CHAPTER IV

Storms of State

1912 -1915

"Consolidation is good business."

At the opening exercises of the University in September, 1895, President Craig had made the statement that men are not so much the product of the times as the times are what men make them. This oversimplified idea seems to some degree applicable to the administration of President Edwin Boone Craighead, the successor of President Duniway.

Born in Ham's Prairie, Missouri, in 1861, of Scotch-Irish-Virginia parentage, he was, on becoming president of the University, older by two years than Dr. Craig had been in 1895, and by eleven years than Dr. Duniway in 1908. But from the amount of activity he carried on, one might conclude that he possessed a reserve of energy greater than that of either of the preceding energetic executives.

He graduated from Missouri Central College at the age of 22, did graduate work at Vanderbilt University, Tennessee, and then spent the years 1886-88 at Leipsig University and at the Sorbonne in Paris. The next three years he taught Greek and Latin at Wofford College, South Carolina, the alma mater of Montana State University's post-World War II executive, James Allen McCain. From Wofford College, Dr. Craighead went to South Agricultural College and School of Mechanical Engineering as president, and thence as president briefly in turn of Missouri Central College and of Missouri State Normal. In 1904, at the age of 43, he became president of Tulane University in New Orleans, one of the larger
institutions of the time, whose faculty in 1912 numbered 192, with a
dstudent body of 2230, and an original endowment of $1,050,000 from Paul
Tulane, a wealthy merchant of the city. This university had been estab­
lished in 1884, and with it had been consolidated an older school in New
Orleans of 1834 origin called the University of Louisiana. The resulting
institution had, besides the College of Arts and Sciences, a model high
school, a law school, a medical school, a school of pharmacy, and during
Dr. Craighead's presidency a summer school of around 900.

Dr. Jesse gave interesting facts about the consolidated school:

In the 1860's my father was Dean of the old University of
Louisiana in New Orleans. He was active head of the institution;
the President being, as in the case of Chancellors in the English
Universities, largely honorary. It was my father who persuaded
the authorities to "consolidate" rather than to have two univer­
sities in the same city.

Consolidation in New Orleans proved to be good business, as it was
also at the State University of Louisiana at the capital, Baton Rouge,
with which were consolidated an older military college and the colleges of
agriculture and of mechanical arts. It seems probable that to Dr. Craig­
head, coming from Tulane, the routine details of administering so small
an institution as that at Missoula was in 1912, with 343 students and 32
faculty members, seemed quite simple, but that when he realized Montana's
comparatively small taxable population, his impulse was to shape higher
education in Montana into the pattern of Tulane and Baton Rouge, disre­
garding the fact that the sparsely populated area concerned, with yet no
really large cities, was more than three times the size of the state of
Louisiana, and hence local competition much sharper.
As if he had adopted Montana in joy over relief from the heat of New Orleans, in spite of some clearly expressed fears for the cold of a Northern winter, Dr. Craighead acts like a native after his first board meeting in July, 1912, when he accepted the presidency. According to the *Kaimin* he ships forty palm trees to the still rather bare campus. No further mention is made of these trees. Perhaps no forestry experts in exotics were living here. By November he is writing to Governor Norris asking to have the December board meeting early so that he can get to the Carnegie Foundation meeting in New York City and place the University on it. He speaks of two well-to-do elderly women in Washington, D. C., who, he is sure, will be of assistance to the University. He is full of enthusiasm and confidence. By the end of the month he is writing to Woodrow Wilson asking him to consider Governor Norris for Secretary of the Interior in the new cabinet. He is writing also to influential men all over the country on behalf of the governor and receiving many approving responses. But one can almost see him smile as on the margin of a completely non-committal reply he pencils, "Slick as an eel."

With cleverer wording than President Duniway used, he has told Montana through newspaper articles and public speeches that the University needs more buildings, more money, more teachers, and better salaries, and that its friends believe its needs are greater than those of the State College because the latter receives about $170,000 from the national government and the Department of Agriculture and will receive even more if the Smith-Lever bill passes, and therefore the University should receive a larger appropriation from the state than should the Agricultural College.
He has written to a friend in Texas, "We are so poor that I don't know how we are going to get through the cold winter." The figures for fuel astounded him—1300 tons per year of coal plus wood by the cord, to heat five by no means immense buildings, University Hall, Old Science, Old Craig, the Library, the old Gymnasium, besides the small, two-room infirmary behind Craig Hall. Nineteen-fifty-five estimates show per year around 790 tons of coal plus 21,635 tons of hogged fuel, that is, wood slabs and wastage put through a hogging machine, and much less costly than other fuels available to that date, and this for an enlarged campus with ten or eleven times the cubic space of the 1912 buildings. But in the years since his time there have been Hellgate tantrums that burned up over forty tons of coal a day.

By 1913 Dr. Craighead is fully convinced that consolidation is the only answer to the economic problem. He does not see how even the minimum of duplication courses can be afforded by the state, and when the 1913 Legislative Session adopts the chancellor plan, he writes to the governor that consolidation still can be accomplished and that one Missoula citizen had promised 5000 acres of land, and money, for the consolidated plant within 24 hours if the measure should pass. So he gathers his energies for a campaign for what he desires.

In the meantime, scholar though he is, he has declared his policy as primarily expansion and increased attendance, whereas Dr. Duniway's goal had been the best possible quality of work and scholarly service to the state. As the months go by, various events indicate the policy. To save money, partly perhaps for more popular advertising, the publication of research bulletins by the faculty is discontinued, though the
President urges the State Board of Education towards the building up of a graduate department. An alumnus of the time has commented that though Dr. Craighead was something of a classical scholar he had definitely left the ivory tower. In April, 1913, the standard for athletic eligibility is lowered to 10 hours, making it possible to have larger teams and more games.

