

UNIVERSITY OF MONTANA HISTORY: THE FIRST 75 YEARS

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By Paul G. Ulrich¹

Introduction.

“History” can be viewed as the stories of places, people, institutions or events over time. As part of the University of Montana’s (“UM”) 75th anniversary in 1968, then-president Robert T. Pantzer commissioned emeritus English professor Dr. Harold G. Merriam to tell UM’s story. Merriam became a UM English professor in 1919 and department chair in 1931. He graduated from Wyoming, Oxford (England) and Columbia universities, and was a Rhodes scholar. He had taught at Whitman, Beloit and Reed colleges, and at Oregon and Colorado universities. He retired in 1954 and died in 1980 at age 96.²

Merriam actively participated in many of the events he described, both before and after his retirement. (Mv). He also was a careful, thoughtful reporter. His book, *The University of Montana: A History* (1970), provides an excellent survey of UM’s social, political and administrative history until then. It has been considered the university’s authoritative history.³ However, former UM president George M. Dennison has called it “more memoir than history.”⁴ Its chapters describe what occurred during the terms of each of UM’s presidents. I’ve followed Merriam’s outline and have relied primarily on his book throughout this article. Parentheticals (“Mn”) refer to its pages. The book is now out of print.

In September 2016, Dennison published a detailed biography concerning Morton J. Elrod, an influential UM biology professor from 1897 until 1934. That biography also contains numerous references to early UM history generally. It sometimes disagrees with or supplements Merriam’s reporting. I’ve also used parentheticals (“Dn”) to refer to its pages.

Dennison was UM’s sixteenth and longest-serving president (1990-2010). He received B.A. and M.A. degrees from UM (1962, 1963), and a Ph.D. from the University of Washington (1967). He had taught and/or held administrative positions at Arkansas, Washington and Colorado State universities.⁵ Dennison died of complications from non-Hodgkins lymphoma on January 3, 2017, at age 81. He then had halfway completed a proposed new book concerning UM’s general history.⁶

UM survived and developed during its first 75 years despite having numerous recurring structural difficulties: The Montana legislature initially created too many higher-education units, then added more. They competed for limited numbers of students and insufficient state funding. They also offered duplicating courses and degrees, and consolidation efforts were rejected. Montana’s small population and its conservative legislatures also were unable or unwilling to provide adequate higher education funding. There was resulting pressure to fund university operations by assessing and increasing student fees.

Accordingly, there always were financial shortage issues. Those shortages in turn caused substandard faculty salaries, making it difficult for UM to hire and retain quality faculty members, and resulting in competitive disadvantages with other schools. They also made constructing new facilities and offering additional programs more difficult. UM also suffered periodically from outside political attacks and interference, raising academic freedom and autonomy issues. Such difficulties caused many early UM presidents either to resign or be fired. This article will discuss those issues as they arose.

The Montana University System Today.

Two systems. UM, located in Missoula, is the main campus for one of the two Montana public university systems. That system includes three other affiliated institutions: University of Montana Western (Dillon), Montana Tech (Butte), and Helena College (Helena).⁷ The other system is Montana State University (“MSU”). Eastern Montana College (Billings), Northern College (Havre) and the Vocational-Technical Center (Great Falls) are MSU’s satellite campuses.⁸ Both systems are governed as the Montana University System by the Montana Board of Regents.⁹ That reorganization occurred in 1994.¹⁰

Montana’s governor appoints the board of regents’ seven members to serve seven-year staggered terms. The board in turn appoints a higher education commissioner, also an *ex officio* board member. Other *ex officio* board members are the governor and the state superintendent of public instruction. The board also appoints UM’s president, who is directly responsible and accountable to the commissioner.¹¹

UM today. UM’s present financial and enrollment problems are substantial. Although they in some respects resemble those previously encountered, they are potentially far more serious and longer-lasting. They also are not likely to be resolved any time soon. In 1963, *Time Magazine* called UM “the graveyard of presidents” because their tenure was then roughly three years. Although that average tenure is now six years, the same underlying structural issues remain as those encountered repeatedly during UM’s first 75 years.¹²

UM’s enrollment increased from 10,555 in 1990 to nearly 15,000 in 2009. It stood at 15,642 in September 2010, when Dr. Royce Engstrom replaced Dennison to become UM’s 17th president. UM also added 1.3 million square feet, or 20 percent more, usable space during those years.¹³ Engstrom previously had served as UM’s provost and as a chemistry professor.¹⁴

Enrollment was 15,669 in December 2011, when a major sexual assault investigation began. UM suffered substantial adverse national publicity as the investigation’s result.¹⁵ Enrollment thereafter declined each year, totaling 21 percent, to the present 12,419,¹⁶ including a drop in international student enrollment from 593 to 384 between 2014 and 2016. Of those 384, only 17 were freshmen entering UM.¹⁷ UM isn’t alone in that regard. Enrollment is also dropping at seven of 15 Montana university system schools.¹⁸

That enrollment drop may well have been at least in part triggered by the assault investigation issue. It also might have been caused by declining Montana high school graduation rates, a recovering economy, fewer out-of-state students, geography, less student retention, and less popular courses and programs. Declining enrollments in turn resulted in budget cuts based largely on a per-student legislative appropriations formula, requiring UM to reduce its course offerings, and to cut faculty and staff positions.¹⁹

How and where those cuts should be implemented, and how UM should regain its enrollment losses have not as yet been resolved. UM’s faculty initially “passionately opposed” cutting employees to align with dropping enrollment.²⁰ However, in the fall of 2015, 201 faculty and staff positions were cut, including a “veritable gutting of the humanities.” That year, enrollment was 13,044.²¹

Those cuts resulted from retirements, not filling open positions, and 27 individual layoffs. Targeted programs included journalism, anthropology, English, geography, liberal arts, art, political science, forestry management, and Missoula College carpentry, building maintenance and recreational power equipment programs.²² The cuts “shocked and infuriated those on and off the campus.” They and a “staggering lack of transparency from Main Hall” were considered “poor responses to a chaotic situation.”²³ However, at

least some members of UM's faculty still would rather "grow and retain our way out of it" than simply agree to prioritize courses and positions to be cut.

On December 1, 2016, commissioner of higher education Clayton Christian forced Engstrom to resign, effective December 31, 2016, presumably because of how he handled UM's shortfall situations. UM initially submitted an erroneously optimistic 2015 enrollment report. After submitting an amended report, it then cut programs and positions without faculty consultation or transparency. Christian's announcement "came with little warning, shocking both campus and Missoula at large."²⁴ However, some legislators had been expressing dissatisfaction with UM's leadership prior to his action.²⁵ While Engstrom has the option of retaining a position at UM in some capacity, he hasn't as yet said if he intends to do so.²⁶

Christian's announcement also stated that Dr. Sheila M. Stearns would assume Engstrom's duties as UM's 18th president²⁷ until a national search is completed for his replacement.²⁸ She did so on December 12, 2016.²⁹ Stearns earned B.A. and M.A. degrees, and a doctorate degree in educational administration and supervision at UM. She previously served as provost and chancellor at UM Western, and president at Wayne State College in Nebraska.³⁰ She also was Montana commissioner emerita of higher education, a consultant for the association of governing boards, and had served as interim chancellor at MSU Billings.³¹

Christian's announcement also relieved Stearns of supervising the chancellors of Montana Tech, UM Western, and the Dean of Helena College. He instead would do so himself, "so the interim president and UM can focus on best situating UM-Missoula for a successful transition and continued excellence."³²

Stearns' initial "State of the University" address on January 19, 2017 focused on tackling UM's enrollment challenge and producing a new strategic plan. She then stated that UM's downward enrollment trend likely would continue during the next few years, due to larger graduating classes and smaller freshman classes. UM's freshman-to-sophomore retention rate also needs to increase from the present 70% to 80%. Her presentation also highlighted the need to budget conservatively, and to make data-driven decisions based on the best assumptions available about enrollment trends. Attendees then participated in an exercise to brainstorm UM's vision for future success and to prioritize university goals.³³ Accordingly, substantial, coordinated, long-term efforts will be required to bring UM out of its present downward spiral.

UM's operations. UM's main campus covers 220 acres. It includes 60 architecturally unique buildings and a 22,500-seat football stadium. UM competed in the Pacific Coast Conference from 1924 until 1950. It has competed in the Big Sky Conference ever since that conference was formed in 1963.³⁴

UM now consists of 11 colleges and schools. A 180-acre south campus offers student housing, a golf course, soccer fields and an outdoor track facility. Missoula College, UM's two-year unit, has a 2,090 enrollment and offers 35 programs³⁵ at two sites in central and west Missoula.³⁶ UM is ranked 214th nationally by U.S. News & World Report and 97th by Washington Monthly.³⁷

UM's total operating budget for fiscal year 2009 was approximately \$345 million. Of that amount, \$135 million came from the general funds budget (\$90 million from tuition, \$45 million from the state), and \$210 million from restricted funds (\$80 million), auxiliary funds (\$46 million), designated funds (\$44 million) and plant funds.³⁸

In 1990, the state provided 69% of UM's educational and general funds budget. It now supports only 36% of the general fund or 17% of UM's operating budget. This decrease has been made up for by research money increasing from \$12 million in 1994 to \$71 million in 2009 and by salaries as low as 3/5

the national average.³⁹ During the past three years, UM giving has exceeded \$150 million, including \$51 million in scholarships.⁴⁰ At the end of FY 2016, the UM Foundation's endowment was \$167.3 million.⁴¹

MSU. MSU is Montana's larger university. Contrary to UM's experience, MSU's enrollment has increased every year since President Waded Cruzado was appointed in 2009.⁴² It now has more than 16,400 students in nine colleges. It also provides outreach services through eight agricultural experiment stations, and 60 county and reservation extension offices.⁴³

MSU also was founded in 1893, as the Agricultural College of the State of Montana. It was located in Bozeman as the state's land-grant college, in consolation for Bozeman not receiving the state's capital. It began operation in rooms in the county high school with two faculty members. It had eight students, who were forced to transfer from Bozeman Academy, a private preparatory school that had closed. Its campus has 1,170 acres. MSU is ranked 210th nationally by U.S. News and World Report. As of 2011-12, its endowment was \$119.8 million.⁴⁴

Comparing NAU. Northern Arizona University ("NAU") provides an instructive comparison with UM and MSU. NAU is located primarily in Flagstaff, Arizona. It opened in 1899 with 23 students and two faculty members. It initially provided teachers' credentials as Arizona Normal School. It was authorized to grant bachelors' degrees in education in 1925. Its enrollment dropped from 535 students in 1940 to 161 students in 1945. It then expanded programs beyond teaching degrees, particularly in the fields of art and science. It became Arizona State College in 1958 and was granted university status in 1966.

NAU now offers 91 bachelor's programs, 49 master's programs and 11 doctoral programs, plus numerous undergraduate and graduate certificates. It has more than 22,000 students on its Flagstaff campus, and more than 8,000 students online and statewide at more than 30 campuses throughout Arizona. Its endowment was \$136 million in 2014. This comparison shows what a university can achieve in a state having fewer public university units, more population, and easy access from a large metropolitan center.⁴⁵

UM's Creation.

