

Building the Ivory Tower:
Campus Planning, University Development, and the Politics of Urban Space

by

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List of Abbreviations

Abbreviations

BSUASC	Ball State University Archives and Special Collections
BTC	Ball Teachers College
CAHUT	Center for American History, University of Texas
CEDL	College of Environmental Design Library, University of California
CHP	College Housing Program
CIAM	Congrès International d'Architecture Moderne
FSM	Free Speech Movement
HEA	Higher Education Act
HHFA	Housing and Home Finance Administration
LBJPL	Lyndon Baines Johnson Presidential Library
LCRA	Lower Colorado River Authority
NAACP	National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
NDEA	National Defense Education Act
PWA	Public Works Administration
ROHO	Regional Oral History Office, University of California
SECC	South East Chicago Commission
TWO	The Woodlawn Organization
UABL	University of California Archives, Bancroft Library
UC	University of Chicago
UCSC	University of Chicago Special Collections

Abstract

Building the Ivory Tower: Campus Planning, University Development, and the Politics of Urban Space

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Chair: Robert L. Fishman

In this dissertation I argue that the physical growth of American universities throughout the twentieth century held significant implications for the larger metropolitan order of their host communities. Indeed, universities were a major and previously unrecognized factor in the process of urbanization around the country. By examining several university-city cases, this work illustrates that institutional growth could catalyze changes in patterns of urban investment, as in Muncie, Indiana; reinforce boundaries of urban segregation, as in Austin, Texas; drain the vitality of near-campus neighborhoods as hotbeds of creative political activity through urban renewal, as in Hyde Park, Chicago; or catalyze political protest, as in Berkeley, California. As universities expanded in size with the aid of federal funding sources and developed increasingly national and global identities at the expense of local affinities, these physical, political, and intellectual changes often brought the institutions into conflict with their communities and created

tension between the student body and university administrators. Universities responded by embracing the ideal of objectivity and restricting overtly political considerations and statements by faculty and students—part of a growing consensus in favor of democratic capitalism in broad opposition to communism. This restriction of political possibilities was likewise reflected in the built environment of universities, expressing ambivalence or denial of responsibility about their roles in urban development and American politics. The notion of the “ivory tower” was established as a critique of higher education in this period, an architectural metaphor constructed to chastise individuals and institutions reluctant to administer and support the Cold War struggle for American hegemony.

Chapter 1

Introduction

Universities are places of optimism. For much of the twentieth century and into the twenty-first century, Americans have grafted their individual and collective dreams onto campus communities and the project of higher education. Social mobility, public health advancements, regional economic development, Cold War technological triumph, and racial integration and equalization—all of these were goals imposed upon or embraced by the nation's colleges and universities in addition to educating each succeeding generation in intellectual and professional pursuits. In so many of these endeavors, universities achieved measures of success such that higher education has come to stand in for the American promise of progress and opportunity.

This optimism has manifested itself in many ways. At the turn of the century, civic boosters worked to attract and found post-secondary education institutions in cities around the country, much as they recruited new factories and other commercial institutions in attempts to create and develop robust local economies.¹ In communities across the country, city leaders and average citizens alike expressed pride in the growth of their local college as it contributed to the development of the expanding city and introduced new ideas and cultural influences to local residents. During the 1930s and 1940s, universities joined the efforts to survive the Great Depression and to help preserve

¹ Daniel Boorstin, *The Americans: The National Experience* (New York: Random House, 1965). For a classic example of boosterism, land speculation, and politicking, see Allan Nevins, *Illinois* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1917), 30-40.

democracy.² Scores of institutions constructed buildings and expanded their campuses, putting local architects and contractors back to work while housing and training military recruits during the war. As the United States entered World War II, faculty at leading institutions conducted military research projects to aid the fight against fascism.³ In the postwar era, a wide swath of colleges and universities both intensified their research in support of the Cold War effort and expanded their enrollments to accommodate returning veterans and the Baby Boom. When postwar demographic transformations and urban disinvestment stressed cities, such universities formed coalitions to overcome the challenges of urban crisis and to create a new, revitalized conception of city life. Finally, students joined the effort to guarantee civil rights for African Americans and to negotiate new roles for themselves in postwar society. In each case, institutions and members of higher education communities played essential parts in a broader set of strategies to address and overcome national challenges.

This optimism has largely come to characterize scholarship, popular discourse, and public policy on higher education. Universities, in particular, have had the luxury of writing their own histories. In many cases celebratory volumes produced on the anniversaries of institutions' foundations have adopted Whiggish perspectives on the progressive nature of educational history in general and individual institutions in

² Christopher Loss, "From Democracy to Diversity: The Politics of American Higher Education in the Twentieth Century" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Virginia, 2007).

³ This work builds on the emerging interpretation of longer-term interdependence and development between higher education, business, and government rather than a set of agreements that arose solely from postwar shocks such as the GI Bill and the Cold War. On the longtime interdependence between business and higher education see, for example, Olivier Zunz, *Why the American Century?* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1998). Clyde Barrow, *Universities and the Capitalist State: Corporate Liberalism and the Reconstruction of American Higher Education, 1894-1928* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1990). Christopher Newfield, *Ivy and Industry: Business and the Making of the American University, 1880-1980* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003). On the role of higher education in state building, see Loss, "From Democracy to Diversity".

particular.⁴ Even scholarly histories of higher education often emphasize the development of educational policy and institutional growth without examining the spatial and community implications, maintaining solely intellectual and administrative views of the aspirations of higher education and university communities.⁵ This utopian view of higher education has privileged and served a narrow set of views and actors in history, rather than promoting a thorough-going, critical review of these institutions. Perhaps the most influential statement on post-WWII higher education, University of California president Clark Kerr's lectures published as *The Uses of the University*, indulged the concept of the ideal of higher education as overriding the pragmatics and pitfalls.⁶ In so doing, he became one of the country's best-known educational leaders and popularized a non-fiction genre—descriptions of and prescriptions for the academy—that numbers former leaders of Harvard, Yale, Chicago, the University of Pennsylvania, and lesser-known institutions such as the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee among its practitioners.⁷ Much public policy and contemporary literature on higher education treats

⁴ Howard Peckham, *The Making of the University of Michigan, 1817-1992* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1997). Verne Stadtman, *The University of California 1868-1968* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1970).

⁵ This tendency has not much changed since Lynn Gordon leveled the criticism two decades ago. The classic work on the modern university offers a more ambivalent view, it largely emphasizes educational philosophy and tells a story of growth and stability. Lawrence Veysey, *The Emergence of the American University* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965) The most significant effort to revise Veysey's narrative emphasizes diversity and vitality in universities' efforts to create knowledge before World War II. Roger Geiger, *To Advance Knowledge: The Growth of American Research Universities, 1900-1940* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986). Geiger's second work in particular touts the "greatest accomplishments" of research universities, among them helping win World War II through development such as radar and the atomic bomb. Roger Geiger, *Research and Relevant Knowledge: American Research Universities since World War II* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), vii, 3-13. In terms of architectural history, the clearest example of this trend is Stefan Muthesius, *The Postwar University: Utopianist Campus and College* (London: Yale University Press, 2000). Lynn Gordon, *Gender and Higher Education in the Progressive Era* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1990).

⁶ Clark Kerr, *The Uses of the University*, Fourth ed. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963; reprint, 1995).

⁷ J. Martin Klotsche, *The Urban University: And the Future of Our Cities* (New York: Harper & Row, 1966). A. Bartlett Giamatti, *Universities and the Public Interest*. (New York: Atheneum, 1981). Derek Bok, *Beyond the Ivory Tower: Social Responsibilities of the Modern University* (Cambridge: Harvard

it in the same way, discussing access to education as though a college credential were a good in itself and advocating forceful policy intervention to expand the education sector.⁸

National politicians have long promoted education as one of the keys to national well-being and advancement. Liberal leaders especially have given education a prominent place in their domestic agenda, from Franklin Roosevelt's 1944 State of the Union Address, in which he included education in his economic bill of rights to Lyndon Johnson's Great Society speech, in which he asserted that the Great Society would be built in the nation's classrooms, to Barack Obama's appeals to self-interest to explain the importance of higher education.⁹

Despite this popular and scholarly attention to higher education, even its critics indulge an idea of higher education exceptionalism. Many of these works fall into a similar set of treatments illustrating the cooptation of the research process or demonstrating the deterioration of undergraduate education, never questioning the ideal of higher education.¹⁰ A fundamental feature of this *mélange* of scholarship is the shared

University Press, 1982). Judith Rodin, *The University and Urban Revival: Out of the Ivory Tower and into the Streets* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007). Kerr by no means pioneered this genre, as significant examples such as Charles W. Eliot's *Educational Reform: Essays and Addresses*. (New York: The Century Company, 1898) and Robert Maynard Hutchins' *The Higher Learning in America*. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1936) that precede Kerr's work illustrate. Despite the more recent advocacy, there are a number of political difficulties involved in university-led revitalization. See John Gilderbloom and R.L. Mullins, *Promise and Betrayal: Universities and the Battle for Sustainable Urban Neighborhoods* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2005).

⁸ The American Council of Education is the leading national lobbying organization on behalf of education including higher education and has been a force in development of education policy since before WWII. William Willimon, *The Abandoned Generation: Rethinking Higher Education* (Grand Rapids, MI: W.B. Eerdmans, 1995).

⁹ Roosevelt's remarks in "State of the Union Message to Congress January 11, 1944." The American Presidency Project. <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu> (Accessed July 27, 2009). The Great Society Speech from "President Lyndon B. Johnson's Remarks at the University of Michigan May 22, 1964." Lyndon Baines Johnson Library and Museum. <http://www.lbjlib.utexas.edu> (Accessed July 27, 2009). A recent, representative statement by Barack Obama seen in "Remarks By The President On Higher Education," April 24, 2009. <http://www.whitehouse.gov> (Accessed July 27, 2009).

¹⁰ Christopher Newfield, *Ivy and Industry: Business and the Making of the American University, 1880-1980*. (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003). Jennifer Washburn, *University, Inc.: The Corporate Corruption of American Higher Education* (New York: Basic Books, 2005). Murray Sperber, *Beer and*

treatment of colleges and universities as special kinds of places unlike other institutions—different from their surroundings and best interpreted as separate from them.

One form of scholarship that can be most helpful in understanding the consequences of university growth in the twentieth century is urban history. Understanding the growth of higher education throughout the last century and its community consequences necessarily entails investigation into the urban contexts of universities. From small cities to massive metropolises, institutions are located in *places* and are inextricably linked to these surroundings—geographically, socially, economically, and politically—and the new spatial framework of urban history can help interpret the actions and consequences of universities in the course of institutional growth. By the same token, universities are bound up in the key movements and events in American history, a set of historical agents in metropolitan settings on a par with urban politicians, grassroots homeowner associations, real estate developers, labor unions and immigrant groups. Like these other actors in American history, universities are implicated in racial segregation, radical politics, urban redevelopment, exacerbation of economic and spatial inequality, economic and political transformation, and even electoral politics. Lamentably, universities have seen surprisingly little attention from urban historians—just what the effects of university expansion, federal support, and changing institutional missions are on cities and metropolitan regions remain largely

Circus: How Big-Time College Sports Is Crippling Undergraduate Education (New York: Henry Holt, 2000). An early volume critical of the relationship between industry and the academy is Thorstein Veblen's *The Higher Learning in America: A Memorandum on the Conduct of Universities by Business Men*. (New York: B.W. Huebsch, 1918). A concise Marxist critique of modern universities in the transitional period addressed by Veysey is Barrow, *Universities and the Capitalist State: Corporate Liberalism and the Reconstruction of American Higher Education, 1894-1928*.

unknown outside of a handful of studies.¹¹ However, reconceptualizing the creation and growth of higher education institutions using space as a category of analysis—with all its attendant social, political, and economic implications—can help historians better understand the role of colleges and universities in the broader sweep of U.S. and urban history.

With this structure I hope to show how building efforts changed over time, taking into account both change and continuity in the physical and institutional growth of higher education. In particular, this work uses campus planning, university development, and visual analysis as a lens for examining the politics, the economics, and the social implications of growth, as well as the specific design and planning processes associated with physical development. In selecting this arrangement I do not attempt to create a comprehensive history of campus planning in U.S. higher education that details the vast array of institutions and their planning choices.¹² Instead, my aim is to provide a framework that, first, explains the major structures of change in university development,

¹¹ Robin Bachin, *Building the South Side: Urban Space and Civic Culture in Chicago, 1890-1919* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004). Blake Gumprecht, *The American College Town* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2008). Arnold R. Hirsch, *Making the Second Ghetto: Race and Housing in Chicago, 1940-1960*, 2nd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998). Margaret Pugh O'Mara, *Cities of Knowledge: Cold War Science and the Search for the Next Silicon Valley* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2004).

