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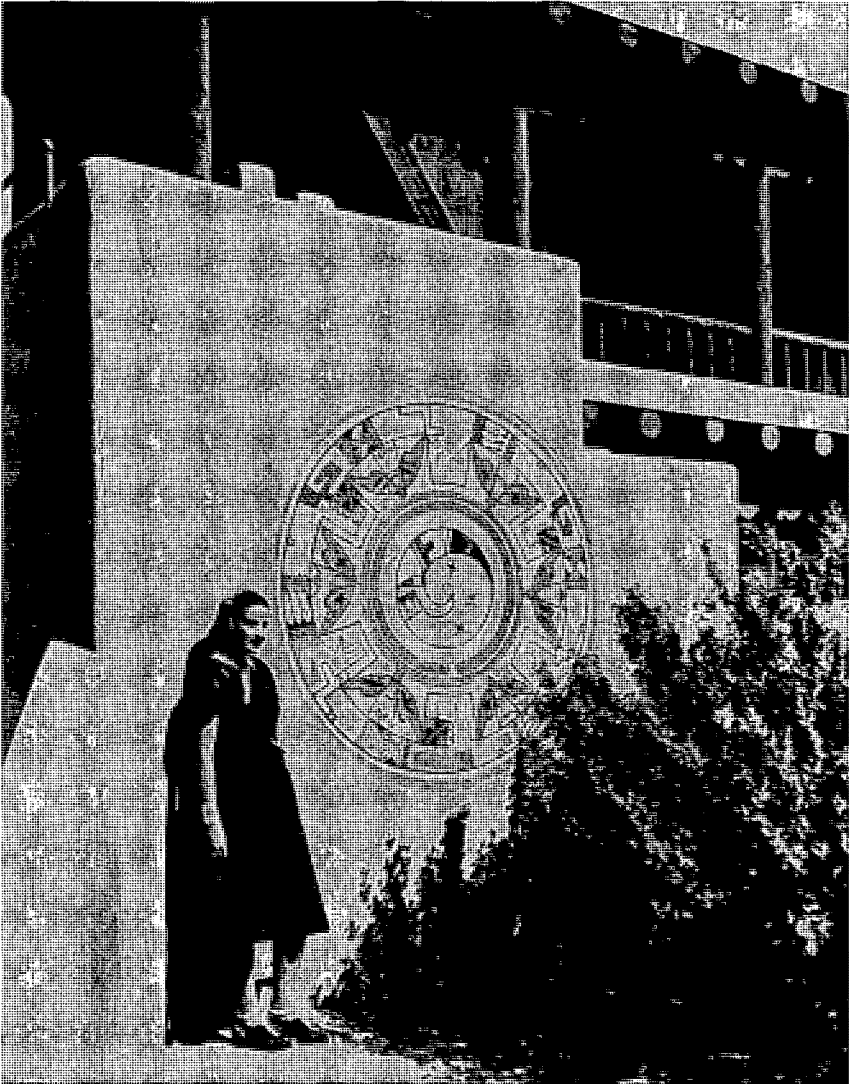
Often Out of Sight, Rarely Out of Mind: Race and Ethnicity at the University of New Mexico, 1889–1927

MICHAEL WELSH

Striding to the podium on 8 November 1990, as the sixteenth person to lead the University of New Mexico (UNM), Richard E. Peck contemplated his transition from the vice-presidency of academic affairs at Arizona State University to the presidency of New Mexico's flagship institution for higher learning. Whether Roderick Stover in 1889 or Gerald May ten decades later, all UNM chief executives had struggled with the intricacies of New Mexican public schooling. These included variables of isolation, distance, a modest economic base, and few large urban centers to employ the graduates of a comprehensive, graduate research facility. UNM shared these factors with other universities, but one issue separated Peck and his predecessors from the rest of American higher education. From the day UNM opened its doors in the summer of 1892, administrators of the Albuquerque campus confronted the dilemma of ethnic inclusion versus exclusion. This quandary contrasted with the legal or customary segregation facing blacks, Hispanos, Indians, Asians, Jews, and women at nearly all major public institutions until the compulsory democratization of academia in the 1960s.

For those listening to the first public address of the new president, Peck's words touched upon contemporary and historical patterns of UNM; a flagship institution with the highest percentage of minority students and faculty in the nation. Peck, an English professor and accomplished screenwriter, often turned his remarks to history, citing the lessons learned from the land grant schools of the Midwest and the European centers of medieval learning. He articulated his hopes, declar-

Michael Welsh is an associate professor of history at the University of Northern Colorado.



Hokona Hall, girls' dormitory at the University of New Mexico, ca. 1915.
Photograph courtesy of Center for Southwest Research, neg. no. 000-003-0098.

ing that UNM "should, and will become a 'University for the Americas'... a center for teaching, research, and public service." Peck wished to build upon what he called "our reputation as the place to study the American Southwest." He deemed New Mexico's "culture, demographics, and physical environment" as essential in the shaping of three great goals for the institution: "Programs which have some relationship to our location in the Southwest; . . . strengths in science and engineering; . . . [and] a University for the Americas."¹

The irony of Peck's comments that autumn afternoon in Albuquerque was that the institution had often tried prior to his arrival to define and implement programs consonant with New Mexico's rich tradition of ethnic interaction. From its origins in the isolated, rural Southwest of the Gilded Age, to its embrace of the nationalizing trends of World War II, to the reassessments prompted by the post-cold war 1990s, UNM vacillated among the competing forces of a complex racial and ethnic society. Why Richard Peck had to renew the call for "una Universidad para las Americas," and to quote at length from an earlier plan elaborated in 1912 by Edward Gray, said much about the lessons to be learned from the efforts of UNM to meet its obligations to the citizenry of the state. It also reminded students about the limitations that race posed when the university did not incorporate all voices, nor provided enough choices for a state whose public school population within a generation would be comprised of 60 percent Hispano and Indian youth.²

In his installation speech, Peck's references to Latin American studies reveal the problems that he had already encountered in the search process for his position. Hispano legislators and pressure groups proclaimed their discontent over the exclusion of Hispano candidates from the pool of presidential finalists, citing the opportunity of UNM to speak to a new vision of the state by hiring one of their own, rather than someone from somewhere else who did not share their values or priorities. Peck acknowledged this issue in his address, noting that the quest for ethnic harmony would be contentious. He discussed at some length about how a Latin American initiative would move UNM further toward racial harmony and academic respectability, and he hinted that his energies would focus south of the border rather than solely in New Mexico. The most that Peck mentioned in reference to the challenge of race and ethnicity in his new home was a brief suggestion that as part of a new "core curriculum," he would "encourage the faculty to consider [as a] possibility . . . the historic and current culture of New Mexico and the North American Southwest."³

A good place to begin such an inventory of the centrality of regional identity at UNM might be the vaunted "otherworldliness" of New Mexico, heralded in song, story, and advertising slogans since the late nineteenth century. The United States system of higher education had

formed among English-speaking dwellers of the Atlantic seaboard and the Ohio Valley, not in the deserts and mountains of the Southwest. Their efforts to graft a "classical" European education onto an essentially frontier society based upon traditions of competition and individualism often clashed with the family and community orientation of Native American and Hispano New Mexico. Compounding this was the ambiguous premise of American higher learning: to uplift the masses in a democratic society while ensuring a meritocracy of the learned and, some would say, the privileged. This may have contributed to territorial governor Lew Wallace (1878–1881) declaring, perhaps apocryphally: "Every calculation based on experience elsewhere, fails in New Mexico."⁴

Statistical data for nineteenth-century New Mexico reveals much about the difficulties facing the ambitious United States as it transported its conventions and beliefs to a region long familiar with ethnic complexity and the imperative of accommodation. In 1846, when the United States Army ventured down the Santa Fe Trail, the area now called the "Land of Enchantment" had only 300 United States citizens, most of them adult male merchants and traders. The first United States census to include New Mexico found 61,500 "non-Indians" (nearly all Hispano), and 45,000 Native Americans spread over 235,000 square miles comprising the present states of New Mexico and Arizona. In 1847, the first state constitutional convention convened in Santa Fe. The predominantly Hispano delegates asked Congress to create a system of public instruction that would permit New Mexican youth to acquire the benefits of Anglo-American life. In 1871, however, only 8 percent of New Mexican children attended schools of any kind, and it would be two more decades before the territorial legislature received permission from the nation's lawmakers to create its own publicly financed network of schools.⁵

