "but all students over the age of eighteen will be encouraged to enlist." Students would become army recruits, subject to active duty requirements. The army hoped to limit combat status to men over the age of twenty-one, so as to "prevent unnecessary and wasteful depletion of the colleges through indiscriminate volunteering." Enrollments could be sustained, and young men would have the status of soldiers to meet their patriotic desires for public service.[10]

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8. Dabney, "History of the College of Arts and Sciences," pp. 27–29; Albuquerque *Evening Herald*, April 23, 1918; Regents' Minutes, April 21, 1918.

9. Dan C. Kingman to David Ross Boyd, February 5, 1918, Governor Washington Lindsey Papers, New Mexico State Records Center and Archives, Santa Fe.

10. Newton D. Baker to Boyd, May 8, 1918, Lindsey Papers.

The loss of the university's young men and uncertainty over the implications of a world war to a small southwestern campus made commencement exercises at UNM in June 1918 "quiet, very informal and very businesslike." The Albuquerque *Evening Herald* considered this atmosphere healthy and called upon local residents to voice their appreciation for the work conducted by UNM in support of the war effort. The Albuquerque Chamber of Commerce, heeding the editor's admonition that UNM could stimulate population growth during the war, offered to pay the expenses for UNM's recruitment of the one hundred male students needed to establish a military training program of some sort on campus.[11]

By midsummer the War Department had further refined its role for universities by announcing formal adoption of the Student's Army Training Corps (SATC). The military needed "highly trained men as officers, engineers, doctors, chemists and administrators of every kind." Universities could "mobilize and develop the brain power of the young men of the country," whose naive enthusiasm for combat could be tempered by the maturing process available through higher education. Young men would gain invaluable physical and mental training while in the SATC and would be prepared for technical careers that were certain to emerge in the years ahead. The government would subsidize the shift of emphasis from liberal arts to practical learning on their campuses, thus closing the circle linking government, business, industry, and education in the twentieth century.[12]

Yet another program made available to UNM by wartime pressures was the National Council of Education (NCE). The War Department and the American Council of Education joined to promote an academic-military relationship at regional and local levels nationwide. As president of New Mexico's state university, Boyd seemed to the NCE the logical choice for state director. The NCE would serve as a clearinghouse for information on the war, as well as a source of publicity for local news media. Boyd and his colleagues in other states would call a meeting of prominent civic, religious, and political leaders to apprise them of the NEC's existence and plans. Boyd's most important task, however, would be contacting "every promising student of high school and college grade." The local NCE chapter could recruit students for the SATC program at UNM, declaring that "the community is concerned that he [the student] does not waste his life by failing to make

11. Albuquerque *Evening Herald*, June 14, July 19, 1918; Regents' Minutes, July 16, 1918, p. 182.

12. War Department Memorandum, July 10, 1918, Lindsey Papers.

proper preparation and that the Government is looking to him for the best type of service."[13]

By late summer the War Department had a better understanding of the demands it would place on the SATC. Boyd and other college presidents were asked to prepare them for student advisement that fall. The full American military force would not be ready for combat until September 1918, so SATC students would serve on inactive duty at the call of the President of the United States. Local draft boards classified these young men as "IV-D" and would not conscript them as long as they remained enrolled in college. The army hoped to direct nearly all college men under the age of twenty-one into the officer corps, since "at least four or five times as many officers will be required as the total number of [SATC] students who will graduate from all American Colleges and Universities." Those SATC students who failed college work, dropped out, or were expelled would report immediately as a private for active duty.[14]

The significance of this change in academic lifestyle and management was not lost on Woodrow Wilson, a former president of Princeton University, and a political scientist. "After the war," said Wilson, "there will be urgent need not only for trained leadership in all lines of industrial, commercial, social and civic life, but for a very high average of intelligence and preparation on the part of all the people." Schools should "adjust themselves as wisely as possible to the new conditions," declared the president, so that "no boy or girl shall have less opportunity for education because of the war," and that "the Nation may be strengthened as it can only be through the right education of all its people."[15]