But not all sailing was smooth. In 1913 he writes to the governor:

... it is far easier for me to get what I have to say published in the papers of Boston, Chicago, or Spokane than in any papers of our own state—another evidence that Montana and the press of Montana do not realize that we have a university in this state . . . . It would be a good thing to have a meeting at the University of the newspaper men of the state at the inauguration next year of our new chair of journalism.

His unsuccessful effort to place the University on the Carnegie Foundation evidently failed on another point than the biennial income, but his enthusiasm and initiative remain. He writes to State Superintendent Davee a year later:

I was told by an Eastern educator that the State University of Montana was not on the Carnegie Foundation because Montana high schools are not up to date. I denied this. They are equal to Eastern and we can maybe make them better.

There were moments as in the letter about the Montana press when, subconsciously at least, he must have acknowledged to himself something about the weather or the craft, or even the crew, that gave him naive surprise but did not lead him to connect the mystery with himself. In one of these moments he received a letter from John C. Bowman explaining why Mr. Bowman had resigned from the presidency of the University of Iowa. Mr. Bowman writes:

No man can be held accountable for his responsibility unless his authority is respected, or for his policies unless he is given a free hand to carry them out. This principle is recognized in all well-governed colleges and universities, as it is in every well-organized business.
Like a cry of anguish out of admission that storms are menacing is President Craighead's quick reply of condolence and commendation.

The university presidency is no position for an independent man . . . . Only rich men should become presidents of universities as they are now constituted.

Why only rich men? one asks perhaps. That they may when without institutional funds to carry out their policies offer a gift on condition that the state match it with an equal appropriation? Or that rich presidents may spend their own money as needed for campaign funds? Dr. Craighead was receiving a salary of $6000.

A six-week summer session in 1913 must have brought the University rather stupendous advertising. The papers were enthusiastic and gave it wide publicity. There were 280 adult students, and, attending a model school, 180 children. This model school was conducted by an eastern woman whose 8-year-old son had just passed high school entrance examinations! He was also a boy soprano of great promise. It may be supposed perhaps that he was trained by the Madame Montessori system of education that in the next two decades was to receive so much attention in American kindergartens and primaries, for there were on the program a number of lectures by American specialists in that system. The President of the National Playground Association also gave a series of lectures, as there had been in the 1912 session planned by Dr. Duniway and strongly urged by Missoula women's organizations. Other attractions were a program-pageant by Camp Fire girls under the direction of Mrs. Koch and a Boy Scout camp on the campus throughout the session. Certainly the idea was then original and impressive. One wonders did the "Little Scouts" wander to the treacherous river to swim, and did they cook their own
meals? And did they hope to return some day as college men?

Through 1914 the President continues, on some sources initiated by former presidents, such as railway passes and contributions from friendly businessmen, to manage to send faculty members to speak at various public meetings to stimulate alumni interest and to attract new students, and he goes himself to many high schools. He tells the Butte High School students that University attendance has increased under his administration from 230 in the fall of 1912 to 507 in 1914, that the University is now a member of the North Central Association of Accredited Colleges since its annual income has risen to over the required $100,000.

Some threats have come his way from opponents of consolidation. Many in the state, having voted the chancellor plan in 1913, feel that the question is settled and do not want the argument re-opened. But Professor Aber prepares a long article for the Butte Miner. He maintains that Governor Stewart has no right to threaten or censure any faculty member or official for supporting consolidation. The State Board of Education had not condemned it (though in June, 1914, they voted to consider it no more), and in 1912 the teachers of the state had favored it. He claims that the original land grants had not suggested separated institutions and that even the School of Mines would not suffer by being moved from Butte. He cites New York and M.I.T. mining schools as not being in mining camps and as having found the cost of visits of students to mines less than the cost of maintaining separated schools. There is need for new buildings at all the units, but if they were consolidated, $400,000 would care for the needs of all. As further economic argument, Professor Aber quotes numbers of administration officers at Idaho consolidated institution, 87, compared to the Montana total for four units, 117.
As this publicity debate went on, Missoula began to expect the consolidated institution to be at Missoula. Likewise, Lewistown began to count on it, and Great Falls, and to some extent Helena. The measure was to be initiated by a petition to put it on the ballot for the fall election of 1911, and that summer sufficient signatures were quietly obtained, mostly from the students and friends of the University.

Dr. Craighead was by no means alone in his advocacy of consolidation. In 1912-13 there existed a Greater University Club composed of fifty or so prominent men from all over the state. Superintendent of Public Instruction Davee is said to have been the first mover. A group of Missoula businessmen felt as Dr. Craighead did about the economic situation. Colonel Weisel tells of a meeting with Dr. Craighead on the matter with himself, J. R. Toole, Harry Parsons, and Kenneth Ross. Their plan was not for local aggrandizement but for the best solution for the state. If the referendum should pass, the Greater University Club would pay the expenses to bring to Montana three or four of the best presidents in the country to make a survey of conditions and recommend one or more locations.

In October, about the time it was felt that the consolidation referendum would carry in the election, Mary Stewart, who had come from Colorado in 1907 as Dean of Women under Dr. Craig and, still in that position, was well-known in most areas, wrote from a speaking tour in a part of the state not before covered that the people were decidedly ignorant of the measure and that big meetings and lots of them should be held. But in other sections, notably Bozeman, the people had learned enough to become alarmed, and as the rumor strengthened that the vote would be for the change, they put on a whirlwind campaign, accelerated by propaganda that
vested interests, mainly the A.C.M., were backing the consolidation move-
ment, so that in November, 1911, the referendum was defeated two to one.

The end of the administration had begun. Local rivalry was so stirred
that through legislatures it was to affect relations between the institution­
al units for years. Politics entered more and more into the affairs of
education. Charges and counter-charges, some of them deserving the word
nasty, were hurled back and forth. Around Dr. Craighead especially the
conflict raged. It is said that those who resented Dr. Duniway’s dismissal
found some satisfaction in joining the political opponents of his successor
who had been welcomed by opponents of Dr. Duniway.