Students of New Mexican educational history equate not only race but religion with the early denials of access to the concepts of Anglo learning. Jane C. Atkins, author of a 1982 prize-winning UNM dissertation, detected a Protestant bias against the predominantly Catholic faith of the Hispano population. William G. Ritch, a Wisconsin native appointed territorial secretary in 1873, told his superiors in Washington that Catholicism was rife with "superstition," and that "the Church wanted to keep its communicants ignorant." Ritch voiced the sentiments of the notorious "Santa Fe Ring" of merchants, lawyers, landowners, and federal officials of New Mexico's Gilded Age who saw little value in uplifting the masses when the territory's resources and labor provided the "Ring" with economic and political opportunity. Not until the arrival in the 1880s of the transcontinental railroad did competing ideas of economic development touch New Mexico. Even then, the focus upon Anglo superiority would go unquestioned. One example was the pronounce-

ment of William Hazeldine, a judge in the small community of New Albuquerque, east of the heavily Hispano Old Town along the Rio Grande. He spoke at the ceremony in April 1880 honoring the completion of the rail line from Kansas City to central New Mexico, remarking that its presence meant that “knowledge, education, and advancement and progress shall be the right of our people.”⁶

Hazeldine’s prediction came true within months of the opening of New Mexico to rapid transportation to and from the East. One of the earliest educators to step off the train was Charles E. Hodgkin, a young Quaker from Indiana who would teach for twelve years (1885–1897) in the Albuquerque Public Schools (APS), and then serve UNM for the next 28 years (1897–1925) in a variety of capacities. Retiring with the old UNM administration building named in his honor, Hodgkin was painfully honest about the multicultural world revolving around Albuquerque. In a 1907 letter to a friend in Terre Haute, Indiana, he wrote that teaching in the New Mexican town was “the hardest work of my life.” While conditions were typical of most frontier locales (isolation, distance, a transient population, and poverty), Hodgkin considered ethnicity to be his greatest challenge in New Mexico. He labored to “bring system out of a chaotic and cosmopolitan condition,” which he attributed to the amalgamation in his classes of “Mexicans, Indians, Negroes, Chinamen, etc., along with representatives of the more highly developed nationalities.”⁷

Without knowing it, the venerable Hodgkin described one of the ironies of New Mexican ethnic history, and one which historians have yet to address in much detail: how modernization only exacerbated the class and ethnic differences in the territory. Nowhere was this more apparent than in the “Duke City” of the late nineteenth century. Since the days of the fur trappers and traders, the Hispano elite, known as “ricos,” had joined with Anglo newcomers to secure economic advantage from the growing urban–industrial society of the East. New Mexican scholars write often about tension between the races, but less so about the alliance of Hispano and Anglo in the making of the Gilded Age economy. This led to an interesting debate in the territorial legislature in the winter of 1888–89, as the young Irish lawyer Bernard S. Rodey introduced legislation to create the first New Mexican network of higher education. Upon the official “reading” of the “Omnibus Bill,” several Hispano lawmakers realized that Anglo–dominated communities had secured the choice facilities: Las Cruces for the land–grant school (the future New Mexico State University) and Albuquerque for the liberal arts campus.

Aware of the need to build ethnic coalitions with the normally Republican Hispano elite, the Democrat Rodey had suggested locating a territorial “normal school” (teacher’s college) in the heavily Hispano community of Bernalillo, twenty miles north of Albuquerque and thirty miles south of the capital city of Santa Fe. Northern New Mexican repre-

sentatives, however, requested their own teacher training institutions, with the preferred choice being the small town of Los Ojos, near the Rio Arriba County seat of Tierra Amarilla. Albuquerque's Hispano contingent in the legislature joined with other territorial lawmakers to defeat these measures. They called for the location of UNM either near the "Old Town" area or in the village of Barelás, both of which offered proximity to the heavily Hispano farming communities of the South Valley.⁸

Selection of land on the east mesa some five miles from Old Town as the future home of UNM reflected the growing power of Anglo Albuquerque, especially the merchant class that owed its existence to the Santa Fe Railroad. Section one of the final version of Rodey's omnibus bill stated that the territorial university would be located "within two miles north of Railroad [later Central] Avenue . . . upon a tract of good high and dry land, of not less than twenty acres." Concerns had been expressed not only about Old Town's proximity to Hispano neighborhoods, but also about flooding in the low-lying reaches of the Rio Grande Valley. In addition, proponents of urban growth had targeted the land east of the railroad depot, with housing already appearing in the "Huning Highlands" area between the depot and the new home of New Mexican higher education. By placing an Anglo institution near the confines of "New Town," the lawmakers tacitly agreed that the economic future of the territory would follow patterns of ethnic and racial division along with the more easily explained factors of environment and geography.⁹

As in most western states, middle-class New Mexicans hoped that the establishment of colleges and universities would somehow bridge the chasm between the industrializing East and the realities of home. The territorial legislature compounded the problems of ethnic competition by adding within the next ten years three additional institutions of higher education: teachers colleges in Las Vegas (the future New Mexico Highlands University) and Silver City (Western New Mexico University), and the New Mexico Military Institute (NMMI) in Roswell. Too few tax dollars and too many schools, the bane of many western states and territories, denied UNM enough funding to guarantee a center of intellectual and professional excellence, even if the lawmakers had wanted to transcend the racial disparities of New Mexico.

Evidence of the consequences of New Mexican history on the struggle to provide equality in higher education appeared in 1927, when Virgil Roy Gunn, a graduate student at the University of Chicago, came to the state to study the demographic and geopolitical forces shaping its public life. Citing census data from 1890, Gunn found that while the nation as a whole had 21.1 people per square mile, New Mexico had but 1.3 persons; a figure totally inadequate to generate the critical mass of revenue and appreciation for higher learning that one found in the industrial crescent from Baltimore to Boston to Minneapolis. Forty per-

cent of all Americans by 1900, wrote Gunn, lived in cities and towns of 2,500 or more, while a mere 14 percent of New Mexicans did so. As late as 1920, when the nation officially became "urban" (51.4 percent), resulting in major shifts of political and economic power from the farm to the city, New Mexico still remained 82 percent rural, with only one community (Albuquerque) possessing more than 20,000 people.¹⁰

Of course Edmund G. Ross, territorial governor, could not know in the late 1880s the significance of the data discovered a generation later by Gunn. Yet Ross had to act upon the economic and ethnic realities that Gunn's research outlined. When departing governor Ross signed the omnibus bill on 28 February 1889, he recognized the ethnic and class-based conditions of territorial New Mexico by naming as regents four Anglo males and one Hispano male. The latter, Mariano S. Otero, came from a prominent territorial family that included Miguel Otero, Senior, New Mexico's first Hispano delegate to Congress, and Miguel Otero, Junior, the only Hispano governor of the Anglo-dominated territorial era. Three other Hispanos had been nominated by Ross's successor, Governor L. Bradford Prince: J.R. Armijo, Thomas C. Gutiérrez, and N.T. Armijo, all of Albuquerque. Mariano Otero also emerged as the first president of the UNM board of regents, making him the nation's first Hispano so designated in higher education.¹¹