As U.S. entry into the war on a massive scale became a reality, the War Department further tightened its regulations about SATC enlistment and college attendance. A new curriculum for SATC students also surfaced in early fall. The War Department's "Committee of Education and Special Training" divided the subject matter into "Practical and Theoretical" instruction in military courses and then included a category called "allied subjects." These latter topics leaned heavily towards European languages (French, German, Spanish, and Italian). Physics, chemistry, geology, and other "hard" sciences followed, as

13. "Campaign Director," American Council on Education to Boyd, July 27, 1918, Lindsey Papers.

14. "Status of a Student Enlisted in the Students' Army Training Corps," n.d., Lindsey Papers.

15. Woodrow Wilson to Franklin K. Lane, July 31, 1918, Lindsey Papers.

did mechanical drawing, surveying, economics, and accounting. Bringing up the rear were "history and government." Local SATC instructors would decide how much of each "allied subject" was necessary, or whether they should be taught at all.[16]

As Boyd sifted through all these memoranda, he realized that UNM could organize a "Section B" SATC unit, since the school now had one hundred male high school graduates. But he also wanted a "Section A" program of vocational training, since so many New Mexicans had only limited educations. This represented an ironic twist in UNM's history, as Boyd had worked assiduously to rid the school of its preparatory, commercial, and technical programs in order to improve its image as a sophisticated urban liberal arts institution. Now the immediacy of war revived the need for practical training, and Boyd had to scramble to locate instructors, classroom space, and laboratory equipment more suited to a vocational high school.[17]

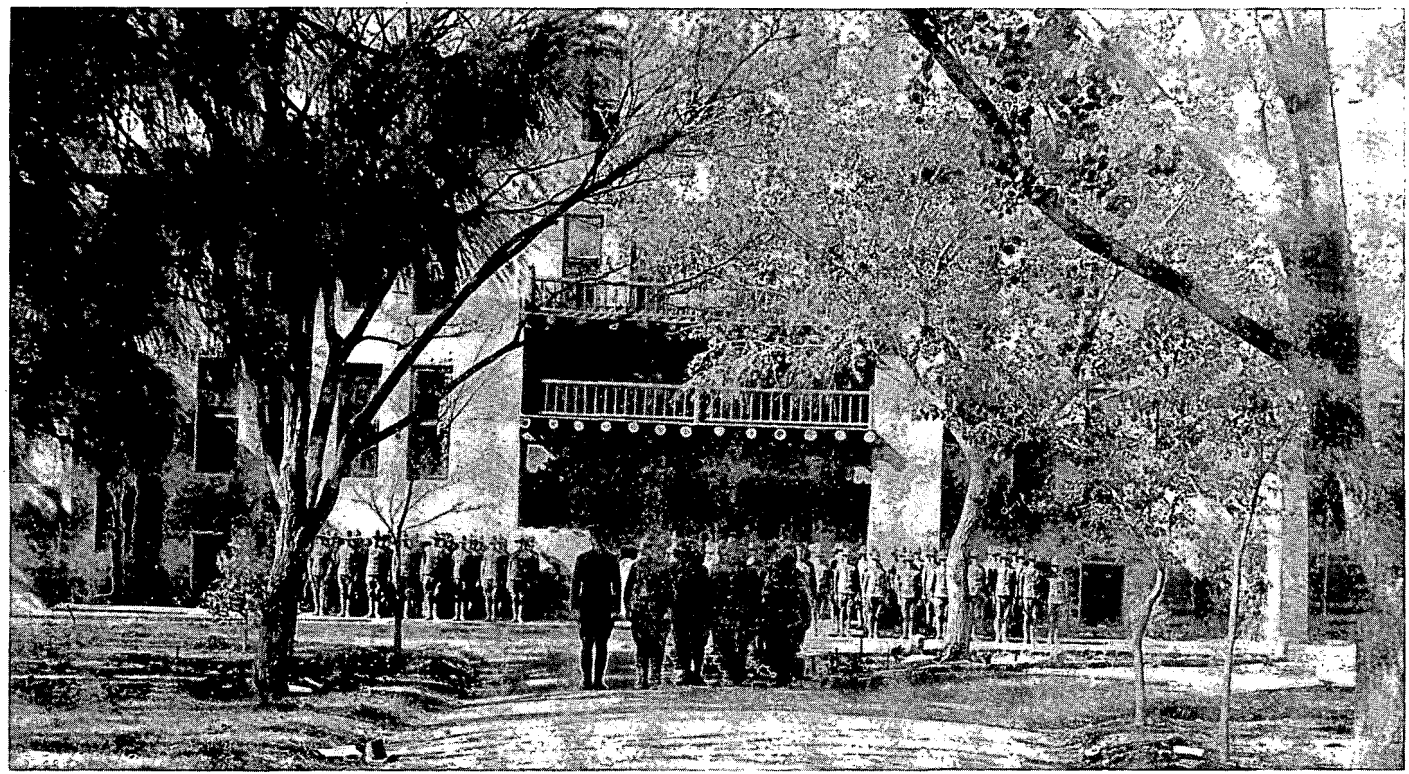
This instability grew more ominous as the War Department realized that sustaining college enrollments was an inefficient means of preparing soldiers for technical fields. Schools like UNM could not compare with larger state universities in the Midwest or on the West Coast for facilities or the caliber of instructor or student. The SATC decided to shift students around the country to match supply with demand, further reducing academic instruction to accommodate the need for military training. Colonel Robert I. Rees, chairman of the Committee of Education and Special Training, knew that colleges and universities would be displeased and thus relied upon their patriotism and need for federal financial support. "The problem [of the SATC] is a new one," Rees admitted, "and calls for inventiveness and adaptability as well as that of the spirit of cooperation which the colleges have already so abundantly shown."[18]