¹² The most thorough history of American campus planning comes from an art historian and emphasizes the design aspect of university growth, particularly at the foundational point of universities. Paul V. Turner, *Campus: An American Planning Tradition* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1984). Recently this effort has been carried forward in emphasizing the increasingly global character of education and campus design, asserting postwar U.S. campus planning as part of an internationalist utopian project. Muthesius, *The Postwar University*. Revisionist threads of scholarship have emphasized the role of women as objects and consumers of campus design, while indicating African American educational landscapes were imbued with the contentious racial values of aspiration and marginalization in the Deep South. Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, *Alma Mater: Design and Experience in the Women's Colleges from Their Nineteenth Century Beginnings to the 1930s*. (New York: Knopf, 1984). K. Ian Grandison, "Negotiated Space: The Black College Campus as a Cultural Record of Postbellum America," *American Quarterly* 51, no. 3 (1999). In addition, a handful of single-campus studies have illustrated the iterative nature of campus development, even with a significant plan guiding development, such as Barry Bergdoll, *Mastering McKim's Plan: Columbia's First Century on Morningside Heights* (New York: Wallach Art Gallery, Columbia University, 1997).

how those structures came about, and their effect on surrounding cities; and, second, that can accommodate the variety of individual institutions and agents of change within a coherent narrative. Thus, this work represents a conscious attempt to re-periodize the history of American higher education, to intertwine this history with those of American urban history and political history, and to bind these strands with the threads of American architectural and planning history.

Locating universities at the center of urban concerns makes the history of American cities and the history of universities look very different from the ways we have come to think about these two topics. Recognizing universities as taking part in a strategy of metropolitan development led by civic boosters, real estate speculators, and state and local politicians as happened in cities like Muncie, Indiana, recasts our vision of such institutions from the characterization as suburban or anti-urban that scholars have previously promoted.¹³ Likewise, recalling that before the NAACP targeted primary school districts in Topeka, Kansas, and Summerton, South Carolina, civil rights organizations contested segregation in higher education in places like Austin, Texas, and Norman, Oklahoma, causes us to reconsider the importance of universities and their facilities, a key feature of the cases *Sweatt v. Painter* and *Sipuel v. Board of Regents*, at the intersection of urban geography, state budgets, and constitutional law.¹⁴ In addition,

¹³ Margaret Pugh O'Mara, *Cities of Knowledge: Cold War Science and the Search for the Next Silicon Valley* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2005). Turner, *Campus*. Gumprecht, *The American College Town*.

¹⁴ *Sweatt v. Painter* 339 U.S. 629 (1950); *Sipuel v. Board of Regents* 332 U.S. 631 (1948); *Brown v. Board of Education* 347 U.S. 483 (1954). Richard Chait, "The Desegregation of Higher Education: A Legal History" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1972). Melissa Kean, *Desegregating Private Higher Education in the South: Duke, Emory, Rice, Tulane, and Vanderbilt* (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 2008). Amilcar Shabazz, *Advancing Democracy: African Americans and the Struggle for Access and Equity in Higher Education* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2004). Dwonna Goldstone, *Integrating the 40 Acres: The Fifty-Year Struggle for Racial Equality at the University of Texas* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2006).

understanding the willingness and the ability of institutions like the University of Chicago to power legislation through city councils, state legislatures, and the U.S. Congress gives an indication of the position that universities had achieved in the urban and national power structure owing to their growth in the twentieth century. Finally, considering the role of students in support of or opposition to the implications of university growth and development, most notoriously at the University of California-Berkeley in the 1960s, further emphasizes how this growth was contested and could even be seen to undermine the values advanced by higher education. In all of these settings, gender and class serve as useful categories of analysis and provide historical material to be further excavated and illuminated in understanding the politics and ideologies embedded in urban systems, education, and the built environment.¹⁵

Moreover, reconsidering the history of American higher education over the last century in the light of these investigations enriches our understanding of broader changes in American society and of the fate of American cities. At the end of the nineteenth century, higher education was near the periphery of American society, open mainly to the upper middle class and the wealthy, and including only a relative handful of women and African Americans, often segregated in their own institutions.¹⁶ In the early years of the twentieth century, the country's industrial juggernaut employed over 7 million manufacturing and mechanical workers, who were active in a growing, increasingly powerful organized labor movement of more than half a century.¹⁷ Among the nation's

¹⁵ The leading works examining gender and higher education include Horowitz, *Alma Mater*. Gordon, *Gender and Higher Education in the Progressive Era*. Paula Fass, *Outside In: Minorities and the Transformation of American Education* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989).

¹⁶ Burton Bledstein, *The Culture of Professionalism: The Middle Class and the Development of Higher Education in America* (New York: Norton, 1976).

¹⁷ U.S. Decennial Census. Minnesota Population Center. National Historical Geographic Information System. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota 2010. <http://www.nhgis.org>.

twenty-five largest cities in 1900 were Buffalo, Newark, and Rochester, New York. By the new millennium these centers of the industrial economy had been replaced by places like Columbus, Austin, and San Jose, newly ascendant cities that had become centers of the knowledge economy. Even the largest cities that retained their wealth and position underwent this economic transformation. However, this was no natural process of urban or regional succession—the structure of the new economy was designed in classrooms and research labs, forged in federal and state legislative chambers and executive branch offices, and assembled in corporate boardrooms across the country. The decline of industrial manufacturing and industrial cities and the rise of service and technology centers—what urban economist Edward Glaeser calls “the skilled city”—came about as the result of a broadly shared but unequal agenda for economic and urban transformation.¹⁸

As part of these significant events and trends of the last century, universities have served as both actors and stages in the urban realm. Institutions of higher education are corporate bodies that function as legal persons, governed by boards and managed by administrators. In this role, they are able to borrow money, issue bonds, and charge fees; buy, sell and develop real estate; and to lobby government to advance and protect their perceived interests. In addition, universities are places, forums where loose associations of people from many parts of society come together (or break apart) ostensibly to engage in, pursue, or facilitate the creation and attainment of knowledge. In the course of those activities, students, administrators, faculty members, and staff may individually or

¹⁸ See, for example, Daniel Bell, *The Coming of Post-Industrial Society: A Venture in Social Forecasting* (New York: Basic Books, 1973). Kimberly Phillips-Fein, *Invisible Hands: The Making of the Conservative Movement from the New Deal to Reagan* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2009). Nelson Lichtenstein, ed. *American Capitalism: Social Thought at Political Economy* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003).

collectively act as political agents, as market participants, or as members of a broader metropolitan community in service of their ideals and interests. This work engages both of these perspectives and emphasizes the interaction between elites and the grassroots, illustrating the role of both institutions and individual actors in shaping legislation and policy related to higher education as well as specific development projects, combining both a “top-down” and “bottom-up” perspective in addressing this history.

One particularly important and often neglected set of subjects in assessing this history is university students and their housing. Students, more than any other group, bridge the spatial, economic, political and intellectual divides between cities and universities.¹⁹ As consumers, as political actors, and as residents, the student population serves as the chief intermediary between the spatial realms of cities and universities. Student neighborhoods frequently become the most controversial areas around university campuses and these houses and neighborhoods often become spaces for the development of student culture, political solidarity, or springboards for community action. Studying students’ actions and how political attitudes and market economics changed around them within a broader historical context, as I do in this dissertation, represents an effective means of helping assess the changing relationships between cities and universities in the twentieth century.²⁰

¹⁹ For example, even at the largest research universities such as the University of Michigan, students outnumber all full-time staff, faculty, and employees of the health system—combined.

²⁰ Students have been lamentably and ironically absent from or largely ignored in much of the history of higher education. One notable exception is the work of Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, including Horowitz, *Alma Mater*, Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, *Campus Life: Undergraduate Cultures from the End of the Eighteenth Century to the Present* (New York: Knopf, 1987). An example of a recent work that tries to fill this gap by examining students and their political activism historically is J. Angus Johnston, “The United States National Student Association: Democracy, Activism, and the Idea of the Student, 1947-1978,” (Ph.D. dissertation, City University of New York, 2009).

To untangle this complicated history of university growth and its spatial consequences, in this work I investigate four university-community relationships in sequential, overlapping periods in the twentieth century. These instances illustrate salient features and trends shared among many other institutions and communities around the country. In each of these cases, the institutions of higher education are central to the development of their surrounding cities and metropolitan areas, functionally if not geographically. This story begins in the second decade of the twentieth century when private industrialists in Muncie collaborated with Indiana politicians to turn a private normal school, a four-times-failed investment in the nation's heartland, into a higher education appendage of the state. While it may be the most lopsided public-private partnership to bring higher education to a community, it was only one of many such booster efforts of the period featuring collaboration between business and government leaders. For the brothers of the Ball family, makers of popular glass canning jars, this rescue of an institution represented the fusion of philanthropic and entrepreneurial efforts that leveraged their economic and political power to promote the development of Muncie, Indiana in the first half of the twentieth century, including a hospital, a museum, and an airport, among other enterprises. However, this investment and the Balls' subsequent influence through governance and patronage of the college named for them held spatial implications, as well. The establishment of the private school—part of a speculative real estate gambit—helped establish the basis for a new racial, ethnic, and class geography of the burgeoning industrial city.

The state assumption of responsibility for and investment in the private institution to make it a public normal school represented a socialization of risk and privatization of

profit by resolving and creating real estate opportunities that the second generation of Balls exploited, part of an entrepreneurial form of philanthropy that dramatically altered the social and economic geography of the city.²¹ In this period, Muncie came to stand in for American communities at large owing to the sociological studies of Robert and Helen Lynd, *Middletown* (1929) and *Middletown in Transition* (1937). These works addressed the consequences of economic and cultural change throughout the community and, in detailing the decline of an ethnically homogeneous, craft-oriented society, served as harbingers of industrial and educational change occurring throughout the country, a role that scholarship on Muncie continues to play to the present.²²

In mid-century Austin, Texas, institutional growth and a boom in natural and human capital both created conflict and promoted collaboration centered on the University of Texas and campus development. Before the New Deal and a West Texas oil boom, Austin was a relatively minor southwestern city—through the 1920s it was smaller than Muncie.²³ The income from natural resource flows and the political economy of federal public investment in the New Deal and mid-century liberal programs poured significant resources into institutions like the University of Texas and southern

²¹ This effort helps recast the sketchy scholarship of the alliance between philanthropists and higher education that has long focused on a few select patrons such as John Harvard, Elihu Yale, Andrew Carnegie, and John D. Rockefeller, along with the major foundations. Much of the existing scholarship on the history of higher education at the turn of the century emphasizes the established institutions. However, Christine Ogren addresses the important role that normal schools played in educating the public at the turn of the century and explores how they have grown since then, including among them UCLA. Merle Curti and Roderick Nash, *Philanthropy in the Shaping of American Higher Education* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1965). Christine Ogren, *The American State Normal School: An Instrument of Great Good* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2005).

²² Robert Staughton Lynd and Helen Merrell Lynd, *Middletown: A Study in American Culture* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1929). Robert and Helen Lynd, *Middletown in Transition: A Study in Cultural Conflicts* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1937). Sarah Igo, *The Averaged American: Surveys, Citizens, and the Making of a Mass Public*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007), 23-102.

²³ United States Census. Fourteenth Census of United States. (Washington, DC: G.P.O., 1924). Fifteenth Census of United States. (Washington, DC: G.P.O., 1932).

cities and regions like Austin and central Texas.²⁴ Marshaled by prominent politicians such as Lyndon Johnson, federal intervention enabled the dramatic expansion of both the University of Texas and the city of Austin. From Public Works Administration grants to wartime research and training funds, the university was able to expand its physical and intellectual capacity and leap to national stature. When wartime mobilization and postwar prosperity reached the once-impooverished state, enthusiasm for the New Deal waned and resurgent conservatives forced liberal retrenchment and abandonment of redistributionist policies that aided the poor and made tentative steps to address racial and ethnic inequality.²⁵ Co-opted by this realignment, liberals such as Johnson forged a martial compromise on domestic policy, physically and fiscally expanding liberal institutions and the state by redirecting them in service of Cold War defense.²⁶ These development efforts resulted in the creation of spatially decentralizing institutions in Austin such as a university research campus and military infrastructure, including an airbase that would become Austin's international airport.²⁷

²⁴ James Cobb, *The Selling of the South: The Southern Crusade for Industrial Development 1936-1980* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1982). Bruce Schulman, *From Cotton Belt to Sunbelt: Federal Policy, Economic Development, and the Transformation of the South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991). Jason Scott Smith, *Building New Deal Liberalism: The Political Economy of Public Works, 1933-1956* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006).

²⁵ George Norris Green, *The Establishment in Texas Politics: The Primitive Years, 1938-1957* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1979). Ricky Dobbs, *Yellow Dogs and Republicans: Allan Shivers and Texas Two-Party Politics* (College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press, 2005). This political transformation was a particular flavor of a nationwide political shift. Steve Fraser and Gary Gerstle, eds., *The Rise and Fall of the New Deal Order, 1930-1980* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1989).

²⁶ Dietrich Rueschemeyer and Peter Evans, "The State and Economic Transformation: Toward an Analysis of the Conditions Underlying Effective Intervention," in *Bringing the State Back In* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).

²⁷ O'Mara, *Cities of Knowledge*. Kenneth Ragsdale, *Austin, Cleared for Takeoff: Aviators, Businessmen, and the Growth of an American City* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2004).

