THE LOST OPPORTUNITY:
THE UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA, 1941-1951

By

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ABSTRACT

World War II affected all aspects of society across the world, and historians have written countless narratives covering each aspect of the war including the affects that it had on higher education. Every university's history is unique in this respect, which is one reason that so many universities have recorded their own histories. Instead of writing another institutional history, this thesis will examine the affects that World War II had on the American higher education system in general and the University of Arizona in particular. World War II gave the University of Arizona the ability to excel in several way, the most significant of which was the emphasis it placed on its female students during the war. Because of societal expectations and a university administration that was unwilling to challenge those expectations, all of the advances that its female student body made during the war were reversed. Those advances included egalitarian sports teams, student governments, sorority involvement, courses designed for female students, and a high emphasis placed on accommodating women on a previously male-dominated campus.
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INTRODUCTION

World War II affected all aspects of society across the world, and historians have written countless narratives covering each aspect of the war including the affects that it had on higher education. Every university's history is unique in this respect, which is one reason that so many universities have recorded their own histories. Instead of writing another institutional history, this thesis will examine the affects that World War II had on the American higher education system in general and the University of Arizona in particular. There was a noticeable distinction between public and private universities during the 1940s and 1950s in the rhetoric that was used and in the actual operations of the institutions.

The operations of each institution varied in significant ways based on its size, location, and funding. The University of Arizona was unexceptional in all three respects but World War II gave it the ability to excel in several ways, the most significant of which was the emphasis it placed on its female students during the war. Because of societal expectations and a university administration that was unwilling to challenge those expectations, all of the advances that its female student body made during the war were reversed. Those advances included egalitarian sports teams, student governments, sorority involvement, courses designed for female students, and a high emphasis placed on accommodating women on a previously male-dominated campus. New facilities were planned for this wartime student body but their construction was never completed because all of the available funding went toward the incoming veterans.

Chapter 1 introduces the University of Arizona, the city of Tucson, and the state of Arizona to the reader. It provides the background details concerning the war and the immediate effects of Pearl Harbor at the university before reviewing the changes that occurred on campus in
1942 and 1943. Those changes were beneficial for all of the students who remained at the University of Arizona except for a small group of men who were ineligible for military service, so the crux of the argument lies in this portion of the thesis. Other universities are introduced in this chapter as a way of contrasting these changes at the University of Arizona to show that the combination of factors there created a unique situation in the country. Following these portions, an overview of the Japanese internment camps that were located in Arizona is included. Even though this overview does not provide additional evidence to support the thesis, it is still an important part of the University of Arizona's history because of its involvement in the camps, particularly in its unanimous rejection of support of the internees' education.

Chapter 2 details the effects that the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944—the “G.I. Bill of Rights”—had on higher education and vocational training across the country. The increase of male students was much higher than any university personnel anticipated, and this caused housing shortages and transportation issues around the country. Almost all universities in the United States had at least a slight majority of female students, but the entrance of the veterans into higher education institutions returned the balance to prewar numbers. Part of the reason this happened was nostalgia from the male—as well as some female—students who missed the prewar atmosphere of their campuses. Finally, the planning of building construction and improvements at the University of Arizona will also be detailed in this chapter.

Chapter 3 covers the actual construction of those buildings on campus after President James McCormick stepped down from his position at the University of Arizona. Postwar funding allowed American universities to expand to meet the new demand from students and to replace aging equipment. Cities and states themselves also received palpable increases in funding:
Tucson expanded its transportation infrastructure, for example, to accommodate the heavier traffic that was coming in the 1950s.

Even though there is little doubt that many of those changes benefited students, they were designed to benefit male students specifically because female students and skilled workers were expected to return to their place at the home so that their husbands would have jobs again. At the time, this was not a surprising belief and few people—including women—challenged it. If one compares that situation to today where women are in the military and can benefit from acts such as the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944, that situation could not have occurred the way it did because those women do directly benefited from those acts. In the 1940s and 1950s, practically no women received veterans benefits because they were ineligible to serve in the military. Barring women from military service was not a conceited effort to deprive women of postwar opportunities, but that was one inadvertent consequence of it.
CHAPTER 1 – SINKING A DREAM BUT REALIZING ANOTHER: 1940-1944

An Introduction to the University of Arizona

The University of Arizona opened in Tucson, Arizona, at the end of the nineteenth century as an agricultural and geological educational institution but it slowly added programs as the state grew. The majority of the students who attended the university were from towns within the state itself so the campus's size was largely reflective of the size of the state's population. Much of the state is a desert with temperatures ranging from over 110 degrees Fahrenheit in the summer to almost 0 degrees in the winter. Today, the Tucson Metropolitan Area is the second largest metropolitan area in the state with about one million citizens. Phoenix, the capital city, is also one of the ten largest cities in the country, but neither of these cities could grow as rapidly as they did until transportation improved in the 1950s with the construction of interstate highways for citizens and freight trucks, airplanes in the 1960s, and other modes of transportation. The climate and physical conditions of the state prohibited that level of growth before those improvements because there was no way to easily enter the state and, if one did, there was not much point in living in Arizona because it was primarily a destination along the way to the West Coast. An example of the physical conditions prohibiting growth in Tucson are the surrounding mountains: The Santa Catalina mountains to the north, the Tucson mountains to the west, the Santa Rita mountains to the south, and the Rincon mountains.

The three four-year degree granting institutions in the state are the University of Arizona in Tucson, Arizona State University in Phoenix, and Northern Arizona University in the mountain city of Flagstaff, all of which have operated since the turn of the twentieth century. Trains were the most viable transportation option for students coming from outside Arizona to
the university because of the inherent issues that automobiles had before highways were built. Cross-country travel on roads was possible only for people who had sufficient funds, time, and vehicles necessary to cover thousands of miles, and students were unlikely to possess any of those three items. Even transportation within the state was a difficult affair for the citizens but they were at least adjusted to the extreme weather, which was another factor that deterred out-of-state students from attending the University of Arizona. The university operated—and continues to operate—as a land-grant institution through the government, meaning that, in exchange for funding, the campus would host military personnel and programs as the government deemed necessary. One benefit of that funding was that the University of Arizona could charge very low tuition for in-state students since those were the ones the administrative personnel were hoping to attract anyway.

Roads in many cities were poorly maintained after the Great Depression, and the city of Tucson was no exception to this issue because of its limited budget. Advertised as a scenic town with perfect weather year-round, its city council realized by 1940 that the town's transportation infrastructure was incapable of supporting itself if the town continued to grow. The roads were taxed by heavier traffic and the city became aware of an inherent flaw of the network of roads; namely, that they were too narrow to accommodate the steadily increasing numbers of cars. The city council proposed a variety of solutions to address this problem, but each solution was constrained by the limited budget of the city.¹ The council members wanted to expand the roads, create an ordered system of street names and networks, and start civic beautification initiatives. They saw these solutions as being investments for the future since they could attract more people to live in the city and grow its population and economy, but the problem they faced was that

there was no budget for such investments after the Great Depression.

Even though the council was fully aware of the budgetary obstacle that was preventing them from changing the city, it continued planning for a future that it hoped the city would have. Unbeknownst to them, the war would suddenly resolve the budget problem, thereby bringing to fruition their years of preparation. The next chapter offers an account of the interwar expansion of the university and the city of Tucson, but one must still wonder how the city would have afforded those improvements had World War II not impacted it in so many ways. Road improvements were the ones that were most emphasized in the city council meetings because the council saw them as being the weakest link in improving and expanding the whole city and. The president and deans of the University of Arizona, then, could not have expected that out-of-state students would drive across the country to attend the university when the city itself was unprepared for the amount of traffic that it was already experiencing. Railway transportation was the other option at the time, but railway companies were experiencing their own levels of hardships in maintaining the tracks and cars.

The weather, though advertisers touted it as being an appealing reason people should live in Arizona, was also one of the important reasons why more people could not live in most parts of the states. Located on the eastern edge of the northern Sonoran Desert, Tucson—as well as Phoenix—has an average annual rainfall of about twelve inches, meaning that the city has to conserve its water use. When compared to coastal states such as New York that have annual rainfalls of about thirty inches, the lack of water in Tucson prevented large numbers of people from moving here because of the hundreds of miles of desert in every direction. In this light, reliance on cars to transport people across the desert was unrealistic when the consequence of

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one's car breaking down was that one would be stranded in the middle of nowhere with little to no water and no structures nearby to call for help.

In addition to the lack of rain, the summers and winters both provided extreme weather that deterred people large numbers of people from living here. Temperatures upward of 120 degrees during the monsoon season—the months when the most rain falls, generally from May to September—meant that walking miles in the sun was impractical for people who simply wanted to visit before their cars broke down. The winter months, while not as extreme as the summer ones, see temperatures down to 16 degrees usually with no snowfall. Weather also impacted the university because of heating and air conditioning considerations, but the effects that it had on the population of Tucson prevented the city from growing through the use of trains alone. It was not until after the war ended that the population's reliance on trains was replaced by one based on cars.\textsuperscript{3} Trains were the primary mode of transportation for out-of-state students because of their speed, cost, and efficiency in traveling long distances.\textsuperscript{4} The railroad tracks across the country were well-maintained for the amount of use that people put on them in 1940, and the main railroad companies accommodated the traffic with an adequate number of passenger and freight cars, but the military soon utilized the tracks beyond any expectation that people may have had during the beginning of the 1940s. Students had little choice in riding trains to Tucson to attend the University of Arizona, and the university committed resources to provide as much accommodation as possible for them. In some cases, it subsidized the passenger fairs for students, and later on it permitted students to stay on campus during breaks when students were


usually expected to leave.