In 1881, Congress dedicated 72 sections of land (46,000 acres) in Montana Territory to create a university. The third Montana legislative assembly in turn created UM and located it in Missoula in February 1893, soon after Montana became a state in November 1889.⁴⁶ Missoula's leaders had lobbied the legislature to locate the university there. In exchange, they agreed Missoula would stay out of the bidding for the state's new capital, and instead support the then-existing capital of Helena over Anaconda, Helena's leading competitor.⁴⁷

The 1893 legislature also created a state normal school in Dillon and a school of mines in Butte. A national survey of university presidents had unanimously recommended establishing only one unit. However, "the politics of the day had to recognize four hungry towns." The 1893 legislature also appropriated \$15,000 to establish UM by constructing suitable buildings. The 1894 legislature then authorized issuing \$100,000 in bonds to erect permanent buildings. (M5).

The Craig Years (1895-1908).

UM opened in September 1895 in the old three-story South Side (later Willard) school, loaned by the city of Missoula.⁴⁸ The school had been condemned, then reconditioned with \$5,000 raised by Missoula citizens. UM occupied it for 3 ½ years until buildings could be constructed on its own campus. (M3).

Dr. Oscar J. Craig was UM's first president. He served from 1895 until he retired in 1908. (M3, M18). Craig received an A.B. degree from Asbury University (1881), an A.M. from DePauw University (1884) and a Ph.D. from the University of Wooster (1887).⁴⁹ He had been a professor of history and political science at Purdue University. (M3).

Initially, UM had four other faculty members and about 50 students. Only five of those students were prepared for college work. (D12). By the end of the first academic year, there were 155 students. (M5, M6). UM's library then held 1,369 books. (M3). Professor Elrod agreed to join the faculty in 1896 and moved to Montana in 1897. (D11). By then, UM enrolled 176 students, 57 at the collegiate level and 44 taking music lessons alone. (D12). Enrollment increased to 347 students in 1902 and 393 in 1907. (D29).

In 1895, Montana had only five accredited high schools. That number increased to 22 by 1904. (D12). To improve Montana's college preparatory education quality, Craig spent substantial, persistent efforts chairing committees to prepare curricula for both grade and high schools. When he retired in 1908, 26 public secondary schools were accredited to prepare students for college. All such schools offered four years of such courses. (M7).

Craig also developed a preparatory school at UM, which grew from two-year to four-year courses. Its numbers heavily exceeded the number of UM college students until 1905. In 1906, Craig announced that every student admitted to UM after September 1, 1906 had to have a four-year high school diploma. (D49). The preparatory school finally was dissolved by a board of education order in 1908. (M7).

The campus. UM's campus began with a gift of 40 acres, extending from Maurice Avenue to the base of Mount Sentinel, by the estate of Col. C.P. Higgins and the South Missoula Land Company. (M4). The Northern Pacific Railroad Company donated an additional 40 acres at the foot and up the slope of Mount Sentinel in 1902. Congress later donated additional acres on the mountain's slope and top, resulting in a 640-acre campus. (M8)

Initial buildings. The 1897 legislature authorized issuance of bonds to cover construction of university (main) hall and the science building. Both were turned over to the board of education in February 1899. (M8). University hall contained an assembly room, library, museum, a "literary hall," the biological laboratory, the gymnasium, seven classrooms, offices, and the president's office. Science hall accommodated all of UM's other departments, as well as a heating plant and shops in a one-story addition. (M9).

A 1902 \$70,000 bond issue provided for construction of a women's dormitory (later housing mathematics and physics) and a gymnasium for both men and women. Some of those funds also repaired fire damage to science hall. (D29). In 1907, Craig secured authorization for a university library and renovating the heating plant. Most new construction was delayed until after 1920. (D30).

Funding issues. UM has suffered from lack of adequate state funding since its inception. Its total income increased from \$13,551.71 in 1895-96 to \$59,658.10 in 1907. Craig had been able to raise professors' salaries from \$1,200 to a maximum of \$2,100 during those years. However, around the turn of the century he reported to the board of education the faculty's embarrassment because of their low salaries. Those salaries "had never been up to the standard to secure and retain the best instructors." In both 1897-98 and 1898-99, Montana's board of examiners, consisting of the governor, secretary of state and attorney general, cut the legislature's appropriations of \$16,000 and \$19,000, respectively, to \$12,000. (M9).

This trimming set a precedent, and began a “long series of troubles between the board and UM presidents.” (M9). Craig built the UM campus from nothing, with virtually no state-appropriated funds and in the face of persistent public criticism for trying to support four separate campuses rather than just one. (D28). Accordingly, Craig instead appealed to private sources for funds to assist higher education. No significant response in terms of endowments, buildings or cash for current expenses occurred until the 1960s, although many people gave books, small sums of money and other gifts. Both W.A. Clark and Marcus Daly “at times” gave sums of money “minute in relation to their wealth.” (M9-10).

Driven almost beyond endurance, Craig exclaimed in 1905 that appropriations asked for the University have been “the smallest amount possible and still maintain the life of the Institution. It is certainly time for the commonwealth of Montana to reverse this policy, and to provide means commensurate with the work to be accomplished.” (M10). This note seems to have drawn no response. Craig’s efforts to develop UM were hampered by the preparatory school’s presence, tight finances and statewide indifference to the University. (M60). By 1908, UM had a \$100,000 annual budget and a 393 student enrollment, spread across 14 departments and two schools. (D33).

Craig also was always aware that adequate support of four university system units demanded more money than the State could or would provide. He thought setting up four units was a mistake and was concerned about the waste of money through duplication. He thought each unit should be employed in its own work. However, he also certainly realized that no unit, even his own, would forego courses it thought it needed simply because they were offered elsewhere. (M10).

Administration. The act creating UM stated that the object “shall be to provide the best and most efficient manner of imparting to young men and women, on equal terms, a liberal education and a thorough knowledge of the different branches of Literature, Science, and the Arts, with their application.” The political code stated, “no instruction, either sectarian or partisan in politics, shall ever be allowed in any department of the University,” and that “tuition shall ever be free to all students of one year of residence” in Montana. Over time, presidents and the board of education instead established numerous student fees, including building construction fees. (M11).

The governor-appointed board of education was to have “general control and supervision of the State University.” At times, the board exercised detailed control, even to approval of textbooks and books that should be in the library. (M11). The board also created a local executive committee, not including UM’s president, to aid the president in his duties and responsibilities. That committee also exercised authority, including hiring and dismissal of faculty members. The board also ruled that money earned by faculty members through off-campus work must be turned over to the university’s general fund, and that the president must be the medium of communication between the faculty and the board. (M11).

Faculty. During the Craig years, faculty members increased from five to 30. (D33). Instruction during those years must have been good, since UM’s graduates were admitted to other universities for graduate study. Relations between Craig and the faculty were “cordial,” although it was clear who was “the boss.” The faculty taught heavy class schedules. Twenty classes a week were not unusual. (M12).

Curricula. As previously stated, UM began essentially as a preparatory school. Such students predominated for the next decade. As late as 1900, there was no formal distinction between preparatory and collegiate work. Both sets of students therefore at times were in the same classes. In 1895-96, the college fields of study were divided into four groups: classical, philosophical, scientific and applied scientific. Seven departments were distributed among them: history and literature, chemistry and physics,

mathematics, greek and latin, modern languages, and mechanical engineering. In 1898, two students graduated. By 1908, that number had increased to 27. (M13-14).

Research. UM's faculty research began as gathering specimens for the museum and learning about Montana's resources, including its geology, plants and animals. In 1899, a biological station was established on Flathead Lake at Bigfork, near the mouth of the Swan River. That station was moved to Yellow Bay in 1908. Each of Craig's annual reports to the board of education referred to research concerning Montana's geology and industries. (M14-15).

Students and activities. The 1890s' moral atmosphere and family traditions demanded that UM students be looked after in the spirit of *in loco parentis*. Craig executed any required discipline personally. The regulations were strict. For example, absence from an examination forfeited credit; three unexcused absences from a class barred the student from it; all public exercises required faculty approval, as did publication of *The Kaimin*, then a literary magazine, in 1898.(M15-16).

Students initially formed an athletic association, two literary societies, and YMCA and YWCA organizations. They petitioned the faculty to form clubs, associations and entertainments—a Shakespeare club, quill and dagger, dramatics, the associated mechanical engineers, oratory and debate clubs, fraternities and sororities. The first *Sentinel* (annual) appeared and the silent sentinel honor society was formed in 1904. The associate students also was organized “for the control of all matters of general student concern.” Its manager, who controlled the finances, was a faculty member. In 1904, George Barnes was chosen as the first Rhodes scholar from Montana. (M16-17).

UM's sports teams played opponents on an individual basis as opportunities arose. They included high school teams, soldiers from Fort Missoula, lumber workers from Bonner, University of Idaho, Washington State College, Utah Aggies, Montana Wesleyan, and YMCA teams from Spokane and Salt Lake City—almost any team that offered itself. (M17).

Summary. Merriam states Craig retired in 1908 because of poor health. (M18). He died in 1911 at age 64.⁵⁰ However, Dennison also states Craig was being pressed to resign because of disagreements with the board of education and with Prof. Elrod. (D50). Nevertheless, Merriam concludes that Craig then could look at UM with considerable satisfaction. It had departments well manned by able faculty, an expanding library and a growing museum. Its research was recognized and productively, if intermittently, pursued. There also were prospering sports teams, and social and artistic groups. UM was then small, immature and conventional. However, it was reaching out for the future. (M18).

The Duniway Years (1908-1912).

In June 1908, the board of education both accepted Craig's resignation and appointed Dr. Clyde A. Duniway as UM's second president, effective in September 1908. (D52). Duniway had graduated from Cornell University (A.B.1892) and had a Harvard Ph.D. (1887). He had been a professor of history and economics at Stanford for 11 years. He was highly recommended by the presidents of Stanford, Cornell and Harvard. (M19). His son, Ben, was born at Stanford on November 21, 1907.⁵¹ By coincidence, I served as Circuit Judge Ben. C. Duniway's law clerk at the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals in San Francisco during 1964-65, just after I graduated from Stanford Law School.

Proposed improvements. Duniway brought the high standards of David Starr Jordan, Stanford's president, with him. He wanted to carry UM swiftly along the path toward the ideal. (M19). According to

Merriam, Duniway was a humanist with “confidence in mankind and in a scholarly, traditional education.” However, he was “meticulous and severe,” and required “strict adherence to regulations.” (M32).

Duniway’s first report to the board of education stated that it was “desirable” to organize and develop UM along the general lines recently adopted by the National Association of State Universities. Those standards included four years of high school for admission; two years of general or liberal work followed by two years of advanced work for a bachelor’s degree; and then professional courses in law, medicine or engineering leading to a doctor’s degree. (M20).

Based on his review of UM’s financial situation, Duniway also recommended that its budget be increased immediately from \$60,000 to \$100,000; that the course of study be revised and new biology, forestry and law departments be organized; that faculty salaries be increased from \$2,100 to \$2,500, with raises every two years to \$3,000; and that there should be comparative permanence of tenure and sabbaticals for faculty members. (M20).