Boyd and his administrative colleagues knew that the War Department would continue essentially to manage college campuses for the duration of the conflict in Europe. Over 100,000 soldiers would be housed and trained at one hundred universities and colleges. Each school had to find temporary accommodations for these men, which

16. Robert L. Kelley to Boyd, August 1, 1918, Lindsey Papers; Memorandum of "Harris, Acting Adjutant General," Presidio, San Francisco, California, August 22, 1918, *ibid.*; Robert E. Vinson to Boyd, August 22, 1918, *ibid.*; "Students' Army Training Corps, Special Regulations," n.d., *ibid.*

17. Boyd to R. C. McLaurin, August 26, 1918, Lindsey Papers.

18. Memorandum of Colonel Robert I. Rees, Chairman, Committee on Education and Special Training to "The Colleges of the United States," August 28, 1918, Lindsey Papers.



World War I brought an atmosphere of military preparedness to the University of New Mexico campus, as indicated by troops standing at attention outside Hodgin Hall. Courtesy of Special Collections, Zimmerman Library.

often meant excluding students from campus dormitories and fraternity houses. The SATC offered to pay one dollar daily for subsistence and housing per soldier, from which schools could apply seventy to eighty cents for tuition. The War Department had final authority on courses of instruction, faculty, and duration of contracts with each college. In return, institutions could contribute to the war effort and prepare for the brave new world of higher education in the 1920s.[19]