This economic and educational expansion was not equitably distributed, prompting civil rights activists to challenge Jim Crow at the University of Texas.²⁸ This conflict turned into a high stakes standoff for the state with implications for the state budget and the Permanent University Fund, the repository of oil revenues dedicated to campus expansion at the state's key universities. The 1950 U.S. Supreme Court decision *Sweatt vs. Painter* broke the color barrier at the UT law school, representing both a national challenge to the segregationist doctrine of "separate but equal" and a local contest over where the state would allocate oil revenues for campus construction.

The tensions of postwar society were laid bare by the *Sweatt* case and the subsequent *Brown* decision, as segregationist forces in South and North alike fought the expansion of access to colleges and universities while the federal government continued pouring resources into education.²⁹ These concerns about the liberality of the educational system were soon channeled into a broader critique of higher education and American society even as the federal government worked to incorporate universities more directly into the Cold War military-industrial complex. When then-Senator Lyndon Johnson navigated the National Defense Education Act (NDEA) through Congress after the launch of *Sputnik* in the fall of 1957, anti-communist sentiment ran high and the race for technological and scientific superiority constituted part of a contest for global hegemony.³⁰ The loyalty oaths required of students by the NDEA sparked controversy and protests on U.S. campuses, an artifact of the debates on academic freedom and a

²⁸ Jacquelyn Dowd Hall, "The Long Civil Rights Movement and the Political Uses of the Past," *Journal of American History* 91, no. 4 (2005).

²⁹ Kean, *Desegregating Private Higher Education in the South*. Thomas Sugrue, *Sweet Land of Liberty: The Forgotten Struggle for Civil Rights in the North* (New York: Random House, 2008).

³⁰ Barbara Barksdale Clowse, *Brainpower for the Cold War: The Sputnik Crisis and National Defense Education Act of 1958* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1981). Quoted in O'Mara, *Cities of Knowledge*.

harbinger of the New Left critique of anti-communism that would follow in the succeeding decade. Ironically, the American cultural and political transformation from the New Deal to the New Left may have been more poignantly felt, and with greater consequences for the nation, deep in the heart of Texas.³¹

On the South Side of Chicago, University of Chicago administrators faced a different challenge, marshalling institutional, community, and federal resources to combat a perceived urban crisis—racial transition resulting from the expansion of the Black Belt and urban deterioration in postwar Chicago.³² This racial restructuring came about as a consequence of the mid-century expansion of the state and the economy in service of the World War Two effort and the postwar economic expansion, which drew rural, southern African Americans to cities like Chicago.³³ The University of Chicago, like a number of universities that had benefited from mid-century expansion, had amassed local clout, federal support from politicians and funding agencies, and intellectual resources allowing it to direct dramatic changes in the built environment. While race liberals in Hyde Park advocated the creation of an integrated neighborhood, university technocrats used their political acumen and professional expertise to undermine racial integration in the community by creating local, state, and federal legislation, intervening in the real estate market, and leading coalitions of higher education institutions in similar endeavors to protect their perceived interests in a

³¹ Douglas Rossinow, *The Politics of Authenticity: Liberalism, Christianity, and the New Left in America*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998). Anthony Orum, *Power, Money & the People: The Making of Modern Austin* (Austin: Texas Monthly Press, 1987). Fraser and Gerstle, eds., *The Rise and Fall of the New Deal Order, 1930-1980*.

³² Hirsch, *Making the Second Ghetto*. Sugrue, *Origins of the Urban Crisis*.

³³ James Grossman, *Land of Hope: Chicago, Black Southerners, and the Great Migration* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989). Nicholas Lemann, *The Promised Land: The Great Black Migration and How It Changed America* (New York: Vintage Books, 1991).

majority white, middle class community.³⁴ Framing their efforts within the rhetoric of Cold War defense, the University of Chicago sought to maintain and expand a physical refuge from the South Side that would provide a training ground and experimentation laboratory for the next generation of Cold Warriors.

In communities around the United States, the complicity of university administrations in the corruption of liberal ideals such as internationalism and urban renewal provoked student outcry and protest. As the Port Huron Statement asserted, written in the Summer of 1962, the struggle for civil rights and the excesses of the Cold War prompted students to action.³⁵ However, long before the most renowned episodes of the student movement, many University of Chicago students identified the contradictions of segregation and anti-communism in the liberal project of higher education. They opposed these practices at their institution by participating in community organizing to oppose university-led urban renewal and occupying the university's administration building to protest racial segregation in university-owned real estate. Amid these tensions, the northern civil rights struggle took shape as groups such as the Temporary Woodlawn Organization (TWO) formed on Chicago's South Side to promote civic participation and assert political power, at times drawing energy from opposition to the university.³⁶ Nonetheless, the university succeeded in its efforts at physical

³⁴ Leaders of the Chicago school of sociology were pioneers and advocates for many of the techniques used by urban planners at mid-century to track demographics and develop strategies for urban intervention. Martin Bulmer, *The Chicago School of Sociology: Institutionalization, Diversity, and the Rise of Sociological Research* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984). Fred Matthews, *Quest for an American Sociology: Robert E. Park and the Chicago School* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1977).

³⁵ James Miller, *Democracy Is in the Streets: From Port Huron to the Siege of Chicago* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1994). Jeremy Suri, *Power and Protest: Global Revolution and the Rise of Detente* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003).

³⁶ As a recent account of civil rights in the North suggests, years of grassroots work such as that of TWO made possible the more renowned work of Martin Luther King, Jr.'s northern freedom movement. Sugrue,

transformation, often employing the world's leading architects in the process, and established a policy template that universities around the country would transfer to their communities.

As at the private University of Chicago, the public University of California and its flagship Berkeley campus encountered numerous challenges to its physical, administrative, and intellectual growth in the postwar period from both within and without the university. The University of California Berkeley stood at the center of a new postwar vision for economic growth and social progress, driven by the public apparatus of the state of California. Academic administrators and state politicians early on realized what higher education could do for the economic condition of the state and what state-supported education institutions could do for the economic condition of California communities. In a period of postwar plenty, the two groups—politicians like Governors Earl Warren and Pat Brown, along with administrators like UC presidents Robert Sproul and Clark Kerr and chancellor Glenn Seaborg—collaborated to coordinate a statewide system of higher education with the science research of Berkeley at its pinnacle but with broad accessibility and continued campus expansion and proliferation throughout the state.³⁷ This system, and the wealth of the state that supported it, were built on a foundation of postwar suburban expansion and Cold War science and manufacturing. More than almost any other state, California was able to leverage its natural resources—land and climate—to attract and create human resources—a steadily

Sweet Land of Liberty. See also Matthew Countryman, *Up South: Civil Rights and Black Power in Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006). Martha Biondi, *To Stand and Fight: The Struggle for Civil Rights in Postwar New York City* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003).

³⁷ John Aubrey Douglass, *The California Idea and American Higher Education, 1850 to the 1960 Master Plan* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2000). This type of study investigating state higher education policy stands in stark contrast to dominant examinations of postwar higher education emphasizing research growth and achievements, such as Geiger, *Research and Relevant Knowledge*.

growing population of knowledge workers seeking the suburban ideal—that yielded political clout and economic wealth, continuing a cycle of metropolitan expansion and economic growth.

The Berkeley student upheavals of the 1960s were a confrontation with the contradictions and failures of liberalism—mass education, urban renewal, the promise of racial equality, and the Cold War—one embedded in and springing from a specific context, but one that both served as an example for and that can help illuminate similar turbulent events at campuses around the country. Students at Berkeley responded to this expansion and the consequences of mass education in California with a series of objections that called into question the process of expanding higher education and the very nature of their university and its campus. Through organizations like SLATE, which criticized the campus culture and environment and challenged the established relationships between the student body, the Berkeley community, and the Cal administrative leadership; the coalition comprising the Free Speech Movement, which opposed the state’s limits on political speech and canvassing on the Berkeley campus; and through campus-community alliances like those around People’s Park and the rent control measures, students responded to their political and cultural surroundings, which were fundamentally related to the physical conditions of the university campus and the local landscape.

As universities developed and expanded their agenda throughout the twentieth century, they came to be associated with a contradictory ideal of isolation, the “ivory tower,” that was accompanied by a morally and politically ambiguous, if architecturally innovative, physical environment. The expansion of universities’ “pure” research agenda

and prohibition of overt political activities meant that they came to be seen as intellectually remote from their urban and political contexts, even while they engaged in state and national policymaking and contributed to metropolitan development and urban renewal.³⁸ I argue universities negotiated and at times promoted this ideal of isolation for different reasons, but this separation from their surroundings was more rhetoric than fact. As the political ideologies of students and faculty in universities around the country diverged from those of state politicians and business leaders, university leaders promoted the ideal of academic and political freedom from external influence in order to minimize controversy even while turning their institutions to align with the aims of the Cold War and the post-war economy.³⁹ However, the purported neutrality of academic freedom, like similar movements such as the emerging ideal of objectivity in social science research, was in fact a value-laden, normative formulation that frequently resulted in marginalizing and limiting the agency of individuals within the academic system, preventing them from pursuing and achieving structural change in higher education and campus governance.⁴⁰

³⁸ One major study demonstrated how McCarthyism led to self-censorship in research and action and a feeling that “the quality of American college education...[was] under attack,” which led to a set of prohibitions of overt political activities on college campuses. Paul Lazarsfeld and Wagner Thielens, *The Academic Mind* (Glencoe, IL: Free Press, 1958). One such prohibition was imposed at the University of California, Berkeley, and helped precipitate the Free Speech Movement. Robert Cohen and Reginald Zelnik, eds., *The Free Speech Movement: Reflections on Berkeley in the 1960s* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2002).

³⁹ William F. Buckley, Jr., launched a critique of the Yale University faculty, who accused them of hostility to traditional religious values and free market principles. Richard Hofstadter and Walter Metzger’s classic work on academic freedom argued that the tolerance of college faculty in American history suffered from enduring opposition by both politicians and religious leaders. The most significant historical work on the subject at mid-century demonstrates the illusory nature of the protections of academic freedom and universities’ complicity with McCarthy’s attacks. William Buckley Jr., *God and Man at Yale: The Superstitions Of "Academic Freedom"* (Chicago: Regnery, 1977). Richard Hofstadter and Walter Metzger, *The Development of Academic Freedom in the United States* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1955). Ellen Schrecker, *No Ivory Tower: McCarthyism and the Universities* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986).

⁴⁰ Mark C. Smith, *Social Science in the Crucible: The American Debate over Objectivity and Purpose, 1918-1941*. (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1994). Peter Novick, *That Noble Dream: The*

Thus, both the physical campus and the intellectual ideals of universities at mid-century were fraught with contradictions. Universities were at once seemingly insulated from the governing values of the external world while in fact serving the inherently ideological interests of powerful actors—political leaders and business elites such as real estate developers—trading upon liberal ideals to serve conservative purposes, and even local individuals like designers, landlords, and policymakers who benefited from the denial of the interdependence between universities and their surrounding cities. Indeed, this denial of social responsibility served the status quo and worked to stifle dissent and tame forces for change on racial inequality, cultural and Cold War politics, economic inequality, and sex and gender inequality up to and including the 1960s, when multiple strands of student activism began to coalesce in a broader political movement that engaged civil rights issues, anti-communist military intervention overseas, and women's sexual and economic liberation.⁴¹

In the pages that follow, I argue that the physical form of universities and their surrounding communities—the built environment—is both a product and a cause of the transformations of academic life and American life more generally in the twentieth

"Objectivity Question" And the American Historical Profession (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998). Julie Reuben, *The Making of the Modern University: Intellectual Transformation and the Marginalization of Morality* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996). For a broader discussion of the development of the idea of objectivity, see Maurice Mandelbaum, *History, Man, & Reason: A Study in Nineteenth-Century Thought*. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1971).

⁴¹ This student movement operated at times both within the framework of liberalism and as an external critique of the liberal project. There is a voluminous literature on the New Left and the student movement, though few studies examine the work of student activists within a local setting. For national studies, see Rebecca Klatsch, *A Generation Divided: The New Left, the New Right, and the 1960s* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999). Miller, *Democracy Is in the Streets*. Winifred Breines, *Community and Organization in the New Left, 1962-1968: The Great Refusal* (New York: Praeger, 1982). For local studies, see Rossinow, *The Politics of Authenticity*. Paul Lyons, *The People of This Generation: The Rise and Fall of the New Left in Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003). Bret Eynon, "Community, Democracy, and the Reconstruction of Political Life: The Civil Rights Influence on New Left Political Culture in Ann Arbor, 1958-1966" (Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 1993). Wesley Hogan, "How Democracy Travels: SNCC, Swarthmore Students, and the Growth of the Student Movement in the North, 1961-1964," *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 126 (2002).

century.⁴² Perhaps Winston Churchill most famously characterized this interplay between planning, design, and human interaction in the built environment when discussing the British Parliament building destroyed in World War II, “we shape our buildings, and afterwards, our buildings shape us.”⁴³ Real estate development, the process of fixing capital on the landscape, has a more direct effect on human behavior than other forms of economic and political incentives and regulations, because it literally bounds and directs the way humans move and interact, giving concrete instantiation and expression to political, economic, and cultural intentions. In this work I elaborate on this idea to argue that politics, public policy, and prevailing design ideas shape the buildings of our educational and urban landscapes; afterwards, the built environment guides activity, attracts public reaction, and contributes to the density, variety, and vitality (or their lack) in the urban environment.