War Strikes Arizona

The University of Arizona campus was located in the center of Tucson and it housed about 2,500 students in the 1940-1941 academic year. Students lived in seven dormitories as well as fraternity and sorority houses and off-campus apartments. Four of those were men's dormitories and the other three were women's dormitories. The goal at the time was to build enough housing to accommodate all of the current students and have enough room left over for the anticipated increases in enrollment before the new housing was completed. This process is essentially the same as it is today at the University of Arizona and, indeed, all across the country. The obvious problem with this model is that it prevents unexpected population increases because the new students would have nowhere to live on- or off-campus. This was reflective again of the connection that the university had with the city since the potential size of the campus was limited to the actual growth of Tucson. Part of the appeal of Tucson, however, was that it was a small city and it was not publicly trying to change that image of itself.

Following the surprise attack on Pearl Harbor and the sinking of the U.S.S. Arizona on December 7th, 1941, the University of Arizona community awoke to discover that someone had created an imitation Japanese flag using a white pillowcase and a red marker. It was hoisted up the flagpole in front of Old Main, which was the central building on campus at the time, and after the culprit raised the flag, he or she cut the halyard to prevent anyone from lowering it. A crowd gathered beneath the pole as a firetruck arrived to use its ladder to allow a firefighter to remove

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the flag and throw it to the waiting hands below. The flag was quickly torn apart and the crowd
chanted encouragement for the United States's entrance into World War II. Before this moment,
the University of Arizona student body, like those of many other universities across the country,
was at odds with itself regarding the best course of action that it and the country should take in
the war. This reflected the larger attitude of the country—indeed, few were enthusiastic about the
prospect of entering the war, which is why the United States chose not to act directly until it was
attacked—but the student bodies at universities were collectively in a unique position because
the consequences of the war were going to affect the students the most. Looking only at the
University of Arizona, a total of 55 faculty members served in the military and only two of
whom were killed in the war, whereas over 10,000 college-aged soldiers were trained on campus
and 200 were killed. Students and young men composed the overwhelming majority of soldiers
during the war, so it made sense that they were not all in agreement regarding the war.

Not all universities were in the same position that the University of Arizona was in
because of its land-grant status. As a land-grant institution, it receives federal funding in
exchange for training soldiers and supporting the military. The implication of this is that, during
a war or other calls to arms, the institution loses much of its autonomy and has to restructure
itself in order to fulfill its obligations to the federal government. Throughout the history of the
University of Arizona since it opened in 1891, it has seen numerous events wherein the federal
government called on it to support the country in one way or another. During World War I, for
example, it trained soldiers, cavalry, and different support units as personnel came and went to
fight in that war.6 All students, faculty, and staff at the campus were aware as World War II began
that similar events could conspire that would drastically change the university, but it is unlikely

they anticipated the level of involvement that the university would have in many aspects of the war, including advanced training of soldiers, supporting the Red Cross, and having direct involvement in the Japanese internment camps in Arizona. Students at the University of Arizona had no choice in the matter of whether to serve in the military or not if they were called upon to do so. In this respect, the student body was going to either support the war entirely or commit itself to fighting against it. As President Atkinson knew, the latter option was unavailable regardless of how many students believed that the United States should not enter the war because it had an obligation to support the government.

Private universities, on the other hand, enjoyed much more freedom to debate the merits of the war than public universities in general and land-grant institutions in particular because of several reasons. The first reason is that they did not receive federal funding in exchange for hosting military endeavors; those campuses were unrelated to the war effort to the extent that there was no obligation on the institution's part to encourage military service from its students. The second reason was that private universities could debate the war more than other universities could because of the demographics of their student bodies. Their students were wealthier than public university ones were, were not necessarily from the same state in which the private university was located, and many of them had important political and social connections in their backgrounds that could assist them after they made their decisions. In the event of a draft, for example, private university students had more options available to them than the ones at the University of Arizona because 1) they did not necessarily have to fight in Europe or the Pacific, and 2) their campus remained intact through the war. Faculty members, too, were in a different position at private universities than they were at ones such as the University of Arizona because
of reasons similar to why their students were in a different position.

After the Japanese attack that sank the U.S.S. Arizona, the morning that the imitation Japanese flag was raised over the University of Arizona invigorated the community and brought the students and faculty into agreement that the United States had no choice but to enter the war. The combination of the surprise attack and the raising of the flag over the campus masked any doubts that they had, and it was through their support that the campus became a significant player in the military effort. That crowd that gathered beneath the flagpole understood that their lives would soon change either because they were going to join the military or the military was going to arrive on the campus to train soldiers for years to come. The confusion that morning was palpable, and realizing this, Alfred Atkinson called a meeting together of the students and faculty to present the situation to them and discuss what was going to happen next. This speech marked the beginning of President Atkinson's public focus on the war and how it was going to change the lives of everyone at the university.

After the government began to make preparations for entering the war, the army, navy, and air force moved personnel to the University of Arizona campus to convert the university into what would eventually become, essentially, a military institution. The Naval school alone trained about 10,000 soldiers, for example, over the three years that it operated on the campus. Immediately, the conversion saw numerous issues including transportation, faculty shortages, student shortages, and, most notably, housing shortages. All four of those issues were related to each other throughout the war as well as the years shortly after it ended. Historians have written many detailed accounts of the national—as well as the international—events, implications, and consequences of World War II, but the connections that they had to the higher education

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7 Cosulich Papers. Folder 1.
institutions in the United States are only subtly implicated in their accounts. Transportation was one of the first and most obvious national changes to occur when rationing of tires and gasoline was implemented by the federal government. A national 35-mile-per-hour speed limit went into effect on October 28, 1942, in order to conserve gasoline and rubber and to limit the general wear on automobiles and roads. The belief was that any speed above thirty-five miles per hour would waste resources that the country did not have at the time; whether this was an accurate belief or not is not related to the topic of this thesis because the local effects of the speed limit were not directly related to cars in Tucson since there were simply not that many in the community before the war ended.

Traveling across the nation in cars after rationing was in effect made such notions of driving a car over significant distances prohibitively expensive and time-consuming. The main problems with driving that Arizonans faced before the war were magnified in 1942 because most cities around Tucson and Phoenix were over a hundred miles away—the trip from Tucson to El Paso, for example, is over 300 miles today, or over eight hours away traveling at 35 miles per hour—so people had few options if they found themselves in need of supplies in the middle of their trips. Inner-city travel, too, was restricted since Tucson itself was not a sprawling urban area; instead, people could travel to most of it by walking, biking, or riding public transportation. One thing that the war forced people to consider quickly was how much property they could own on a practical basis and which privileges they valued most; supplies were rationed whether the citizens liked it or not. People understood that they had to give up many extravagances, and one effect of this understanding after the war was that they would see owning a car, for example, as being a status-symbol.
Civic improvements that the city council had been considering before the war were now planned more seriously because the council believed that Tucson would grow following the war and would require superior roads. The obvious shortcoming of their plans was that they could only afford those improvements through federal funding if the United States won the war. Their plans affected the University of Arizona because they expected the university to grow and more people would drive to and from the campus after the war, but this leaves open two questions: What if the United States lost, and what if the United States won but Arizona still did not receive federal funding? The city and state did receive the funding they needed to finish their projects but the city, at least, was operating on an assumed-budget throughout the war.

Not only were larger projects planned—such as the Stone Road underpass—but smaller ones were, too, such as planting trees on the sides of every street. These propositions were seen as investments to attract people to the city after the war.\(^8\) During the war, however, little was initiated beyond the planning stages, and minute issues were discussed for unclear reasons; one example was the suggestion to rename many of the major roads across the city, change addresses, and restructure the system that was in use for zoning city blocks. The practical reasons for proposing those suggestions are few and far between but the they did give the council time and incentive to plan larger projects. Planning for a project to widen the roads was one major improvement that the city undertook, and it was one reason why the council discussed changing zoning laws and codes, but there was still no budget for actually doing so.\(^9\) There was no need for wider roads, trees, more logical zoning, and underpasses in the early 1940s, but the rapid postwar expansion of the city because of the sudden return of veterans, including university

\(^8\) Tucson City Council. Meeting Minutes.
\(^9\) Tucson City Council. Meeting Minutes.
students, required those improvements eventually.

As the university was converted from educating students in general to training soldiers specifically, more space was needed but the university did not have the necessary funding before the war started to construct new dormitories to meet even the anticipated increase of students. Converting then-unused buildings such as the gymnasium into sleeping quarters and mess halls was the only option the University of Arizona had until it could complete new facilities. The main issue is that the campus was only designed to accommodate as many as 2,500 students, and not all of them went into military service. Many female students, for example, remained on campus to finish their degrees. The University of Arizona not only was one of the few universities in the country to experience an increase of female students during the war, it was tied for first place as experiencing the highest increase of female student.

The female students filled to capacity their original dormitories before President Atkinson made the decision to allow them to move into the previously all-male dormitories, as well. Why did he do this? There was little question by the end of the 1941-1942 academic year that thousands of soldiers would be training at the University of Arizona and living on the campus, but there was not a considerable increase of female students over this time. Perhaps the increase of about three-hundred female students was enough to fill one of the men's dormitories, but the empty fraternity houses, too, were rented out to the female students. The soldiers did take over one dormitory but had the university not admitted the new female students, it would have prevented later problems of overpopulation from occurring at the campus. One wonders if President Atkinson and the deans at the university made a severe miscalculation when they proposed a solution for how to house and accommodate the students and soldiers. Their solution
was to put them in Bear Down Gym on the east side of campus because, coincidentally, the male students in the early 1940s would be leaving the university anyway to join the military so they would not need the gym anymore for sports. This was a novel idea because it meant that, once the university stopped training soldiers, the soldiers whom the university had trained would leave and the students would come back to the campus, thereby returning the facilities to the original prewar purposes. The administration, however, did not factor into this decision the female students whose academic lives were improved by the new-found conditions on the campus.