Mariano Otero and company devoted the first three years of their terms as regents to planning and construction of a modest physical plant on the high bluffs overlooking the Rio Grande. By the spring of 1892, local citizens had become anxious about the opening of the territorial university and pressured the regents to begin credit programs downtown in June of that year for schoolteachers in a public school system which was itself only one year old. Word of the school's existence spread quickly in the small town of 4,500 people, and the first UNM class of 70 pupils included five Hispanos. Among them was Atanascio Montoya, destined in 1896 to become UNM's first Hispano graduate, then to be hired in the Spanish language department as its first Hispano faculty member. Montoya would eventually serve as superintendent of public instruction for the state of New Mexico. Other notable students attending that first session in rooms rented from the Congregational Church's private "Albuquerque Academy" included Charles Hodgkin, the principal of the newly opened Albuquerque High School; and Robert Menaul, son of John Menaul, the founder of the Albuquerque Indian School and the Presbyterian Menaul School for young Hispano males. Ethnic realities dictated that the first UNM course catalogue be printed in Spanish and English, but the direction of the territory towards an Anglo-defined future was apparent in the core curriculum course offerings: Latin, Greek, mathematics, and English composition and literature.¹²

In order to ensure the continuity of the new curriculum, the regents employed Hiram Hadley in 1894 as the first "vice president of the faculty," who had held a similar position at Las Cruces's New Mexico College of Agricultural Arts, until his dismissal with the change of political administrations in Santa Fe. Before coming to the Southwest, Hadley had operated in Richmond, Indiana, the "Hadley Normal Academy," that Hodgkin had once attended. Hadley promised the UNM regents that he would provide the necessary sophistication that New Mexico sorely needed, but he ran afoul of students lacking traditional learning, not to mention parents unwilling to admit the weaknesses of their offspring. Hadley, however, did not blame the Anglo youth for their transgressions. Instead he echoed the sentiments of his former pupil, Hodgkin, writing in 1897 to regent Frank W. Clancy: "Under a pressure to take in everything that applied, especially if they were Mexicans, I spent very nearly one-half of my energies last year in teaching two Mexicans who scarcely belonged in the third grade of a Common School."¹³

It would be easy to cite Hadley's private correspondence with a UNM regent as proof of the parallels between New Mexico and the nation in matters of learning and race. Unfortunately, the Wallace cliché about the state's differences may also work in reverse. Hadley had to confront not only the reality of Hispano youth as potential students, but he also had to respond to the needs of a territory and region that underwent the same circuitous process of "Americanization" as Albuquerque. In 1896, when the regents asked the "vice-president of the faculty" for evidence of UNM's commitment to educational advancement, Hadley proudly reported the success of the Spanish program at his small school. By hiring Montoya, UNM had an instructor noted for his "very efficient and satisfactory" teaching. In addition, word of UNM's nascent expertise in Spanish-language instruction spread far and wide, as Hadley entertained correspondence from school superintendents throughout the region seeking a UNM graduate to teach their Hispano students. Whether cynical or disingenuous, Hadley proclaimed to the UNM governing board in language echoing later pronouncements of the university's commitment to economic development: "It is doubtful whether any other [academic program] offers greater commercial value than Spanish."¹⁴

This acknowledgement of the realities of New Mexico's ethnic diversity had another manifestation in 1897 when President William McKinley selected Miguel A. Otero, Junior, as territorial governor. Otero would sit on the UNM board of regents *ex-officio* because of his status as governor. He was not only New Mexico's first Hispanic chief executive under United States rule, but Otero also championed the new political philosophy of "Progressivism," a concept that originated among the young, urban, professional classes of eastern and midwestern cities.

Progressivism addressed problems caused by rapid growth of business and industry, especially their exacerbation of class and racial differences between rich and poor. Non-partisan professionals, in the eyes of these progressive young reformers, applied principles of "efficiency and economy" to the demands of the day, to provide all citizens with an improved standard of living and work. Convinced that New Mexico had to free itself from the dead hand of the Santa Fe Ring and ambivalent about his own mixed racial background, Otero decided to employ as UNM's president a young professor of geology from the University of Chicago, Clarence Herrick. Considered a rising star in his field, Herrick came to UNM primarily because he suffered from tuberculosis, a respiratory disease that brought so many Anglos westward for the "cure" of clean air, high altitude, and lack of industrial pollution.¹⁵

Herrick and Otero brought to UNM a focus on race and ethnicity more sympathetic than the Social Darwinist sentiments of Hadley and Hodgin. The historian David O. Levine confronted this issue when he asked of the late-nineteenth century: "Was democratic higher learning a contradiction in terms?" Herrick, whose curriculum vita included over 130 books and articles on geology and biology, assumed from Otero's queries that New Mexicans wanted from UNM "adherence to the conventional and universally accepted standards of the best Eastern colleges." Yet Herrick also conceded that few New Mexicans of any ethnic background were ready for a college career. His university, then, "would continue to assist so far as possible such students [that enrolled] with deficiencies in preparation." Within a year of making these promises, Herrick received from Manuel C de Baca, Otero's superintendent for public instruction, a request for information about UNM's delivery of services to the territory's diverse student population. "It has been the privilege of the faculty," wrote Herrick, "to demonstrate that the youth of New Mexico are not less capable or less ambitious than their comrades in other and older colleges." If the territory continued to support the initiatives of Otero for economic growth, Herrick believed that "there will soon be no excuse for any schools in the territory remaining without a competent and specially trained teacher." To that end, the UNM president promised C de Baca: "The steady advance [made] by the native people [the typical reference of the late nineteenth century for Hispanos] is now reaching a point where they are able to take advantage of the opportunities offered by the University."¹⁶

Those "opportunities" would mean little, thought Herrick and Otero, if the territory did not gain self-government in the form of statehood and self-sufficiency in the form of development of its natural resources. Herrick and his successor to the UNM presidency, William G. Tight (1901-09), focused their energies not on inclusion of ethnic groups on the campus, but upon Otero's larger goal of modernizing New Mexico to



Aurelio Espinosa at the Coronado Quarto Centennial, ca. 1940. Photograph courtesy of Center for Southwest Research, neg. no. 000-048-0063.

appeal to outside investors, migrants in search of a better life, and federal officials suspicious of the ability of the territory's "majority of minorities." Otero himself in 1901 rankled Hispano leaders with support of the "Springer School Law," requiring public school teachers to be competent in English as well as Spanish. C de Baca opposed Otero on this measure, as he feared that it would deprive small villages in northern New Mexico of their only source of instruction. Otero, however, prevailed. The Springer bill created the territorial board of education, whose members included the presidents of the five institutions of higher learning. The "Americanization" of New Mexican students thus accelerated. With schools like UNM required to provide better professional qualifications for teacher training graduates, the territory also guaranteed this performance through the granting of instructional certificates.¹⁷

By the early 1900s, then, the issue of race and ethnicity had become entrenched, and the participants in the debate rarely could predict its consequences. The best evidence of this was the commitment by President Tight to redesign the campus architectural plan around his personal vision of adobe style, even as he hired faculty and promoted course development that prepared students for twentieth-century urban-industrial careers. As a professional geologist, Tight rode by carriage around the Southwest taking pictures of the striking adobe structures of the Pueblo Indians. UNM's president had become enamored of their clean lines, otherworldly form, and inexpensive construction. Tight also learned of the emergent movement in art towards "primitivism" that had

found a home in the eastern expatriate art colonies of Santa Fe and Taos, which promoted Native American expression in painting and architecture as a challenge to the conventions of Victorian taste and design. Hodgkin, who found little of value in the racial realities of boomtown Albuquerque, declared Tight's quest for a unifying architectural aesthetic on the UNM campus as "a new-old style which would make the University absolutely distinctive." Hodgkin, who came to know Tight well, praised him for being "absorbed with this prospect of breaking away from the common-place."¹⁸