Architectural discourse on campus design over the twentieth century was fragmented, though it followed some of the broader lines of inquiry on city planning and modern urbanism. Designers struggled to balance the cultural conservatism of the institution with the modernizing impetus of knowledge creation in the twentieth century. Architects and planners worked to give form to these new institutions while reconciling historicist tradition with the emerging architectural consensus on modern design. Designers participated in a discourse on campus design influenced by the international

⁴² In this I draw on structuration theory and Bourdieu’s notion of *habitus*, in which spatial arrangements shape human action and even human thought in a feedback loop between the structures of human society and the agency of individual actors. William Sewell, "A Theory of Structure: Duality, Agency, and Transformation," *The American Journal of Sociology* 98, no. 1 (1992). Pierre Bourdieu, *The Logic of Practice*, trans. Richard Nice (Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 1990). John Archer offers a discussion of theoretical developments in research on the built environment in John Archer, "Social Theory of Space: Architecture and the Production of Self, Culture, and Society," *The Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 64, no. 4 (2005).

⁴³ From the speech “A Sense of Crowd and Urgency,” October 28, 1943, in Sir Winston Churchill, ed. *Never Give In!: The Best of Winston Churchill's Speeches*, vol. 2 (London: Pimlico, 2003), 358-60.

reckoning on design led by European architects like Le Corbusier, leaders of the Bauhaus, and members of CIAM, who developed proposals for increasingly ambitious scales of intervention, from the individual building to the cityscape.⁴⁴ However, these broad lines of thought were contested and shaped by historicist and contextualist practitioners such as Charles Klauder, Paul Cret, and Eero Saarinen.⁴⁵ This elite discourse and its adaptation by the profession and architectural schools in America shaped the ways that designers approached even age-old problems faced by growing universities.⁴⁶

Thus an architectural and planning history is a particularly useful means of examining these issues of politics, policy, economics, culture and design. In scrutinizing the architectural history of higher education I work to examine critically the role of architects and planners in campus planning and university development. The result is an interpretation of architecture that embeds design in a complicated web of processes largely bounded by politics and planning on one side and finance and capitalism on the other. As Marxian theorists have written, buildings and landscapes are imbued with political, technocratic, and economic values that are reproduced in the development and inhabitation of the built environment, true of university campuses no less than company towns.⁴⁷ Universities have worked to instill these same values into each succeeding

⁴⁴ Eric Mumford, *The CIAM Discourse on Modernism, 1928-1960* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2000).

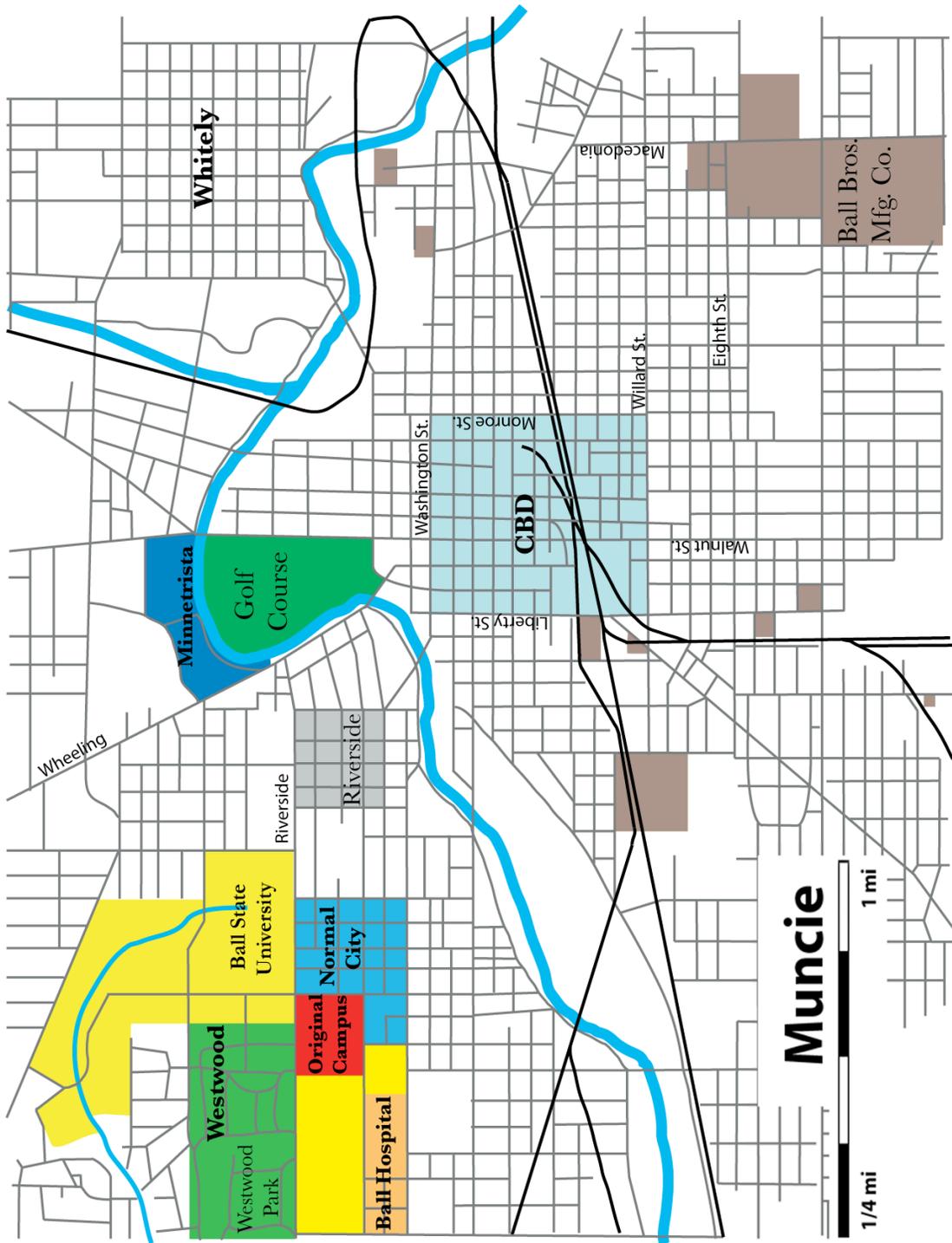
⁴⁵ Charles Klauder and Herbert Wise, *College Architecture in America and Its Part in the Development of the Campus* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1929).

⁴⁶ See Anthony Alofsin, *The Struggle for Modernism* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 2002).

⁴⁷ Giorgio Ciucci, ed. *The American City: From the Civil War to the New Deal* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1979). Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1991). David Harvey, *The Limits to Capital* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1982). Margaret Crawford, *Building the Workingman's Paradise: The Design of American Company Towns* (New York: Verso, 1995). Barrow, *Universities and the Capitalist State: Corporate Liberalism and the Reconstruction of American Higher Education, 1894-1928*.

generation of students and are key institutions in the maintenance and reproduction of American society.

Indeed, one of the chief means of this process of social reproduction is universities' roles in city building. Universities are urbanizing institutions, capable of catalyzing changes in land development and in bringing people together in dense settlements and nodes of communication, recreation, and inquiry. Throughout the twentieth century, the federal government has played an increasingly prominent role in enabling this process of university-led urban development, especially through aid for facilities construction as well as teaching and research subsidies that helped make college and graduate education more accessible to the American public, increasing enrollment across the country. While the federal government and institutions of higher education were literally building their ivory towers through campus expansion and redevelopment, they were also creating an argument for the exceptional nature of higher education, denying their responsibility for the changes they wrought in local environments because of higher, more global responsibilities—building a figurative ivory tower that came to represent a removal of higher education from city and society. With these tensions in mind, it is time to give these institutions and landscapes the respect they deserve by turning the critical eye of the historical profession upon them.



Map 2.1 Muncie. By the author.

Chapter 2

The Gravity of Capital

With a phone call and a lunch meeting spaced a few months apart in 1917 and 1918, two brothers of the Ball family in Muncie, Indiana, arranged for the creation of a normal school that became a major Midwestern teaching university and now serves as the heart of the Muncie economy. The episode began when George Ball, member of a leading manufacturing family, empowered his attorney in the fall of 1917 to purchase the property of a failed private teaching school on the edge of town during a court-administrated auction. Later, at a winter meeting of the Muncie Rotary club, Charles McGonagle, the city's state legislative representative, struck up a conversation with Frank Ball offering to negotiate with Indiana's governor to accept donation of the institution's campus by the state. In the spring of 1918 the state create a new public institution on the site and by June 1918 the Muncie campus of the Indiana State Normal School held its first classes.¹

Considering this negotiation and the establishment of a college in this way, as part of a set of transformative capital investments in the physical, economic and social landscape of Muncie, frames the enterprise of higher education in a very different way from what we have come to expect. Rather than being an "ivory tower," an institution removed from the messy concerns of modern life, urban politics and economic growth,

¹ Anthony Edmonds and E. Bruce Geelhoed, *Ball State University: An Interpretive History* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2001), 57-66. Charles Van Cleve, "Beneficence: A History of Ball State Teachers College," (Muncie, IN: Ball State University Archives, 1961), 42-43.

Ball State Teachers College, as it came to be known, was part of a broad agenda to advance the economic base and prestige of the city—to concentrate the gains of industrial production, extracted from consumers across the nation, in multiple forms on the Muncie landscape. Not only was it an urban institution, the college was an *urbanizing* institution, one capable of catalyzing changes in land and population development; social, cultural and economic opportunity; as well as increasing the value of real estate, human labor, and community prestige.²

This institution and these investments, however, were not evenly shared throughout the Indiana metropolis. The creation of the college, among other efforts, both expanded the privilege of the business class and catalyzed a transformation of the geography of the city, by mid-century turning Muncie into a community that turn-of-the-century residents would not have been able to recognize, so significant was the scale of change, shifting the broad pattern of urban investment dramatically in favor of the northwest quadrant of the city, while investment on the city's east end stagnated. The physical growth of Ball State Teachers College in this era illuminates the role of institutions such as colleges and universities in the political economy of metropolitan regions and their effects on the urban landscape as far back as the 1910s. Urban historians and sociologists have long studied the political economy of industrial transformation and metropolitan stratification, but have located the origins of urban disinvestment in the World War II era.³ As this chapter shows, the alliances between

² In this work I have found the scholarship of critical geographers very useful, especially David Harvey, *The Urbanization of Capital* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985).

³ John Logan and Harvey Molotch, *Urban Fortunes: The Political Economy of Place* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1987). Thomas Sugrue, *The Origins of the Urban Crisis: Race and Inequality in Postwar Detroit*, 2nd ed. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003). Margaret Pugh O'Mara, *Cities of Knowledge: Cold War Science and the Search for the Next Silicon Valley* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2005).

educational leaders and urban elites date even from the founding of such institutions, and predated mobilization for the Second World War substantially.⁴ Indeed, the expansion of federal capacity in the New Deal and during and after the war, so often named as the necessary or sufficient condition for urban transformation, in Muncie only intensified a process that had been initiated years earlier by the city's industrial leaders.⁵

Colleges and universities, when used forcefully as aesthetic, political, and economic instruments of the local metropolitan elite, have the power to change patterns of urban development. The Ball family espoused an agenda of urban and regional development through the creation of educational institutions and the teachers college was one of multiple efforts in pursuit of that agenda, including a health care facility and an art museum. In addition, the Balls promoted a historicist design aesthetic in their investments that sought to ground their transformative investments in the familiar forms of other elite institutions, an effort that masked the economic and social transformation going on behind the buildings' walls. After the Balls' investments in northwest Muncie spurred building on the outskirts of the city, investment on the east side of the city stagnated even while Muncie developed into a leading Indiana city and a node in the Midwestern networks of education, health care, cultural production, and finance, in addition to its already robust industrial position. The business and professional class withdrew from their traditional residential neighborhoods in the East End and left deterioration and declining property values in their wake, seeking to replicate the

⁴ See Frederick Rudolph, *The American College and University: A History* (New York: Alfred A Knopf, 1962), 4-5. Daniel Boorstin, *The Americans: The National Experience*. (New York: Random House, 1965), 152-161.

⁵ Perhaps the most resounding statement of this discovery comes from Kenneth Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985).

aesthetic forms and build on the residential investments the Ball family had made.⁶ The Balls' geographically concentrated investments and ongoing civic philanthropy exerted their own force, a kind of gravity of capital, that drew other investments towards itself, profoundly influencing the future of Muncie, Indiana, in ways that were both intentional and unforeseen.⁷

Perhaps more importantly, the myriad community investments the Ball coalition made in Muncie helped create a post-industrial economic basis for the city. Even as Robert and Helen Lynd were studying and writing about the cultural transformation of the industrial Indiana community in the pioneering study *Middletown* and their follow-up, *Middletown in Transition*, Muncie was undergoing profound economic and social changes that the sociologists failed to appreciate.⁸ Among them were the incorporation of several emerging institutions in American society, those of higher education and health care, into the Fordist order of consumer capitalism by creating and helping govern a public college that would bear an industrialist family's name. However, the mid-century growth of the American state and its investment in infrastructure and scientific knowledge, along with a shift in labor development, undermined organized labor and heavy industry in favor of knowledge workers and a service economy, which intensified the transformation of Muncie. This was part of a national process in which industry fled from unionized, domestic production centers and metropolitan economic growth relied

⁶ Robert Staughton Lynd and Helen Merrell Lynd, *Middletown in Transition: A Study in Cultural Conflicts* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1937), 82.