The report also stated the president and faculty had abolished all rules relating to student conduct, since the rules were set up with preparatory students in mind; eligibility rules were set for athletics; and payment for professional coaches and use of “migratory athletes” were prohibited. (M21). All of these recommendations created disturbances. For sports fans, the new sports regulations sounded like the end of victories. For faculty, the idea of placing full responsibility on students seemed foolhardy. (M22).

Duniway’s demand for action without delay offended several groups of stakeholders, including traditionalist faculty members; high school students; faculty and administrators; and some university faculty members and administrators concerned about the impact on enrollment resulting from higher standards for high school accreditation and graduation. (D64).

Nevertheless, movement toward improvement was rapid. During Duniway’s first month, 10 faculty meetings were held and more than 60 motions were made, most of which were adopted. Many looked toward tightening regulations concerning scholarship, the grading system and course requirements. Standing faculty committees were appointed. The faculty began to work toward upgrading their teaching and increasing their knowledge in their fields of study. Courses of study, and admission and graduation requirements were revised. The faculty most frequently identified the need for more books. (M22). Their requests were acted upon to the extent finances allowed. (M23).

Duniway also recommended a pre-medical course, one in preventive medicine, expansion of the school of engineering, and publication of scientific studies. He urged adopting modern systems of accounting and academic records, a student loan fund, an honor scholarship for every accredited Montana high school, a natural sciences building, an addition to the machine shop, increased faculty salaries, a larger campus and a men’s dormitory. (M23). He also proposed that the four university units either be consolidated or work more closely together. However, nothing came of the latter recommendation. (M28).

1910. By 1910, there were 27 faculty, including nine with Ph.D. degrees. Although research was not one of UM’s declared purposes, Duniway stated that its faculty would engage in research. (M22). The number of UM students increased to 176 in 1910 and 203 in 1912. A cottage for care of contagious diseases was established and a student employment bureau was formed. Student affairs were freed from the close control that had existed since 1895. The dormitory was self-governing. *The Kaimin*, now a weekly newspaper, began to enjoy unusual freedom in comment and criticism. Student organizations were running strong. Students were aware of and their publications supported the progress being made. (M24-25).

The law school. The legislature approved creation of a law school in February 1911. The board of education left selection of its faculty to its university committee. The committee's chair, C.H. Hall, a Missoula lawyer, wanted to appoint Montana lawyers as faculty members. However, Duniway instead proposed appointing several faculty from outside Montana. The board eventually accepted Duniway's recommendations, over opposition that played a role in his later dismissal. (M26). It also later allowed Duniway authority to recommend law faculty selection. However, its local executive committee retained authority to employ and dismiss faculty members, and to decide their salaries. (M27).

Duniway's dismissal. In June 1911, the board renewed Duniway's contract for another year. However, in response to a letter sent to the governor during the fall of 1911 by two alumni and three students asking for an investigation concerning alleged conditions at UM, (D65), the governor and board referred the matter to its university committee. Without giving Duniway a hearing, without additional investigation, and stating no reasons, in December 1912 the board accepted the committee's recommendation that he be dismissed from office. It therefore decided in executive session not to renew his four-year contract expiring in September 1912. (D66, M28-29).

Dennison states Duniway thought the board refused to renew his contract because of his efforts to reform Montana's higher education system. However, so did his determined insistence upon his executive prerogatives and his rather condescending attitude toward his administrative colleagues on the other campuses. (D66). Several of his successors, notably Craighead, Melby and McFarland, also suffered the consequences of daring to propose changes to Montana's higher education system. (D67).

Upon receiving notice of his dismissal, Duniway stated he had not been informed about that possibility, and that he was not called before the board. Defending the board's action, C.H. Hall, the university committee's chair, stated that Duniway's administrative ideas "did not agree with what the Board considers to be the policy of the State university." (M29). The board reconsidered its action in April 1912, but then voted unanimously to sustain its earlier dismissal decision. The dismissal received mixed responses, both criticizing and defending Duniway's actions. (M30).

Duniway's last report to the board confirmed that during his four years UM's faculty had increased from 18 to 32, their salaries had increased from \$2,100 to \$2,500, a law school was established, regular students increased from 150 to 203, and that 18 of his proposed features and standards were adopted. He left the presidency without bitterness, knowing his years had been good for UM. He had set high standards and enjoyed the cooperation of people he respected throughout Montana. He left Montana to become president of the University of Wyoming. (M31). He later became president of Colorado College, and taught history at Carleton College, the University of California and Stanford University. From afar, he observed with continuing interest the efforts to reform Montana higher education. (D67). He died in 1944 at age 78.⁵²

The Craighead Years (1912-1915).

Dr. Edwin B. Craighead, UM's third president, accepted its presidency in 1912. (D67). Craighead had received an A.M. degree from Central College (1883), an LL.D. from the University of Missouri (1898), and a D.C.L. from University of the South (1907).⁵³ He had spent many years in educational work in the South, most recently eight years as president of Tulane University in New Orleans. He was a southern gentleman who liked people and sociability, and in return was liked by them. (M32).

Expansion. Craighead found a college which, only recently freed from preparatory students, had struggled for four years to become a good undergraduate institution. He wanted to turn the college into a

statewide university, not simply the University of Missoula. (M32-33). To do so, he eased athletic regulations. He began pushing the more practical and professional fields, and began an aggressive expansion policy. Students increased from 350 in 1912 to nearly 800 in 1915, including 120 from out of state. (M33).

During 1912-13, education became a separate department, a domestic science and household arts curriculum was established, the engineering school was enlarged, extension work was vigorously pushed, a bureau of public information was formed, and efforts were made to develop a “graduate department.” (M33). The law school grew from 21 students in 1912 to 77 in 1914-15. UM’s forestry school, with 14 students, was established in 1913 under Dean Dorr Skeels. (M34).

UM’s journalism school began during 1913-14 under Dean A. L. Stone, formerly editor of *The Missoulian*. It initially operated in tents loaned by Fort Missoula. In 1916, that school became a charter member of the American Association of Schools and Departments of Journalism. (M34-35).

UM’s music school was formed in 1913 under Dean DeLoss Smith, who had taught at Columbia University. Smith’s vision was to make the people of the campus, the town and the state music conscious. By 1921, that school had a staff of six instructors and 18 music majors. Smith also brought numerous famous performing artists to Missoula. In 1914, he began plans for a music building. He also planned a smaller two-story building for practice rooms. (M35).

During 1913-14, the pharmacy school was transferred from MSU to UM in exchange for the engineering school. Its mission increased from training druggists to aiding pharmacists in solving scientific and applied commercial problems. Its courses expanded from two years to five. The business school enrolled 109 students in 1914-15. Craighead had no difficulty in obtaining approval from the board of education for all of these changes. (M36).

Consolidation efforts. Possible consolidation of Montana’s colleges became an important issue during Craighead’s tenure. He threw himself wholeheartedly into it. He initially sent a letter to many people across the state asking for their opinion, but nothing seemed to happen. In December 1912, the board of education and the Montana teachers association adopted resolutions favoring consolidation. (M37). Craighead also supported federal legislation to limit agricultural colleges to their original agricultural and technical missions. (D67).

Recently elected governor Sam V. Stewart opposed consolidation and appointed a board of education that agreed with him. (D68). Accordingly, that board rescinded its 1912 resolution in June 1913. (M38). The board also warned the higher education community against even “the idea of conducting any campaign on any matter pending before the people.” However, Craighead and the Missoula campus refused to agree. The board therefore later allowed the other campuses to take positions on consolidation. (D69).

Before 1913, Montana’s higher education units were four separate institutions. Each offered any courses the board of education would approve. Each had its own budgeting and accounting systems, and admissions and graduation standards. (M45). The 1913 legislature established an administratively unified “University of Montana” composed of the four units, and created a chancellor position to supervise them and manage them financially, beginning in July 1913 (D68, M38, M45). However, it did not approve their actual consolidation. The board then made a number of curriculum changes to reduce duplication among the units. (D68) A 1915 voter consolidation initiative failed by a two-to-three vote. (D69, M38).

Craighead's dismissal. Despite the improvements Craighead made at UM, dissatisfaction with his administration arose, both because of a number of alleged "conditions on the campus," and because he was perceived as being too liberal and favoring change. In 1915, Missoula banker J.H.T. Ryan, chairman of the local university executive committee and a strong conservative, asked to speak to the board of education concerning those conditions. They supposedly included lax scholastic standards; faculty committee chairmen who favored the president's policies; the president promoted gossip and resented criticism; the only fixed policy was that of expansion and advertising; the president was subsidizing athletics; and the budget was not in proper condition. (M39).

Following Ryan's presentation at an open session board meeting, the board voted that Craighead's contract "not be renewed." The next day, the board approved Craighead's recommendations for the following year. (M39). Merriam states that UM's image was seriously "marred" by the board's dismissal of two presidents without charges and without adequate hearings within four years. (M42).

Craighead had been "immensely popular" with UM's students (M42). After his dismissal, students immediately held protest meetings. (M39). Many threatened not to return the next fall and several faculty members left. However, Craighead wrote to the students, urging them to return in loyalty to him and to UM. (M40). He became South Dakota's commissioner of education. (M44).

After Prof. F.C. Scheuch became acting president in June 1915, a majority of old UM students returned. They honored Craighead at a convocation held in October 1915. Students also circulated a petition demanding that Ryan resign from the local executive committee, and presented it to him in his office. (M42). However, Ryan refused to do so. No further action was taken in that regard. (M40).

Craighead's dismissal became widely known. In 1915, the American Association of University Professors sent a committee to UM to investigate. Its May 1917 report largely exonerated him. Despite Ryman's specific charges concerning campus conditions, the AAUP report found Craighead's dismissal largely resulted from his campaign for university unit consolidation. It concluded the board's procedure was "unjust to President Craighead and disastrous in results." (M41).

The AAUP report also commented concerning the difficulties under which a UM president labored. UM operated under five official bodies: the board of education, the board's university committee, a local executive committee, the legislature's appropriations committee, and the state board of examiners. Despite its complexities and resulting difficulties, that organization continued at least through 1969, with the addition of an executive secretary of the greater university, located in Helena. However, by then the local executive board was active only as counselor to the president and as an agency to maintain good relationships between the university and the town. (M41).

Craighead died in 1920 at age 59.⁵⁴ Merriam concludes, "Whatever charges may have been leveled at Dr. Craighead the period of his presidency was, in general, one of sound expansion in the right directions." (M44).

Leading into the War Years (1915-1917).

Pursuant to its 1913 authorization, the board of education finally appointed Dr. Edward C. Elliott to serve as chancellor in October 1915. He took office in February 1916. After receiving many proposals from him, the board in 1918 adopted resolutions establishing his official powers as "the chief officer of the university," including budgeting. Elliott in turn formed an executive council of presidents. (M46).