Promising New Opportunities at the University of Arizona

Across the country, universities experienced a rapid decline of both male and female students because the male students were joining the military and the women were returning home to help their families. The University of Arizona was one of the only universities in the United States to see an increase of female students; indeed, it was tied with the University of Wisconsin as experiencing the greatest annual gain of female students over the war at 28%. With Bear Down Gym being used to house the soldiers on campus, the fraternity houses and most of the male dormitories were empty. This meant that the university administration could immediately admit new female applicants without any question as to where to house them. More than that, though, was the fact that many faculty members remained on campus with little work to do. Increasing the number of students created new opportunities for the faculty to remain relevant during the war as it would give them opportunities to teach classes again.

The administration at the university had acknowledged the potential issues that could

arise because of the decision to admit so many female students to the university, and their answer, starting in 1942, was to build new dormitories and student housing.\textsuperscript{12} When they were considering possible resolutions for housing future students, they running numbers using the budget that they estimated they would have after receiving federal funding at the end of the war. The University of Arizona had no ability to expand during the war without that funding, but they could not build any facilities, including housing, while the country was still actively fighting the war. Upon Atkinson's realization of this fact, he corresponded with dozens of universities across the country in the hope that they could offer him advice or a possible solution to the conundrum facing the University of Arizona.\textsuperscript{13} All of the answers he received, unfortunately, did little more than indicate that other universities made similar mistakes in calculating housing needs and told him that they were simply waiting until the war ended to determine the best ways to proceed.

Ignoring the upcoming housing shortage, the university continued to admit female students. The course offerings, though, were limited because the faculty members were helping train soldiers, fighting for the military, or on furlough since there were no classes left for them to teach.\textsuperscript{14} The University of Arizona Wildcats football team coach, for instance, taught physical training classes for soldiers. Even though there were fewer students, the student-to-teacher ratio was actually improved because a higher percentage of students than professors left for the war. This allowed the remaining female students to receive significant attention from all of the teachers at the university, which improved their positions academically at the University of Arizona. The Red Cross, the Women's Army Corps, and other volunteer opportunities were created for women because the country had a need for supplies that the soldiers could not satisfy

\textsuperscript{12} Office of the President Records: 1937-1947.  
\textsuperscript{13} Office of the President Records: 1937-1947.  
\textsuperscript{14} Office of the President Records: 1937-1947.
in their present occupations, and women were seen as needing activities to occupy their time now that they had no men around distracting them.¹⁵

Outside of the increased priority of female students at the University of Arizona, opportunities were created in extracurricular activities that the female students could easily fill. Female students composed the vast majority of the staff of the Arizona Daily Wildcat newspaper, for example, partially because there were few male students to work on the staff, but also because journalism was emphasized as an academic program that women could do and one that would be needed after the war ended. The country needed journalists to report the latest news from World War II, and it was also going to need them to report on veterans' issues over the next decades in addition to other news stories. The University of Arizona encouraged other wartime careers for women, as well. This was a period when education and careers were readily available for women.

More focus on the education of women, however, did not mean that they found benefits in all aspects of their college careers. Along with the disbanding of men's sports teams, the university administration put women's teams on hiatus, too.¹⁶ One particularly interesting team that is not well-documented is the women's rifle team in the 1940s, which practiced in the basement of one of the buildings on campus.¹⁷ Without more detailed documents covering the activities of the team, one is left with only speculation as to the team's purpose. Regardless of why the female students were training to use rifles—whether as sport or for more practical reasons—it serves as another example of the wide variety of programs that the university made available to its students even when it was overrun with soldiers. Not only that, but the university

¹⁵ Arizona Daily Wildcat.
¹⁶ Cosulich Papers. Folder 1.
capitalized on the opportunities that were presented to it from hosting military personnel on campus who were regularly training soldiers.

Because the University of Arizona placed so much emphasis on educating and preparing its female students, one would not have realized that some male students remained at the university throughout the war. Edith White was the University of Arizona's first female student body president, serving from 1943-1944, but before she was elected to that position, she gave this description of the situation of the student body:

“The attitudes of the students have undergone considerable change during these years of war. The women students have learned to do without a good many things formerly considered necessities and have become used to an occasional week-end [sic] at home. Their attitude toward the war is a willingness to do their part, but a feeling of being pretty far removed from war. It is easy for them to forget that there is a war, and at times the general feeling is pretty apthietic. The men students seem to divide themselves into three groups: those who are about to be drafted, those physically disabled who won't be called, and those who have been discharged from the service. Those about to be drafted are in general pretty anxious to make a good showing scholastically since their chances of V-12 or OCS may depend upon this. Those who are 4-F are generally indifferent to school, the war, and just about everything. There doesn't seem to be any burning desire for them to hurry through school and further the war effort. The men discharged from service seem to be disappointed in school, since it isn't what it used to be. They returned with the idea of having all the good times that this school used to offer, and now they are

Numerous letters to the Arizona Daily Wildcat from male students serving in the military overseas add an extra level of depth to those observations that White made. These different pieces of text provide the reader with a sense that the students were missing something more important to them than simply sports and social events; they were no longer the heroes on campus. Male athletes were always given considerable attention in discourse and newspaper articles, but suddenly there were no longer male athletes visible on campus. Apart from those letters from the soldiers, the only other prominent articles in the Arizona Daily Wildcat about students were those who were soldiers, either performing notable actions or dying in the line of duty. Ted Bland was one of the university's star all-round athletes, for instance, who was killed fighting for his country, and his obituary detailed his extensive sports achievements. Without current sports on campus, no male students could hope to achieve those same accomplishments until after the war ended, at which time the university would largely utilize freshmen instead of upperclassmen.

The first casualty from the University of Arizona in World War II was Bill Bishop in 1942. There was little mention of him in the Arizona Daily Wildcat when he died, but over the course of the war, “he symbolize[d] the 140 other university students and alumni” who were killed by the spring of 1945. The students and faculty at the university commemorated him by holding an annual Bill Bishop Bond Day. Within one of the articles about Bill Bishop was a series of interviews with an assortment of students on campus to hear their thoughts on the war.

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One student, who did not give his name, was a discharged soldier attending classes again and he believed that the local community was out of touch with the war because it was so far away.\textsuperscript{21} He understood that the university was obviously not functioning the same as before the war, but if one looked past the soldiers training and living on campus, one would not realize that 16,000,000 soldiers from the United States were fighting a war. This made commemoration of the war effort more important because it highlighted to the community that the country was still at war.

Organizations such as the Red Cross encouraged students to volunteer in any ways that they could in memorial of the missing and killed soldiers. The focus of those recruitment efforts was female students because they were looking for ways that they, too, could contribute to the war and helping their male classmates. Classes were offered specifically for them to assist the war effort, and events such as Bill Bishop Bond Day reminded them that the country was still fighting the war and still needed their services at home.

Another aspect of campus life that changed for male students on campus was the necessity to combine all of the fraternities' events and meetings together because there were not enough members in any given one.\textsuperscript{22} The loss of fraternity housing and members was another reason that the male students felt invisible on campus, and there was nothing they could do to regain that previous level of visibility. In some ways, the plight of the male students at the University of Arizona mirrored that of women in education—including at the University of Arizona following the conclusion of the war—but the one significant difference that the reader may note is that the male students understood that any discomfort or indifference was only temporary. For all intents and purposes, they had no reason to believe their situation on campus

\textsuperscript{22} Cosulich Papers. Folder 1, “The University of Arizona and World War II.” 184-85.
was going to continue once the war ended, so even though many students complained that the campus was not like the one from before the war, eventually it would return to all its glory and the male students would regain control of their campus.

The University of Arizona supported all of its students and faculty who fought in the war, and even though there does not exist a public archive of correspondence from soldiers such as the one that New Mexico State University discovered, the many of the deans and faculty who remained at the University of Arizona kept in regular contact with the soldiers and received numerous updates from them as well as souvenirs. Alfred Louis Slonaker, the graduate manager, received a variety of unique items over the course of the war that he proudly displayed in his office on campus. One such item was a Japanese flag that George Robertson of Tombstone, Arizona, sent to him. Slonaker hung this flag on one of the doors in his office, and on another door he hung a Nazi Germany flag that Lt. Stanley Petropolis, “former UA football star” who had played for the University of Arizona varsity team from 1940-1942, sent him. Other items that he collected from students included a German storm trooper doll and a Nazi uniform armband. All of these items were put on display for the public to see so that they could understand what the University of Arizona soldiers were doing in the war.

Apart from the personal items that the students sent back to their university, another graduate manager, Capt. Wilbur Bowers, who was also an alumnus of 1927, initiated the process of transferring the bell from the destroyed U.S.S. Arizona to the University of Arizona. Bowers's request was approved with the understanding that the bell would stay in the Puget Sound Naval Yard in Bremerton, Washington, as an “inspiration to service men” until the war.

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ended. The bell was eventually moved to the campus and contributed to the memorials that were dedicated to the students and soldiers. Bowers felt that it was an important artifact for the university to have on campus because of what it symbolized to the thousands of students and faculty. Out of the 55 faculty members who fought in the war, two of them were killed, and of the thousands of soldiers who enlisted, 268 were killed. Putting that number into perspective, between 5%-10% of the students at the University of Arizona were killed during the war.

**The Affects of World War II on Universities Across the Country**

World War II affected universities across the country in different ways. Martin Trow, a historian who focused on higher education, argued that “World War II was the watershed event for higher education in modern democratic societies. Those societies came out of the war with levels of enrollment that had been roughly constant at 3 to 5 percent of the relevant age groups during the decades before the war.” Following the war, however, the different changes that occurred led to the creation of a “growing demand in European and American economies for increasing numbers of graduates with more than a secondary school education,” and the citizens who fulfilled that increase were people who “had not thought of going to university before the war.” Interestingly, Trow pointed only to the 1960s as the beginning of that demand even though across America a large labor demand was seen as early as the end of the 1940s. The following section provides exemplars of different universities from the 1940s and the different effects that they experienced through the war.