One of the requirements made by the War Department just prior to UNM's opening was inclusion of a three-credit course, titled "War Issues," for all SATC participants. The army wished to "enhance the morale of the members of the Corps by giving them an understanding of what the war is about and of the supreme importance to civilization of the cause for which we are fighting." Subject matter would include "the remote and immediate causes of the war," along with "the underlying conflict or points of view as expressed in the governments, philosophies, and literature of the various states on both sides of the struggle." SATC students, heretofore advised that World War I hinged upon technology, would now learn that "this is a war of ideas." Universities would be free to integrate disciplines to reflect this emphasis on ideology and stress the value of English composition to prepare soldiers to express themselves clearly. "The aim of the course," said the SATC, "should be to present facts rather than propaganda," so that "the issues of the war [became] a living reality to each man."[20]

As SATC students arrived at UNM late in September 1918, the rational tone of the War Department memoranda degenerated into a logistical nightmare, creating chaotic conditions which UNM shared with other schools. "We need someone to instruct us definitely and in detail relative to what is wanted," Boyd complained to SATC officials in Austin, Texas. UNM had planned its vocational curriculum, only to learn that the War Department would authorize no new programs, and that UNM's technical students would have to go elsewhere. Supplies for the soldiers trickled in at an agonizingly slow rate. Rifles purchased from Russia, which had recently surrendered to Germany, replaced American-made Winchesters for many UNM students. The Army also rejected the university's request for reimbursement for construction of temporary barracks and classrooms, since UNM could dispose of these facilities after the war and keep the proceeds. Without enough doctors

19. *Ibid.*

20. Memorandum of Lieutenant Colonel Grenville Clark, War Plans Division, U.S. War Department, to "Institutions where Units of the Student Army Training Corps are located," September 10, 1918, Lindsey Papers.

to examine enlistees, the various SATC units had to hire contract physicians at $150 per month. Finally, ten days before the opening of school, the War Department called upon UNM and other institutions to create by October 3 a two-year program in chemical technology, whose students need not be burdened with the full complement of "allied subjects."[21]

The chaos of the SATC program echoed across campus as Boyd attempted to maintain some semblance of college life for the students (mostly women) who did not participate in wartime activities. Every conceivable aspect of community life suffered from the dislocation of war. Mrs. Walther (Elizabeth) Simpson, the wife of a tuberculosis patient, accepted a position in the fall of 1918 as instructor of home economics, which soon thereafter included management of the dining hall. As she neared her one hundredth birthday in 1988, Mrs. Simpson recalled how difficult it had been for her family to travel to Albuquerque by rail, as the military had commandeered most rolling stock for transportation of men and supplies. The statewide political conventions of both the Republicans and Democrats were held in Albuquerque that summer, and the attendees laid claim to all available hotel rooms. Families were moving to town in anticipation of war work or enrollment in the SATC, while tubercular patients like her husband had to take over housing of other patients once they died.[22]

The financial pressure caused by the volatility of war occupied much of the time of Boyd and the UNM regents that year. Any extra funds tempted the administration to expand the temporary quarters for the SATC unit before receiving formal approval. Much of the fall and spring terms were given over to a search for reimbursement, first from the federal government and then the state. When the National Guard camp closed at UNM and the troops left for Europe, the state of New Mexico refused to sell the buildings to UNM, instead auctioning them to the public. To get SATC funds and keep its doors open, UNM estimated that it needed $19,650 for barracks and training equipment. The regents asked the Albuquerque Chamber of Commerce, which had organized the wartime "University Cooperation Committee," to help UNM approach the New Mexico State Council of Defense (NMSCD)

21. Boyd to Major Strack, Inspecting Officer, September 15, 1918, *ibid.*; Telegram of "Dooley," Committee on Educational and Special Training, to Boyd, September 20, 1918, *ibid.*; Telegram of "Committee on Education," to Boyd, September 18, 1918, *ibid.*; McLaurin to Boyd, September 20, 1918, *ibid.*

22. Interview with Mrs. Walter (Elizabeth) Simpson, Albuquerque, New Mexico, February 12, 1988.

for aid. Aldo Leopold, chamber secretary and later famous as an advocate of environmental conservation, offered to travel to Santa Fe to bolster UNM's case. The NMSCD transferred ownership of the camp to the university but also informed Leopold and Boyd that proper training facilities would cost $35,000, nearly double the original estimate.[23]