Meanwhile, Prof. Frederick C. Scheuch served as interim UM president from 1915 until September 1917.⁵⁵ Students respected him and he was close to them. Upon its graduation, the 1917 class presented a portrait of him painted by art professor F.D. Schwalm. (M47). He died in 1954 at age 82.⁵⁶

Despite the ongoing World War I in Europe, UM's campus was "inexplicably quiet." (M46). Life for students apparently continued as if all was right with the world. In athletics, UM was admitted into the Northwest Conference in December 1916. That conference included the Universities of Washington, Oregon, Idaho and Montana, and the colleges of Washington State, Oregon State and Whitman. UM played a tie game with Syracuse, the east's champion, on Thanksgiving Day, 1915. (M47).

Chancellor Elliott attended and dominated many UM faculty meetings during 1916, giving attention to trivial details. That interference continued after Dr. Edward O. Sisson became president. (M47). The 1917 legislature appropriated \$1,500,000 for buildings, \$220,000 for maintenance and \$20,000 for campus extension. It approved the natural science building in June 1917. (M47).

After the United States declared war on Germany in April 1917, the campus "sprang to life." The army opened a recruiting station in Missoula. By May 1917, 100 UM students had enlisted and left campus. All intercollegiate games and the interscholastic meet were suspended for the war's duration. Military drill and military classes were set up for men. A nursing course was set up for women. All seniors who enlisted before commencement were granted their degrees. (48).

The Sisson Years (1917-1921).

Dr. Edward O. Sisson became UM's fourth president in September 1917. He had received a B.A. degree from the University of Chicago (1893). After serving for seven years as head of the Bradley Institute of Technology, he received a Harvard Ph.D. (1905). He then headed the Department of Education at the University of Washington for six years and taught at Reed College. He came to Montana from a frustrating experience as the Idaho commissioner of education. He was a philosopher who liked people and cultivated exchange of ideas. He was highly educated and experienced. (M49-50).

The war's effects. The war seriously affected UM. Its prior "rah rah" spirit was gone. In 1917-18, 238 men and 366 women were registered. In 1918-19, there were 198 men and 326 women. Nearly a dozen faculty members were in war service. Fraternities and sororities became inactive. Student activities were curtailed or turned into war efforts. A student defense council was set up in June 1918 to assist the state council in increasing agricultural production, promoting food conservation, fostering liberty loan and war savings drives, in giving clerical assistance to local selective service boards, and in maintaining student attendance. (M51).

The law school was closed from September 1917 to April 1918. The schools of pharmacy, forestry and business administration were either partially suspended or sustained by women students. German, Greek and Latin studies were dropped. The board of education questioned whether journalism should be taught in a university. However, after concluding that the school's purpose was to "make better journalists who will make better newspapers which will better serve the public," its investigating committee voted to retain journalism. (M51).

UM "threw its entire energy" into setting up a student army training corps. In five months, it spent \$120,000, more than half its annual budget, in erecting a headquarters building for Army officers and two barracks (Simpkins Hall and Marcus Cook Hall) to accommodate 400 students. Those buildings remained

for many years. When the 1918 influenza epidemic reached UM, Simpkins Hall was turned into an infirmary. Regular university work was suspended from October 1918 until January 1919 and students were advised to go home. (M52).

After the war ended, students who had seen military service began streaming back to UM. Students energetically began restoring many elements of campus life that had been lost. Traditions such as charter day, Aber day, painting the “M,” the May fete and singing on the steps were revived. A creative writing class opened in the fall of 1919. A student literary magazine, *The Frontier*, inaugurated in May 1920, brought UM excellent publicity and respect. (M53).

Politics. Montana’s political atmosphere, both during and after the war, was conservative and repressive. The Anaconda Company owned most of Montana’s most of the daily newspapers, with policy and editorials issuing from Butte.⁵⁷ Its influence, the state council of defense, and the “fevered emotions of the public” made life in those troubled years “guarded and insecure.” (M53).

For example, in March 1918, Dr. Louis Levine, a UM economics professor, spoke at a conference concerning mine taxation. He then obtained approval from Sisson and Chancellor Elliott to prepare a series of taxation monographs to be published by UM. Levine’s study concluded that Montana’s mining industries weren’t paying their share of taxes. Under pressure from both Anaconda and politicians, and fearing the legislature might cut university appropriations, Elliott suggested to Levine that the study’s publication be postponed indefinitely. Levine responded that both the study and its publication had been approved, and that he would publish the study at his own expense, which he did. Elliott then suspended him. (M54).

Both UM’s students and alumni protested Levine’s suspension. It also caused widespread national discussion in eastern liberal journals. The AAUP sent an economics professor to investigate, who concluded the suspension was unwarranted. In April 1919, the board of education approved Elliott’s decision to reinstate Levine and to pay his back salary. In 1920, Levine resigned to accept a position with the New York *World*. (D99, M55).

Faculty participation. Sisson encouraged formation of faculty committees and approved faculty actions which tended to increase faculty participation in administration. In 1919, he appointed a five-member committee on curricula for the college of arts and sciences. In 1918, he appointed a three-member committee to counsel him on administrative matters. (M56).

In 1921, an AAUP budget and policy committee was created to advise Sisson concerning such matters. That committee recommended creation of a seven-member faculty budget and policy committee, with Sisson’s approval. By 1968, that committee had become the faculty senate’s executive committee. After 1918, the faculty took hold of university matters “with vigor and a sense of importance.” (M56-57).

A hard core of able faculty members developed through the 1920s who were devoted to UM. This core group held UM “steady and progressive during financial hard times and disrupting circumstances.” This development marked UM’s transition from a small institution to a large university. However, the war, adjustments after it and tight budgets allowed for little expansion during the Sisson years. Only a new science hall was constructed. The department of business became the school of business administration, under S.J. Coon as dean. (M57-58).

Sisson resigns. By 1920, Sisson was in poor health. He was given a four-month leave of absence to recuperate. He enjoyed teaching, but did not care for administration. He had endured pressures and had

been absent from teaching for eight years. He was eager to return to the classroom. He therefore resigned as UM president in 1921. In doing so, he listed UM's needs: increases in faculty salaries, eight new buildings and a heating plant, and most importantly, "the confidence and energetic support of the people of the State." (M58).

Sisson taught philosophy at Reed College from 1921 to 1939. He then retired to Carmel, California, where he gave lectures on education and philosophy until he died in 1949 at age 79. Merriam concludes that Sisson's greatest services were the "forwarding of the democratic procedure in administration, stimulus to the dormitory system, and his warm humanism. He left the campus inwardly at peace, less suspect of socialism than it had been, a bit more comfortably thought of by the public." (M58-59).

The Clapp Years (1921-1935).

Dr. Charles Horace Clapp became UM's fifth president in 1921. Clapp had received a Ph.D. from Massachusetts Institute of Technology and also studied at Harvard in 1910. He had taught geology and mining at the University of North Dakota from 1905 to 1907. He also taught geology at MIT from 1907 to 1910 while studying for his Ph.D., at the University of Arizona from 1913 to 1916, and at the Montana School of Mines from 1916 to 1918. He was president at the latter school from 1918 to 1921. Merriam states that Clapp was a "patient, hard-working man." His 14 years at UM were "a period of comparative quiet and slow, sound development." (M61).

Finances. In 1920, Montana's voters approved a \$5 million bond issue for campus construction and a 1 ½ mill tax levy for university operations. (D90, D102). During his 1921 charter day address, chancellor Elliott welcomed the opening of a new era with adequate funding and facilities. (D91). However, because of declining property tax values, the university's millage tax produced less income than expected. Both the tax and the bond issue therefore had to be voted again in 1930. The expense of opening Eastern Montana College at Billings and Northern Montana College at Havre in 1927 made university financing even more difficult. (M63).

Clapp's reports to the board of education repeatedly stated UM's needs: higher faculty salaries, larger laboratories, more and larger student loans, new fields of study, and additional faculty. That board usually recognized the needs and often approved the recommendations. However, the board of examiners, which distributed legislative appropriations, didn't have the money to meet them. (M63).

In March 1931, Clapp wrote to Chancellor Elliott; "I am blocked at every turn by lack of support and money." Despite the fact that the upper division student body had more than doubled, UM's 1931-32 annual maintenance sum was the same as for 1922-23. (M63). Clapp later reported that student enrollment had increased 83% from 1921 to 1935, but income from state sources dropped 1.7%. Yet despite these circumstances, UM continued to expand and develop. (M64).

Additional land. Prior to Clapp's appointment, the legislature had appropriated funds to buy land on which the heating plant, women's center, library, fine arts, business administration and music buildings, and Brantly and Corbin Halls were located. Dornblazer Field was constructed with alumni financing. The land on which the Lodge stands was acquired in 1925. Land north to the Milwaukee railroad right-of-way was obtained in 1926. Student reserve funds were used for the first time to pay for lands on South Avenue that Missoula Mercantile Company wanted to sell. (M64).

Buildings generally. North and South residence halls were built with 1920 bond funds. The forestry school had a new building in 1922. A library, men's gymnasium and heating plant were built. Houses were purchased for home economics and music practice. Craig Hall was abandoned as a dormitory and fitted for the mathematics and physics departments' use. Space in the university library was increased so it would accommodate 80,000 volumes. (M65).

The student union building—part one. Plans began for a student union building in 1927. In 1929, UM's students agreed to assess themselves \$1 per year to pay for the building. Clapp had been enthusiastic about having a student center. Funding was obtained in November 1933. Despite a student lawsuit, the project was approved by the Montana Supreme Court in May 1934.⁵⁸ The building was paid for with a \$240,000 loan and a \$60,000 grant from the federal emergency administration. The loan was to be repaid through a \$5 student fee and earnings from the building, thus exempting the state from debt. That fee was assessed by the board of education, without a student vote, on March 30, 1934. Construction began in July 1934. The building was dedicated in 1935, nearly six months after Clapp's death.⁵⁹ (M66).

Clapp and the faculty. Clapp was a "modest man" who deplored advertising the university (M67). He instead preferred that the excellence of its work speak for itself. He studied Montana's geology throughout his presidency, and urged UM's faculty to engage in creative or research work. After a UM 1928 statistical survey compared it unfavorably with 11 other northwestern and rocky mountain institutions, he created a detailed development plan for the next decade. However, lack of finances temporarily defeated most of those projects. (M68).

The faculty's budget and policy committee continued to operate during the 1920s. It played an important role in keeping channels open and maintaining amicable relations on the campus. Clapp and faculty disagreed on whether the faculty's role was simply advisory or whether it instead included binding approval and veto authority. The committee rarely offered new ideas on governance or policy. (D103).

Despite repeated frustration, principally from lack of funds, the relationship between Clapp and the faculty remained cordial. They knew he was concerned for their welfare. However, students kept increasing and funds for employing additional instructors were still lacking. (M68). Yet there were only a few resignations. The faculty accepted a 20% salary cut in 1933. (M69).

The steady financial pinch also required replacing experienced professors who resigned or retired with inexperienced, low-salaried instructors. Graduate students also served as instructors in elementary courses and in laboratory supervision. An application for a Phi Beta Kappa chapter was refused because some departments and schools needed additional staff members. (M70).