28 Ibid, 556-61.
Many students and professors at the University of Rochester debated the possibility of a second world war before December 7th, 1941. There was no consensus on the matter but the university had the means to debate about the different scenarios that could occur because it was a much smaller university than the University of Arizona was, with a student body by the beginning of the 1940s at 660 students. The size of the University of Rochester is significant when one compares it to that of the Arizona campus since there was a much closer bond between the students and faculty members. This meant that fewer students were actually fighting in the war, with a total of about one-third of the student body having participated in World War II by 1946. The main concern was similar to that of the University of Arizona's, in that as few as 200 male students would be left on campus in Rochester in 1943.

Given the actual enrollment numbers of such a small university, the possibility existed that not enough students would remain on campus to fill the classrooms. The solution that they found to this problem was to bring programs such as the Reserve Officers Training Corps to the campus. For example, nearly one hundred soldiers in the Navy were trained as photographic technicians in 1943. This campus, too, was essentially converted to a military training facility for the duration of the war while the female students ensured a civilian presence in the classrooms to justify the non-military educational endeavors of the university. The president of the University of Rochester, Alan Valentine, believed in 1942 that, “if the normal ideals, traditions, and interests of undergraduate college life, and particularly of the liberal arts, are to be preserved through the war, they must be preserved primarily in and through the College of

31 Ibid, 272.
Women.”32

Perhaps a deeper study of the University of Rochester would reveal a similar pattern to that seen at the University of Arizona, but women—the majority of non-military students—in Rochester were encouraged to pursue “‘war minors' to prepare them for employment connected with the national effort; engineering, mathematics, economics, psychology, and geology qualified as appropriate.”33 The question at hand is whether it was believed that those same women would have any professional or educational opportunities after the war ended. The number of female students at the University of Rochester increased, which caused a demand for on-campus housing, but the size of the campus itself does not permit a close comparison between these two universities in this respect. By the end of World War II, a total of 577 students were registered at the University of Rochester, and female students outnumbered male students four to one.34 After the conclusion of the war, male attendance increased again to return the balance of male-to-female students to pre-war levels.

The University of Colorado, on the other hand, was a major player in military training before and during World War II. Its student body by the end of the 1930s was over 4,000 students, and in May, 1941, it established a Reserve Officers Training Corps.35 The size and importance of the University of Colorado during the war meant that the changes it would experience would be significantly different from the ones that these other universities would experience. Starting in 1942, the University of Colorado was referred to as “the Annapolis of the

33 Ibid. 277-78.
34 Ibid. 285.
West” because of the size of its military programs. One aspect that differentiated this university from most of the others in the country was that it had enough students and integrated military personnel to continue many of its sports and extracurricular activities during the war. While one must admit that its sports programs were highly ranked during the war years, it is not an entirely fair ranking when one considers that most other universities did not have enough male students to actually compete in organized sports.

One event that was emphasized in a history of the University of Colorado was the unexpected demise of a popular night club near the university because of a fire in September, 1942. A quote found in that history is particularly notable because it highlights the different attitudes and values that students across the country had during the war:

“Many eyes were wet and many throats were dry this week as University students and townspeople alike mourned the unfortunate demise … after fire totally ravaged the dance hall and tavern …”

The text pointed out that the fire departments' ability to “prevent the blaze from spreading to the liquor store across the road” was a consolation for those students and townspeople. The author's wording is not meant as a matter of judgment; rather, it is important to realize that many students attending other universities around the United States were unable to enjoy many of those locations and businesses because they simply did not have the time or housing to do so.

37 Ibid, 503.
38 Ibid, 506.
39 Ibid, 506.
In 1945, 4,084 students were registered at the University of Colorado, and including “225 Navy students who were not a part of the regular academic instruction, the men outnumbered the women on campus 2400 to 2393” later that year, “so the University could once more claim that men had regained their numerical superiority on campus.”\(^{40}\) When most universities in the United States experienced female students outnumbering male ones two, three, or as many as four to one, the feat of “numerical superiority” of male students seems of little importance. One point that the University of Colorado's rhetoric shows is that there was always significant emphasis placed on male students. This was one of the most explicit examples of that in the United States; the University of Arizona, while it, too, placed much emphasis on male students, it was not necessarily acknowledging this fact.

The future registration predictions starting in 1944 missed the mark by a wide margin: The highest expected attendance was 6,355 in the 1949-1950 academic year, but “within four years the enrollment was to go over 10,000” students.\(^ {41}\) The benefits of the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944 were largely responsible for this because “men who had never had the financial means to contemplate a college education suddenly had the doors opened” to them. The enrollment total in 1948 was 11,129, with men outnumbering women three to one again.\(^ {42}\) In other words, the University of Colorado experienced an increase of only about 1,500 female students between 1945 and 1948 compared to an increase of about 5,154 male students over the same period.\(^ {43}\)

Another university of interest is Eastern Michigan University because of both its modest


\(^{41}\) Ibid, 509.

\(^{42}\) Ibid, 514.

\(^{43}\) *Author's note: The numbers given here are rough extrapolations of the statistics found in Davis's Glory Colorado!*.
size and the attitudes that its students held toward the war. The announcement of the United States's involvement in World War II in 1941 was a solemn moment for Eastern Michigan University and, unlike the University of Arizona, its students were not enthusiastic about the war effort. Its students body was about 1,900 at the onset of the war and over the next three years it dropped below 700. The semesters were shortened to accommodate the absence of students and the abundance of faculty members, but this only created a further issue that the Normal College would have to address.

The bomber plant at Willow Run was rapidly hiring thousands workers to support the war effort, but there was not enough room in and around Ypsilanti to house them. The obvious solution was to house them in Eastern Michigan University since it was already experiencing a lack of use. The politics behind the desire to convert this university and not the University of Michigan into housing facilities for the plant do not belong in this thesis, but one aspect is important to understand. The impact of proposal to convert Eastern Michigan University is important because, as the supporters of the university argued at the time, housing thousands of workers at the campus would essentially force the closure of the university and prevent educators from using it for years to come if it were ever in a position to reopen.

Eastern Michigan University was mainly educating female students during the war, and the workers whom the bombing plant was hiring were all women. Closing the university was a valid option for the university and government to consider, but housing units were already in construction around Ypsilanti to accommodate 10,000 new workers, and those workers could never be more than temporary ones. That latter fact was unknown to many female plant workers

during World War II, so it is likely that few of these workers realized that their jobs would only last until the war ended. Had the university closed, the female students who were still attending it would have needed to locate another university after the war if they were still hoping to pursue their education. Unbeknownst to most people at the time, initiatives such as the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944 would prioritize veterans for any empty spaces in higher education institutions, meaning that American universities would not have actually accepted many of those female applicants had they applied.

This university, too, accepted military personnel in order to stay open. They were housed in the men's dormitory with the women continuing to live in their own dormitory.46 Like most universities in the country, men's sports games were canceled until the war ended. The reality of the war was inescapable for the students and soldiers at Eastern Michigan University. In contrast to the emotions expressed over the destruction of the night club in Boulder, Colorado, one student at Eastern Michigan University acknowledged in poetry the criticism that remaining state-side left them safe from the war:

Maybe you think we aren't aware today of what is going on, that being here securely barricaded from the war by these scholastic bulwarks, we're content to sit and wait and let the others fight.

And yet that lank, brown soldier, shaking New Guinea caterpillars from his clothes, burned, bony, brave, defying with a laugh the sticky swamp, mosquitoes, death, and Japs, happens to be my brother.

Perhaps some day this bookish bomb of mine will blast as big a hole in Hitler's fortress as Bill's grenade in Hirohito's palace.47

That reality also hit many University of Arizona students, but there was never a question that their university would remain open and relevant to the war effort. That criticism against the Eastern Michigan University students came from “many whose sons were not so fortunate” to live on a college, whereas that criticism around the University of Arizona came largely from the students themselves.

The pattern that all of these universities exhibited is that each of them had the opportunity to keep the changes that were made to accommodate the new female students, but they passed up that opportunity under a pretense that they needed to return to a prewar balance of male and female students. There was not a concerted effort to impede the education of women but they were rarely the priority of administrators. All of the administrative issues in higher education institutions during this period centered around the war effort, and it was incidental that men were the primary agents of that effort. The unfortunate consequence of that was that women were seen as a means to an end of sorts.

Necessity is the main reason why administrators rarely took the best interests of female students into account when they were making decisions. In the case of the bomber factory in Michigan, people were required to work at the plants, and they had to sleep somewhere near them until the housing units were completed. That the question was whether female plant workers should displace female students or not raises two points: The first is that the female students were not going to directly benefit from decisions made after the war, and the second is

that the factory workers were unaware that their jobs were temporary.

By emphasizing war-related programs for the remaining female students to study, universities prevented those students from excelling after the conclusion of the war. There is little doubt that, toward the end of the war, administrators anticipated the wave of veterans who would soon join higher education institutions. President Atkinson of the University of Arizona acknowledged as much when he encouraged the female students at his university to support the veterans in any way they could.

**Potential Change of Treatment Toward Internees**

One could trace the anti-Japanese rhetoric that was displayed at the university during the course of the war at least back to this morning, but one would still wonder how much of this rhetoric existed before that attack on Pearl Harbor. Student census reports showed that there were a total of three students who identified themselves as ethnically Japanese, and the president of the University of Arizona from 1937-1947, James Atkinson, acknowledged that he had never met a Japanese person. The anti-Japanese rhetoric is significant not only for unifying the university during the country's entrance in the war but also because of its positions regarding Japanese-American citizens and immigrants. Arizona, because of its proximity to the West Coast and its relative seclusion, housed several of the largest Japanese internment camps in the country.