On June 7, 1915, four days after Commencement, the president was sum­
moned to Helena to give testimony in reply to charges by the State and the
Local Boards. A long list of charges was presented. The ethics of certain
of his decisions made on the basis of expediency was questioned. Expenses
for travel and for student employment were pronounced extravagant, and the
president was reminded that he had been warned the year before when funds
were already found to be running short.

Faculty members had given opinions privately to some of the local board
that they felt the president was vindictive towards members who did not
agree with him, and it was said that the same idea had been expressed at
Tulane. However, those at Tulane complaining had also remarked that it
was Dr. Craighead who had reorganized the School of Medicine there and
started it on its notable progress in the study of tropical medicine. The
president’s athletic policy was sharply criticized also, as was his general
policy of expansion at the cost of scholarship. No evaluation of these
charges, especially those brought by Mr. Ryman of Missoula, was made, but
Dr. Craighead's contract was not renewed. Missoula held a packed mass meeting, almost a riot, in July, at the Harnois theatre, and speakers on both sides hotly reviewed the administration and the charges, but the decision of the Board remained as made.

In 1913 the matter of tenure and academic freedom had been discussed at the annual meetings of a number of scholarly and professional educational societies, and a joint committee of nine was set up to study the matter as reflected in occurrences at various universities. It seems ironic now to read in a recent review that till the 1890's America gave little thought to this matter, its attention being finally stimulated by ideas brought back from universities in Germany! In his address as President of the American Association of University Professors, December 31, 1915, Dr. John Dewey referred to conditions at Utah, Montana, Colorado, and Pennsylvania universities and stated that concern over tenure and academic freedom had fully justified the AAUP for setting up at the beginning of that year a larger committee, of fifteen, including eligible members of the first one, and that the year had brought eleven requests for consideration and analysis of cases.

One of these cases was the dismissal of President Craighead. The report of the AAUP committee may be read in full in the AAUP Bulletin, Vol. III, no. 5, Part II, May 19, 1917. Aside from the exposition of the charges against the president and his reply to them, the committee report held comments on the procedure followed by the Board of Education, concluding that the indictment had not been authorized by the Local Board, that there was not adequate opportunity for rebuttal, and that charges did not receive the thorough and judicial examination that they required,
especially those brought by a member of the Local Board about the president's having no fixed policy but expansion and advertising, about limiting faculty freedom, and about justifying means by ends under the term expediency. The committee declared the procedure unjust to President Craighead himself, unsound in method, and disastrous in results.

Moreover, unlike the old seaman Conrad tells of, who looking at ships under repair, remarked, "The ships are all right; it's the men in them," the AAUP committee raised questions about the architecture of the ship of education in Montana. It called attention to the fact that there were five sources from which conflicting plans and arguments and influence might come, the State Board of Education, the University Committee of the State Board, the Local Board, the Appropriations Committee of the Legislature, and the Board of Examiners. They did not suggest Conrad's maxim that it is more important to study what the ship will do than to spend much time on what it will not do.

Evidently the committee did not review the finances of the institution. In fact they did say that for a conclusive deduction the whole administration would have to be reviewed and that such a complete review was too much for the committee to undertake. But a going-over of records and comments on events of the time brings related points to notice. In reality, in spite of Dr. Duniway's initiation of simple budget and accounting procedure, while accounting was meticulously carried on from day to day, during Dr. Craighead's term the administration of the budget would not bear present scrutiny. This does not imply a charge of dishonesty in either the executive or the offices, but is simply evidence that there was no real awareness of the relation of daily, monthly, quarterly, or even
annual expenditure to the total biennial resources. A budget in fairly broad lines was set up and then manipulated as exigencies arose, in spite of warnings of the Board of Examiners who, even if without legislative powers, could feel right responsibilities for over-stepping resources.

In April, 1915, members of the Board of Education again warned Dr. Craighead of the danger of running out of funds, yet he could not seem to realize the warning. All he spent was for the University and therefore justifiably spent. Colonel Weisel recently said "He was of the type of 'Empire Builder' and, his mind, teeming with creative ideas, could not be concerned with such details." Modern organization much more complex, but with clearer definition of administrative department divisions, assures that the president be kept informed of the state of the budget.

Dr. Craighead loved students. They came to him for help in emotional or material trouble. He gave them sympathy and advice, and gave them work when they needed money. Much of the work was necessary and also kept them in school and bolstered attendance. At the same time, if such work had been analyzed and organized under supervision as it is now, the cost would have been less. In the last year of his term, after he had been warned once, the records show 75 specific kinds of work, each done by dozens of different students and involving the expenditure of over $12,000. No wonder the students loved him for his sympathy and kindness. Department chairmen too found him generous. When they had exceeded what they had thought they would need, they simply went to him for more. Usually it was forthcoming. Sometimes when the president allowed himself to worry, it was not. Some grudges, with grounds, were naturally thus born. It should be noted however that regular work such as that of student laboratory
assistants, readers of tests and themes, accompanists for music or
gymnasium work, and part-time secretaries for departments was organized
usually on a monthly salary and could thus be calculated in "budgetry."
The rest of the 75 kinds of work seemed done by casual appointment and
expense. Even in some greater expenditures casualness seemed to prevail.
Here was the twin of consolidation as double root of tragedy. To bankers
who happened to be board members such conditions would seem ruinous. Per­
haps in the depths of his heart, after the warning in April, 1915, the
president too felt ruin coming, but like Coriolanus would not admit it and
went wildly on to other possibilities so that those who had lost confidence
might question "whether defect of judgment" led him "to fail in disposing
of those chances which he was lord of," and many who recognized his ability
and students who loved him might think of him as "by his own alms empoisoned
/And with his charity slain."

The family moved from the Duniway house where they had been living that
last year to a quite attractive house Dr. Craighead owned on Second Street
near the river. Rather retiring, and burdened with incoming deafness, Mrs.
Craighead refused any public courtesy from subsequent presidents or their
wives; living quietly among constant reminders of past happiness, beauti­
ful furniture, silver, books, that had made the home background, and find­
ing some creative release in designing and making remarkable silk hooked
rugs, many of such dimensions and delicacy in design and color that they
could be hung as wall tapestries. She died in '19 .