Achievements. During the Clapp years, scholarly standards continued to improve. An affiliated school of religion was set up, supported entirely by church and private contributions. A public service division was created. Summer sessions were steadily strengthened. A lower and upper division was established in the college of arts and sciences. The faculty also set up a freshman week to help new students adjust to university life. (M70-72).

Culture. Cultural life "throve" during the Clapp years. Clapp's annual reports both scientific achievements and art exhibits, dramas, concerts and lectures. Dramatic productions on campus prospered. *The Frontier* was published as a student creative writing magazine. Although "one of the most thoughtful student publications ever issued on campus," its publication was stopped when it discussed religion "over-

frankly.” (M73). An authors’ club was formed to foster scholarship and the association of scholars. Membership required publication of a book or articles in professional magazines. (M74).

UM’s academic situation. At the end of 1935, UM had a college of arts and sciences, schools of business administration, education, forestry, journalism, law, music and pharmacy, the affiliated school of religion, the graduate school, the pre-medic course, the division of public service, the summer school, the biological station, and the ROTC. Only the school of fine arts was added later (to 1970). Merriam discusses in detail how each of these schools evolved during the Clapp years. (M76-81).

Clapp’s last days. Clapp “struggled” through his 14 years as president, beset by insufficient financial support, with an inadequate office staff, chancellors “meddling” in matters which should have been handled on the campus, and ineffectually trying to solve the large problem of support. In 1935, he was taken ill and spent many weeks hospitalized. He administered UM from his hospital bed. Prof. Scheuch once commented that Clapp almost literally worked himself to death. Clapp died in office in May 1935 at age 51.⁶⁰ Letters pouring in from educators, faculty and alumni showed the deep respect and admiration in which he had been held. Merriam concludes, “His was indeed a job well done.” (M82).

The Simmons Years (1936-1941).

Prof. Frederick Scheuch again was appointed as acting president when Clapp died. He served until January 1936. At the faculty’s request and with the board of education’s approval, Scheuch appointed a committee to help locate candidates, chaired by law school dean Charles W. Leaphart and including Merriam. The faculty preferred outside candidates. No current faculty member received a sizable vote. However, the committee’s search for an outside candidate was “fruitless” because the salary was low (\$6,000 and a house). Three seemingly promising candidates proved unacceptable. (M83).

Simmons’ appointment. A group of downtown business and professional men and alumni wanted a good public speaker who would “sell” UM to the state’s people. Clapp had disappointed them in that regard. They proposed that Dr. George Finlay Simmons, an assistant zoology professor with two years service at UM, be selected. (M84). Simmons had received B.A. and M.A degrees from the University of Texas (1921, 1922) and a Ph.D. degree from the University of Chicago (1934). He had previously taught zoology at Chicago (1921-23) and biology at Western Reserve University (1927-31). (M85).

Letters obtained from former employers gave Simmons poor reviews. The faculty committee opposed Simmons’ selection. The downtown group nevertheless persuaded Wallace Brennan, a board of education member, to support Simmons. Brennan nominated him at a board meeting at which the governor and two other board members were absent. Brennan wouldn’t listen to committee members who tried to tell him the reasons for their opposition to Simmons. (M84).

In the 20 minutes he was given, Leaphart presented the committee’s reasons for opposing Simmons, read his former employers’ negative letters, and stated that “similar traits have been in evidence” while Simmons was a UM faculty member. The downtown group’s recommendations and letters from 20 prominent men argued Simmons was “eminently qualified” for the presidency. The board voted for Simmons. Merriam states the faculty resented the downtown group’s interference in UM’s affairs. (M84).

Campus and faculty unrest. Simmons was UM’s sixth president. Merriam states his five years were “deeply disturbed.” (M85). In August 1935, the board of education had ordered that books containing objectionable passages be removed from university libraries. Simmons initially refused to present faculty

petitions to the board objecting to this “intolerable censorship.” He instead proposed setting up a committee to see that “proper standards” characterized library books, student publications, dramas and exhibits. He later asked the board to withdraw its action, which led to a milder expression of disapproval. However, he nonetheless was suspected of favoring authoritarian control. (M86).

In April 1937, 27 out of 84 faculty members re-established a chapter of the American Federation of Teachers, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. Dr. J.P. Rowe was its temporary chairman. Upon complaints by Simmons, the board of education placed Rowe on a month-to-month tenure. Merriam states that recommendation and the board’s action was “impolitic and obviously punitive.” (M88). On Simmons’ recommendation and without a hearing, the board dismissed librarian Philip Keeney, who also had led the AFT effort. Keeney obtained a court order, affirmed by the Montana Supreme Court, reinstating him with full pay. (M88). Those actions did not foster confidence in Simmons’ objectivity in faculty matters. (M89).

Other matters contributed to campus unrest. For example, Simmons was unable to restore faculty salary cuts imposed in 1933. The state’s financial support “remained woefully inadequate.” (M89). He created a conflict between journalism dean Stone and executive officer Prof. R.L. Housman in operating that school. (M89). He also refused to reinstate vice-president Paul Phillips, who had been cleared of criminal attack charges and awarded \$1 in damages for slander. (M89-90).

Simmons resigns. During the spring of 1939, Simmons told the board of education that administrative difficulties had mounted until they had “reached a peak.” Meanwhile, legislative and board investigative committees visited the campus. Two state representatives said the board had made a “serious mistake” in appointing Simmons as president and he should be asked to resign. That proposal lost on a voice vote. The board instead adopted its committee’s recommendation that five professors who opposed Simmons (including Merriam) be dismissed. (M90).

A “storm of protest blew up” as the result. UM alumni throughout the country protested the board’s action and criticized Simmons’ administration. Organized labor and liberal magazines also protested. After investigation, the AAUP placed UM on its “censured” list. A public hearing lasting 11 days occurred in January 1940. Numerous faculty members signed petitions asking the board to rescind its action and stating Simmons had failed as an administrator. After the hearing, the board both rescinded its action demanding faculty resignations and exonerated Simmons. Gov. Roy E. Ayers issued a statement hoping that a fresh start might be made by those opposing Simmons. (M91).

In January 1941, incoming governor Samuel C. Ford appointed three new board of education members. They told Simmons at the board’s spring meeting in April 1941 that conditions were so bad that they could be bettered only by his resignation. Gov. Ford also told Simmons he was to be removed, denied him an appearance before the board, and gave him only a few hours in which to resign. Simmons resigned as of September 1941. He was given a year’s leave of absence with pay as zoology professor during 1941-42. (91). Dean Leaphart was immediately appointed acting president. He served until Dr. Ernest O. Melby became president in October 1941. (M92, M98).

Accomplishments. Despite Simmons’ problems, Merriam concludes UM achieved “substantial accomplishments” during his years as president. Several new buildings were built with federal grants: journalism, chemistry, pharmacy, a fine arts-women’s club building, a women’s dormitory (new hall), and an animal and hothouse building added to new science hall. A number of able, long-term faculty members were also added. (M92). The new student union building operated successfully. (M93).

In 1937, philosophy courses were offered. A bacteriology and hygiene department was formed. A medical technology degree was created, as well as nurses' training. Social welfare studies were improved. The business administration school was applying for accreditation. The forestry school made its fastest growth. The music school expanded and was reorganized. By 1939, it had 76 major students and 300 other students taking music courses, in a total university enrollment of about 2,800. (M94). The national youth administration employed 531 students in campus work. Enrollment reached 2,851 in 1940. (M97). Student musical and sports activities also expanded and developed substantially during the Simmons years. (M96).

Merriam states that innovations and general changes in a university's curricula are principally the faculty's work. Faculty also must be consulted about the urgency, priority and floor plans for new buildings. Students also express needs and ways of fulfilling them. Students and faculty are the university. The president is their leader. Accordingly, all three should receive both praise and blame for what occurs. (M95). Merriam charitably concludes that during the Simmons years, UM "demonstrated its ability to survive and develop under misfortunes. Dr. Simmons was a hard-working president, and the faculty did not allow quality of instruction to sag." (M97). Simmons died in 1955 at age 59.⁶¹

The Melby Years (1941-1945).

Dr. Ernest O. Melby became UM's seventh president in October 1941. He had received a B.A. degree from St. Olaf's College (1913), and M.A. and Ph.D. degrees from the University of Minnesota (1926, 1928). He had been a high school teacher and principal, and an education instructor at the University of Minnesota. He had risen through the ranks from instructor to dean of education at Northwestern University. He was a "man of good will," an optimist, an idealist and a dreamer, who was largely able to bring the former pro- and anti- Simmons factions together. (M99). He also believed it necessary for higher education to reach all of the people. (M100).

Melby's analysis. Upon arriving in Missoula, Melby noted the "appalling" need for building and ground repairs, low faculty salaries and employee wages, and the need for faculty members to travel to conferences. Expanded extension work also was needed, but inadequate funding prevented it. He also was convinced that people in Montana knew too little about UM. He therefore made numerous presentations, both in Missoula and throughout the state. (M100-01). However, he didn't understand that Montana people resented his accusations that they had neglected their university. (M101).

Melby respected and cooperated with the faculty generally, as well as its budget and policy, and service committees. He appointed faculty committees to consult directly with the board of education, and to consider faculty salaries and promotions. (M102).

The war's effects. UM had to adjust when the United States declared war on Germany and Japan in December 1941. Many faculty members and students enlisted in the military or in other government agencies. Courses had to be adjusted. In 1942, 1,000 men from the army air force college training corps arrived on the campus, requiring instruction. They were quartered in dormitories planned for half that number of students. Four fraternity houses were used as women's dormitories. New courses had to be developed for those trainees. (M102-03). The trainees in effect took over the campus. The small number of men available required UM to withdraw from the pacific coast conference. (M104).

Melby becomes chancellor. The 1943 legislature made possible funding a chancellor's salary. Melby was appointed to that position for one year, and to take a leave of absence from UM. He was to

study problems relating to developing an administrative organization for the greater university. However, the other five units feared they might find themselves under UM's authority as the result. (M104).

Melby concluded that the chancellor's and board's powers and responsibilities were not sufficiently clear, developed or wisely geared. The chancellor's difficulties were rooted in the existing legislative straitjacket in which the board and educational structure operated. Melby also concluded that the chancellor could not make intelligent decisions while isolated in Helena, Montana could not support six units, and those units could not be coordinated. (M104).

Melby therefore recommended a single institution with branches and one president, and greater fiscal independence for the board of education. (104-05). He also suggested that the Dillon normal school be converted into a vocational school, and that the Billings and Havre units be converted into junior colleges. Merriam states that Melby's handling of the chancellor's office was not a success. (M104-05).

Dean Leaphart again served as acting president when Melby became chancellor. Leaphart steered UM through a particularly difficult period caused by war conditions. Schools such as forestry, law, pharmacy and business administration lost many students. Thirty-one faculty members were on leave of absence during 1943-44. Forty were teaching military trainees. However, UM was able to continue all its schools in operation. (M105).

Melby returns. Melby resigned the chancellorship and returned to the UM presidency in 1944. Further adjustment was required as military trainees were leaving and for future returning veterans. (M106). In 1944, sabbaticals were restored and progress made toward an adequate retirement system. Melby was concerned about the steady increase of student fees and addition of new ones. He originated a study project to extend the university's cultural and educational services throughout the state. (M106-07).