These internment camps were responsible for several post-war events and initiatives that allowed Arizona's population to grow substantially over the next several decades, but the attitude taken toward them during the war was that the inhabitants were enemies of the country. Different positions have been taken regarding this morality and necessity of the internment camps, but
University of Arizona President Atkinson's position was indirect support of them through his unquestioning support of the government. His public support of the internment camps mirrored his private support of them but the reasons differed: Publicly, Atkinson believed that the government needed support from its citizens regardless of how much they agreed with its decisions. Privately, however, he believed that we could not trust the Japanese citizens who were living on the coast because of the Japanese military's attack on Pearl Harbor. Interviews with Japanese and Japanese-Americans who were interned at Poston and Gila reveal that some of them, too, believed that the government did not have a choice in whether or not to send them to those camps.

Atkinson's support of the camps reflected his personal feelings toward Japanese citizens: When the camps requested educational resources such as texts and faculty involvement, Atkinson and the Board of Regents voted unanimously to decline the request. The official reason that Atkinson gave in a newspaper article in 1943 was that the University of Arizona did not have any resources to devote to such an endeavor during wartime, but this was only a partial truth that many readers questioned. While it was true that the university had little money on hand to spend, the projected government funding allowed the university to rapidly plan for a sudden expansion once the war ended.

By ignoring the fact that Japanese citizens would eventually return from the internment camps, Atkinson's argument was necessarily strengthened because the people in charge of funding could not view the Japanese as any sort of investment the way they could the campus expansions. The costs of providing education for the internees would not have hurt the university irreparably, and doing so could have attracted more of the internees to reside in the state after the
camps closed. Instead, the internees were viewed as enemies of the country; not our neighbors, but our enemies.

Countless letters, both of support and criticism, were sent to Atkinson's office following the newspaper's publication of that article. Neither variety sent to his office are overly surprising; racism and appeals to emotion were many of the writers' common reasons for supporting him, and shortsightedness, racism, and ignorance were the critics' reasons. The significance of these letters, then, was in Atkinson's own replies to them that his office archived. The contrast between his replies is notable because it highlighted his ability to argue publicly for the support of initiatives that he personally believed were the right things to do. When he wrote to his critics, Atkinson cited budgetary reasons for why the university could not assist the camps. When he wrote to his supporters, on the other hand, he took his newspaper article further in arguing that the internment camps were designed to imprison the Japanese-Americans and immigrants in such a way as to punish them.
Chapter II – The Postwar University: 1944-1947

The Anticipation of Veteran Enrollment

By 1944, the University of Arizona administration made final preparations for expanding the university and updating its facilities because the war was nearing its final stages.\(^48\) The unofficial name that the personnel on campus gave to the gym was the U.S.S. Bear Down because of its use by the military in housing and training soldiers, but the navy made the decision that, by December 20\(^{th}\), 1944, it would decommission the gym and would return it to University of Arizona.\(^49\) Approximately 10,000 soldiers were trained by the navy from October 15, 1942, to December 20, 1944, and in recognition of the university's dedication to the war effort, the navy dedicated a plaque and gave it—along with several flags—to President Atkinson. The subsequent memorials that were erected for the missing or killed students in the war reflected the university's acknowledgment of the sacrifices that were necessary during the war. The final plaques were dedicated in 1944 and 1945, and by the beginning of 1945, students who had fought as soldiers in World War II were already returning to campus through the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944. The war officially ended in Japan in the summer of 1945, but the Arizona Daily Wildcat was not in print until the start of the fall semester in September. For the soldiers coming back to the University of Arizona, life was quickly going to return to the way it was in the prewar years, and the incoming male freshmen were going to enter the university as minorities until the university could readjust the demographics.

The navy decommissioned the U.S.S. Beardown in December of 1944 because the navy and the government believed that the war was coming to an end and the training of further

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soldiers at the University of Arizona was no longer necessary. The total soldiers that were trained on campus was over 10,000, most of whom were from the navy. Decommissioning the gym as a training hall was symbolic of the impending end of the war's direct effects on the University of Arizona. It meant that the last groups of soldiers were to train on the campus and that soon some of those soldiers would come back as students ready to enroll in a wide variety of programs that the University of Arizona would offer in order to stay relevant for a new generation.

The Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944 guaranteed veterans the prospect of attending higher education institutions following the end of their service with the military after World War II. The overwhelming majority of these soldiers were men, which forced the country to change much of the social and economic balances that had been achieved during the war. Education was no exception to this trend but the impact it had was different from other parts of society because of the ways in which universities and other higher education institutions addressed the influx of male students to formerly female campuses. Returning veterans were given compensation in various ways for their time in service, and the most relevant one to this paper is the assurance that the government would provide them with higher education. The government recognized the significance veterans would have as they returned to their lives back in the United States and the difficulties they would face. Without further education, many people believed, the veterans would be at a disadvantage in entering the workforce. This is true when one considers that at least a modicum amount of training was given to women, for example, during World War II to aid the war effort.

There was a belief held by many—men and women—that the soldiers would return to their wives and children waiting for them. For this to occur, women would have to give up their
jobs. It is this context that surrounded the return of veterans as the war ended. Education provisions in the G.I. Bill of Rights gave veterans the choice of which higher education or vocational institution they would attend. Veterans were not required to attend only two-year or four-year degree institutions, but it is primarily the four-year universities on which this chapter focuses. Most universities were eligible for the education provisions of the bill, meaning that veterans had their choice of universities to attend based on entrance requirements and not finances.

One national concern that this provision caused was that some people felt there was little incentive for veterans to actually earn degrees.50 The argument that critics used against the driving power of the education provision was that veterans would have no interest in pursuing higher education; rather, they would choose to go to these universities merely because they did not know what else to do with their lives. They would go to universities, the argument continues, for the duration of their compensated education and would never actually earn degrees. Over the next few years, this argument was viewed as preposterous and unrealistic, but in the mid-1940s many politicians were forced to address it. President Atkinson of the University of Arizona weighed in on the debate, as well, and he believed that veterans would graciously accept the benefits that the country offered them and would become productive members of society.51

Faith in people characterized Atkinson throughout the 1940s. When the federal government chose to imprison tens of thousands of Japanese and Japanese-Americans in Arizona alone, Atkinson believed that the government was doing what was necessary and therefore deserved the support of all Americans.52 He encouraged all students on campus to participate in
the war effort whether enlisting or volunteering their time through the Red Cross. In text context, one can understand why he believed that students would choose to continue their education at universities and put forth effort in earning degrees. This point also highlights a separation between the academic community and the political realm of the government because the politicians and social commentators were the ones criticizing the G.I. Bill of Rights while educators were the ones who believed that its goals would succeed. Part of the cynicism was inherent in the system itself: Because educators were the ones who were going to benefit from any funding of educational institutions, critics of the provision in the bill could dismiss educators’ opinions on the basis that they were biased. One could wonder why the critics took their stances against the provision in the first place instead of accepting that educators may have more knowledge about students than they did, but that is beyond the scope of this thesis.

Atkinson's confidence in young men also served as the foundation for undermining his confidence in the position that women held during the war as students. It would be a mistake to call Atkinson or many other people involved in several of these decisions sexist or racist, but it would be equally mistaken to simply accept their positions as being a sign of the times, so to speak. The issue at hand is how he and the university administration handled the sudden influx of male students when the university was already struggling for space in its accommodation of female students during the war. Before World War II, the University of Arizona had a slightly larger number of male students than female students, but this was neither a problem for the students nor was it outside the norm since most universities around the country had similar ratios.

Provisions were made to allow seniors at the beginning of the war to graduate before
entering active duty, so there was a slight delay between the beginning of the war and when the university saw a substantial decline of male students. However, once students began to leave the campus, the male-majority was lost and suddenly female students found themselves holding the majority at the University of Arizona. The first and last semester of the 1944-1945 school year, for example, saw the lowest number of male students at 535 and 517, respectively, versus 1,385 and 1,345 female students. The end of the war slowly brought the return of male students to the campus, and by the first semester of the 1945-46 school year, the number of male students rose to 876, still trailing far behind the 1,347 female students. The sudden increase of male students in the second semester brought that number to 1,709. This second semester was the first time since the second semester of the 1942-43 school year that male students outnumbered female students on campus. The following table provides a subtle implication of what was happening:

54 Should I cite these and the next numbers? They're all from the same table so I'm not sure if the implication is enough.
# Distribution of Men and Women Students by Semesters

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>First Semester</th>
<th></th>
<th>Second Semester</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Men</td>
<td>Women</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940-41</td>
<td>1623</td>
<td>1054</td>
<td>2677</td>
<td>1522</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941-42</td>
<td>1490</td>
<td>1076</td>
<td>2566</td>
<td>1260</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1942-43</td>
<td>1264</td>
<td>1044</td>
<td>2308</td>
<td>877</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1943-44</td>
<td>721</td>
<td>1177</td>
<td>1898</td>
<td>642</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1944-45</td>
<td>535</td>
<td>1385</td>
<td>1920</td>
<td>517</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1945-46</td>
<td>876</td>
<td>1347</td>
<td>2220</td>
<td>1709</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1946</td>
<td>3035</td>
<td>1449</td>
<td>4484</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If one were to graph the number of male students, it would most likely match the results that one would expect to find given the events of the war. That is, a sizable decrease of male students throughout the war and then a rapid increase in the years after the end of the war when the soldiers returned home and applied to universities. Female students, on the other hand, saw no decrease through the duration of the duration of the war, which caused the facility shortages on the campus. A minor number of female students, though, were asked to help their parents at home again to ease the burden that some of these families faced in the early 1940s. The number of male students far surpassed those of female students, but the point that is more troubling is the number of female students at the University of Arizona was stagnant after the war when one would have expected at least some increase.

During the war, the number of female students was capped by the limited resources.