⁷ In this respect, such institutions might be seen as adjuncts to or benefactors of the real estate development industry, whether explicitly, as in the case of the Eastern Indiana Normal University, or implicitly, as in many cases where investors and boosters are backers of education institutions for more general economic development effects.

⁸ Robert Staughton Lynd and Helen Merrell Lynd, *Middletown: A Study in American Culture* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1929). Lynd and Lynd, *Middletown in Transition*.

upon federal subsidies and the development of a productionless consumption economy in place of a productive industrial economy.⁹

However, the Ball family's role as local leaders and as patrons of a growing educational institution in Muncie also illustrates the limits of philanthropy and the waning influence of local industrial elites as the twentieth century progressed. These local elites were later surpassed by the growing power of the federal government and the integration of regional, national and global capital. In Muncie, too, the power of local industrial capital diminished over time as production grew less concentrated and corporations like Ball Brothers transitioned to a geographically diffuse knowledge economy, one that itself increasingly relied upon the patronage of the federal government, at the expense of Midwestern industrial cities like Muncie.¹⁰

A Company Town

For more than a century, the identity and development of Muncie, located 60 miles northeast of Indianapolis, was entwined with the Ball family and the Ball Brothers manufacturing companies. The discovery of natural gas in east central Indiana in the

⁹ For evidence of this transformation before World War II, see Alexander Field, "The Most Technologically Progressive Decade of the Century," *American Economic Review* 3, no. 4 (2003). Christopher Loss, "From Democracy to Diversity: The Politics of American Higher Education in the Twentieth Century" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Virginia, 2007). On the postwar consequences of this transformation see, for example, Lizabeth Cohen, *A Consumers' Republic: The Politics of Mass Consumption in Postwar America* (New York: Vintage Books, 2003), Robert Collins, *More: The Politics of Economic Growth in Postwar America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000). On the effects of such transformation on work and organized labor, see Jefferson Cowie, *Capital Moves: RCA's Seventy-Year Quest for Cheap Labor* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1999). Nelson Lichtenstein, *State of the Union: A Century of American Labor* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2002).

¹⁰ Considering this framework of economic transformation can also help understand the enduring debate regarding local power raised by the Lynds in *Middletown in Transition*. On behalf of the liberal pluralist interpretation, see Nelson Polsby, "Power in Middletown: Fact and Value in Community Research," *The Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science* 26, no. 4 (1960). In support of the federalist interpretation, see Carrolyle Frank, "Who Governed Middletown? Community Power in Muncie, Indiana, in the 1930s," *Indiana Magazine of History* 75, no. 4 (1979). For a review of key scholarship on Muncie after the Lynds' work, see James Connolly, "The Legacies of *Middletown*," *Indiana Magazine of History* 103, no. September (2003). However, scholars, in debating the influence of the Balls and the "local elite" thesis, have neglected to take into account Gramsci's concept of hegemony, which asserts a non-coercive influence on the part of elites, rather than a wide ranging authority or political veto power.

1880s created an economic boom for the city in which the population more than doubled from 5,200 in 1880 to 11,300 in 1890.¹¹ Entrepreneurs and migrants flocked to Muncie to take advantage of the abundant natural resource, a useful energy source for the industrial revolution that was transforming the American economy in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Though the Muncie population was largely composed of white Protestants, before the turn of the century business interests were diverse and relatively small-scale.¹²

Ball Brothers Glass Manufacturing Company was a transplant to Muncie, attracted by the financial support and booster rhetoric of business leaders in the 1880s. Two brothers, Frank C. Ball and Edmund B. Ball, had founded the company in Buffalo, New York, and managed a growing enterprise creating the glass jars that rural and small town families used to preserve fruits and vegetables throughout the winter. When their Buffalo factory burned down in 1886, the brothers began a search for a new location where the manufacturing enterprise would be cheaper to operate. They found such a site in east central Indiana, where gas for their glass blowing furnaces was plentiful and cheap. Muncie's business leaders spoke to Frank Ball on his exploratory trip to Indiana and offered the Ball company free land and free gas for five years if the Balls moved their concern to Muncie. Frank struck a deal and he and Edmund moved the company to

¹¹ 1880 U.S. Census of Population. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1884). 1900 U.S. Census. (Washington: U.S. G.P.O., 1904).

¹² In 1900 only 3.6% of the population was non-white, though this increased to 5.7% by 1920. U.S. Census data from Minnesota Population Center. National Historical Geographic Information System. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota. Edmonds and Geelhoed, *Ball State University*, 44-45. Part of the premise of *Middletown* is that the White Anglo-Saxon Protestant old stock of 1890 and their values were in decline by the 1920s. Lynd and Lynd, *Middletown*, 5-6.

the Midwest the next year, along with two of their remaining three brothers.¹³ Their sister Lucina, a schoolteacher, remained in New York to work.

As the jar manufacturing business prospered, the brothers settled into roles of civic leadership, gaining influential positions in the community and the state. Frank Ball married the daughter of a leading politician. His brother, Edmund, married the daughter of a prominent clergyman in 1903.¹⁴ The company founders began to accumulate significant wealth—to such an extent that they became regional leaders instead of simply Muncie elites and sought to express their wealth and power on the local landscape.¹⁵ Lucina Ball, still living on the East Coast, counseled her brothers as they established permanent roles in the community to develop their residential property consistent with their civic status.

It is risky building a good house in any place that may be made undesirable by some one putting up a poor class of buildings. Can't you get up a 'syndicate' to buy a whole square and build it all equally good, and so make your own surroundings. Houses moderately expensive, with neighborhoods fine and insured, would be a good thing.¹⁶

The brothers took this real estate advice to heart; as they supported nascent business interests in the city they also established a residential compound at the northern outskirts of town segregated from the industrial district on the south side of the city. Located on the edge of the White River north of Muncie's downtown, the Balls called the area "Minnetrista." On a curving lane following the river's path, Frank Ball built a large colonial revival mansion. He was followed by George Ball, who used the same

¹³ Frank C. Ball, *Memoirs of Frank Clayton Ball* (Muncie, IN: Privately printed, 1937). Edmonds and Geelhoed, *Ball State University*, 48.

¹⁴ Spurgeon Wiley, *Ball Memorial Hospital, 1929-1989: A Legacy of Caring* (Muncie, IN: Ball Memorial Hospital, 1989), 41.

¹⁵ In the 1890s the Ball Brothers company held between a third and a half of the national market share of glass fruit jars. Edmonds and Geelhoed, *Ball State University*, 49.

¹⁶ Earl Conn, *Beneficence: Stories About the Ball Families of Muncie* (Muncie, IN: Minnetrista Cultural Foundation, 2003), 47.

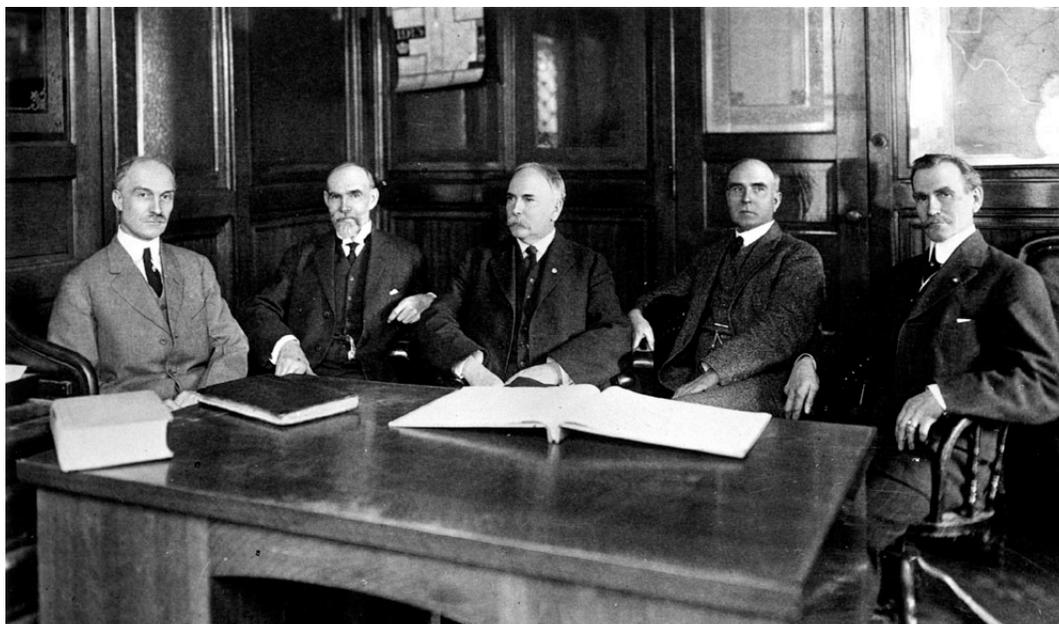


Fig 2.1. The Ball Brothers. (l to r) George A. Ball, Lucius L. Ball, Frank C. Ball, Edmund B. Ball, and William C. Ball.

Indianapolis architect, Louis Gibson, to design his house, in 1895.¹⁷ Eventually all five brothers' homes were located at Minnetrista, which immediately became the city's priciest and most exclusive residential development. The Ball brothers worked to ensure that the area around their compound would preclude the problems their sister, Lucina, had warned them about. North of the neighborhood were open fields that the brothers donated to Delaware County for fairgrounds, reserving the area for open space. To the east, across the river, the brothers donated land to the city for a golf course ensuring verdant, open vistas greeted them when they left their houses each morning.¹⁸

In taking these measures to make sure that their neighborhood was "fine and insured," the Balls illustrated how closely linked local area planning issues were to their conception of power and quality of life. Limiting density, ensuring open space, creating

¹⁷ "Bertha Crosley Ball Art Center." Box 1 Folder 14. Buildings File. Stoeckel Archives. BSU ASC.

¹⁸ Ball, *Memoirs*.



Figs. 2.2, 2.3. The manorial estates of two of the Ball brothers. On the left, the home of Edmund B. Ball. On the right, the home of Frank C. Ball, renovated in 1905 and now demolished after fire. The houses overlooked the White River, across which they had donated land for a golf course. North of the estate was open land donated to the county for use as fairgrounds. (BSU ASC).

verdant vistas for their compound – all of these isolated the Balls from the rest of the city but, by augmenting their prestige, also made northwest Muncie more attractive for residential development and settlement. Indeed, they also foreshadowed the actions the Balls would take in just a few years to rescue a failing education institution and secure its surrounding environment.

Foundations

In 1898 a group of regional businessmen formed an association to create a private, for-profit normal school that was a harbinger of the city's changing economic condition. Though Muncie was clearly a growing, industrial city, by the turn of the century the underground gas stores that had precipitated the economic boom were exhausted and growth could no longer depend on this cheap energy source. The end of the region's resource economy did nothing to stop the arrival of mass industrialization, but it led to a decline in small manufacturing throughout the city, which made the rise of a knowledge

economy a more attractive basis for Muncie's future. As they had a generation earlier, the city's business leaders stepped into the breach.

Higher education provided a means for dealing with the economic and resource crises of the 1890s. Education advocates around the country had argued for the integration of higher education into the growing industrial economy in the late 19th century. Academic leaders at universities like Michigan and Harvard had advanced ideas and pursued reforms of the classical curriculum in favor of scientific training and the elective system, while programs like the federal Morrill Acts had established engineering and agricultural schools throughout the United States.¹⁹ Indeed, the second half of the 19th century saw an expansion and proliferation of colleges and universities that was almost unprecedented in American history, as new lines of professional training and intellectual acquisition were incorporated into college curricula.²⁰ In this age of growing access to and demand for higher education, education schools, including public and private normal schools, were but one of many new types of institutions that both increased the availability of higher education to the middle classes and helped expand the professional classes.²¹

The normal school in northwest Muncie was founded on real estate development. In 1898 a group of investors bundled a land deal with a new education enterprise to

¹⁹ On the prevalence of mainline public and private colleges in the 19th century, see Laurence Veysey, *The Emergence of the American University*. The federal Morrill Land Grant Act of 1862 created a line of federal support for engineering and agricultural schools in northern states, followed by the second Morrill Act of 1890, which extended the provisions to southern states. For examples of leading advocates of the integration of higher education and regional economies, see Henry Philip Tappan, *A Discourse: Delivered by Henry P. Tappan at Ann Arbor, Mich., on the Occasion of His Inauguration as Chancellor of the University of Michigan, December 21, 1852*. (Detroit: Advertiser Power Presses, 1852).

²⁰ Burton Bledstein, *The Culture of Professionalism: The Middle Class and the Development of Higher Education in America* (New York: Norton, 1976).