Melby resigned as UM president in September 1945, leaving for a teacher education position at the University of New York. Merriam concludes that his years on campus, interrupted by his chancellorship, were too short to solve the problems that he saw. (107). Melby died in 1987 at age 95.⁶²

The McCain Years (1945-1950).

Dr. James A. McCain became UM's eighth president in 1945. He received an A.B. degree from Woffard College (1926), an A.M. degree from Duke University (1929), and an Ed.D. degree from Stanford (1948). He had been an English professor, assistant to the president, and dean of student personnel at Colorado A&M. He had just returned from war service as a Navy lieutenant commander. According to Merriam, he faced all challenges at UM "forthrightly." His energy, clarity of intentions and prompt activity in implementing them created a positive spirit, a sense of aliveness and a feeling that problems could and would be met. (M108).

Problems. UM's immediate problem was the increased number of students. Total registration had been 1,113 in 1945-46. In 1946-47, that number increased to 3,299, of whom 2,065 were veterans. To accommodate them, UM rejected 90% of its out-of-state applications. To provide adequate housing, funds were obtained for classroom and laboratory barracks, row or strip houses, and prefabricated and trailer houses. Jumbo Hall, a paper building accommodating 455 men, was obtained from Fort Vancouver. UM's physical plant, built to accommodate 1,500 students, thus was augmented to provide for 3,300. (M109).

Finding sufficient instructors for the 76% increase in students was urgent. Despite low salaries, 65 new instructors were found. Despite the resignation of 20 instructors in 1946 to accept better-paying jobs, the faculty increased from 94 full-time instructors in 1945 to 189 in 1949-50. The forestry, business administration and law schools significantly increased their enrollment. Veterans created a more serious, hardworking campus atmosphere. They also needed more psychiatric help and other services. (M110).

Outreach. Like Melby, McCain wanted to consider the state as UM's campus. To achieve this goal, professors were made available. Publications increased. A bureau of business and economic research was reorganized and staffed. A wildlife research unit was established to train personnel and conduct research for wildlife conservation. Archeology and anthropology research was provided for sites to be flooded by dam construction. A school of administration was created for forest, soil conservation and national park service employees. (M112-13). Such reaching out and linkages built respect and appreciation for UM wherever it occurred. McCain also undertook a number of off-campus responsibilities. (M114).

Other events included renewed activity to develop the Flathead biological station. An annual "roundup of the arts" attracted participants in writing, painting, music, opera, folk dancing, dramatics and historical pageantry. (M114). In 1948, the UM faculty adopted a resolution that faculties of the six university units organize a group to discuss and make recommendations for actions of interest to all university branches. This proposal was approved by all the presidents and the group met yearly. (M115).

Improved finances. After the war, Montana's income increased and UM's finances improved. UM therefore could make needed improvements. In 1948, tax and bond measures for the university system were passed. In 1949, UM's total income was \$1,696,787, more than \$1 million of which was state revenue. (M115). Accordingly, the business administration school added to its staff and curricula. The journalism school and every school in the college of arts and sciences were fully accredited. Additional campus properties were purchased. Extra money was provided for the chemistry department. Although new buildings were planned, only a business administration and education building was built. The others were built during McFarland's presidency. (M116).

Improved relationships. McCain respected and cooperated with the faculty, particularly its budget and policy committee. He encouraged faculty travel to educational meetings, but required oral and written reports. He appointed many good, long-term faculty members. The AAUP removed UM from its "censured" list because of "good faculty-administration relationships." (M117). McCain also raised the ceiling for retirement payments and established yearly salary increases. (M118).

McCain reorganized and streamlined faculty committees. (M118). After consulting with the student council, he placed two students on each of several faculty committees, giving them a voice in formulating university policy and operations concerning the building program, curricula, health service, library, and social standards. However, succeeding presidents didn't follow that practice. He also explained actions that were being taken to the *Kiamin* editor, thus reducing its editorial dissatisfaction and criticism. (M120). Despite the campus upset caused by returning veterans, many regular campus events and organizations either continued, were restored or were created. (M121).

McCain resigned in 1950 to become president at Kansas State College. He resigned from the UM presidency regretfully, since both he and his wife had become fond of UM and its faculty, and believed in the future of both UM and the state. His departure was deeply regretted among the faculty. McCain remained at Kansas State for many years. The *Sentinel* summed up his achievements: McCain "leaves after

a powerful post-war period of five years with a glowing record of administrative achievement and significant development for Montana State University.” (M123). McCain died in 1987 at age 79.⁶³

Dean R.H. Jesse served as acting president from McCain’s departure in July 1950 until Dr. Carl McFarland became president in March 1951. With his “usual sound judgment” and “care for details,” Jesse turned UM over to its new president in “good condition.” (M124).

The McFarland Years (1951-1958).

Dr. Carl McFarland, UM’s ninth president, was its first alumnus to achieve that position. He received B.A. (1928), M.A. (1929), and LL.B. (with honors) (1932) degrees from UM. He also received a Harvard S.J.D. degree (1932).⁶⁴ He initially practiced in a Helena law firm and served as clerk and commissioner for the Montana Supreme Court. He then joined the U.S. department of justice antitrust division. In 1937, President Franklin Roosevelt appointed him assistant attorney general for land, oil and other interior affairs. In 1939, he resigned to practice law in Washington, D.C. with Homer Cummings, Roosevelt’s former attorney general. (M124-25).

Merriam states that McFarland was devoted to UM and tried to act in its best interests. However, he often clashed with its faculty. He would hear what others thought best for UM, but would not either “seek or follow advice.” McFarland initially had faculty and student support, with some misgivings based on his brusqueness, lack of tact and seeming inability to work cooperatively. (125). He initially consulted with faculty committees according to established procedures, but then stated that he himself would be making decisions. (M126).

Land and buildings. Money from a 1948 bond issue and federal financial aid became available. UM thus was able to purchase additional properties on the campus, in Lincoln county and at Fort Missoula. McFarland closed many roads on the campus, tightening its access. Those closures created immediate objections. (M126). The highway department was allowed to make large cuts and create a road along the base of Mount Sentinel. (M127).

New buildings, originally planned during McCain’s presidency, included a women’s center, complete with gymnasium, and housing the home economics department and nursery school; the east half of the liberal arts building; and the music building. The old gymnasium became the radio and television center. The field house, new men’s and women’s dormitories, and additional married student housing were built. A swimming pool and an all-year outdoor covered skating rink were also built. (M127). A memorial carillon was placed in the main hall tower. No state-funded revenue source existed to maintain these new structures. Increased student fees were therefore used to do so. (M128).

Three perennial problems. (1) State funding for higher education was always inadequate. McFarland therefore began a struggle for increased funding, which although successful, alienated some. McFarland also used federal grants for self-liquidating buildings and research projects. (2) There always had been duplication of courses, particularly during the 1950s between UM and MSU. Although McFarland challenged that duplication, it persisted. (3) The American Legion charged that both UM and MSU were bringing in teachers and prominent outside speakers who were associated with and favored subversive organizations. University faculty, students and alumni protested and denied the charges. To resolve that complaint, the board of education ordered that all university units provide full publicity about campus speakers before their presentations. (M129-30).

Organizations. Between 1951 and 1958, the Montana State University Press became active, until it was abolished by President Johns. A high school science fair was begun. A bureau of government research and a university credit union were established. A western interstate commission for higher education was established to permit medical students to attend schools in other states, with their fees being paid by their state of origin. The UM foundation was incorporated in 1951 to receive gifts, contributions and grants for UM scholarships and other purposes. A century club was formed to support sports. (M130-31).

Curricula. During the McFarland years, course offerings expanded and evolved. A school of social work and a college of fine arts were established. Russian was added to language offerings. Speech, drama and theater, speech pathology and audiology, and geography departments were added. Radio-television, conservation and geography degrees were added. The journalism school was reinvigorated. (M131-32).

Matters of concern to faculty and administration included the undesirable rigidity of bachelor's degree requirements, a return to a group system of requirements in the college of arts and sciences, and the difficulty of meeting superior students' needs. After many years of inconclusive faculty debate, UM finally decided to offer doctorate degrees, beginning with education, geology and zoology. (M132-33).

UM also began raising its academic and out-of-state admission standards. In 1956, 6.3% of UM students were dropped for poor scholarship. A higher number were warned about their poor accomplishments. As the result, enrollment dropped by about 200 students in 1956-57. McFarland asserted the decrease was caused by higher academic standards. However, the board of education cut UM's budget. This contributed to the circumstances leading to McFarland's resignation. (M134).

Students and their activities. Numerous perennial student activities continued as in the past. These included the foresters' and barristers' balls, plays, concerts, Mardi Gras, fraternity and sorority parties, intercollegiate sports, intergroup games and sports, and student government. There were nine national and one local fraternities, six national sororities, and numerous honorary and professional fraternities. McFarland appropriated funds to bring in distinguished lecturers. Undergraduate music and drama flourished. UM debate teams and orators competed successfully with other schools. (M134-35).

During the McFarland years, students began questioning what student government amounts to and whether they could run their own affairs. McFarland initially stated he favored greater student self-government, and discussed these issues with student officers. However, the students thought McFarland meant participation with strict oversight, not *self*-government.

The student union building—part two. Planning for a new student union building began in 1946, when record enrollment required that the former building be used temporarily to accommodate classes and its auditorium used for large survey courses. Those plans initially met significant student resistance. However, an October 1947 poll found that three out of five students favored a new union. Students also then voted to raise student fees. However, in December 1947, the board of education postponed construction of any buildings requiring bond issues for one year. That setback lasted for several years.⁶⁵

In January 1953, McFarland proposed constructing a new building housing both the student union and the field house. The student union executive committee retained planning consultant Porter Butts, who denounced the merger as impractical. That committee and the new student union committee therefore rejected the proposal in February 1953. However, the executive committee continued to develop floor plans and secure funding for the building. Students voted in May 1953 to raise fees to \$3.33 per quarter. McFarland also authorized preliminary plans and sketches for a new student union.⁶⁶

In October 1953, McFarland announced that a new food service building to supply services for Craig Hall, which had been completed a year earlier, would be built in 1954. The next day, the student union executive board recommended to the student central board that the proposed student union be added to that building as a 16,000 square-foot wing costing \$200,000. That decision had to be made quickly because construction of the food service building had been postponed.⁶⁷

Central board therefore immediately accepted that proposal unanimously. However, students were outraged by that sudden decision, made without student discussion or opinion. In response, central board voted to contact three consultants to discuss the proposal. They favored the proposed merger. After weeks of heated discussion, numerous meetings and intense scrutiny, students voted 492 to 232 in favor of the merger. The combined building's total cost was \$555,074. The "MSU Lodge" was dedicated in February 1955.⁶⁸ The student union portion of that building was paid for with a \$250,000 bond issue. Of that amount, \$200,000 was used for the new building and \$50,000 was placed in a trust fund to pay off the remaining bonds on the old union building as they matured.⁶⁹ Students therefore paid for both buildings.