Was President Craighead's administration a failure? In many res­
pects it was. It has been said it broke his heart. He died five years
later. But at an Armistice Day assembly, a memorial to him, on November 13,
1920, Dean Stone, the principal speaker, said that Dr. Craighead had left
the University a legacy of "boundless courage, unfaltering loyalty, and given Montana her first vision of the greatness of the University."

Dr. Phillips named him as a real scholar. Dr. Ames recalls hearing him speak at Track meet to visitors and contestants and felt himself, than a high school teacher, unable to resist the speaker's contagious enthusiasm for the University. The alumnus before referred to, under the same spell at the time, many decades later concluded that Dr. Craighead was, like Caesar, ambitious, and was the sort of leader who evoked reactions of either strong admiration or bitter dislike, but grants that when Dr. Craighead came, the University "was a sleepy little college hidden in the hills, and when he left it was in the process of growing up, had taken on speed and dimensions and had been projected into the life and politics of the state."

The whole affair, this reflecter calls a "mild growing pain in the evolution of the University."

Dr. Craighead without doubt made his times troubled, but he was also quick to use for the University any advantages incipient in the times.

The Short Course for Rangers in Forestry, legalized under President Duniway, with interested support already active among Forest Service staff and logging companies, under Dr. Craighead, with Dr. Kirkwood's active support, easily became a school, or, in the words of the 1914 catalog, a College of Forestry. Dr. Duniway's efforts for a real summer session in which students might earn some college credits, in place of the regulation three-week Teachers' Institutes generally accepted at the time, gave Dr. Craighead the opportunity mentioned previously for the advertisement of 1913. Moreover, even Dr. Craig had entered a wedge towards this point by extending the summer study at the Biological Station to five weeks with an elective sixth week, and possible college credit for the work.
Even disadvantages turned to advertisement. Hoping for a building for the chair of Journalism, when funds were found non-existent, he and A. L. Stone, whom he had brought from the editorship of the Missoulian to the faculty, set up tents for the warm months and trusted to the picturesqueness of the maneuver to inspire some spirit to materialize itself in cash. The State Board found a way. That late fall, 1914, a small hut was erected by mostly student help. It stood just north of where the Forestry Building now is. When Cook Hall was no longer needed for the Red Cross after World War I, Journalism expanded into more capacious quarters on the second floor, with the R.O.T.C. rifle range on the first floor.

After the death there of Dr. Scheuch's son, thought at first to be from the fumes of firing, and the subsequent moving of the range, Journalism moved to the first floor and became the owner of a real press, through aid from the State Press Association, when the Missoulian purchased new equipment. The Journalism hut became the student store and later was moved to east of the R.O.T.C. Headquarters and used as a carpentry storeroom, where it still stands. Cook Hall then took over the name of the "Shack." The first Forestry building, recently housing the Clerical Service and the State Correspondence School, was built at this time also, much of the carpentry and painting done by student workers during 1914 and 1915. These two locations were familiarly known as "Back of the Hedge," the arbor vitae hedge that used to separate the main campus from the road that runs between it and the bleachers area.

Perhaps likewise to call emphatic attention to the needs of the School of Music, Dr. Craighead housed the voice work in the tower room of Main Hall, under the bell, and boarded up one of the old bicycle sheds near old
Craig Hall to house some piano practice work, and just east of the two-room infirmary began a three-room hut for music. By the time Chancellor Elliott arrived in 1916, it had been in use for some time, and students, many of whom had worked on it, jokingly told the chancellor they had named it Elliott Hall. This name remained in use as long as the hut was there. In the twenties, with the large Forestry Nursery developed, where now the Field House stands, Elliott Hall was moved to that site as a nurseryman's cottage and later with the whole nursery to the Fort vicinity for the same use. It must have been well built!

Dr. Craighead and his family had been living in the Craig house, but with such need for more room, he had moved to the Lombard house on the southwest corner of Maurice and Beckwith, later to the Duniway house, and turned Craig house into a dormitory annex to Craig Hall. Here he housed seven women students on the second floor, with the violin studio in one of the smaller rooms, and on the ground floor installed the Department of Domestic Science, as it was then called. Needless to say, the arrangement was not always harmonious, and though better arrangements were made later, the financial situation was not much relieved till 1921, and no doubt may be what led the really distinguished violinist and composer, Cecil Burleigh, to accept another position.

The so-called schools of music and journalism were in many ways like Topsy and just grew. Dr. Jesse reviewing the nomenclature of the time as used in the Craighead catalogs made the following deductions:

The Departments (as vs. Schools) of Music, Journalism, and Pharmacy are in great confusion. The catalogs of Craighead's administration speak of them as Schools, but I am firmly convinced that the Board of Education had not authorized them as such. Their heads do not appear in Craighead's catalogs as Deans. I believe that in the interim after Craighead, Dean Stone created the public usage of the
term dean for himself, Mollett, and DeLoss Smith. Elliott later in trying to draw up a legal code, discovered that we had three unauthorized schools with deans and quietly had the State Board legalize this fait accompli.

A review of nomenclature of even earlier catalogs reveals related inconsistencies. In Dr. Craig's catalogs what is now the Department of English was sometimes two or three departments, and for years at least two, the Department of Rhetoric and the Department of English Literature. The Legislative wording in House Bill 92 is even clearer witness of the confusion, creating a "School of Law to be known as the Department of Law of the University of Montana."