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55 Cosulich Papers. Folder 3, “Reports (General)”, memorandum to Mrs. Jones.
available to the whole campus. Housing, in particular, was pushed to its limits to accommodate all of the students and soldiers. Following the conclusion of the war, all of the facilities that were in use by the military were returned to the university. Why was it, then, that the number of female students was essentially static after the first semester of 1944? One could argue that women no longer saw the role of education as being the highest priorities in their lives now that their husbands were home again. Indeed, married student housing was an unexpected necessity at the university, but that fails to explain why the number, then, did not decrease. President Atkinson could not restrict the number of military personnel were who using the University of Arizona's facilities so it was surprising that one of the male dormitories that the navy was using was eventually given back to the university to use to house more female students. Without those restrictions in the mid-to-late 1940s, Atkinson had the opportunity to appropriate facilities and resources for the female students, but he chose to give veterans priority on the campus.

**Memories of a Prewar University**

The University of Arizona stopped accepting applications from female students regardless of academic merit because the university was trying to accommodate the veterans as much as it could. On the face of it, this is understandable because many people—including Atkinson—perceived the veterans as earning a right to education, and if they did have that right before the war, it was interrupted because of the war. Women, unfortunately, were never given the option to fight in the war in such a way as to qualify them for benefits of the G.I. Bill of Rights. Accepting only male applicants provides evidence for the argument that the University of Arizona only perceived as temporary many of the benefits that women gained during World War II. Different
examples of the prominence of women on the campus included the student government, events that were organized by the female students during the war such as Bill Bishop Bond Day and school dances, and the Arizona Daily Wildcat was mostly run by female students when it had only limited publication. The fact remained that female students were proving themselves no less capable than the male ones were in succeeding on campus. Gender had no longer separated sports and other physical activities in the first half of the 1940s.

Blocking the entrance of new female students meant that the student body would shift strongly in the direction of a male majority again, and the late 1940s and early 1950s would reflect the lack of freshmen women in the mid-1940s. A total of 60 women in the entire country met the requirements outlined in the G.I. Bill of Rights for veterans’ benefits. Why could the University of Arizona not accommodate the minor increase of female students? Even though the university was required to make changes following the increase of male students, those changes were not required to negatively affect the female students and the potential applicants. The policies that the University of Arizona implemented in discouraging women from applying had an underlying assumption; namely, that education was not a woman's highest priority. Certainly some wished to start families instead, for example, but the evidence itself does not support the assumption that all of the students wanted to do this. The fact that women were still applying to the university after the war ended tells an important story of a group of people who wanted the world to change but could not force that change to happen. Outside of education, women were losing their jobs to men because employers believed that the status they held during the war was a temporary one. As William H. Chafe pointed out, in addition to other groups facing economic challenges in 1945, “Those women who hoped to consolidate and expand the advances they had
made during the war also encountered frustration. Significantly, the vast majority of those who had taken jobs in the midst of the war wished to continue working.\textsuperscript{56} He argued that those women were unable to continue working because of the temporary status that employers applied to female workers. This is similar to the situation that women faced in education after World War II, and there was little they could do in Tucson for the admissions office to accept their applications to the University of Arizona.

Academic conditions in many ways mirrored those of economic ones, and the G.I. Bill of Rights contributed at least indirectly to that reflection. Following the war, the importance that America placed on education in terms of securing a career meant that veterans were not only going to displace women and minorities in the workplace but also on campuses across the country. While the University of Arizona was not expelling female students, it was giving priority both in selection and resources to the incoming veterans. This further prevented women from competing with veterans in the workplace, which clarifies some of the changes that America was experiencing:

“Although women war workers in 1942 had overwhelmingly declared their desire to return to the role of housewife after the war, the vast majority now expressed a determination to hold onto their wartime jobs … Five years later, that optimism, too, appeared misplaced and naïve. Social reform forces everywhere felt embattled. Although the number of women employed remained virtually the same as at the end of the war, the jobs they held paid far lower wages and offered far less status and prestige.”\textsuperscript{57}


\textsuperscript{57} Ibid, 79.
The restrictions that higher education institutions placed on female applicants and the diversion of funding from female students severely limited the options that women had in postwar America. The country grew quickly over the next decade and there was a large demand for workers but women could not meet the requirements for those positions, and when they were considered anyway, employers had the ability to limit their compensation based on educational disadvantage. There is no indication that the University of Arizona administration made the intentional or even conscious decision to limit women's career options through limiting their education, but this was still a side effect of the implementation of the G.I. Bill of Rights. One could attempt to argue that the high number of male applicants prevented women from applying to the university, but this argument would fail because the university was not rejecting female applicants during the war; rather, it was encouraging them to apply and to excel academically. Atkinson was not going to allow women to compete with veterans for the limited space that was available on campus, and had he not approved the policy, the veterans could have perceived women as taking their places on campus. Another reason that Atkinson may have approved this policy of discrimination was because it made it easier for the administration to have more control over how many and what kinds of students were admitted into the university.

**Funding the Future**

The majority of students who came to the University of Arizona after the war were still from Arizona, but the university was starting to see an increase of out-of-state students. By virtue of the recent end of World War II, almost all of those students were veterans of it. Students who were not veterans continued to face hardship on campus because of the preference of
soldiers over the ordinary students, and there was little they could do other than wait for the war to age in people's minds. Female students were most aware of this phenomenon because they knew the students before those students fought for the United States in World War II. They knew whether directly or indirectly every male student who had studied on campus, so there was nothing those students could do to alleviate the pressure they felt from that portion of the student body. One would have thought that out-of-state students were exempt from this pressure but they, too, were necessarily veterans. What was the attraction to the university for those out-of-state students?

Veterans, who had not previously studied at the University of Arizona, came to the campus because of their experiences in the military schools on campus during the war. They were particularly impressed with the climate, the small-town feeling of Tucson, and the programs that the university offered. This was one direct benefit of the G.I. Bill on the University of Arizona because the veterans could choose any university they wished to attend. Even though this caused overcrowding initially, the increase of students helped fund new additions to the campus. Temporary housing units were brought from the Japanese interment camps in Arizona for the married students to use, and fraternity houses were returned to the male students after the previously military-used dormitories were refitted for students to use again. Even though many new out-of-state students were traveling to Arizona, the overworked railway systems that existed across the country were transporting fewer people than they were during the war. How was it possible for those students to travel such great distances without the use of trains? Many were still riding trains but automobiles were quickly entering society. The civilian aviation

59 Ibid.
industry was still functionally non-existent except for smaller airports like those around Tucson that taught people how to fly small airplanes. Within the next decade, busses would take over long-distance transportation and further deprive the railroad companies of much-needed funding after 1945.

Like the other railroad tracks around the United States, the single line that ran across Tucson was in need of repairs that the railroad companies could not afford themselves because there was little return on the investment for them. Since they attempted to transport as many passengers as they could during the war without adding additional cars or tracks, they saw the value of their existing capital as lower than it could have been had they received more funding from the state and federal governments to initiate repairs and expansions. Instead, they were left with damaged tracks and aged trains that they had no hope of addressing since they could no longer compete with automobiles and busses. The final nails in the coffin of the passenger train were hammered in the beginning of the 1950s with the construction of interstate highways, road expansions, and the end of gas and tire rationing. Freight trains were still widely used but the passenger trains were no longer transporting large numbers of students.

Beyond forcing the expansion of transportation methods, the rapid return of students to higher education institutions meant that the institutions had an opportunity to accept previously unheard of numbers of applicants. Even though the enrollment numbers increased at the University of Arizona, counter to what one would have expected to find, entrance requirements were actually raised because the university was attempting to attract as many students as it could accommodate. The reality was that universities around the country were already overflowing

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with students, and the irrelevancy of tuition for those students meant that the universities had to find other ways to restrict which students they could accept. Suddenly academic merits held considerable weight on the potential universities to which students could be accepted. Students found themselves waiting for the construction of new facilities and the return of old ones such as the fields, but there was a delay in the university procuring funding for all of the improvements that it believed were necessary.

While the university administration was operating with minimal friction and the students were encouraged by the ending of the war, President Atkinson was preparing for his retirement by the mid-1940s. He had announced his plans to much of his staff by the end of 1946, and he was hoping to retire from the University of Arizona by July of 1947. This set in motion a series of actions taken behind the scenes to maintain the university's appearance of stability while also searching for the president's most suitable replacement. A committee was established to vet potential applicants, and they gathered the names of dozens of possibilities. Almost all of the candidates on the committee's list were men, but they were also all out-of-state professors, deans, and administrative staff. The records of the committee that the University of Arizona archived unfortunately do not elaborate on the process that the committee undertook in finding a replacement for Atkinson. Several of these candidates were offered the position but each of them turned down the offer for one reason or another. The effectiveness of the committee is unknown because the next presidents of the University of Arizona were deans on the campus and their names were not mentioned in the committee's findings.

The committee chose James Byron McCormick, the dean of the College of Law, to

63 Ibid.
64 Ibid.
replace Atkinson in 1947. McCormick had limited influence during the war because the College of Law was lacking students and relevance. In order to stay relevant, the College of Law refocused its courses to teach its students topics within military and international law. The justification for this was that, following the war, there would be a great demand for lawyers and other experts of law who had experience in military issues. This idea succeeded in keeping students who were on campus interested in the material and it alleviated some of the pressure from the faculty because several members of the military staff on campus had the ability to teach those courses or offer supplementary material as military lawyers themselves. Once the war ended, though, and those military lawyers moved on with their lives, the College of Law returned to its prewar course offerings and emphasis on teaching motivated students.

As the dean of the College of Law, McCormick possessed many of the expected qualities of a university president, but it was the situation in which he was entering that continually troubled his presidency. Under Atkinson's guidance, the university maintained a commitment to serving the community within Arizona with the limited funding that was available to him, but it was not until the last two years of his presidency that the university grew in both population and resources. This effectively forced Atkinson to do nothing more than plan for the time when the university could actually begin to grow, and his plans later placed McCormick in a position wherein he had no time to plan any projects himself. There was no question that the University of Arizona needed to expand immediately, so McCormick could do little more than work with the plans that were already in place by the end of the war.