The student self-government issue came to a head in 1957 when the old student union was turned over to UM to become a fine arts building. After months of meetings, a settlement was reached. Merriam states the students thought they were not well treated. UM was given a student union building the students had paid for. However, the students were permitted to receive income from activities in the building. Students also assumed responsibility for paying for at least a portion of the new Lodge. (M135-36).

The Lodge proved less adequate to meet student needs than the old student union building. (M136). The University Center's history states only that "the former Student Union Building was given to the Arts and Crafts department and is now know [sic] as the Fine Arts Building," without further explanation.⁷⁰

Faculty-administration relations. As long-term faculty members retired (140), McFarland replaced them with young teachers. Ad hoc faculty advisory committees screened applications and made employment recommendations. However, low salaries and few fringe benefits often made hiring the most promising applicants impossible. McFarland himself appointed the deans. He assigned several rooms in Jumbo Hall for a faculty club. Those rooms were replaced by a home UM had purchased. (M137-38).

Faculty meetings initially were routine. However, they became irritating both to McFarland and the faculty because of how he presided and presented matters for consideration. McFarland finally sent his vice-president to preside. He distrusted the faculty and the faculty resented many of his actions. He demanded that faculty representatives to the general university faculty council present its agenda to him in advance. The UM members objected to that request. (M138).

As early as 1951-52, UM's faculty generally felt McFarland was gathering matters into his own hands. A 1954 administrative policy statement that deans and department heads were subject to retirement or replacement at all times also stirred resentment in some faculty members. McFarland thought certain departments were being conducted as "fiefs" and was determined to break them up. (M138-39). His conduct as president over time polarized the faculty into two strongly supporting and opposing factions. Prof. Leslie Fiedler stated McFarland was a "master of bad human relations." According to Merriam, McFarland found the UM tradition of a democratic administration system "incongenial." (M139).

McFarland's resignation. University budgets generally are based largely on student enrollment. During the spring of 1957, the board of education's university committee promised the legislature's university committee that if enrollments didn't reach their projected numbers, the units would turn back

money to the state. During 1957-58,UM's enrollment had dropped by about 200 students. The board therefore ordered presidents to cut budgets in accordance with the number of students then forecast for 1958-59. Five presidents did so, while also including faculty salary increases in their reduced budgets. McFarland also cut UM's budget but didn't include any salary increases. He then argued to the board that UM's budget should not be reduced, so salary increases could be provided. (M140).

The board initially approved those budgets. However, its April 14, 1958 minutes stated it decided sufficient UM staff positions should be deleted so four percent salary increases could be provided. McFarland refused. He therefore submitted a letter on April 15, 1958 resigning as UM president, effective immediately. The board held the letter until its May 12, 1958 meeting. (M140). McFarland stated that there was a plot to "get him," that the board's action was "an attack on the entire theory of a University," and that funds for salary increases existed in an equipment fund that McFarland couldn't use. (M142).

The faculty salary battle thus became an issue not just of academic standards, but also whether the board of education or the president controlled UM. UM's faculty adopted a resolution supporting McFarland's position. Central board offered to raise student fees \$5 per quarter to pay for faculty salary increases. Many Montanans and several newspapers also supported McFarland. (M142). However, the board accepted his resignation at a special May 5, 1958 meeting. Merriam concludes, "McFarland's inability to change his way of doing things, to act with tact, and to treat people at all times as people constituted a genuine loss to the University and to the State of Montana." (M143). McFarland died in 1979 at age 74.⁷¹

Castle's appointment. The board of education appointed Dr. Gordon B. Castle acting president upon McFarland's resignation. Castle was a zoology professor, dean of the college of arts and sciences, senior academic dean, and biological station director. He had been a faculty member since 1934 and was respected by the faculty. Faculty, students, alumni and citizens generally were then divided between pro- and anti-McFarland factions. Castle's principal efforts were to return UM to a stable condition where everyone in both factions could work together to forward its objectives. (M144).

Merriam concludes that although that difficult task was impossible to achieve in one year, Castle's pleasant communications and personal relationships encouraged commitment to UM's general welfare. (M144). The routine of university life flowed on. The board authorized work for the doctor's degree in any department of the college of arts and sciences. Student fees were again increased. The health sciences building was planned and financed. Castle's year was important. "Just carrying on without serious setbacks was, under the circumstances, praiseworthy." (M145).

The Newburn Years (1959-1963).

Dr. Harry K. Newburn became UM's tenth president in 1959. He had received a B.E. degree from Western Illinois State Teachers College (1928), an A.M. and Ph.D. from the University of Iowa (1931 and 1933), and an Hon. D.H.L. degree from Northern Michigan College (1957). He had been a high school teacher, principal and school superintendent. He rose from assistant professor of education to dean of the college of liberal arts at Iowa (1941-45). He also had been president of the University of Oregon (1945-53), president of the Ford foundation's education and television center (1953-59) and consultant to the Ford foundation (1958-59). (M145).

The faculty initially found Newburn to be a "quiet, friendly, substantial man with strong and laudable ideas about education." (M145). Work continued on developing UM's physical plant. Old war

buildings were removed. New health sciences and law buildings were built. The liberal arts building was more than doubled in size. A new women's dormitory was built. (M146).

Faculty relationships. Newburn's initial "honeymoon" with the faculty was short. It soon became apparent he did not agree with the traditional participation of faculty in administration to which the faculty's core was accustomed. Disagreements soon developed. (M146). For example, Newburn proposed that each faculty member be rated and placed into one of five groups, from lowest to highest. The faculty objected to this proposal as machinery, not human wisdom. Eventually an acceptable rating system was adopted. However, confidence had weakened in Newburn's human outlook. (M147).

Newburn also delayed implementing a faculty senate for a year while instead establishing his administrative staff and a council of deans. When the senate finally was established in 1961, he and the faculty disagreed on how far and on what issues faculty should participate in administrative matters. He supported highly limited faculty participation. Those views were unacceptable to several senate members. Newburn considered them "subversive" and bent on undermining his authority. He insisted on a chain-of-command system for handling matters. He also was difficult to reach personally to discuss matters, leaving his staff without authority to act during his absences. (M149).

During the Newburn years, several unhappy circumstances occurred involving faculty members. (1) Six English professors and almost the entire mathematics staff left "in indignation and with hard feelings." Other instructors also left, creating an impression there was a general exodus that led to general concern. (2) Dr. Morton Borden gave an address in St. Paul concerning "cooperatives" which was mistakenly publicized as disapproval of the private enterprise system. The board of regents ordered Newburn to investigate. He reported that Borden's language was unfortunate and open to misinterpretation, but that Dr. Borden was a good teacher and the matter should be considered closed. (3) History professor Dr. Paul Carter wasn't promoted to a tenured position. Carter was a social and political gadfly, who held strong views and acted on them. Although three history professors approved his promotion, the department chairman, the college's dean and Newburn did not. As the result, Carter left UM. (M150-52).

Outside interferences. Troubles also came from outside the campus. Kenneth Niels and a Mrs. McNeese demanded that psychology professor Frank DuMas be dismissed as part of the "Fiedler faction" on campus. DuMas had expressed concern that the "Montana Power elite" (Anaconda Company, Montana Power Company and oil interests in the state) were most influential in Montana affairs. He also accused Newburn and Dean Robert Coonrod of heedlessly allowing bad educational conditions to exist at UM. DuMas finally left the faculty. (M152).

Dr. Leslie Fiedler was a popular, well respected English professor, author and literary critic who expressed controversial, critical views about American literature and Montana generally. He initially joined the UM faculty in 1941. He returned there after serving in the Navy during World War II and a term as a Rockefeller fellow. He was the English department's chair during 1954-56.⁷² Neils regarded Fiedler's presence on the campus as "morally unhealthy." Governor Donald G. Nutter wanted to dismiss him. Newburn strongly and successfully resisted that effort. (M152). However, in 1964 Fiedler was recruited by the University of Buffalo, where he continued to teach and publish for many years. He died at age 85 in Buffalo in January 2003.⁷³

The 1960 master plan. At the board of education's direction, a study of Montana's higher education institutions led to development and publication of a master plan in 1960. That plan provided for maintaining only two multiple purpose institutions, UM and MSU, and limiting graduate study to those

institutions. Accordingly, UM began preparing a curriculum analysis to define its hopes and plans. Gov. Nutter also gave detailed attention to the university system, hoping to make it more efficient and to root out faculty members with liberal ideas. The regents hoped to use the master plan to “cut out the frosting” from the six units’ curricula, meaning anything more than basic courses. The university faculties disagreed. (M153-54). The proposed master plan later fostered some UM curricular changes. Greater student enrollment made more larger classes and more degrees possible. (M163).

Other developments. After years of administrative drift, the radio-television department became part of the journalism school in 1960. A new law building was dedicated in 1961. (M155). Almost immediately, Newburn announced a new policy de-emphasizing athletics by discontinuing major state-provided subsidies to athletes. That policy received a mixed responses. (M156). Students were concerned about lack of communication with the administration. A committee was appointed to meet monthly with Newburn and other officers to discuss university matters of mutual concern. On the positive side, the usual student activities were in full swing. (M157).

Newburn resigns. Despairing of settling administrative matters to his satisfaction, Newburn resigned in April 1963 to accept a teaching and research position at Arizona State University. His resignation letter criticized Montana’s developing an “uneconomic” higher education system involving two multiple purpose institutions, and proposed development of a third (Eastern Montana College in Billings). His last faculty talk also stated he had found a “well organized minority with a philosophy contrary to that held by the president” and that there was no vocal, determined and organized faculty group willing to follow a “reasonable definition of responsibility between faculty and administration.” (M150).

Merriam concludes that Newburn was a “cautious, conservative person, slow to move in any action, . . . deeply wedded to his ideas about educational administration. He was sensitive to public opinion and, if anything, too careful in his efforts to protect the image of the University over the State. Nevertheless, the University made progress during his years as president.” (M157-58). Newburn died in 1972 at age 71.⁷⁴

The Johns Years (1963-1966).

Dr. Robert Johns became UM’s eleventh president in the fall of 1963. He had received a Ph.D. degree at Stanford (1950). He had been a teacher, counselor, an assistant dean of students, director of the Illinois commission on higher education (1958-61), and executive vice-president of the University of Florida. The board of education appointed him despite opposition by its selection committee and the faculty’s budget and policy committee. Johns was a “man of boldness, not minding a good fight, generally willing to make hard decisions quickly and forthrightly.” He sought to keep the board of regents out of matters which should be decided on the campus. Although he was a “bracing breeze,” “his outspokenness was bound in time to create ill will.” (M160).

Johns’ policies. At his first faculty meeting, Johns stated he was open to visits from faculty; he intended to delegate much responsibility to his administrative staff; he believed in strong faculty participation in government, in budget making, in policy forming; and that the faculty’s role in helping to determine objectives and policy was sound. He also intended and desired to defend academic freedom to the limit of his ability. (M161).