To call attention to the needs for a dormitory for boys, perhaps for athletes especially and a training table, Dr. Craighead arranged to rent the Johnson Flats on Roosevelt Street (Theodore) for quarters, and renamed them University Apartments. The boys would pay $7 per month for room and would have board with a married couple who would supervise the building and in one of the two apartments reserved for themselves set up a dining place that would accommodate all roomers. This was the first official attempt of the University to house boys. Dr. Craig had permitted fraternities to have their own houses. In 1911 Dr. Duniway had permitted a co-operative house for boys under sponsorship of the Y.M.C.A. and the leadership of his secretary, J. B. Speer, in the house on University Avenue that during the twenties housed the Sigma Chi. The University Apartment arrangement was continued to June, 1915, but because costs had risen and the problem of supervision at such a distance from the campus had become complicated, the plan was not resumed.

When the anti-duplication intent of the chancellor bill was applied to all the units, at that time four, it was the co-ordination of pharmacy
and the pre-medic work advised by Dr. Duniway and the admirable work of the Department of Chemistry that brought the pharmacy courses from the State College to the University as a School of Pharmacy. At the same time, the Department of Mechanical Engineering, also called a school, which had been established and made quite remarkable progress from the very opening of the University, and was legal under its charter, was, nevertheless, moved to its probably rightful home, the State College of Agriculture and the Mechanic Arts. Graduates of this University Engineering School won renown, for example the Sheridan brothers, Grant McGregor, and Harold Blake.

Office files preserve a letter to Dr. Craighead from a friend. It states, "Your judgment of men . . . is always sound." Reviewing the list of men brought to the faculty during that administration not only confirms the statement but indicates another consideration pertinent to charges against Dr. Craighead's policy. It is that though he worked mainly for expansion and greater attendance he also worked as had the preceding presidents for the establishment of a staff whose scholarship and other attainments would in time raise the quality of work done. Of those of that time who gave the better part of their lives to the institution, most have retired according to the state law, or have died. A few whose contribution was stimulating at the time have gone on to other places, as Dr. Kemp of Education. Another was an acquaintance who had had experience in teaching in Tennessee, Alabama, North Carolina, and Virginia. This was Professor Carl Holiday, Litt. D., who came in 1913 as assistant professor of English and director of the Young Department of Journalism, in that year wholly under the Department of English. He became also director of the Bureau of Public Information and of the Montana State High School Debating League. He had done a great deal of magazine and newspaper writing and published
half a dozen books including a history of southern literature. In 1917 he went on to Toledo University and then into war service in France with the YMCA. Returning to Toledo at the end of the war, he taught there till 1929 and went west to San Jose College where he remained till his death from an automobile accident in 1936. It has been said that he had prepared his own funeral sermon. Some of his books are in the University library. Would it be unjustified curiosity to wish to see that sermon? What echoes might one find of his "Wit and Humor of Colonial Days," of "The Cavalier Poets," of his articles in the New York Times Review section?

Dean DeLoss Smith, who not only taught and sang and composed, but made cellos and violins of rare quality, fine pieces of inlaid furniture, and sailboats, served from 1913 till his death in 1939. His wife, Florence, was an assistant in the school and official pianist and organist for the University and after her husband's death was made Professor of Organ. These two musicians travelled all over the state with the Glee Club, which acquired new members and new status under Dean Smith's experienced direction. Usually he gave some solos on their programs, and many an audience went rolling down to Rio on the waves of his melody or felt their throats parch when he called "Water Boy!" Years after his death, his football song "The Warriors" became the dramatic piece he meant it to be and was played and sung at the Rose Bowl with band accompaniment, the University Band being quite a sensation in their deer-skin uniforms, utterly different from the garb of any other such group. Many a campus romance that culminated in an alumni wedding marched to the altar to Mrs. Smith's beautiful organ music. She played on all the pipe organs in Missoula and trained many church organists not only for Missoula, but for places far distant.
Dorr Skeels, from the position of Supervisor of the Kootenai National Forest, already experienced in problems special to Montana and having worked also in the forests of Michigan and Idaho, by the end of the first decade of his term as Dean, interrupted by service over seas, had brought the School of Forestry to a grade of work where it was said only Michigan and Yale were ranked above it, an accomplishment which, except for the reflection that he had able colleagues in Dr. Kirkwood and Professor Thomas Spaulding, later to be Dean, and the co-operation of the Forestry Service, speaks for itself. His teaching was brilliant and his co-operation with the Forest Service versatile and mutually fruitful. His son was Rhodes Scholar from Montana in 1930. Dean Skeels left the school in 1919. He died in 1956. Mrs. Skeels died in 1955—a delicate, courageous lady. The family home was one of the first residences on East Beckwith Avenue, that area then being mostly prairie.

Dr. William O. Bateman from Stanford, coming for the summer session of 1912 that had been planned by Dr. Duniway, the first real summer session held here, was added that fall to the permanent staff of Chemistry by Dr. Craighead. Formerly Dr. Bateman had been Professor of Chemistry at the Imperial PeiYang University in Tientsin, China. He was a minor poet and musician as well as chemist. His artist wife was at various times Instructor and Acting Chairman of Fine Arts at the University. He remained on the staff for 35 years, till his retirement in 1947 and soon after moved with his wife to Seattle where their two married daughters, the elder born in China, were living. Alumni remember well Dr. Bateman’s engrossing lectures on the infringements of the Pure Food and Drugs Act, his humorous but caustic analyses of the fake bases of cosmetics advertised as truly magic, but often truly poisonous, and his lectures on vitamins when the word was
still new and strange to the general public who had dieted mainly on calories. They remember too the interesting place cards designed by Mrs. Bateman for alumni dinners and the charming evenings in her home on University Avenue, later the Home Living Center for Home Economics majors, where they could enjoy her paintings and pastels, see the practical application of artistic principles to the home and the life in it, walk on the lovely Chinese rug that covered the tiled floor of the living room (she had been a rug designer in China), hear tales of the family’s experience during the Boxer Rebellion, and listen to Dr. Bateman play Chopin or some nocturne of his own composing.

Dr. R. H. Jesse, a true Missourian with his You'll-have-to-show-me expression for those who made broad generalizations without sufficient data, staunchly served the University from 1912 to his retirement in 1954. The Sentinel of 1915 commented on him thus:

Does this man like work? He eats it. He expects you to do the same. He declares, "No student at Montana shall ever take a pipe course under me." His lectures are interesting in the extreme.