Much has been written about the commitment of President Tight to the adobe revival on the UNM campus. He and his assistant Edward Cristy devoted long hours to the proper design criteria for the buildings appearing on the east mesa. Among these were the electric powerhouse, the "estufa" (the meeting room of the Phi Kappa Alpha fraternity), a performing arts facility (Rodey Hall), and two dormitories, which Tight fancifully named "Kwataka" and "Hokona," which he translated as "Pueblo" for "Man-Eagle" and "Virgin Butterfly," respectively. Less is known of Tight's endorsement in 1907 of the "Indigent Students Act." Each territorial lawmaker could nominate one student from their district for financial aid to a New Mexican college of their choice, as could each county commissioner. The legislature provided two hundred dollars per student, and institutions could "share" available positions if a student left school. This legislation helped increase in Hispano enrollment. The lawmakers also created in 1909 the "Spanish-American Normal School," dedicated to preparation of teachers in the heart of Hispano northern New Mexico. Tight took great pride in hiring Aurelio Espinosa, a 1902 graduate of UNM, for the department of languages. Espinosa, who would one day chair the modern languages department at Stanford University, wrote a play for Tight's newly created "Language Series" on faculty research. The UNM president used Espinosa's play, "Los Comanches," as evidence of the increasing quality of his faculty, informing the regents in 1908 that the native of Del Norte, Colorado, had "already attracted worldwide attention," with distribution of 1,100 copies of the play within months of its initial publication.¹⁹

Espinosa would play a less auspicious role in the drama of race and ethnicity, as President Tight fell victim in 1909 to the argument that ethnic diversity retarded New Mexico's advancement. Tight supposedly alienated many Anglo (and some Hispano) members of the Albuquerque community by suggesting that UNM should reflect primitive and heathen cultural dimensions, not modern taste. More likely, Tight had not given UNM the aura of sophistication that some leaders sought as New Mexico moved inexorably toward statehood. This struggle reached its apogee in 1909 with the selection of Edward Dundas McQueen Gray to replace Tight as UNM's chief executive. A tuberculosis sufferer who

had moved in the 1880s from his native England to the Pecos Valley to invest in the agricultural "boom" of the Carlsbad Irrigation District, Gray possessed a glittering résumé of awards and degrees from England, including a doctorate from the University of London. Hugh M. Bryan, the son of UNM regent R. W. D. Bryan and himself a future Rhodes scholar, spoke in later years of Gray as "one obsessed to learn" and willing to "stand the necessary grind of constant study." Bryan also remembered the austere British academic as irritated that "so few students admitted a zeal for knowledge," and that UNM's "classroom work failed to attain his idea of accuracy."²⁰

Gray moved quickly to accelerate UNM's intellectual advancement, releasing faculty whom he believed did not contribute to the rigor and standards he had known in Europe. One such casualty was Espinosa, who had approached Gray in March 1910 seeking an increase in salary and an appropriation for library purchases of Spanish language titles needed for his research on "Spanish Dialectology and Folklore." Gray imperiously informed Espinosa that his research on New Mexican folkways was parochial, and that Espinosa was unfit to teach even the introductory Spanish and French courses that he had offered since 1902. As the first Hispano faculty member at UNM to earn a doctorate (University of Chicago, cum laude, 1909), Espinosa recoiled from the pettiness of Gray's actions and words. "It is the most vile and malicious, false insult," Espinosa told regent James Wroth, "that I have ever received, from a man who occupied such a noble position as his." In attempting to retain his position, Espinosa submitted to the regents his publications, which included his play "Los Comanches," a third-year college Spanish textbook, and his dissertation on New Mexican Spanish linguistics, published both by UNM and by a German press. To Espinosa's amazement, the regents upheld Gray's refusal to offer him a contract, and the UNM president seemed unfazed when Stanford University hired Espinosa the following year to chair their department of modern languages.²¹

Purging UNM of the "provincial" nature of New Mexican scholarship fit Gray's larger plan to uplift the territorial institution; a decision that also postponed Tight's dream of a unified campus architectural design. Gray followed the firing of Espinosa with a declaration to the regents that no new facilities would be built in the Pueblo style. This action outraged the UNM Alumni Association, whose secretary William B. Wroth sought opinions from its membership about the merits of Tight's initiative. "Do you believe that the Pueblo Architecture," said the son of regent James Wroth, "is advantageous to the development of the greater university and most characteristic of our Great Southwest?" Regent Bryan solicited the advice of Edgar Lee Hewett, director of the Santa Fe-based School of American Archeology (later renamed the School of American Research). Bryan hoped that Hewett, a proponent of native cultural

forms and an archeologist of some renown, could mobilize the Santa Fe art colony to bring national pressure upon Gray, whom he described as "a talented and cultured gentleman" who found it "difficult . . . to see anything meritorious in any strictly American production." Gray preferred the "mission" style of architecture that became popular in southern California in the 1880s after the arrival of the railroad and tourism. The UNM president admired the more ornate, sweeping lines of this style, as well as its mythical evocation of Spanish nobility and grandeur. Bryan, perhaps foretelling the "Pueblo-Deco" style of John Gaw Meem on the UNM campus, hoped that a successful defense of regional design might one day inspire a young architect to "produce an entirely new and distinctive architectural type which would be notable, truly American and absolutely beautiful." This in turn would silence Gray and other critics of the campus master plan, whom Bryan believed saw "such architecture [turning] for inspiration to barbarism," and who claimed that the "whole idea [was] belittling for the head of the educational system of the Territory."²²

Edward Gray struggled for three years with the dynamics of race and ethnicity at UNM. In 1912, with the grant of statehood, New Mexican political leaders discarded him as they had done Tight. It was somehow fitting that in his last months, Gray suggested a venture for UNM that was so novel that its content merits analysis as much for what it says about the journey of ethnic understanding at the university as it does the personal motives of Gray. In February 1912, one month after President William Howard Taft signed legislation bringing New Mexico into the Union, Gray published in the *UNM Bulletin* a paper entitled, "The Spanish Language in New Mexico: A National Resource." Gray noted: "The time is crucial, pregnant with issues which for weal or woe will undoubtedly affect the whole body of citizens." He knew that economic concerns shaped the vision of leaders in any new political endeavor. "Yet, to reckon among the resources of a State," the president warned, "those possessions alone which are called material, is to form but a partial estimate of the wealth of its inhabitants."²³

Almost as if his impending departure from UNM had opened his eyes, Gray advised his Anglo peers to assess one human resource, "the value of which had never been fully estimated, possibly never really apprehended." Gray contended that the bilingual talents of many New Mexicans had "often been made a matter of reproach . . . by many who had failed to comprehend its real value." Because of this, said the president who had fired Espinosa two years earlier, "the very possessors of [Spanish] themselves have frequently held it in small esteem." Then in a passage ironic for its day, Gray conceded: "The man equipped with two mother tongues is, along the lines of commercial effort and business life in general, doubly armed. . . . There is no foreign language, which

possesses so great a practical value for the American citizen as Spanish does." Summoning logic that still influences international relations, even as it escapes modern-day nativists, the English-born scholar prophesied that "the relations of the American commonwealth with the Spanish republics . . . are rapidly becoming the most important extra-national relations that the United States is forming or likely to form for many years to come."²⁴

To serve the collateral interests of the nation, New Mexico, and his university, Gray called upon the United States government to establish at UNM "a Spanish-American College." He found it troubling that federal funds subsidized what he called Indian "intellectual and educational progress," while the majority of Hispanos suffered what Gray termed "a gross injustice [to] a high-spirited and loyal people." By locating in Albuquerque a four-year school for the study of things Hispano, students from other parts of the country could immerse themselves in New Mexican folkways and culture prior to joining the diplomatic corps or the world of international trade. Gray questioned ambassadors from Brazil and Chile on the subject, and in 1910 he solicited President Taft's endorsement of the plan. In classic Progressive style, Gray closed his appeal to the federal government by calling for racial harmony in New Mexico to further such initiatives as his Spanish-American college. "A union of such character," he hoped, "would go far to obliterate the lines of division which have too long marred the fair face of our Sunshine State." In remarks that would haunt New Mexico throughout the twentieth century, Gray believed that the state, "in the opinion of all thinking men, must . . . stand or fall according to the manner in which the question of race and languages is handled by its citizens." If New Mexico chose the path of "liberality [and] kindness," it would thrive. To revert to the old pattern of "separation, jealousy, and distrust," however, guaranteed failure. "The right of the Spanish American," said Gray, "to the unrestricted development of his racial inheritance in language is incontestable." He wished for New Mexico's Hispanos "the freest concession of that right and the most generous grant of opportunity for its exercise."²⁵