Johns also insisted that UM’s alumni and Montana citizens should know of its quality. (M161). To do so, he set up a council of fifty, composed of prominent persons, to counsel with and advise UM’s officers. He instituted the order of the grizzly, supplementing distinguished service awards, to honor

successful alumni. He and MSU's president inaugurated joint administrative staff meetings leading to several joint projects. The UM endowment foundation became the University of Montana foundation, with wider objectives and services. (M162).

Planning. Johns was an enthusiastic and competent planner. He hired a San Francisco firm specializing in campus planning and worked out a ten-year, multi-million dollar building program. It included a new library building, a new student union building, a science complex, a new administration building, several dormitories, a football stadium and an addition to the field house. Old frame buildings were moved, burnt or bulldozed. A new laboratory was built at the Flathead lake biological station. (M164).

New developments. During the Johns years, college of arts and science departments continued to develop. The law school undertook participation in the national defender project, to present materials for counsel in the Montana supreme court. The forestry school celebrated its 50th anniversary. The business school expanded. Graduate work there, which was suspended in 1950, was reinstated in 1965. The music school and drama department continued to receive recognition. (M166).

Faculty relationships. Johns had difficult relationships with faculty organizations. Merriam states he was inclined to be a "dominating person" who acted "quickly and impulsively." However, the faculty also benefited under him. He encouraged faculty travel and removed the ceiling on the sum for determining retirement payments. (M166). Although acknowledging that a strong academic program came first, he also stated that he favored a strong and aggressive athletic program. However, he was not willing to use appropriated funds or student fees to fund athletics. (M166-67).

The student union building—part three. Extensive planning for yet another student union building had begun during the Newburn years. Johns proceeded with those plans, even though the students had decisively voted not to do so. After nearly two years of debate, Johns decided in October 1964 that since students would profit from having a new student union building, they should not have a choice as to whether one would be built. However, they could decide what went into it.⁷⁵ (M168). In September 1966, the board of regents accepted bids for the building, which cost \$4.3 million. It opened in January 1969.⁷⁶

Student-administration relationships. A May 1965 *Kaimin* article stated Johns disregarded students and that he had "run his steam roller over anyone and anything that remained in his way." (M168). Despite the fact that Johns appointed a student committee to keep students informed about UM and continuing a judicial board of review to hear students who claimed to be unfairly treated, "the poor feeling between students and the President remained unresolved." (M168-69).

Johns resigns. Johns resigned in July 1966. Vice-president Robert T. Pantzer became acting president. Merriam doesn't state why Johns resigned or offer any critique of his presidency. (M169). Johns was president at Sacramento State College during 1966-69. He died in Corrales NM in 2007 at age 86.⁷⁷

The Pantzer Years (1966-1974).

Robert T. Pantzer became UM's twelfth president in the fall of 1966. He received a B.A. degree in business administration and an LL.B. degree from UM (1940, 1947). He had been county attorney and in private practice in Chester MT (1947-50), Park county attorney (1951-55), city attorney in Livingston MT (1955-58), and in private practice there (1950-58). He became executive vice-president and financial vice-president at UM (1958-60, 1960-66). He also was a business law professor until he became president (1958-66).⁷⁸ (M170).

Student-faculty relationships. Merriam states Pantzer is “generally well liked” and has a “forthright approach.” He respects the faculty and wants to work closely with them. Pantzer appointed students as voting members of 15 or more committees, stating that student views can be helpful to faculty members and administrators, and that they should be brought into the policy-making committee function. Students suggested new curriculum additions and courses that were adopted. (M171-72). Students also were concerned with developing their self-government, and to create a student facilities council. (M173).

Later years. Merriam concludes with a lengthy survey of numerous programs occurring both on and off the UM campus in 1968. (M175-82). In later years, Pantzer “was faced with student riots in the wake of Kent State, racial issues, classroom censorship and a work-study scandal that rocked the athletic department.” UM president George Dennison later stated, “It was a very, very difficult period which he handled very well.”⁷⁹ Any discussion concerning those issues is beyond this article’s scope.

Pantzer resigned as president in 1974. He became then became an administrator for the Rutan and Tucker law firm in Santa Ana, California for several years. He died in October 2004 at age 90.⁸⁰

Conclusion.

UM’s early history confirms it managed to survive and develop despite encountering recurring, substantial difficulties during its first 75 years. Its ability to do so resulted from continuing, cooperative efforts of its presidents, administrators, faculty and students to build a better university in the face of adversity. UM’s current enrollment and financial problems present recurring instances of the difficulties it has previously encountered. How UM will proceed in resolving those problems remains to be seen.

End Notes

1. B.A. 1961, University of Montana (with high honors); ASMSU central board member (1957-60), president (1960-61); J.D. 1964, Stanford Law School. The author was an appellate lawyer in Phoenix, Arizona from 1965 until he retired in 2012. Telephone: 602/485-5521. Email: paul3707@aol.com.

2. STAN COHEN AND DON MILLER, *THE UNIVERSITY OF MONTANA, MISSOULA: A PICTORIAL HISTORY* 42 (2003).

3. *Id.*

4. E-mail from George M. Dennison to Paul G. Ulrich, Dec. 1, 2016 (unpublished; on file with author).

5. *In memory: George Dennison*, Source, colostate.edu (on-line, reviewed Jan. 12, 2017).

6. *George M. Dennison*, President’s page – University of Montana (on-line, reviewed Jan. 5, 2017; *Former University of Montana President George Dennison dies*, *The Missoulian* (on-line, reviewed Jan. 10, 2017).

7. *Administration at the University of Montana*, www.umt.edu/administration (on-line, reviewed Nov. 18, 2016).

8. *Montana State University*, wikipedia.org (on-line, reviewed Nov. 21, 2016).

9. *University of Montana*, wikipedia.org (on-line, reviewed Nov. 15, 2016).

10. *Montana State University*, *supra*.

11. *Id.*

12. Keila Szpaller, *Updated: Former University of Montana President George Dennis dies*, helenair.com, Jan. 4, 2017, (on-line, reviewed Jan. 10, 2017).
13. *George M. Dennison, supra*.
14. *Id.*
15. See generally JON KRAKAUER, *MISSOULA: RAPE AND THE JUSTICE SYSTEM IN A COLLEGE TOWN* (2015).
16. Michael Siebert, *The end of Engstrom: How UM's president fell from grace*, montanakaimin.com (on-line, reviewed Jan. 10, 2017).
17. Keila Szpaller, *International student enrollment drops: new VP charged with increase*, missoulian.com (on-line, Feb. 1, 2017).
18. Lucy Tompkins, *Should President Royce Engstrom be held responsible for UM's enrollment drop?*, montanakiamin.com (on-line, reviewed Jan. 6, 2017).
19. *Id.* Out-of-state undergraduate tuition and fees now cost \$23,714 annually, as opposed to \$6,215 annually for in-state undergraduates. University of Montana–Google Search (on-line, reviewed February 5, 2017).
20. *Id.*
21. Siebert, *supra*.
22. *Id.*
23. *Id.*
24. *Id.*
25. Jayme Fraser and Renata Birkenbuel, *Lawmakers told regents they were unhappy with Engstrom*, billings-gazette.com (Dec. 4, 2016) (on-line, reviewed Jan. 12, 2017).
26. Siebert, *supra*.
27. *About the President – Office of the President – University of Montana*, umt.edu (on-line, reviewed Jan. 5, 2017).
28. *Sheila Stearns named UM interim president*, greatfallstribune.com (on-line, Dec. 1, 2016).
29. *About the President, supra*.
30. Keila Szpaller, *Sheila Stearns Finds 'Star Power' at University of Montana*, flatheadbeacon.com (on-line, Jan. 9, 2017).
31. *Stearns to serve as interim chancellor at MSU Billings*, montana.edu/news (on-line, Apr. 18, 2014).
32. *Id.*
33. *UM State of the University Address Focuses on Enrollment, Retention*, news.umt.edu (on-line, Jan. 19, 2017). Student retention, including related ethical considerations involved in retaining students who should not be retained, has become a priority issue at UM. See Keila Szpaller, *University of Montana aims to push up retention*, missoulian.com (on-line, Feb. 5, 2017).

34. *University of Montana, supra.*
35. *Missoula College* – University of Montana (on-line, reviewed Jan. 6, 2017).
36. UM Website, <http://www.umt.edu/about/> (on-line, reviewed Nov. 16, 2016).
37. *University of Montana, supra.*
38. *Id.*
39. *Id.*
40. *Another Strong Year for Private Support to UM*, Raising Montana (UM Foundation Newsletter), Winter 2017.
41. Fiscal Year 2016 Impact Report, University of Montana Foundation, supportum.org (on-line, reviewed Jan. 12, 2017).
42. Siebert, *supra.*
43. *Montana State University, supra.*
44. *Id.*
45. *Northern Arizona University*, wikipedia.org (on-line, reviewed Jan. 18, 2017).
46. *University of Montana, supra.*
47. *Id.* For discussions concerning the selection of Helena as Montana’s state capital, see, e.g., MICHAEL P. MALONE, THE BATTLE FOR BUTTE 98-100 (1981); DENNIS L. SWIBOLD, COPPER CHORUS 47-59 (2006).
48. COHEN AND MILLER 1.
49. *Presidents of the University of Montana*, wikipedia.org (on-line, reviewed Jan. 6, 2017).
50. *Presidents, supra.*
51. *President’s Page*, 39 STAN. L. REV. No. 3 (Feb. 1987).
52. *Presidents, supra.*
53. *Id.*
54. *Id.*
55. *Id.*
56. *Id.*
57. See SWIBOLD 257-312.
58. *State ex rel. Veeder v. State Board of Education*, 97 Mont. 121 (1934). The court dismissed a UM student’s lawsuit claiming that the board of education could not legally impose a \$5 per year fee to repay student union building

bonds without student approval, since Montana Political Code §866 provided, “tuition shall ever be free to all students who shall have been residents of the state for one year.” It instead held that since the building’s main purpose was to house the student body’s extracurricular activities and only a small portion of it might be devoted to classes in the dramatic arts and “kindred subjects,” the fee was not “tuition.”

59. See generally *The History of the UC – University Center – University of Montana* (on-line, reviewed Jan. 12, 2017).

60. *Presidents, supra*.

61. *Id.*

62. *Id.*

63. *Id.*

64. *Id.*

65. *Id.*

66. *Id.*

67. *Id.*

68. *Id.*

69. Statement by Carl McFarland to Central Board, Central Board minutes (Mar. 24, 1955).

70. *The History of the UC, supra*.

71. *Presidents, supra*.

72. Leslie Fiedler, wikipedia.org (on-line, reviewed Jan. 10, 2017).

73. *Id.*

74. *Presidents, supra*.

75. *The History of the UC, supra*.

76. *Id.*

77. *Robert Johns–1963-1966*, Office of the President–University of Montana (on-line, reviewed Jan. 10, 2017).

78. *Robert T. Pantzer–1966–1974*, Office of the President – University of Montana (on-line, reviewed Jan. 11, 2017).

79. *Robert Pantzer, who led UM at difficult time, dies*, The Spokesman-Review, Oct. 31, 2004, (on-line, reviewed Jan. 10, 2017).

80. *Id.*