Dr. Jesse put in his formal request for a Chemistry and Pharmacy Building in 1914 and while waiting for it to be granted over two decades later served the University not only as chairman of his department and on countless committees, including Interscholastic, but, in succession, as Dean of Men, Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences, and Dean of the Faculty. Fate then in a moment of reminiscence after giving him some years to recover from the general rapture over her long delayed building, picked up a few laurel leaves, stuck some prickles in them, and made him Vice President, and in the interim following President McCain's resignation, Acting President.
In his undergraduate days at the University of Missouri where his father was president from 1891 to 1908, he must have become familiar with administrative problems, the mental and spiritual anguish that an executive has sometimes to face, and the loyalty he needs from colleagues in critical times, so that his own loyalty was given generously, even to the very breaking point, to those in whose hands difficult decisions rest.

He came to the University well prepared for those duties life was to ask of him. With classical training and a B.A. from Missouri, he went to Harvard for an M.A. and a Ph.D. in chemistry. While working towards his M.A. he took a year off to gain practical experience in applied chemistry by working for the Mallinckrodt Chemical Works in St. Louis. While working for his Ph.D. at Harvard he was Austin Teaching Fellow in Chemistry and then Thayer Scholar and Carnegie Research Assistant. Of powerful physique, natural dignity, which covered a tantalizing but well restrained shyness, intellectual honesty, and a discerning wit, he left a record that Harvard could be proud of.

In 1910 he became instructor in Applied Chemistry at the University of Illinois, and in 1911 Associate in Chemistry. In the school year 1911-12 Dr. Harkins, chairman of Chemistry at the University since 1899, resigned to join the staff of Chicago University. Dr. Jesse came then as his successor and chairman of the Department. As the years passed he made a name for himself as an honest administrator and as a teacher devoted to scholarship.

There are students and graduates who would like to retaliate for times Dr. Jesse has suspected emptiness in their minds, or, forgetting the difference between their knowledge and training and his own, ignored their groping questions or called them silly, or for his advocacy of the grade
curve which infected American colleges in the early 1900's as an adaptation of Galton's law of frequency of error. Many of the faculty too, have represented his incisive remarks on matters on which they disagreed, even while enjoying his skill as a raconteur. But they have no doubt of his integrity and have been thrilled at his honest change of opinion when presented with additional data that carried a new implication, and they know that in times of distress his staunchness and dependability stood in defense.

He had his light moods too when he was on rapport with youth and flung out to them such chuckle-bringing surprises as his translation for the Sentinel of Vergil's haunting "Forsan et haec olim meminisse jubesit" into the vernacular "Them were the days." His addresses on various University occasions should have been printed. Precise and lucid in exposition, rich in telling allusion, rhythmic with controlled emotion, exploding with ambuscaded wit, they held the attention. They were memorable and yet impossible to remember verbatim, like some great interpenetrative passages that are memorable but escape the memory because of the periphery of ideas and emotions they evoke, so that an auditor on being asked by someone coming in late "And what did the 'skeptical chymist' say this time?" could hardly either quote or paraphrase.

In 1921, Dr. Jesse married Miss Lucille Leyda from the University of Nebraska who had been Physical Director for Women at the University of Montana from 1918 to 1921 and has given assistance at times since in that department as well as in dramatics, and, with the sudden post-World War II increase attendance, for two years was Assistant in English, especially happy when she could help an English A athlete to the point where signals and formations in grammar would become as real to him as those in football.
In civic and community affairs she has given willing service through Parent-Teacher work as state president of the organization, as member of the Missoula School Board, at the Youth Center, through the League of Women Voters, for a time through AAUW, and the Missoula Women's Club. On the campus she was one of the prime workers for the hoped-for establishment of a chapter of Phi Beta Kappa. She is a gracious hostess, with a French flair which she comes by naturally. Her reviews in the Women's Club of Anatole France and of Romain Rolland, from the French versions, will not be forgotten by those who heard them.

On the Friday before Christmas 1955, the campus was shocked and grieved at the news that Dr. Jesse had died suddenly at the home of his daughter in Anaconda where he and Mrs. Jesse had gone to spend the holidays.

Another of Dr. Craighead's appointees was Dr. N. J. Lennes. He won all his degrees at the University of Chicago, taught in the high schools there and in the University summer quarters, and went on to an instructorship at M.I.T. When he came to Montana, in conjunction with colleagues he had already published six textbooks of mathematics, and at the time was working on three more. A bibliography of his published work shows 133 entries from 1905 to 1950. Of these some are magazine articles and reviews of books on mathematics, but the greatest output is textbooks, answer books, and teachers' guides. His graded arithmetic tests for use in grade schools became widely known.

Two books on non-mathematical subjects also are to his credit, one for children, The Story of Columbus, written in collaboration with Dr. Phillips, which attempts to impress its young readers with the advisability of questioning the truth of the legendary that accumulates about the names of great men and trying to build a concept of their significance in accordance
with tested facts. The second book, *Whither Democracy?*, entitled at first "When the Dull Go to School," published by Harper in 1927, has as its thesis that "In proportion as the ideals of democracy are realized in practice, in that proportion does society tend to become divided into occupational classes with hereditary membership." It is in the tragic implications of this thesis that the author was interested—the gradual deterioration of the under-privileged as their better minds under democracy rise to the next class, and the dying out of the superior minds in the uppermost class of intellect because of trends of that time that seemed to prove the recession of the basic biological purpose of mating. He advocated trade schools for the limited minds and vocational courses for the mediocre, and all possible help for those whose I.Q. showed intellect on the grade towards genius. It would seem almost as if he had read not only Carlyle on mediocrity and "gigmanity" but the 19th century Leopardi and was filled with the same fear of the democratic process of education as the latter, "the thinning, the levelling, and the consequent destruction of real learning" to quote from Editor T. Weiss in a number of the Quarterly Review of Literature, which further notes that Leopardi called his own century a "century of boys" and declared that already "even mediocrity" had "become extremely rare."