65 McCormick Papers. Courtesy of University of Arizona Libraries, Special Collections.
CHAPTER THREE – OPPORTUNITY LOST AND FOUND: 1947-1951

Expanding a Campus and a Dream

McCormick was aware of the pressing need for expanding the university to accommodate both the future students and the incoming veterans. The people who were in charge of planning the expansions had anticipated some of the growth of the university but the scale was unexpected, which forced McCormick to review and change the original plans from earlier in the decade. Without the increase in funding that the University of Arizona received following the war, it would not have been able to succeed in its endeavor to accommodate all of its students. One aspect in particular that required funding was the university's veterans' facilities.

One review of the available accommodations after McCormick started his presidency showed how much space was available to students on campus. After-crowding of the student housing and classrooms was the most immediate and paramount issue that McCormick needed to resolve before he could address course offerings, new equipment, and other problems that the university was facing with the return of students. Following table is similar to the one that Atkinson had when he was comparing enrollment totals of male and female students:
Maximum resident enrollment prior to 1945-46

Specify Academic Year ___1940-41

Total 2577   Non-Veterans xxx   Veterans xxx

Resident enrollment fall term or semester 1945-46

Total 2220   Non-Veterans 1857   Veterans 363

Resident enrollment spring term or semester 1945-46

Total 3063   Non-Veterans 1810   Veterans 1263

Estimated resident enrollment fall term or semester 1946-47 with present facilities

Total 4440   Non-Veterans 2146   Veterans 2254

Estimated resident enrollment spring term or semester 1946-47 with present facilities

Total 4440   Non-Veterans 1900   Veterans 2500

Anticipated resident enrollment if proposed Veterans' Education Facilities are provided

Total 4500   Non-Veterans 1900   Veterans 2600

McCormick's presidency was defined by the efforts he made to satisfy the needs of the veterans on campus. All across the United States, people's lives were changing in order to make room for the thousands of veterans who were coming home again looking for education and employment. Students at the University of Arizona were expecting this, too, but the sheer number of them required too many changes to occur. The number of veterans at the university

66 McCormick Papers, Box 2, Federal Works Agency. Courtesy of University of Arizona Libraries, Special Collections.
continued to increase throughout the rest of the decade and into the early 1950s, making the expansion of the campus that much more imminent. In 1947, the Arizona Legislature approved $1,000,000 for funding the construction of new dormitories and expanding the old ones, and this was the first major funding that the university received as a result of World War II. The new estimates of returning veterans continued to increase, furthering the necessity to rapidly expand the campus.\textsuperscript{67} The fraternity houses were given back to the male students and those students were using them again for social functions as if the war had never happened. An exception to this, though, came in the form of married students, which few administrators at the university had anticipated.

In order to accommodate the married students, McCormick requested the transportation of the temporary housing units from the Japanese internment camps in Arizona to the campus.\textsuperscript{68} Until more permanent housing was constructed in the city of Tucson, the influx of new students had to adapt to the housing situation. Ideally the university would not have needed temporary housing for students, but the miscalculations of the size of the student population that were made in earlier in the 1940s meant that McCormick had few options if he wanted to admit those students to the campus. One topic that McCormick had investigated and continued to pursue was the implementation of air conditioning at the University of Arizona. Even though many students were forced to live in overcrowded areas, the university was making progress in better accommodating all of its students and employees. Overcrowding was not limited to housing, however: Classrooms, too, had insufficient supplies and outdated equipment that the university rushed to amend. The administrators and Board of Regents felt that air conditioning was a

\textsuperscript{67} McCormick Papers, Box 2, Federal Works Agency.
worthwhile investment in the improved classrooms.

This situation brought numerous proposals from all levels of the government back into consideration in determining how they could benefit each level. Tucson's previous expansion projects were reconsidered by the city council at the end of the 1940s and beginning of the 1950s and many of those ones that had been postponed were initiated. Even though the city was not brimming with wealth, the burgeoning population and economy gave the city the necessary means by which to approve those proposals. The unexpected immigration of people to the city required more services, stores, transportation, and education, amongst other elements. Securing funding was the university's primary goal because of the facilities that it needed to build or improve. Expansion of the University of Arizona was designed “in such manner as to bring the maximum return to the state,” highlighting the need of the university to balance educational and community needs against the needs of the state of Arizona.69 The Arizona Board of Regents recognized the importance of universities in the context of attracting citizens and investors, and creating a thriving industry around the city. Balancing that with the actual intended purposes of higher education institutions, though, was untenable and it divided the intended purpose of the University of Arizona.

Limitations of a Scenic City

The financial connection between the Board of Regents and the state prevented the University of Arizona from offering courses or programs that had little chance of returning an investment to the state. The university's dependency on government funding to expand meant

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that all proposals were scrutinized in the context of investments. “As programs of publicly supported higher education have expanded throughout the country,” the Board of Regents declared in 1946, “states have found a growing need for the coordination of their efforts to assure them of the maximum returns on funds expended on higher education.” Satisfying the rules laid down by the government interfered with not only offering courses but also admitting students who were not going to enter the workforce or otherwise benefit the state. This was one little discussed financial element of the decision not to continue admitting women to the university while there was still not enough room for the incoming veterans.

The concern that veterans would do nothing more than waste time followed from the emphasis that the University of Arizona should directly benefit the state, and this was one reason that there was opposition to the education provisions of the G.I. Bill of Rights. The malaise of veterans, the argument went, would do nothing positive in this regard and only further deplete the university of its limited resources. Without the veterans taking their education seriously, how could the state expect them to live in Arizona as productive members of society? Over the next several years, fears of the Cold War heightened the sense of competition both domestically and abroad. Veterans had little time to experience such a malaise.

Arizona's potential benefits of its higher education institutions was a major issue in the late 1940s because it set in motion a sequence of events that crafted the institutions that exist today. The University of Arizona, Arizona State University, and Northern Arizona University in Flagstaff were the only major higher education institutions by the beginning of the post-war period, and none of them was particularly notable in the context of the size of the student body.

Each had its standout programs and attractions, but this period prohibited the creation of another major four-year institution in the state because of the financial associated with doing so. For example, the actual creation of one would cost the state money that it was not prepared to spend on a new campus, and there was no explanation for why the three current universities were not enough for the economy and population of the state. While it was true that the University of Arizona could not accommodate the incoming students, it was already in the process of building extra housing and facilities. Those students who were waiting for the University of Arizona to accept them were not simply going to wait for the completion of another university in Arizona. The Board of Regents held this view when its members realized that “[i]t is obvious, in view of Arizona's population and wealth, that the number of institutions of higher rank in the State must be limited. The report as a whole makes it clear that the present three institutions should be retained and that no additional institutions be established.”

Beyond the fact that a fourth university in Arizona was not going to serve students adequately, it also was not feasible since the government and university administrators understood that the 1956 expiration date of the education benefits for the G.I. Bill of Rights would mean significantly fewer incoming students. The Board of Regents' plan was to continue expanding the two primary universities in the state so as to offer students the most services possible while not necessitating a need for another university since there was not an ideal geographic location for one along the passenger train routes through the state. Smaller community colleges were created after this period in the major cities such as Tucson and Phoenix, but a fourth four-year degree granting institution has not been founded in Arizona up to

this day.

The University of Arizona created numerous programs and colleges to stay competitive nationally and to draw top students and veterans to its campus. It acquired outstanding faculty members who were highly respected in their fields, and it could only do this through the funding that it received during this period. The faculty members who later became presidents of the university and some of its most important deans were hired or retained at this time because the university was attempting to maintain the momentum of the early post-war years when it had too many applicants. In some ways, the University of Arizona had to compete against the other large university in Arizona at the time, Arizona State University, even though they were both run through the Board of Regents. President McCormick did what he could to secure funding and other resources for the University of Arizona but the element that he needed most was time for the construction of the improvements to the campus.

Perhaps the most notable building that was constructed or planned during McCormick's presidency was a new student union because it would move students out of Old Main and give them a dedicated space whilst also freeing room for additional offices. Construction started in 1947 and the four-year project was a constant remainder to students that the campus was growing faster than ever in its history. The new Liberal Arts building was completed in 1950 and it would soon house some of the most influential faculty members on campus, including the deans who would later become the presidents and vice presidents of the University of Arizona. An addition to the library and a new power house were both completed in 1951.72 These were accomplishments that McCormick felt particularly proud of not because they were built during his presidency but because they served an ever increasing student body and gave them room to

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McCormick’s Fall, 1950, address to the incoming freshmen class expressed the feelings he had in private with his administrative staff:

“The largest freshman class and the largest total enrollment in its history. The freshman class includes members from seventy-one different communities in Arizona and is thus representative of the entire state; it includes members from 41 states other than Arizona, from the District of Columbia, Alaska, and Hawaii, and from twelve countries other than the United States.

“New buildings and new construction are all about us. The Liberal Arts Building, Navajo and Pinal Dormitories in the South Stadium Addition, and the South Stadium itself are virtually ready, and the Student Union Memorial Building is under way. Construction will be begun soon on an addition to the Library which will double the stack space, and on the new power house, which will be located on East Fourth Street at Mountain Avenue.

“Best of all, it seems clear that the University is making sound progress in its fundamental programs of teaching, research, and extension.”73

He ended this address by reminding the freshmen that they, like the students before them, may not have the opportunity to complete their degrees in four years:

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“In the face of so many bright prospects we remember, of course, that, for the second time within a single decade, we must be prepared to assume those special responsibilities which will come to the University because of a war situation. These responsibilities, I know, will be accepted by faculty, staff, and students alike in accord with the traditions of our institution.”

The war that he was alluding to was the Korean War, which had started that June. No students or faculty on campus were prepared to fight in another war so soon after the end of the last one, but McCormick had to rely on them anyway should the need arise for them to fight again.