²¹ Christine Ogren, *The American State Normal School: An Instrument of Great Good* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2005).

finance the development of the school's campus. Members of the Eastern Indiana Normal University Association optioned a tract of agricultural land beyond the northwest borders of Muncie. The businessmen subdivided the land into three hundred lots and platted a development they called Normal City.²² Announcing the foundation of the normal school, a private, for-profit institute that would train young men and women to be teachers in rural schools, the investors announced that sales of the residential lots would finance construction of the campus physical plant.²³

The unorthodox financing of the normal institute presaged twenty years of economic uncertainty for higher education in Muncie. The Eastern Indiana Normal University (EINU) opened with a flourish and began classes in 1899 with an impressive neoclassical building for instruction and administration. Local and regional students attending the school lived in Muncie rooming houses and patronized local businesses for meals, fulfilling the community business rationale for the school.²⁴ However, the institution fell into financial difficulties and was forced to close for lack of students in 1901, reopening as Palmer University with the promise of aid from New York financier Francis Asbury Palmer in 1902.²⁵ Palmer died before finalizing the gift and the school

²² Edmonds and Geelhoed, *Ball State University*, 56.

²³ *Ibid.*, 51-54. Among the investors was George McCulloch, the city's leading transportation entrepreneur. For classic studies detailing the importance of rail transit in the expansion of urban and suburban development, see Sam Bass Warner's *Streetcar Suburbs* on metropolitan Boston, Ann Durkin Keating's *Building Chicago* on metro Chicago, Robert Fishman's *Bourgeois Utopias* including chapters on Philadelphia and Los Angeles, and, more generally, Kenneth Jackson's *Crabgrass Frontier*. In each of these cases, real estate developers served as driving forces behind the expansion of rail transit.

²⁴ In 1902 EINU built a coeducational frame dormitory housing approximately 60 students. Many community institutions served as boosters of the private normal schools and their public successor, including Muncie newspapers. "Muncie Enters College Fight." *Muncie Sunday Star*, March 30, 1924. *Ibid.*

²⁵ Glenn White, *The Ball State Story: From Normal Institute to University* (Muncie, IN: Ball State University, 1967), 33-34. Various sources indicate Palmer did make a sizeable gift before his death, but it seems unlikely the school would fail given such a significant endowment. "Mrs. Rockwell Cut Off from Palmer Wealth." *New York Times*. November 6, 1902. "F.A. Palmer's Kin Seek to Upset Will." *New York Times*. October 16, 1904.

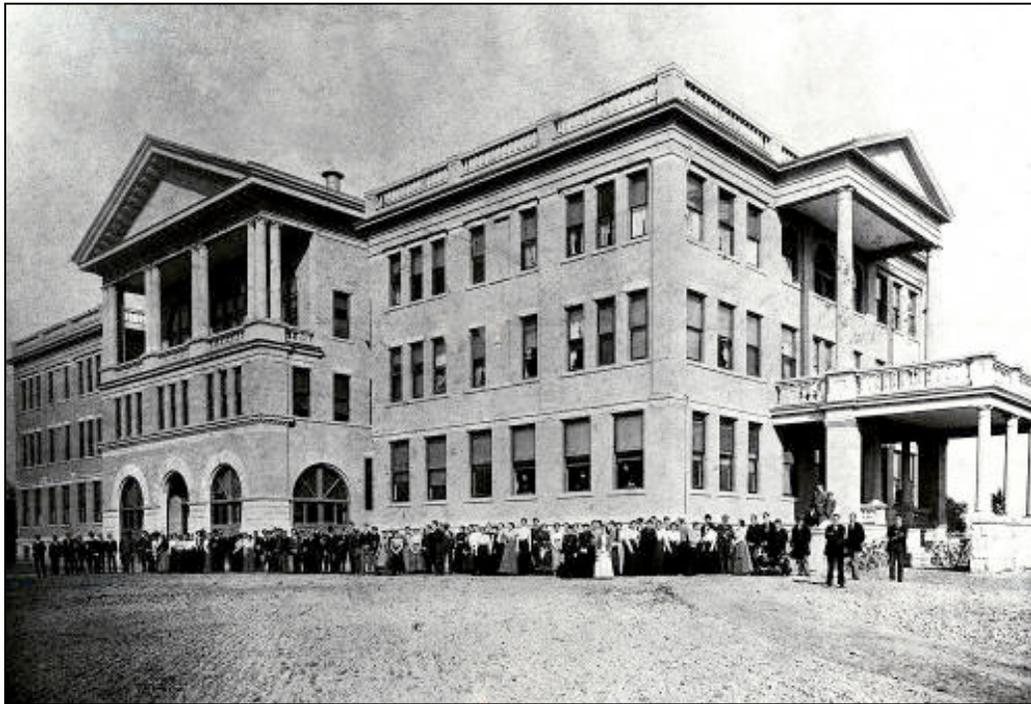


Fig. 2.4. The Administration Building at Ball State, the building that housed the EINU when it opened in 1899. (BSU ASC)

closed again, to reopen 3 years later. A new education association, numbering Frank Ball among its membership, directed the normal school and tried to merge with several established Indiana schools such as Taylor University. Financial troubles doomed the third institution and a new set of businessmen formed a fourth venture, the Muncie Normal Institute, in 1912. Later named the Muncie National Institute, emphasizing training in hotel management as much as education, the seemingly star-crossed school accrued such significant debts that, when it failed, an Indiana court ordered asset liquidation to repay the school's creditors.²⁶

Like their contemporaries in cities around the country, Muncie business elites took vigorous action to secure the future of their higher education institution. Major universities throughout the country—the University of Michigan, the University of

²⁶ Edmonds and Geelhoed, *Ball State University*, 57.

California-Los Angeles, and Duke University, to name just a few—were founded or provided campus land by local civic and commercial leaders, many with an eye toward urban development.²⁷ The Ball brothers were especially forceful, intervening as part of a strategy to physically develop the real estate of northwest Muncie and to economically develop the east central region of Indiana. The normal school's assets for sale included the original administration building, a wood frame dormitory, and about 70 acres of land, appraised at \$409,492.²⁸ A representative of the school's creditors participated in the bidding, announcing the intention to break up the property and sell parcels individually in hopes of recouping their investments, while a Chicago auction house also bid on the property.²⁹

The Ball family, economically liberal in a classical sense, had allowed the normal schools to fail repeatedly over two decades, but when the entrepreneurial churn of creative destruction threatened to break up the private institute's campus lands near their homes northwest of the city, the Balls would not allow it.³⁰ Frank Ball secretly arranged

²⁷ The University of California, Los Angeles, for example. originally a normal school, moved to its current Westwood campus in a land development deal between the state and real estate developers. See also the founding of the University of Michigan, where local business leaders donated 50 acres of undeveloped land; and the University of California, Berkeley, the creation of which entailed several land schemes. Andrew Hamilton and John Jackson, *UCLA on the Move: During Fifty Golden Years 1919-1969* (Los Angeles: University of California, 1969), 39-46. Howard Peckham, *The Making of the University of Michigan, 1817-1992* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1997). Verne Stadtman, *The University of California 1868-1968* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1970), 19-34. In the same era, tobacco magnate Washington Duke became a patron of Trinity College in Durham, North Carolina, which was subsequently renamed Duke University and heavily endowed by his son, James Duke.

²⁸ White, *The Ball State Story*, 41. \$7,000,230 in 2008 dollars. Consumer Price Index Inflation Calculator. <http://www.bls.gov> (Accessed August 9, 2008).

²⁹ Edmonds and Geelhoed, *Ball State University*, 60-61.

³⁰ Several sources attest to the Balls' laissez-faire economic ideology, conflict though it might with their frequent public-private efforts on Ball State, Ball Memorial Hospital, and establishment of their own business. Lynd and Lynd, *Middletown in Transition*. These actions illustrate Joseph Schumpeter's theory on capitalism's trend towards corporatism and pursuit of stability rather than entrepreneurship and the destruction of wealth and existing assets in pursuit of new forms of wealth and exchange. Joseph Schumpeter, *Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1942). One such account of real estate in New York uses this theory to explain the city's development history. Max Page, *The Creative Destruction of Manhattan, 1900-1940* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999).

for a local attorney to bid for the property on his family's behalf. The judge set bidding rules so that half the amount would be paid immediately and the balance cleared by the end of the week. When the bids came in, the judge accepted the Balls' \$35,100 offer for the property—slightly lower than the auction house's bid—because their cash was available immediately.³¹ George A. Ball, who approved the deal over the telephone, offhandedly remarked to his brothers at lunch, “[I] just bought a college.”³²

The acquisition of the school accomplished, colleagues in the political community provided the means of disposition of the Ball property. The Muncie Rotary club—where George and Frank C. Ball of the first generation were members, and Edmund A. and Frank E. Ball of the second generation would become members—comprised the civic and business leadership of the community.³³ Among their Rotary colleagues was Charles McGonagle, a state representative, longtime Muncie politician and government administrator. McGonagle was chair of the state's Ways and Means committee and an ally of both the state's governor, James Goodrich, and the Balls. The Indiana legislature had passed a law early in 1917 empowering the state to accept donations on behalf of colleges and universities in order to improve state park resources.³⁴ At a Rotary meeting

³¹ \$600,032 in 2008 dollars, less than a tenth of its appraised value. Consumer Price Index Inflation Calculator. <http://www.bls.gov> (Accessed August 9, 2008).

³² Edmund B. Ball, “A Lifetime Investment,” quoted in Edmonds and Geelhoed, *Ball State University*, 60.

³³ Pamphlet. List of Members of the Muncie Rotary Club, 1932. “Membership Lists 1932-1957.” Folder 7 Box 5 Muncie Rotary Collection MSS 125 Stoeckel Archives BSU Special Collections. For a broad history of organizations such as Rotary see Jeffrey Charles, *Service Clubs in American Society: Rotary, Kiwanis, and Lions* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1993). Two significant early studies of such clubs include Charles F. Marden, *Rotary and Its Brothers: An Analysis and Interpretation of the Men's Service Clubs* (Princeton, 1935) and University of Chicago Social Science Survey Committee, *Rotary? A University Group Looks at the Rotary Club of Chicago* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1934). *Middletown*, however, remains the classic small city study of the influence of such an organization.

³⁴ Lloyd Lieurance. “The History of the Organization, Administration, and Control of the Normal School at Muncie, Indiana.” (MSS M.S. Indiana State Normal School, 1926), 172-174. BSU ASC. The Muncie transactions sparked interest around the state in socializing private education institutions, notably including

in early 1918, McGonagle suggested that the governor and legislature would be willing to accept a donation of the campus property under the law and operate a normal school as a branch of the Indiana State Normal School (now Indiana State University) based in Terre Haute. McGonagle contacted Governor Goodrich and the idea of state-sponsored higher education in east central Indiana appealed to the politician from nearby Winchester, Indiana.³⁵ Goodrich and Ball were both rising figures in the state and national Republican Party; Ball would become a member of the Republican National Committee, while Goodrich served in the Warren Harding and Herbert Hoover administrations.³⁶ Establishment of a new public institution in their home region would serve the area's business and political interests, while strengthening the three men's individual influence and the collaboration of private enterprise and the state.³⁷ Together, McGonagle, Goodrich, and the Balls collaborated on the agreement that enabled state takeover of the Ball campus property.

State acceptance of the donation represented the assumption of private liability by public institutions. This donation was especially important to the Ball interests because the state's acceptance of ownership relieved the family of liabilities acquired from the school in the course of its failure. Several creditors, irate at debts redeemed at less than 10 cents on the dollar, threatened lawsuits to mitigate their losses. Under the agreement

Valparaiso College. Horace Ellis to James Goodrich, December 26, 1918. Box 137. Goodrich Papers, Indiana State Archives.

³⁵ Edmonds and Geelhoed, *Ball State University*, 58. Charles Van Cleve. "Beneficence: History of Ball State Teachers College." MS CMS BSU Archives.

³⁶ Dane Starbuck, *The Goodriches: An American Family* (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 2001). Herbert Hoover note to George Ball November 30, 1932. Folder 7 Box 14, George A. Ball Papers. Minnetrista Cultural Center, Muncie, Indiana.

³⁷ Indeed, when state education administrators first arrived in Muncie to inspect the property after acquisition, they were feted by the Muncie Commercial Club with a crowd of 200 strong. Lieurance, "The Normal School," 179.

with the state, the lawsuits would then be directed at and defended by the state of Indiana.³⁸

The new division of the Indiana State Normal School early on exhibited the enduring influence of the Ball family. The ISNS board of trustees had ratified the governor's bargain—provided Frank Ball agreed to serve as a trustee for the school, assuring his continued interest in the institution. Ball served as a steady advocate of the Muncie institution, pushing for independence from Terre Haute, while he contributed to a conservatism on campus that reflected in microcosm the ideals and power structure of the broader Muncie community. So robust and sustained was Frank Ball's and the Ball brothers' commitment to the college, in 1922 the board of trustees moved to name the Muncie institution after its chief benefactors, changing the school's moniker to Ball Teacher's College, the Eastern Division of ISNS.

Muncie Politics

The development of the northwest edge of Muncie became a citywide political issue as the normal school was taken over by the state. The new residential areas of Normal City and Riverside, surrounding the normal school, had been built outside the urban boundaries of Muncie, and thus these valuable and desirable neighborhoods escaped municipal taxation but received city services by contracting with the city.