Not surprisingly, reaction around New Mexico to Gray's newfound embrace of "Hispanidad" was mixed. On the national scene, his article in the *UNM Bulletin* (which Gray mailed far and wide) received dozens of responses from congressmen and senators, as well as from public officials in Washington and diplomats in Latin America. Funding for the Spanish-American College, however, was another matter. The New Mexico legislature, strapped for cash in the first years of statehood, could not underwrite the Spanish-American College. In Washington, the federal government watched with growing concern the impending war in Europe, and had no inclination to subsidize programs benefitting

a part of the world, Latin America, that posed little threat to national security. Finally, Gray sent his proposal to Frederick Taylor Gates, a program officer with the John D. Rockefeller Foundation in New York. Gray knew of the Rockefeller family's investments in Central and South America, and of its support for broadly conceived social programs on private college campuses. Unfortunately, Gates never responded to the Spanish-American College, and Gray left the UNM campus no more able to advance the cause of ethnic understanding than when he arrived.²⁶

Implementing self-government for New Mexico meant new leadership for its flagship university; leadership that would seek a balance of national and local experience in education, as well as fulfillment of the Americanizing principles of the Progressive Era. Thus the university regents replaced the gifted but troubled Gray with another midwesterner, David Ross Boyd. The latter had achieved some measure of fame as the first president of the University of Oklahoma, only to be fired when that state entered the union. A staunch Presbyterian, Boyd prevailed upon his church to appoint him "Superintendent of Education of the Women's Board for Home Missions." As such he coordinated the Presbyterians' network of mission schools in Puerto Rico, Cuba, the Appalachian Mountains, the Southwest, Utah, and Alaska.²⁷ Boyd's travels brought him often to New Mexico in the years 1908-12, where he visited Albuquerque's Menaul School, and Santa Fe's Allison School for Girls (later renamed the Allison-James School). Tiring of his lengthy sojourns by rail and horse-drawn carriage, Boyd engaged Albuquerque civic and political leaders in conversations regarding the replacement of Edward Gray.

These discussions bore fruit at a moment of change for the Southwest and for its ethnic groups. Boyd brought to UNM racial stereotypes that had emerged in his mission work. He told the regents upon his hiring that his duties would be hindered by the university's location in a state that was over 50 percent Hispano. Revealing a lack of understanding about the cultural realities of his new home, Boyd considered UNM a "weak and struggling institution" because Hispanos "are illiterate and very few of them [are] able to speak or understand the English language." As he had done while superintendent of the Presbyterian missions, Boyd immediately went on a tour of the teachers institutes, where New Mexican instructors gathered for brief sessions each summer to acquaint themselves with advances in their profession. These were often held in isolated locations, and attendees rarely had any college training, let alone certification from a four-year institution.²⁸

Boyd's missionary persona, replete with kindness and firmness, impressed Anglo New Mexicans who hoped for someone like him to reconcile the cultural dilemma they perceived as centering on language. From his work with the Presbyterians, Boyd knew that Hispanos were a poten-

tial source of enrollment in New Mexican schools, and they could serve as the basis of future growth for UNM if only they could be taught English. Boyd was no stranger to bilingual efforts in education, having written an article for the *Presbyterian Home Mission Monthly* on the topic: "Does It Pay to Teach the Mexicans." Katherine Birdsall, a member of the national mission board, congratulated Boyd on his appointment to UNM, and she cited this article as a harbinger of good times for New Mexico's ethnic groups. "Doubtless it will be an easy matter for you to dictate on a subject" that Birdsall called the "Mexican issue," which she believed, Boyd knew "so thoroughly." Leading Presbyterians in the state echoed Birdsall's sentiments, with one declaring after Boyd's visits to the teachers institutes: "In almost every instance where Mexican families showed improvement in home surroundings, and public spirit in the community, they have been trained in the mission schools . . . supported by our and other churches."²⁹

Like his predecessors, Boyd addressed the issue of regional style in the architectural design of UNM. Boyd chose the path of Tight in returning to the Pueblo form, yet he also understood Gray's repulsion at the primitivism of some New Mexican renditions of adobe architecture. The UNM president corresponded often about the campus master plan with Vernon Louis Parrington, a former Oklahoma professor of English who was fired along with Boyd in the "statehood purge" of 1908. Parrington, who would write a Pulitzer prize-winning series on American history, sympathized with Boyd's struggle to bring some order to ethnically diverse New Mexico. On one occasion Boyd informed Parrington, who was teaching English at the University of Washington, that the idea of Tight's Pueblo revival was "an excellent one," hindered only by the poor quality of construction and "a lack of adaptation," which Boyd identified as "too much imitation."

The new UNM president wanted Pueblo dormitories, dining halls, and "social halls," surrounding a quadrangle "with an effective addition of old Mission style of architecture." For that purpose, Boyd solicited the opinion of Beverly King, a prominent New York architect who was designing a "Spanish mission" science hall for the University of Denver. King praised Boyd for his "bold step in the right direction," as America had "so few traditions." Administrators like Boyd "should not only carefully preserve those [traditions] we have but seek to amplify and encourage them wherever possible." The New York architect came to Albuquerque to view the small campus, and interpreted its message as "purely American . . . lacking in certain emotional or spiritual refinement due entirely to the lack of education and feeling in those early days [the origins of the school]."³⁰

King's advice, plus Boyd's tours around New Mexico, led the UNM chief executive to champion in 1913 a competition for an "up-to-date landscape architect and town planner" to redefine the university's architectural statement to the community. The most notable respondent was Louis H. Sullivan, designer of some of the country's first skyscrapers. UNM's attempt to revive and modify Tight's Pueblo style "interested me greatly," Sullivan wrote to Bryan. While the Chicago architect knew of New Mexico's lack of funding for such a grand scheme, the indigenous cultural milieu offered any architect an opportunity for experimentation found nowhere else in America. "Your ideas impress me as running in the right direction," said Sullivan, and he asked for further information on the bid process for the UNM architecture contract.³¹

Boyd's travels into the New Mexican countryside inspired his call for adobe style on campus. Like Tight, these journeys also brought Boyd to the doorsteps of the famed art colonies of Santa Fe and Taos. Walking through the Taos studio of Bert Phillips, the UNM president described his work as revealing "those qualities which are being sought by the demand of awakening interest in distinctive American art." Boyd admired the talents of these expatriate easterners who exhibited the brilliance of European masters, but who went beyond the formalism of New York's "Hudson River School," as well as the pessimism of the urban-inspired "Ashcan School." The Four Corners area of the Southwest offered a uniquely American setting for artists, thought Boyd, who then told Phillips that UNM's Pueblo design might advertise the art colonies as much as their paintings could lure sophisticated migrants to New Mexico.³²

Unfortunately for Boyd, the more prosaic realities of student recruitment required inclusion of New Mexicans heretofore ignored or unprepared for the academic life of a liberal arts campus. As he did with the regional architectural plan, Boyd solicited advice from Anglos in northern New Mexico about the best means to attract Hispanics. The most unusual response, yet one that was revealing for the depth of feeling by Anglos toward New Mexico's ethnic majority, came from Clara True, co-owner of the Pajarito Ranch near Española. True had worked with the United States Indian Service, the forerunner of the modern-day Bureau of Indian Affairs, and agreed to help Boyd bring Hispanics to UNM if the president in turn recommended her for the position of assistant commissioner for Indian affairs. For True, the problem facing Hispanics of northern New Mexico was that the legislature had catered to them by creating the Spanish-American Normal School. The El Rito campus, she declared, was "a waste of good money," and "ought to be made a prepa-

ratory school for Mexicans." Its graduates then could be encouraged to attend UNM, and the opinionated former Indian affairs employee concluded: "If I were not a rancher and out of practice, I'd go after the work of licking some Spanish cubs into submission."³³