Comparing the Korean War to World War II in terms of effects on the University of Arizona is a difficult prospect because the wars themselves were vastly different from each other. When World War II started, it affected the University of Arizona directly because of the mock Japanese flag on the flagpole following the sinking of the U.S.S. Arizona and other ships at Pearl Harbor. Students rallied to fight for their country regardless of how they felt before December 7th, 1941. The Korean War, on the other hand, was an ambiguous war that always felt distant and removed from the University of Arizona community. There was no attack on American soil; there were no outrageous acts of vandalism on the campus; and there was little understanding of what the purpose of the war was. Many students, though enthusiastic about joining the military effort, were granted delays in service so that they could finish the last semester of their degrees before fighting in World War II. There was never a question on their part that they would don a military uniform. This was not the case during the Korean War.
There is little indication that the attitude of the student body itself changed between World War II and the Korean War; had similar events taken place at the start of the Korean War, the students at the University of Arizona most likely would have felt the same enthusiasm that the veterans felt. Instead of feeling enthusiasm to fight in the Korean War, students and faculty members sent countless deferment requests to Robert Nugent, the vice president of the University of Arizona. Many of these requests were denied by the respective branch of the military that was drafting each of them because the military was concerned that it was not going to have enough soldiers to fight the war. Previously, students who were preparing to graduate were granted deferment, but this was no longer the case: Roger D. Jones, a graduate student studying anthropology, was called to active duty in mid-1951, requested that his recall be deferred until November 4, 1951, which would have been “effectively a cancellation of orders because his enlistment will expire on November 3, 1951. Mr. Jones' reason for making this request is that recall to active duty on June 27, 1951 while resulting in active service on his part for only from four to five months would seriously interrupt his professional education.” His request was denied.

The countless students who were attempting to defer their service for any reason they could use highlights a subtle but important change in the students' attitude toward other students: No longer was there a strong preference for them to have the company of soldiers. The subtlety of the shift from an almost invisible non-soldier group of students to what one could describe as indifference allows one only to speculate why that shift occurred. On a larger scale, perhaps one could follow a trend through personal correspondence that would indicate why that preference

74 McCormick Papers, Box 6, Military and War-Related Service. Robert Nugent to the Director (Eleventh Marine Corps Reserve District), June 13, 1951.
disappeared; otherwise, any answer is little more than an educated guess. The importance of this
shift away from a preference for soldiers is that there was no longer that pressure on students to
join the military. Combined with the ambiguity of the war itself, the students' top priority was
studying and eventually graduation.

Faculty members, too, were recalled to active duty at the start of the Korean War in part
because of their specialized education and experience, but also because some of them had fought
in World War II. The recall of students from the campus, while unfortunate, did not severely
impact the campus outside of a personal level. The recall of professors, however, proved a
considerable challenge to the University of Arizona because of them were not simply replaceable
in the middle of the semester. Once such professor was Charles R. Hausenbauer, an electrical
engineer. His recall was scheduled for late 1950, which would prevent him from finishing
teaching classes and the short notice would prevent the university from replacing him. Robert
Nugent requested that Professor Hausenbauer's recall date be postponed until January 27, 1951,
which would provide adequate time for him to finish teaching and to prepare for military service.

There was little order in the professors who received recall notices from the military.
Hausenbauer's experience as an electrical engineer could have proved useful, but many of the
other professors who were recalled were teaching in seemingly random areas, such as Franklin
Peirce in the geology department and Emmet R. Holekamp of the Agricultural Station of the
University of Arizona. Vice President Nugent individually requested that the deferment of these
professors' recalls, but time after time they the deferments were denied. In the case of Holekamp,
Nugent made the case that he was irreplaceable at the University of Arizona:

75 McCormick Papers, Box 6, Military and War-Related Service. Robert Nugent to Commandant (Eleventh Naval
“[...] it would be] virtually impossible … to replace him with another agricultural engineer and definitely impossible to replace him with anyone prepared to carry on with the Cotton Mechanization Project. Believing this project to be related in an important way to the defense effort, it is our hope that consideration can be given to his request for a delay in recall and that this delay in recall can be for as long a period as appropriate in view of existing conditions.”

One professor who did have exceptional experience in science was Dr. Barlet Cardon, but he was not called to arms from the military. Rather, he was being recruited from Office of Naval Research-sponsored project at the University of California:

“[...] ever since the end of World War II, the Office of Naval Research has been sponsoring a research project at the University of California on air-borne infections and experimental epidemiology.” They were building new laboratories. What they needed was faculty, which is what he was requesting. He was hoping Dr. Barlet Cardon could be “the Principle Bacteriologist for temporary service during the current emergency. Dr. Cardon is uniquely qualified in training and experience for a specific assignment in our classified research program. As you can well imagine, the task of procuring adequately trained individuals is a difficult one and necessitates our recourse to university faculties. I realize that in asking for Dr. Cardon's services in the immediate future I am posting the

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76 McCormick Papers, Box 6, Military and War-Related Service. Robert Nugent to Whom It May Concern. May 25, 1951.
difficult problem of securing a replacement. My only justification is the fact that the work we are doing is of the utmost importance to the national security, and I hope that you and the Regents of the University will view this request with favor.”

The offer that Dr. Cardon received was more in line with what one would expect the military would do in the context of recalling professors back to service. Many of the university's professors were not young men; rather, they were similar to Dr. Cardon and Holekamp in their specialized research and devotion of their lives to their work. It is possible that a Korean War historian would find this aspect of the University of Arizona's history unique just in the seemingly unusual requests being made by the military. Vice President Nugent's reaction to these letters wires, however, show that even he could not understand why the military was as interested as it was in recalling many of these professors. The military's interest in students was not out of place to him but he still attempted to help them graduate before they joined the new war effort.

**EPILOGUE AND CONCLUSION**

**Building a University for the Future**

President McCormick resigned in 1951 but there is little organized documentation detailing what happened. His own explanation was that he was no longer interested in the administrative side of the University of Arizona in securing funding for the expansions to the campus, but the administrative issues concerning the housing shortages and constant construction may also have weighed on his decision. As late as February 14th, 1951, the housing situation was

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still not resolved. Alfred Louis Slonaker, the Dean of Men, wrote a letter to Senator William F. Kimball expressing the need for the fraternity and sorority houses. Without them, he argued, the living situation at the University of Arizona “would necessitate five or six additional dormitories on the campus to accommodate them.” Slonaker maintained that each dormitory could only house up to one hundred and fifty students, whereas the “total fraternity and sorority numbers were 854.” Furthermore, he explained, the cost of building those dormitories would have been almost $3,000,000. Working as a professor and then the dean of the College of Law, it is not surprising that issues such as these would not have appealed to McCormick. His replacement was Richard Harvill, dean of the College of Liberal Arts, in June, 1951.

President Harvill, throughout his position from 1951-1970, continued the transformation that McCormick started because of the funding that higher education institutions received during the Cold War. Arizona's first school of medicine was completed at the University of Arizona by the end of the 1950s as a way to train doctors in the state more effectively. The size of the university grew continued to grow every year, and Harvill's organizational ability kept the facilities in order and in supply. Had it not been for the funding that the University of Arizona received as a result of the Cold War, it is likely that Harvill would have experienced similar difficulties to the ones that McCormick faced. It was only through that funding that he could turn his vision of a state-of-the-art university into a reality. However, he kept the balance of education versus benefit to the state of Arizona in check, and when he was forced to decide between one or the other, education was his priority.

Russia's rise in the world in the 1950s brought fear to Americans across the country,

including those in Arizona, but that fear caused some of the most beneficial changes to the state in its history. President Eisenhower used the possibility of a nuclear attack on major cities, for example, to advance legislation that had stalled earlier; namely, the creation of interstate highways. The end of resource rationing following World War II meant that more Americans could own cars, and the increase of cars and public transportation necessitated the increase in speed limits on roads, but the roads were too narrow to support the high volume of traffic that was anticipated in an evacuation during a nuclear crisis or simply rush-hour traffic. More students could higher education institutions such as the University of Arizona without being constrained by the schedules of railway lines, and the students' cars allowed them to travel further around the city of Tucson.

Public schools, too, saw an enormous rise of students during the 1950s for a variety of reasons, but one in particular was the number of veterans who started families after returning from World War II. Even though people were largely living anxious lives and were afraid of what tomorrow would bring, Tucson, the state of Arizona, and the University of Arizona were all achieving previously unimaginined goals and people were living better than they ever had previously. All three were rapidly expanding as a result of the economy, population rise, and immigration. The public schools in Tucson had 26,000 students in 1950-1951, but that number grew to 53,600, which was more than double that of a decade earlier, by 1960-1961.79 The fear of Russia, while perhaps exaggerated at the time, still led to some issues in education. As Renee L. Obrecht-Como argued, because of a fear of the federal government compromising the power of the state, “[Arizona] did not fully participate in the National Defense Education Act that passed

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in the wake of Sputnik until 1963. Many Arizonans, led by Senator Barry Goldwater, believed that accepting federal funds for science, math, and foreign language programs would sacrifice local control over education in favor of federal mandates. 

The University of Arizona, on the other hand, benefited greatly from the technological and educational competition with Russia. Its Honors program, for example, was started in 1961 as a way to encourage students to excel in their academic careers. Students were attracted to the university because of programs such as that because they would not only reward them for working hard but also give them the opportunity to work closely with professors in specialized research. These changes that occurred at the University of Arizona most likely could not have happened without that competition because it brought with it necessity, funding, and a burgeoning population and economy.

**CONCLUSION**

The University of Arizona had the ability to maintain its level of commitment to its female student body after World War II ended but it encountered too many obstacles for that to happen, including social and financial ones. The campus returned to a male majority shortly after the conclusion of World War II, and it took decades for the ratio of that majority to change. The academic careers of the female students—not only at the University of Arizona but higher education institutions throughout the country—were improved and they had new opportunities available to them that only lasted until the number of male students began to increase. Had the university limited the number of total applicants and not only the female ones, it could have sustained that level of commitment to all of its students.

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80 Ibid.
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