During the 1917 campaign for mayor, the Progressive Republican challenger, businessman Charles Grafton, made taxation and metropolitan equity a centerpiece of his classic good government campaign against Democratic incumbent Rollin "Doc" Bunch. Bunch was a physician and an old style Democratic ward boss, drawing strong support

³⁸ The Balls had to offer a small additional gift to the state to provide for any losses the state would incur. Edmonds and Geelhoed, *Ball State University*, 63. "State Can Take Balls' Gift." *Muncie Morning Star*. March 1, 1918.

from the northeast and southeast areas of the city where many black and white working class residents lived, and presided over a city payroll inflated by tens of thousands of any of his predecessors.³⁹ Grafton, an officer of a clay pot manufacturing company, pledged that he would not allow the new educated and professional class of the northwest suburbs to enjoy Muncie's urban amenities without contributing tax revenue.⁴⁰ Much of the city's industrial south side had been annexed into the city in 1909 and industrial workers owning homes in the Industry neighborhood near the manufacturing plants paid more in property taxes than did residents in the subdivision of Normal City.⁴¹ Grafton claimed that the mayor could have annexed the suburbs at any point in the preceding four years, but Bunch benefited electorally from the annexation of wet, Democratic south side industrial workers. Likewise, by not bringing the dry, Republican, professional class suburbanites into the city's electorate via annexation, the mayor had mitigated the difficulties of establishing and consolidating political power in the midst of metropolitan growth.

Prompted by his challenger, the mayor recognized the political volatility of these geographic inequities and adopted policy positions that both recognized and advanced the spatial transformation of the city. Pledging to capture taxes from the development going on outside the northwest boundaries of the city, including the Normal City and Riverside neighborhoods, Bunch initiated the annexation of the wealthier areas of the city. In doing so, the mayor attempted to reaffirm his populist credentials by declaring that he would

³⁹ Thomas Buchanan, "The Life of Rollin "Doc" Bunch, the Boss of Middletown" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Ball State University, 1992), 62-65.

⁴⁰ "Bunch and Annexation, Etc." *Muncie Evening Press*. October 28, 1917.

⁴¹ Buchanan, "The Life of Rollin 'Doc' Bunch," 65. Industry was the location of one of two African American neighborhoods in Muncie before World War I and, in the post-WWII period, became the site of the Munsyana Homes, a federal low-income housing project.

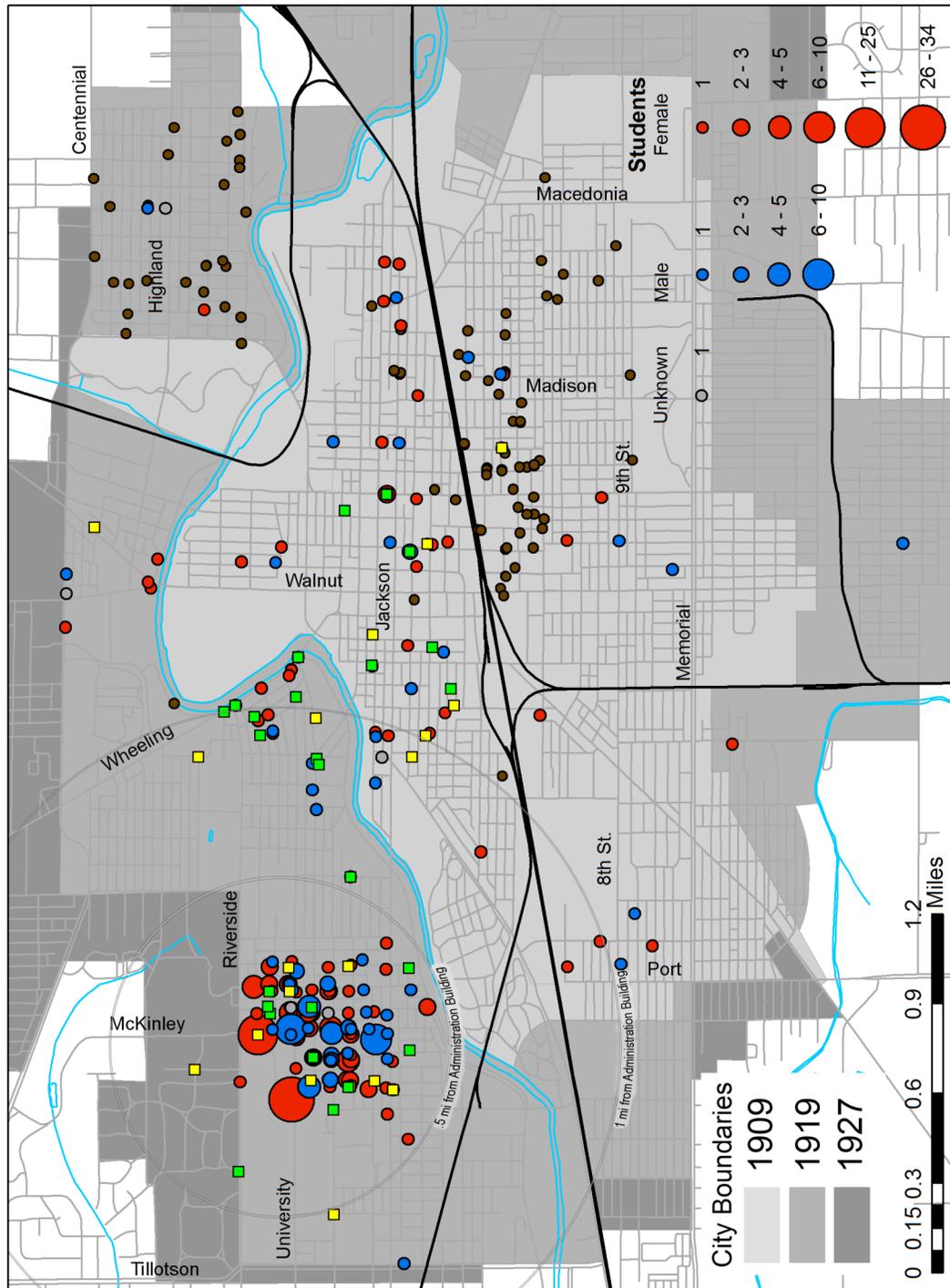
not tolerate geographic inequality in metropolitan tax policy. The mayor's move assuaged residents in working class parts of the city who picked up on the rhetoric of northwest Muncie free riders and Bunch coasted to another term leading the city. The city completed the annexation in 1919.⁴²

As this political issue illustrated, Muncie had become increasingly segregated by class in addition to its racial segregation and the new educational institution played a significant part in this geographic transformation. The paucity of student residences south of the rail lines illustrates the re-inscription of the city's class distinctions upon the Muncie landscape and implicates the college in this process. Few working class families from south of the tracks sent their children to college as the students and their parents found difficulty in paying for advanced schooling, while also suffering from low educational expectations.⁴³ Even as early as the mid-1920s members of the industrial community believed that education was a key to social and economic advancement and the Lynds noted that working class families realized that higher education provided a means of escaping lives of manual labor and marginal economic means. "A boy without

⁴² Indiana law did not require a majority affirmative vote of residents within areas proposed for annexation. The northwest side of Muncie voted more heavily Republican and the south side more heavily Democratic—thus, Grafton was alienating his potential base in favor of good government and metropolitan equity in hopes of creating a wedge issue to attract members of the Bunch coalition. In the 1919 municipal annexation, the northeastern industrial suburb of Whitely was added to Muncie along with the Normal City and Riverside communities. This changing political geography would continue to roil city elections, particularly during the rise of the Ku Klux Klan in the 1920s. Frank, "Who Governed Middletown?." Leonard Moore, *Citizen Klansmen: The Ku Klux Klan in Indiana, 1921-1928* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1991).

⁴³ A 33.3% sample of students from 1928 indicates approximately 4.1% of BTC students (14 of 344) lived on the south side of the city. BTC Student Directory, 1928-29. BSU ASC. In *Middletown*, the Lynds contrast the education planning of the business class, where preparation for college—including family saving and consideration of high school coursework—was nearly universal, to the working class, where preparation for college was rare and, when it did occur, was vague and aspirational rather than concrete and operational. Lynd and Lynd, *Middletown*, 187-189.

Muncie and Ball State Teachers College Community 1917 - 1928



Student data from sample of 1928 student directory; 290 of 344 elements shown. Other residential data from archival sources; see appendices. Copyright 2009 Date Winling

Map 2.2. Muncie and Ball State Teachers College Community, 1917-1928. African-American residents are clustered in two neighborhoods, Whitely and Industry. Out-of-town students live near the campus, while the north-south class disparity is apparent.

an education today just ain't *anywhere!*" lamented one Muncie father.⁴⁴ However, Muncie's industrial working families were largely unable to enjoy the economic mobility that could empower them to change the class geography of the city or to serve as a counterweight to the investments of the Muncie business class near Normal City. Indeed, the normal school had served both obliquely as an instrument for the enrichment and protection of the business elites in the northwest part of the city—the anchor to a real estate endeavor—and directly as a means of class mobility and professional training unevenly shared by the business class and working class segments of the population living in their neighborhoods around the city.

These class disparities contributed to the resurgence of the Ku Klux Klan in Muncie and throughout Indiana, which held similar implications for the class, racial, and electoral politics of the city. Nearby Indianapolis stood as the Midwestern center of Klan power and its organizers began building a network in Muncie in the early 1920s.⁴⁵ Rooted in the WASP segment of the population, their anti-Catholic, anti-Semitic, and anti-black rhetoric and threats of violence served to marginalize these groups during the 1920s, while Klan members developed a statewide political organization, eventually serving on city councils around the state and in the Indiana legislature.⁴⁶ The antagonism of KKK members, enforced with threats of violence, helped turn Muncie's Republican-voting African American community to the Democratic party, which eventually led to political opportunities for the black population in Muncie.⁴⁷ However, recent scholarship

⁴⁴ Lynd and Lynd, *Middletown*, 185-87.

⁴⁵ Kenneth Jackson, *The Ku Klux Klan in the City, 1915-1930* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967).

⁴⁶ Hurley Goodall and Elizabeth Campbell, "A City Apart," in *The Other Side of Middletown: Exploring Muncie's African American Community*, ed. Luke Eric Lassiter (Walnut Creek, CA: Altamira Press, 2004).

⁴⁷ *Ibid.* In Indiana the Klan was rooted in the Republican Party rather than the Democratic Party, which runs counter to circumstances nationwide.

suggests that the Klan of the 1920s was also a populist body that stood not only in opposition to recent immigrants and blacks—of which there were relatively few in Indiana—but as a force against the corporate consolidation of industrialism and the rise of a moneyed civic elite.⁴⁸ One account suggests the Klan’s

“most powerful adversaries were businessmen’s organizations such as the Rotary club and the Chamber of Commerce, not the relatively powerless or, in many communities, nearly nonexistent ethnic minorities.”⁴⁹

Black Muncie residents in fact recounted instances of socializing with neighbors who were Klan members but meant no harm to their African American friends.⁵⁰ Thus, by the mid-1920s the city’s electoral map had flipped, with the affluent northwest voting Democratic in elections and the industrial south side turning out for Republicans, just one complicated expression of the political and economic upheavals Muncie was undergoing.⁵¹

A Normal School

The establishment of a school to educate teachers came with conservative cultural expectations and a didactic impetus that reached into nearly every aspect of the aspiring teachers’ lives. The normal school concept dated to the early 19th century with the inception of the French *ecole normale* system and was adopted at mid-century in the eastern United States. It was originally intended to train teachers in the spirit of the enlightenment and consistent with the principles of the French Revolution, consolidating

⁴⁸ A leading study of a Georgia Klan chapter in the 1920s claims that the society drew “from the broad middle of the nation’s class structure,” and emphasizes the seemingly contradictory positions held by members. However, the key study of Indiana, where the Klan was largest and most powerful, argues the importance of a class dynamic. Nancy MacLean, *Behind the Mask of Chivalry: The Making of the Second Ku Klux Klan* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994). Moore, *Citizen Klansmen*.

⁴⁹ Moore, *Citizen Klansmen*, 12.

⁵⁰ Oral History S66, p. 4. Black Middletown Project. Digital Middletown Repository. BSU ASC.

⁵¹ During the 1920s, publisher and future mayor George Dale became the city’s leading anti-Klan Democrat and his newspaper, the Muncie *Post-Democrat*, contributed to this unconventional voting change.

the new state's control over civic life by wresting the educational project from the Catholic Church.⁵² The school for educators, as the very name indicated, would establish teaching norms and standards that its graduates would learn and employ as they came to teach the next generation of citizens. The normal school system endured and spread as European states realized the importance of pedagogy in shaping the civic beliefs and cultural practices of the people of their nations.⁵³ After adoption in the eastern U.S., the normal school system spread west during the latter half of the 19th century.⁵⁴

The Muncie normal schools reflected a precarious balance between civic enterprise and the conservative, normative impetus of the project of educating teachers. At Ball Teachers College, students reflected the broad middle-class values of early twentieth-century liberalism—even a conservative strain of it—by seeking advancement in the non-industrial sectors of the economy through education and personal development. In contrast to older and larger institutions where small groups of students kept up an intellectual and political churn, at BTC the career-oriented student body was largely disengaged from student governance and electoral politics.⁵⁵ The student

⁵² Anne Quatararo, *Women Teachers and Popular Education in Nineteenth-Century France: Social Values and Corporate Identity at the Normal School Institution* (Newark, DE: University of Delaware Press, 1995), 23-24.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Jurgen Herbst, *And Sadly Teach: Teacher Education and Professionalization in American Culture* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1989). Ogren, *American State Normal School*.