While True's aggressive recruiting style brought no students to UNM, Boyd's persistence and the Presbyterian network did have its effect upon campus numbers, curriculum and instruction. By 1915 he had prevailed upon the state legislature to finance new construction, which Boyd planned as a hybrid of adobe and mission forms. He also saw enrollment grow from the embarrassing number of 78 students that he had found in 1912 to 137 three years later. A lack of public anxiety about race and ethnicity led Boyd to believe that these issues had also been addressed to the satisfaction of New Mexicans. "This [UNM] probably will be my last important educational work," he wrote to J.O. Notestein of the College of Wooster, Boyd's alma mater in Ohio. He estimated that New Mexico was now almost equally balanced between Hispano and Anglo (180,000 each), and considered it "remarkable how well the two races [were] getting along." Leaders of both cultural groups had labored "studiously and very effectively . . . to allay and extinguish all race prejudice." Now the only source of ethnic tension resided among "the recent comers of both races, as we have some that come from Old Mexico, as well as Americans who come from other sections of our country."³⁴

Lifted by this sense of optimism, Boyd in 1915 also revived Gray's idea to create on campus a center for Latin American study. Ever willing to pursue national ideas for his institution, Boyd wished to take advantage of the curiosity engendered by successful completion of the Panama Canal in 1914, as well as confusion over the impact of the Mexican Revolution. Boyd thus hired UNM's first Latin American historian, Dr. Roscoe Hill, and called for creation of a "School of Latin American Affairs." Like Gray, Boyd saw New Mexico's Spanish-language realities as marketable, although only three Hispanos had enrolled out of 206 UNM students. Young Hispanos, Boyd hoped, would feel more comfortable at the university if their heritage were held in higher regard, and if UNM pursued the professional fields of business, diplomacy, and language. The university, moreover, would reap a windfall of positive national publicity. Across New Mexico, people would see that UNM did indeed exist, in Boyd's words, as "the servant of all the people."

Hill played an important role in that campaign, traveling to small Hispano villages to address parents in their native tongue about the new directions that UNM hoped to pursue. The *Albuquerque Evening Herald* gave Boyd the recognition he had sought when, after an appearance by Hill in Santa Rosa, it reported that the Latin American professor wanted to "awaken in Spanish-speaking people a realization of oppor-

tunity for higher education at UNM." Hispano attendees that evening "felt gratified that the University could and should send a speaker to address them in their own language." The *Albuquerque Evening Herald* reported no inconsistency in having a bilingual UNM professor recruit children of monolingual Hispano parents to come to a campus unsure of the place of ethnicity in its curriculum, hiring practices, or academic research.³⁵

As with earlier attempts to expand the campus ethnic base, UNM once again fell victim to national patterns of Americanization and rejection of difference when the war in Europe ensnared the United States. Levine theorized that World War I signalled a new era for American universities. Coursework shifted from the liberal arts and humanities to practical training in science, technology, and engineering. Historian Michael McGiffert detected on the nation's campuses a "sudden and gratifying prominence" emanating from such programs as the Student Army Training Corps (SATC).³⁶

Hundreds of young single males from around New Mexico and across the country enrolled at UNM during the war, with little or no time to promote anything like Hill's Hispano recruiting or Boyd's Latin American School. Other forces mitigating against ethnic study included the anti-German propaganda sweeping the nation, which led UNM to release a young instructor of the German language, John Gruner, because the New Mexico state chapter of the National Defense Council feared his influence over impressionable young men. Most telling was the redesign of the liberal arts curriculum under the heading of the "War Issues" course. Later to be known in the 1980s and 1990s as the oft-maligned "Western Civilization" history class, War Issues arose from the military's desire to "enhance the morale of the members of the [SATC] 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." The aim of the course, said SATC officials, was to "present facts rather than propaganda," so that "the issues of the war [become] a living reality to each man."³⁷

World War I did not last long enough to impart to the UNM campus the profound changes experienced at colleges and universities in larger urban areas of the East and West Coasts and the industrial Midwest. The university tried to offer its academic services to the federal government, but the war effort required highly skilled scientists and technicians, areas in which UNM had little competence. The state and nation became buffeted by the conservative tide of 1919–1920, in which divisive issues like immigration, radical politics, and bureaucratic growth alienated many war-weary Americans. In a climate of "red scares," race riots, and budget cutting, Boyd's appeal to the New Mexico legislature regarding funding cuts in the spring of 1919 met with staunch resis-

tance. Even the Hispano governor, Octaviano Larrazolo, later to become America's first Hispano United States senator, agreed with Anglo and Hispano lawmakers that New Mexico could not afford doubling of the UNM budget to create the type of institution that other, more prosperous states could sustain. John D. Clark, a chemistry professor who served UNM for 36 years (1907–1943), reminisced late in his career about the lost opportunity of 1919, and of the subsequent decision by Boyd to step down as UNM's chief executive. "Had World War I not come on," said Clark in the midst of a second global conflict, "we would have become a very fine institution by the early twenties." Whether motivated by a desire to emphasize its ethnic dimensions or to embrace the modernization prompted by federal spending on a war economy, UNM would be, in the words of Clark, "many years in getting back to where we were when this war began."³⁸

Gerald D. Nash, a distinguished UNM history professor, found that during World War I in the American West a combination of federal contracts for agriculture and industry, plus an influx of jobseekers, made the region "more populous, more prosperous, and perhaps more sober . . . in 1919 than it had been five years earlier." This affected Governor Larrazolo and state lawmakers as they contemplated Boyd's replacement as UNM president, and as they casted about for new directions for their impoverished state (ranked 47th out of 48 for per capita income in 1920). Larrazolo and the UNM regents believed that they had found such a leader in David Spence Hill, a forty-six year old native of Nashville, Tennessee, who had compiled a solid if not superlative academic record as an educational psychologist at Tulane University, the George Peabody Teachers College in Nashville, and most recently at the University of Illinois. Most appealing to the regents was Hill's seeming familiarity with the rising popularity of intelligence testing (or IQ, for "Intelligence Quotient").

The historian Paula Fass has written about the use of standardized objective tests to determine who should and should not advance academically into the higher reaches of the nation's educational system. Rooted in an odd melding of Progressive educator John Dewey's "child-centered" instruction philosophies, the United States Army's need during the war for quick assessment of the training potential of its recruits, and the old desire for racial isolation in a segregated society, IQ testing and other measures promised to remove the subjectivity that haunted so many public endeavors involving the dilemma of equality and merit. Among David Hill's publications that convinced the UNM regents of his fitness for the task of modernizing the university were full-length manuscripts entitled, "An Experimental Study of Delinquent Boys and Ameliorative Measures in the United States;" "Retardation, Its Causes and Remedies;" and "An Experiment with Pugilism."³⁹

Even before Hill's arrival on the UNM campus in 1919, the intersection of race and nationalism generated controversy. Between the outbreak of Spanish influenza in the winter, the escalating pace of tubercular patients, and the return of New Mexican servicemen with new strains of venereal disease contracted through sexual contact overseas, the state could not handle the burden of medical care, nor did it fully understand the political implications of all these diseases. New Mexico not only lacked a medical college; it had no state public health service to provide advice and guidance to citizens about preventative care. Of the three factors driving the need for change in public attitudes about medicine and health, state officials were most disturbed by the rates of gonorrhea and syphilis. These they attributed to "an ignorant class [Hispanos] who are permeated through and through with venereal disease, especially, and most everything else in general." It galled John Wagner, Governor Larrazolo's state school superintendent, to have to provide instruction in sexual hygiene in New Mexican schools. Wagner feared for the virtue of young New Mexican women teaching this subject in the public schools, and he informed the federally funded "Interdepartmental Social Hygiene Board" that New Mexico would refuse "to give instruction in the effect of venereal diseases, and in general set up an agency for the combating of this evil."⁴⁰