Dr. Lennes was a catalyst in any group he worked in, sometimes a catalyst for peace, sometimes for strife, and indefatigable, partly because of an iron constitution and a powerful physique and partly because of the perpetual-motion dynamo in his brain. Having finished one project, he was immediately engrossed in another, ideas multiplying in some progression more prolific than even the geometrical. Under such tension he could be, even in class with his students, sarcastic, domineering, arrogant,
stubborn, and almost hateful. Or he could be generous, sympathetic, kindly, humorous, patient, and more thoughtful for another than ever for himself. There is no question of his gifts in the field he chose, nor of his power of analysis in other fields when he tackled enough facts. There is no question of his capacity for work and for feeling, and hence for suffering we all are heir to in some degree. Much may be explained by suffering. The death of his beautiful first wife, a descendent of Theodosia Burr, leaving a son Burr and a baby daughter motherless, was an upsetting grief through a second, unsuccessful marriage and the birth of a second daughter. His marriage in 1927 to Harriet Gardiner, teacher of voice in the School of Music, brought happiness, release from grief, and to the family as much harmony as could be possible in a group of such variously gifted persons.

He served the University actively for 33 years. When he retired it was not to retire from work though with the burden of administration of the Department of Mathematics and class routine lifted, he did take time for pleasures formerly crowded out. Inspiring, irascible, rebellious, and thoughtfully and enthusiastically co-operative by turns, he was basically creative. He gave fine public service during the depression, assisting in relief measures in many parts of the state, driving long distances on weekends over sometimes terrible roads to stricken places where relief must be set up or to centers whose administrative procedure was snarled. In the beautiful house he built on Gerald Avenue, finally to become the Law House of the University, he had some chance to renew his youth in the material beauty he had there assembled after the long hard road from the ship that brought him in boyhood across the Atlantic from the land of his beloved Ibsen. He died on Thanksgiving morning, 1951.
An interesting contrast in the matter of temperament is another appointee of Dr. Craighead's, Dean C. W. Leaphart of the Law School who retired in 1954. Like Dr. Jesse, he was a graduate of the University of Missouri, with a classical B.A., and, following, an M.A. there, then an Ll.B. from Harvard and in 1929 on leave of absence the degree there of S.J.D. (Doctor of Juridical Science). Two of his years at Missouri over-lapped two of Dr. Jesse's, and both men played football, Dr. Jesse as left tackle and Dr. Leaphart as left end. Such versatility was handed on to their sons.

For three years Dean Leaphart taught Greek and Latin at the State University of Kentucky. In 1913, with his Ll.B. from Harvard, he came to Montana as Professor of Law. Leaving in 1915 to work elsewhere for four years, part of the time as a rancher in Wyoming, he returned in 1919, on the resignation of Dean Whitlock, to become Dean of the Law School for 35 years.

He had brought with him as bride a Kentucky belle whose Southern hospitality and loving spirit met the spirit of the West as if they were friends long parted. Many a Law student has happy memories of times in the gracious home up the Rattlesnake, walking under blooming boughs in the apple orchard, picking Concord grapes in the autumn from the trellis of the long grape arbor, catching one of the horses on Jumbo for a bare-back canter, playing with the pedigreed Collie pups that for a while were raised there, eating Southern fried chicken and other delicacies including beaten biscuit in the gay summer dining-room at the back of the house or in winter in the inner room that shone with candle-light on mahogany and silver, and gathering later around the old Franklin stove or the fire-place in the living-room whose floor was waxed fir that set off the hooked rugs. No one left the low, spreading white house with its wind-dust-break of
evergreens without a warmed heart and a mind stimulated by ideas spiced with humor and compassion. Mrs. Leaphart served on the School Board, in the Woman's Club, in A.A.U.W., in church organizations, and ran once for the legislature.

During World War II Dean Leaphart was absent in Washington on national affairs a considerable time, but after President Simmons' resignation and during President Melby's temporary acceptance of the chancellorship, was Acting President. He consistently kept the standard of work in the Law School in line with scholarly requirements, and the alumni roll of his time shows many distinguished names, Ray Nagle, William Jameson (past president of the American Bar Association), Federal Judge William Murray, Dean Russel Niles of Columbia Law School, the Corrette brothers of Butte, and Carl McFarland, first of Montana alumni to be chosen president of his alma mater, with accomplishments in his special field nationally known.

A Jeffersonian in politics, like Jefferson, Dean Leaphart enjoyed plowing a furrow or even inventing a gadget to improve the plow, and like Daniel Boone he donned fur cap and warm boots and went out in hunting season to bring home the venison.

Many of his colleagues have complained of his deliberation in forming an opinion, but have found confidence in the clear and accurately worded expression when it came. All have the pleasant recollection of his unfailing courtesy, his mild and pleasing voice, his informal enjoyment of the fun of being a boy, as well as his wise counsel to boys who may have looked for fun in lines that are neither fun nor of profit. Many have seen him sad and anxious over University distress, stern over offenses against his standard of integrity, but always loyal and determined in the interests of the school,
the community, and the state. During the first year of Emeritus, 1954-55, he taught in the Stetson University School of Law at Petersburg, Florida, and the second and third years in the Cumberland University Law School at Lebanon, Tennessee.

It is surely meet to thank Dr. Craighead for men like these. But the trail of his administration was certainly switchback and expensive like the trail he built with student labor to the second highest peak of Sentinel and the Lookout which in co-operation with the Forestry Service, student labor contributed to building, where Dr. Craig and his faculty had dreamed of building a great astronomical observatory. The Lookout burned down in the late twenties. The trail is not yet quite obliterated. It was long used as a pleasure stroll by students and citizens and even for military exercises by C.T.D. students during World War II.