The circus atmosphere at UNM moved from the administration building to the campus at large once classes started on October 1. No one could anticipate the impact of the new curriculum, nor the instability felt by servicemen awaiting impending calls to duty. One week later the war finally came home to UNM as students contracted the virulent strain of "Spanish influenza" transported from Europe by returning soldiers. Millions died worldwide, especially in war-torn areas of Europe. While UNM suffered no fatalities, the university remained closed until November, and students were quarantined in town until December 2. The fall semester, never orderly in its planning or implementation, was essentially lost at UNM.[24]

No sooner had students in the SATC program and the dormitories returned than word came of the conclusion of hostilities. Boyd cancelled classes for those in attendance on Armistice Day (November 11), so that UNM students, faculty, and staff could go downtown to join in the celebration. Once the cheering stopped, however, Boyd realized that wartime programs and enrollment would also cease. Most SATC students, especially those without high school degrees, wanted to return home immediately. UNM believed that the army would pay for a full term's tuition, room, and board, so Boyd allowed them to leave, though not without an aggressive retention effort for the older students. This also invalidated the new curriculum, with its emphasis on science, engineering, military drill, and the "War Issues Course" that Lynn B. Mitchell, dean of arts and sciences and professor of Greek and Latin, had hurriedly organized in September.[25]

For UNM, like many other universities nationwide, World War I had benefits that outweighed the crisis atmosphere. Students who had never contemplated a college education had moved to a university campus, attended classes, and learned of the potential benefits that

23. Regents' Minutes, August 27, 1918, pp. 186–87, 189.

24. Albuquerque *Evening Herald*, October 7, 1918; Dorothy Hughes, *Pueblo on the Mesa* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1939), 138–39.

25. Regents' Minutes, November 14, 1918, p. 216.

higher learning could bring. Faculty who survived the strain of curriculum changes and peripatetic enrollments found that new opportunities developed for research and instruction. Government and businesses turned to academics to collect and analyze data for a wide range of public and private issues. Since colleges had the largest pools of well-educated experts, after 1918 they assumed the relationship that medieval monks had to European princes: that of the trusted advisor; the learned skeptic; and the skillful technician.[26]

By 1919 the university understood well the volatility that wartime conditions could bring. President Boyd moved to capitalize upon the services that UNM had rendered to the state and the nation during the war years. Among his plans were broad changes in the structure of the institution, as well as major increases in state appropriations to pay for them. The more conservative nature of the New Mexico state legislature, however, restricted Boyd's dreams, as did the faltering economy of the immediate postwar era. When the lawmakers rejected his call for doubling the university's funding, leaving UNM with less than it had received in 1915, Boyd announced his resignation, effective July 1919.

As Boyd prepared his last report to the state superintendent for public instruction that spring, he contemplated the meaning of the war years upon the campus and upon himself. "Were I your age," he told long-time chemistry professor John D. Clark, "I would not resign, [for] the task of building up this institution again is going to be great." Even with the uncertain enrollments of the SATC, Boyd had seen UNM grow from ninety-nine students when he arrived in 1912 to a fall term of 1918 with 431 students. The war had democratized the campus by making students more serious and practical, as evidenced by the enlistment of 395 current and former students and faculty members. The university had shown its willingness to serve the state and nation in times of crisis, and Boyd's hope was for UNM to be ready for the new world that beckoned beyond.[27]

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26. David O. Levine, *The American College and the Culture of Aspiration, 1915–1940* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1985), 23–32.

27. John D. Clark to Edward Everett Dale, March 15, 1943, Edward Everett Dale Collection, box 212, folder 1, Western History Collections, University of Oklahoma, Norman; David Ross Boyd, UNM Annual Report to the State Superintendent of Public Instruction, 1919, pp. 27–28.