As was often the case when Anglo New Mexican officials spoke honestly about their prejudices against the state's ethnic populations, Hill had to temper these sentiments in the face of the university's need of Hispano political support. The American Legion, composed primarily of Hispano war veterans, undertook a promotional campaign after World War I to characterize themselves, in the words of President Hill, as "loyal patriots." The veterans pressed UNM and the state's lawmakers with calls for increased educational opportunity, which Hill described as compounded by "the unusual difficulties presented by problems of race, finance, and . . . by enormous distances." Since Governor Larrazolo and the legislators either would not, or could not, meet the educational needs of Hispanos, Hill took it upon himself to approach Dr. Abraham Flexner, director of the General Education Board (GEB) of the Rockefeller Foundation. He tried to convince Flexner that New Mexico's circumstances required extraordinary measures for correction. Knowing of the Rockefeller family's longtime support of historically black southern colleges such as Fisk University in Nashville, the UNM president informed Flexner that "the peculiar racial problems in this State are not dissimilar to the problems of race and politics now urgent in the southern states." Hill conceded that New Mexico by comparison had "a composite but

small population," all the more reason for the GEB to fund programs at UNM that would accelerate the process of "education and 'Americanization'" that New Mexico's leaders craved, but could neither fund nor explain accurately to the disparate ethnic matrix of Hill's new home.⁴¹

Wishing to demonstrate to the Rockefeller program director the commitment of UNM to ethnic inclusion, David Hill brought back to campus in the fall of 1919 Atanascio Montoya to serve as a "Specialist in Rural Education." Montoya, who had left the faculty in 1902 over a salary dispute with Tight, traveled throughout New Mexico to "encourage and persuade Spanish-American children to persist in school." He also compiled lists of prospective students for admission to UNM, and he gave workshops in rural schools to improve instruction and facilities. Montoya claimed particular success in northern and northeastern New Mexico, citing as one example the coal-mining community of Raton. "I feel safe in saying," said the school visitor, "that at least one half of the 1920 Raton High School graduates will attend the University next year." Though that figure proved quite optimistic, and Montoya departed UNM soon thereafter, the emphasis on outreach and personal contact did have an effect on one Raton student, Thomas L. Popejoy, who would enroll at UNM in the fall of 1921 to embark upon a notable career as an athlete, administrator, and finally a twenty-year tenure (1948-1968) as the first New Mexican president of the institution. While Popejoy rarely spoke of his experiences in a multicultural town like Raton, his tenure at the university was marked by careful avoidance of racial antipathy, and he encouraged UNM students to achieve their potential regardless of their ethnic or racial backgrounds.⁴²

President David Hill received his first opportunity to apply his own professional training to New Mexico's racial dynamics in the summer of 1921, when he accepted a grant from the Psychological Corporation of New York to fund projects utilizing the latest methodology in the social sciences. Hill identified "racial differences" as New Mexico's most pressing psychological issue, connecting these to the state's "many Indian tribes still living in nearly primitive conditions," and its "strong percentage of Spanish Americans." Hill also commended the work of the state legislature in 1921 as it passed "An Act Providing for the Appointment of Indigent Students to Various State Educational Institutions." Modeled on the territorial-era "indigent student fund," this program allocated \$100 awards to needy students up to a total appropriation of \$7,300, or 73 students statewide. Given that Hill's UNM had but 250 students that year, any additions with full financial support would be welcomed.⁴³

The pressures of modernizing New Mexico's flagship state university without the necessary funds or public commitment wore on Hill, and his remarks on the intractable nature of race and ethnicity reflected that strain as the 1920s progressed. Though he succeeded in 1922 in earning the critical recognition of the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools (NCA), he failed in several attempts to impress the review board of the Association of American Universities (AAU), making New Mexico by 1930 the only state in the nation without an accredited graduate school. Further criticism of college youth in the 1920s linked them to the rising tide of "socialism" or "syndicalism" as it was sometimes called. This led David Hill to react to correspondence with Roscoe Hill, who had left UNM during World War I to serve in the United States State Department. Writing from Managua, Nicaragua, Roscoe Hill informed the UNM president of the increasing turmoil throughout Latin America, driven as much by American corporate investment and the use of United States marines in places like Nicaragua as by the strident rhetoric of socialism. Despite his lack of experience in Latin American affairs, David Hill wrote back to the former UNM history professor that "comments on the handling of public funds in the tissue-paper republics of Latin America . . . [are] in line with all I have ever heard of that part of the world." Living in a state a mere ten years removed from territorialism and with a population primarily Hispano and Native American, David Hill characterized Latinos as "incapable of self-government." He conceded that President Woodrow Wilson had been right to declare that "self-determination is the right of all thinking beings." UNM's chief executive remained convinced, even though he had never been south of El Paso, that "some races are still in their childhood in matters of finance."⁴⁴

It was fitting that David Hill came to such an understanding of race in American public life, and that he failed like his predecessors in his efforts to merge his vision of modernization with the realities of New Mexico. He faced escalating criticism throughout the 1920s for his aloof manner, his condescending attitude toward New Mexican students, and his failure to reach out to the state and make it feel part of the life of the campus. Thus it was no surprise that David Hill turned in 1922 to an idea that had already surfaced under presidents Gray and Boyd: creation of what David Hill called a "School of Spanish Literature and Life." Echoing the thoughts of Gray, Hill wrote about the failure of the United States after annexation of the Southwest "to educate [native New Mexicans] into the efficiency of health, industrial pursuits, and Americanization that was done in the case of [Puerto] Rico, the Phillippines [sic], and Hawaii." Offering his adopted state as "a truly missionary field for educational effort," Hill established four goals for his regional study center:

“Study and conversation of Spanish literature and culture as it exists in New Mexico; The training of teachers of Spanish language and literature, both for their specific work and also women for business or governmental service in Spanish-speaking countries; Research into conditions affecting the welfare of the Spanish-speaking people in New Mexico [defined by Hill as ‘sociological surveys; studies of the blind, the deaf, the delinquent; studies of vocations in agriculture, commerce, manufacturing, mining, etc.’].”⁴⁵

To fund this latest reincarnation of Gray’s Spanish–American College, David Hill approached New Mexico’s Hispano elite for their endorsements. One such supporter was former governor Larrazolo, a native of Mexico whose family in the 1880s had fled the economic turmoil of the “Porfiriata,” the dictatorial rule of Porfirio Diaz (1880–1910) that revolved around the invitation of American and European business people to invest in the modernization of Mexico. Larrazolo called Spanish “the most beautiful and charming language on earth,” and decried the lack of emphasis on language studies in the United States. This he attributed to America’s “phenomenal and unprecedented growth and success” in becoming “the wealthiest, the most prosperous, and may I add, the most powerful nation on earth.” Yet this haste had also rendered Americans at a disadvantage in foreign policy and commerce in Latin America. Larrazolo marveled at how German residents of his home country had learned the Spanish language and “the habits, customs and aspirations of [the Mexican] people Until we identify ourselves more closely with [Latin America] than we have in the past,” said Larrazolo, the United States could never “carry out the obligations that we have voluntarily accepted toward these countries” under twentieth-century interpretations of the interventionist Monroe Doctrine.⁴⁶

Larrazolo was not to be outdone by local Albuquerque attorney Antonio A. Sedillo, who saw benefits accruing to all New Mexicans from David Hill’s proposal. Sedillo, whose daughter Mela Sedillo attended UNM in the 1920s and who organized the first Anglo–Hispano sorority in the United States on the university campus, proclaimed that New Mexico “shall always be the ideal spot in our country from which to study Spanish life, custom, and civilization.” In addition, David Hill’s School of Spanish Literature and Life could advance Sedillo’s own desire for “Americanization of our [New Mexican] citizenship.” Antonio Sedillo, who would serve UNM in the 1920s as a regent, concurred with Larrazolo’s criticism of American myopia about language, but he hoped that “our dear University may become, as it should, world famous through such means, and the better [to] accomplish this great mission of peace and the dissemination of learning, liberty and service.”⁴⁷