The charge of expediency may be true, sometimes justified, often not. There had been a smattering import of athletes during Dr. Craig's time, and Dr. Duniway is said to have "tolerated" it. By lowering the standard of eligibility for athletics Dr. Craighead opened the way actually, but not nominally, to acceding to outside pressure. Football fans sensed the opportunity, and perhaps increased attendance was stimulated by increasing football activity. It is said that one famous half-back of the time was a brigadier general on a Pacific island in World War II. The charge is not against either the brain or brawn of the men imported. Some were fine scholars. But when players are finally secretly imported for pay as is said to have happened, there is a charge against the ethics of this so general practice.

It is interesting to note, however, that while bars were let down in
some spots, in others they were held and even raised. A very formal etiquette was required at University dances, and unseemly behavior was sharply censored. The quadrille, and the polka, which could be stately, the minuet even more so, and its substitute the three-step were passing. In their place were the two-step, the barn-dance, the first tangos, and the grape vine.

In 1913 University of Chicago girls ruled out the tango and such pieces as "In My Harem," "At the Devil's Ball," and "Hitchy Koo." At Michigan the tango or any "clutch holds" were barred by student vote. The tango and the grape-vine were forbidden at all University of Montana dances, formal or informal. The Spanish writer, Blasco Ibáñez, traces the tango to a Cuban negro dance, imported thence to South America by sailors, whence it rapidly spread all over the world. He likens it to a "song of revolution—revolution of frivolity," and its steps to those of the "possessed" of the Middle Ages.

Convocation too became as mannered as the old "Chapel," and the faculty themselves were commanded to attend as they had voted to themselves under Dr. Duniway. No doubt to increase friendliness between town and gown, they were advised to take out memberships in the Missoula Chamber of Commerce. The only trouble was that "advice" from the president came to seem to many like a command, as for convocation.

President Craighead inaugurated an information service that really gave service in serious matters. It also established a public tendency to call the University on any subject from how long to bake a custard pie, to how much gold was in the old mine shaft on Sentinel, to how old was the Yellow Ponderosa lone pine on Jumbo, known as Sentinel Pine. The last
question was satisfactorily answered when many years later Dean Spaulding of the Forestry School, measuring tree-age by growth rings, gave proof that the tree had been maturely braving the north wind there when Sir Walter Raleigh was flinging down one of his cloaks that Elizabeth I might pass dry-shod over a mud-spot in London. In 1925 at a Conservation rally Dean Stone used the tree as a symbol of what conservation might do for Montana forests.

Twenty-four years later, in the night of November 4, someone quite expertly felled this timemark. No name or purpose was never discovered. The felled giant lay in menacing possibility of rolling down the hill and damaging houses below, so it was moved into the gulch whose streams had watered it through the centuries. In April, 1950, Conservation Week in Missoula was celebrated by various groups by planting on the site twelve Yellow Ponderosa pine seedlings from the Forestry nursery and by the reservation of a fourth of an acre of the hillside around them as Sentinel Pine Park. About nine of these seedlings survive, but the stone benches and the base for a name plaque hastily made then have tumbled away in the intervening 35 years. The information service however still serves.

Only the other day a University person was called on the phone to suggest a seven-letter word for an independent in politics. All he could think of was "mugwump," dreadful label, but the cross-word puzzle fanatic was in ecstasy, for it fit exactly.

Today would certainly call Dr. Craighead an extrovert. Expression both in act and word must have been vital to a spirit so teeming with projects and visions of new domains. His letters and articles verify that he enjoyed expressing himself, that he had a good time writing. In speaking he is said to have had the aplomb and courteous charm of a
Southern senator, and where Dr. Craig was serious and sometimes ponderous and Dr. Duniway formal and academic, Dr. Craighead, perhaps a natural politician, with a cavalier, paternal fluency, could without losing dignity talk the language of his listener. He could sway an audience, but sometimes beyond the spell of his voice people changed their minds.

The year following his dismissal he served as Commissioner of Education in North Dakota, and then returned to establish the New Northwest, an independent paper in opposition to the Missoulian. Perhaps if the oncoming election had not defeated the candidates and the measures he supported, he might have become one of the foremost editors in the Inland Empire. Or perhaps there was in his course the old fateful "tragic flaw" by which the will must be defeated. In time the paper was taken over by Arthur Fisher who joined the faculty of the Law School under President Sisson. It proved unprofitable and even made itself obnoxious, somewhat, because of lack of taste in some of its articles, and it was believed to encroach so much on the editor's school time that in 1921 his teaching contract was not renewed. Mr. Fisher appealed to the Service Committee and to the A.A.U.P. after Dr. Clapp became president. Most of the faculty deemed this charge unsustained, but Mr. Fisher's own statement showed that teaching was by no means a main interest.

Two implications appear in this review of the first three administrations of University affairs. First, this University, like most others, has had a fairly natural growth, delayed or speeded not only by the administrators and the boards but by changing ideas of education and changing standards, economic, social, academic. As in the growth of any institution, the mistakes of both state and school in one administration, as well as the advances, help the next, for they call attention to regulations that are necessary to
protect both the school and the state which supports it. Second, the particular opportunity of each executive has been three-fold: to evaluate and understand the direction of what has already been done (in Dr. Craig's case the laws already passed and the condition of high schools in Montana), to estimate the needs and conditions of his own time, exercising his own originality and alertness within reasonable possibilities, discarding what has served its purpose, and, third to introduce in close harmony those themes that he himself hears the still far-away voice of the future intoning.

For Dr. Craig there was a limited but unstandardized past to consider, and he found also the close harmony difficult though his faculty was for years within the octave. Dr. Duniway presented his themes in score too contrapuntal and at too fast a tempo to be chorused without preliminary exercises, but much of it was appreciated later. Dr. Craighead, like his own contemporary, Debussy, seemed to make his own scale, but unfortunately introduced thus an unharmonizable interval that although drawing a larger audience, temporarily politically broke up the chorus.