Perhaps the most intriguing voice raised in sponsorship of David Hill's Hispano initiative was that of Adelina (Nina) Otero-Warren. A relative of former governor Miguel Otero and a prominent member of Santa Fe women's clubs, Otero-Warren envisioned UNM providing many opportunities to preserve and enhance Hispano crafts, folkways, and traditions in the research and instruction conducted by the institute. Otero-Warren thought Anglos in New Mexico would gain from exposure to the cultural life of their Hispano neighbors, and Hispanos themselves could display "the definite contribution [they have] to make to the culture of our country." Hispano New Mexicans, Otero-Warren wrote to David Hill, "lack not native ability, but opportunity." UNM, and the agency approached for funding of the Spanish program, the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, could give a gift "of lasting value to many people," and also mark "a forward step for the University."⁴⁸

Armed with these testimonials, David Hill applied to Carnegie officials with specific budget estimates for his Spanish language and literature school. The UNM regents had agreed to solicit matching funds to create an endowment if Carnegie granted the school the sum of \$100,000. The university library would require significant improvements in its holdings and physical plant to accommodate the scholarship and coursework generated by the institute, and Hill asked Henry S. Pritchett, president of the Carnegie Foundation, to provide an additional \$40,000 toward a campaign to build and maintain a separate library. With a projected cost of nearly \$300,000 (an amount over four times the annual operating budget of UNM when David Hill resigned in 1927), the university would achieve national prestige, serving New Mexico in ways not comprehended before and add to the small but growing student population (285 in the fall of 1922). Larrazolo, Sedillo, and other Hispano leaders also stood ready to travel, at their own expense, to Carnegie headquarters in New York to plead UNM's case, which David Hill believed would affect "so deeply a greatly neglected population of this country."⁴⁹

Of the many private funding requests made by UNM administrators in the first thirty years of the campus's existence, the Spanish school received the most serious consideration. The Carnegie trustees declared the project "one of great interest," and one that would be "a promising and interesting department to establish." But the foundation had committed the bulk of its funds to the Carnegie Institute of Technology in Pittsburgh, which had undertaken a three-year program to augment its equipment and facilities in science and engineering. Proposals such as UNM's were thus problematic, and the trustees found an additional flaw in David Hill's request. "It was not clear to them," wrote Pritchett, "nor is it to me, just what the effect of such a department in an American state university would be upon American citizens of Spanish origin." Hill's

plan had mentioned no outreach programs in local schools, no strategies to enhance student performance, and no promotion of research on Hispano New Mexican themes. Thus, the Carnegie Foundation declined to sponsor UNM's School of Spanish Literature and Life, and the state also expressed no interest in financing a concept such as David Hill had articulated.⁵⁰

Matters only worsened for the beleaguered UNM president as his efforts to improve the quality of campus performance met with little enthusiasm. By 1927, local political and civic leaders thought that the university should change management, charging David Hill with opposing state mandates to fund all seven public institutions when economic conditions did not warrant such largesse. When the regents assembled in January 1927 to decide Hill's fate, surprisingly several prominent Hispano leaders spoke on the president's behalf. Benigno C. Hernandez, a former two-term United States Representative from Albuquerque, considered dismissal of Hill as a retreat from the course of improvement that he had charted. The president had been successful in raising private funds for buildings, something that could not be said for other UNM chief executives. The precedent of removing academic leaders "just to please some folks who perhaps imagine that someone else they have in mind can do as well," said Hernandez, would have a chilling effect on future leadership at the university. If Hill departed, said the first Hispano congressman in United States history, "it would be our loss not his."⁵¹

Hill's ambivalent posture on race and ethnicity would foreshadow later administrations, generations of students and faculty at UNM, let alone at campuses nationwide. Once the country changed its mind about exclusion of minorities and women at its institutions, there would be much discussion and disagreement about the best means of democratization and access. This process began in the 1930s, when the desperate conditions of the Great Depression begot the social-welfare policies of the New Deal. From that point forward, the nation began to confront the consequences of inequality. What the experience of UNM revealed in that pattern of denial and accommodation was the need to face the issue of race and ethnicity squarely, and to study itself closely. UNM benefitted when it recognized the complexity of its own differences, as evidenced by the plethora of public programs in the 1930s, from faculty and student recruitment and retention to curriculum and architecture. When UNM failed to address its realities, whether through preference for Anglo values or through embrace of Latin American studies in place of regional issues, the campus did not advance toward the promise of a better life for those who depended upon it. Thus it was not surprising to hear in Richard Peck's inaugural speech an echo of the past, and to validate Lew Wallace's admonition, that life in New Mexico is indeed like nowhere else.

NOTES

1. Richard E. Peck, Inaugural Address, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, New Mexico, 8 November 1990.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Ibid.*
4. Marc Simmons, *Albuquerque: A Narrative History* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1982), 144.
5. Jane C. Atkins, "Who Shall Educate: The Schooling Question in Territorial New Mexico, 1846–1911" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of New Mexico, 1982), 324, 331; *Sixteenth Census of the United States, 1940*, volume II (Washington, D.C.: United State Department of Commerce, 1940).
6. Simmons, *Albuquerque*, 218, 220; Atkins, "Who Shall Educate," 324, 331.
7. Charles E. Hodgkin to Edith Hood, 17 June 1907, Charles E. Hodgkin Papers, box 5, folder 1, University Archives, Center for Southwest Research, University of New Mexico (hereafter cited as UACSWR).
8. *Santa Fe New Mexican*, 26 February 1889; Frank D. Reeve, "History of the University of New Mexico" (M.A. thesis, University of New Mexico, 1928), 2.
9. Reeve, "History of UNM," 2–4; Simmons, *Albuquerque*, 312.
10. Virgil Roy Gunn, "A History of Higher Education in New Mexico" (M.A. thesis, University of Chicago, 1927), 6–31.
11. Memorandum of Edmund G. Ross, 6 April 1889, roll 102, frame 126, Territorial Archives of New Mexico (hereafter cited as TANM); Elias Stover to L. Bradford Prince, 19 April 1889, Roll 103, Frame 333, TANM, New Mexico State Archives and Records Center, Santa Fe (hereafter cited as NMSRCA); Minutes of the University of New Mexico Board of Regents Meeting (hereafter cited as Regents Minutes), 3 November 1889, Office of the Secretary, Scholes Hall, UNM, 1; Report of the Governor of New Mexico to the Secretary of the Interior, 1892: 26; "Catalogue of the University of New Mexico," (hereafter cited as the UNM Catalogue), 1892: 4, 7–8.
12. UNM Catalogue, 1892: 3, 11–13; Regents Minutes, 28 October 1892, 18.
13. Simon Kropp, "Hiram Hadley and the Founding of New Mexico State University," *Arizona and the West*, 9 (Spring 1967), 21–22; Hiram Hadley to Frank W. Clancy, April 1897, Vice President Hadley (1894–1912) File, President's Boxes, Box 4, UACSWR.
14. Report of the Governor of New Mexico, 1897, frame 025, TANM.
15. Miguel Antonio Otero, Junior, *My Life on the Frontier: 1864–1882*, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1987), vii–xvii.
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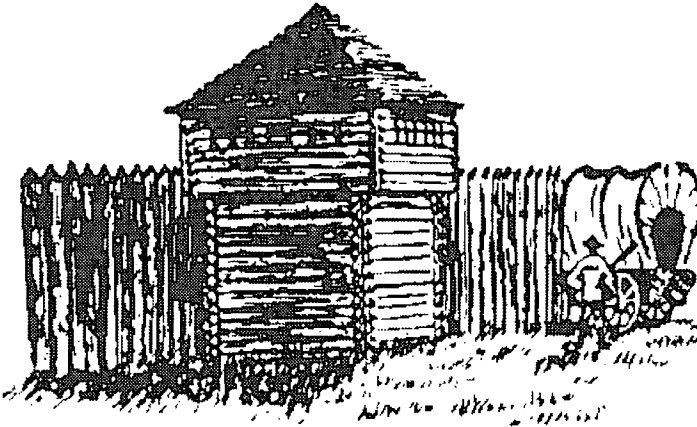
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