⁵⁵ As Lynn Gordon illustrates, a woman's pursuit of higher education in the postbellum era had been a politically radical act, but by the early twentieth century women had been integrated into the mainstream of higher education institutions—even segregated within them—and attendance per se had largely been stripped of its political meaning, limiting the turbulence of a formerly self-consciously political force. Staffing at *The Easterner* was dominated by neither sex, whether in the editorial positions or the reporting positions, as indicated by the paper's masthead. Mary McComb locates a confluence of business ideology and middle class conservatism in higher education in the 1930s, but these elements already constituted a formidable presence in the vocational school by the 1920s. Lynn Gordon, *Gender and Higher Education in the Progressive Era* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1990). Mary McComb, *Great Depression and the Middle Class: Experts, Collegiate Youth and Business Ideology, 1929-1941* (New York: Routledge, 2006). For comparison, particularly an examination of collegians, see Robert Cohen, *When the Old Left Was Young* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993).

newspaper and yearbook staffs cheered the guidance of faculty leaders and took cues from the president, who was allowed a weekly column in *The Easterner*, the student newspaper. As the college grew in the late 1920s, administrators surmised that a student government might help mediate the relationship between the college leadership and the student body while further investing students in the college project. Exploring this possibility, administrators encountered apathy even in the student newspaper, which questioned the utility of such efforts as student government.⁵⁶ The administration largely created the student government for students, while faculty members led the nascent Republican and Democratic clubs that appeared on campus in the late 1920s.⁵⁷

In the 1920s, in particular, the transformations of industrial society helped create the stage and the “problem” of youth—the transition from childhood to adulthood—where students sought personal liberation from traditional mores, though they were largely apolitical in the policy realm.⁵⁸ At BTC, however a code of moral striving and conformity consistent with white, Anglo-Saxon Protestant values predominated, from school publications to student entertainment to the content of coursework. Throughout the 1920s staff at the *Easterner*—along with the yearbook, *The Orient*, the most prominent campus publications—served as a voice for Whiggish values, annually reminding students to strive for their best while keeping themselves “up to date” and

⁵⁶ “Student Representation.” Editorial. *The Easterner*. April 4, 1929.

⁵⁷ Student government correspondence. “Republican Club Organized on Campus.” *The Easterner*. October 7, 1924. “The Place of Political Clubs.” Editorial. *The Easterner*. October 7, 1924. “Democratic Club Is Now Organized.” *The Easterner*. October 14, 1924. Both clubs emphasized that these organizations were not created for partisan purposes but were a means of facilitating study of the 1924 election and government more generally. In the 1910s and 1920s, participation in electoral politics was not popular, with students instead preferring to devote themselves to campus and local organizations. Thelin, *A History of American Higher Education*, 190-91.

⁵⁸ See Paula Fass, *The Damned and the Beautiful: American Youth in the 1920s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979).

criticizing vices and licentious behavior such as “the problem of improper dancing.”⁵⁹ Editorials echoed sentiments like Theodore Roosevelt’s in warning against detached criticism rather than purposeful action to improve society and cajoled students to help keep campus grounds and buildings neat.⁶⁰ This system of conformity and aspiration, shared by collegians around the country, represented the first few tentative steps of this generation into adulthood within the bounds of the new collegiate institutions.⁶¹

Despite the primacy of career aspirations and social conformity, the college operated in the colorful context of an industrial city with numerous opportunities for indulging in worldly pleasures and vices. Throughout the 1920s, the large majority of students resided in Muncie, firmly embedded in the urban realm of what was then a moderately-sized but largely walkable city.⁶² In the early years of the normal school, political leaders were chastised for allowing some two hundred brothels and speakeasies to operate unfettered.⁶³ The inception of Prohibition and the spatial orientation of the city—Normal City had been dry before its annexation just prior to ratification of the Eighteenth Amendment—precluded the development of a healthy pub culture where students and Muncie’s working class residents could meet and socialize.⁶⁴

⁵⁹ “The Problem of Improper Dancing.” Editorial. *The Easterner*. May 2, 1922. “Keep Yourself, Like Note Book Up To Date.” Editorial. *The Easterner*. June 1, 1922.

⁶⁰ “Criticisers.” Editorial. *The Easterner*. April 4, 1929.

⁶¹ See Fass, *The Damned and the Beautiful*, 225-59. Numerous college novels from the period attest to this struggle for status and the tension between fitting in and self-realization, including Owen Johnson’s *Stover at Yale* (1912), Percy Marks’ *The Plastic Age* from 1924, and James Farrell’s *My Days of Anger*, published in 1943 but set in the 1920s. See also John Lyons, *The College Novel in America* (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University, 1962), John Kramer, *The American College Novel: An Annotated Bibliography* (Lanham, MD: The Scarecrow Press, 2000).

⁶² From sample of student residences, 1928-29 B Book. BSU ASC.

⁶³ Buchanan, “The Life of Rollin “Doc” Bunch, the Boss of Middletown”.

⁶⁴ At a point prior to prohibition, Muncie was home to more than 40 saloons for a population of roughly 11,000. Middletown, 258n. See also the Muncie City Directory for 1917-1918. In *Middletown*, the Lynds credit Prohibition with freeing disposable income that was devoted to automobiles, yielding an expanded car culture in Muncie in the 1920s. In many university communities, pubs and saloons became convivial locales for town-gown interaction, however current scholarship emphasizes the community conflicts that

The collegiate life, though education may have been prized by residents of Muncie, was unequally shared at BTC. The college allowed African American students to enroll after only a few years of operation, but black BTC students were relegated to the margins of college life. In a city where African Americans comprised an increasing share of the population, college enrollment reflected more closely the racially homogeneous Delaware County and the rest of the largely agricultural state than the increasingly industrial and urban Muncie.⁶⁵ Black students—exclusively male in the 1920s—were forced to live in separate boarding houses on the east side of the city because racial mixing was disallowed in residential life, preventing BTC blacks from living in fraternities and participating in the nascent student clubs.⁶⁶

In later years, the changing curriculum and elevation of the institution to the status of a college contributed to changes in the politics of student life. Four-year degree courses meant that the student body became less vocationally-oriented and less tightly bound up in the project of educating the next generation, even though it remained a college largely for educators. A wider array of electives and a lengthier term until earning a degree gave students greater opportunities for personal and intellectual exploration, as well as enabling the rise of a traditional collegiate life. Particularly in the 1930s, tension between students and college leaders emerged over ideas as broad as the structure of society and issues as narrow as which speakers were invited to campus.⁶⁷

arise from collegians' consumption of alcohol. Horowitz, *Campus Life*; Gumprecht, *The American College Town*.

⁶⁵ Muncie vs. Delaware County Race %.

⁶⁶ "Vacant Rooms for Fall Quarter." Folder "Dean of Women 1924-1937." Box 13. President's Papers. BSU Archives. BSU ASC.

⁶⁷ See editorials of *The Easterner*.

In the 1920s, however, students served as whole-hearted boosters of college and campus expansion. The announcement of each new building prompted enthusiasm from the student newspaper and description of the portentous nature of the college's relationship with the Ball family.⁶⁸ During the development of two new dormitories in the 1920s, an editorial in *The Easterner* proclaimed,

“A dormitory may be considered a large family or a small world. Life in a dormitory promotes friendships, develops [*sic*] the social nature, inures one to the give-and-take of close association, fosters unselfishness and school spirit, and later furnishes many of the most pleasant memories of college days.

“Those interested in seeing the school grow, therefore, will count the establishment of a men's dormitory and the addition of another girls' dormitory a great step in the right direction.”⁶⁹

From the outset, students at BTC believed that improved and expanded facilities would mean research opportunities for faculty and institutional advancement for the college, both in prestige and capacity.⁷⁰ The newspaper regularly lauded and featured faculty who pursued doctorates—not a required credential at the time—and attended workshops and graduate programs at more renowned institutions like the University of Chicago and Indiana University. Prefiguring the debate that would consume post-World War II higher education, in these interwar years student leaders saw no conflict between research and teaching in their small college. In fact, student promoters matched the city's boosters, encouraging physical and institutional expansion, welcoming the opportunities they perceived would accompany growth in research and ascendance in reputation.⁷¹ In many

⁶⁸ “Dedication Day.” Editorial. January 7, 1925. “Another Step.” Editorial. *The Easterner*. May 9, 1929. “Growing.” Editorial. *The Easterner*. August 16, 1929.

⁶⁹ “On Dormitories.” Editorial. *The Easterner*. July 9, 1925.

⁷⁰ Daniel Levine. *The American College and the Culture of Aspiration, 1914-1940*. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1986).

⁷¹ Two of the standard books on institutional advancement in this era, by Roger Geiger and Lawrence Veysey, establish a narrative of university development through their case selections and treatment of

ways, the aspirations and boosterism of the students for their college matched the promotional efforts of Muncie's civic leadership, serving as a microcosm of the larger urban realm.⁷²

Campus Planning

Assured stability under the auspices of the state of Indiana, normal school enrollment steadily increased, which led the college to draw upon private generosity as much as state obligation for financing physical expansion of campus facilities.

Enrollment grew more than 450% in its first six years, from about 155 during the 1918-1919 school year to 833 in the fall of 1924.⁷³ The single neoclassical building, while impressive, could not provide for the instruction of so many students.

The support of the Ball family was essential to expansion of the normal school, which became Ball Teachers College and began offering four year degrees in 1922.⁷⁴ This aid came both through philanthropy and through developing political support for public appropriations to expand the institution. For example, in 1921 Muncie's state legislators inserted appropriations for a new science building into the state budget, which

influences. These works foreground administrative actors and government institutions while offering little treatment of the diverse responses and agents of such change on faculty, staff, and in the student body. Roger Geiger, *To Advance Knowledge: The Growth of American Research Universities, 1900-1940* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), ———, *Research and Relevant Knowledge: American Research Universities since World War II* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), Laurence Veysey, *The Emergence of the American University* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965). However, scholars have asserted an intellectual unity between ethics/moral philosophy and the general instruction of a college education at the turn of the century. BTC reflected the durability of the belief in this unity in a later period than it ended at leading research institutions. Julie Reuben, *The Making of the Modern University: Intellectual Transformation and the Marginalization of Morality* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996).

⁷² Contemporary dissents and critiques of this kind of boosterism included literary figures such as Sinclair Lewis, whose *Main Street* and *Babbitt* were soon suggested as fictional counterparts to the Lynds' *Middletown*, and social critics like H.L. Mencken, whose caustic review of *Middletown* and its residents was entitled "A City in Moronia." *American Mercury* 16 (1929): 379.

⁷³ Enrollment Table. "Statistics – Enrollment School." Folder 14 Box 25 RG 3 President's Papers. BSU ASC.

⁷⁴ The institution formally remained a branch of the Indiana State Normal School, but was granted informal recognition as Ball Teachers College until 1929.

would dramatically increase the college's instructional space. When Governor Warren McCray, successor to John Goodrich, doubted the necessity of such an expense and worked to have it removed from the budget, Frank Ball made a personal visit to Indianapolis to lobby the governor, who subsequently supported funding for construction, appropriated by the state in 1923.⁷⁵

More than just a political affiliation, the college also developed a cultural and aesthetic affiliation with the Balls and other Muncie leaders through their choice of architects. To design the building, Science Hall, BTC selected Muncie architect Cuno Kibele, who had redesigned houses Frank and Edmund Ball's houses in the Minnetrista neighborhood, authored important civic commissions such as the Masonic Temple and the Muncie Home Hospital, and who was awarded the commission for expansion of the Ball Brothers manufacturing facilities.⁷⁶ Kibele's work included many of the finest houses in the city in addition to the Ball residences.

Kibele had not been trained as an architect, instead shifting from work as a masonry contractor to that of an architectural designer in the 1890s. The most prominent and prolific designer in Muncie, Kibele was largely a self-made man and had neither served an apprenticeship nor labored in a patron's *atelier*.⁷⁷ His historicist designs conveyed taste and power but incorporated the latest technology and interior spatial arrangements, offering clients a message of both prestige and modernity in a

⁷⁵ Edmonds and Geelhoed, *Ball State University*, 78-79.

⁷⁶ Jena Noll, *The Residential Architecture of Cuno Kibele in Muncie, Indiana, 1905-1927*. (MS Thesis, Ball State University, 1999), 14-15.

⁷⁷ Several works have illustrated the development of the architectural profession in the nineteenth century and its increasing distance from the role of carpenter-designer. In Kibele we see an example of an individual who made this transition during a period of fluidity in the early architectural licensing system. As a result his exterior designs were far more conservative than many comparable architects of the period, but he did incorporate new technology to meet consumer demand and designed in a wide variety of building types. Noll, *Cuno Kibele*. Mary Woods, *From Craft to Profession: The Practice of Architecture in Nineteenth-Century America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999).

commission.⁷⁸ Kibele emphasized a Tudor Gothic Revival exterior design employing a combination of red common brick and regional Indiana limestone in his designs for the campus, continuing the twentieth century “Gothic Age” traditions of institutions across the country.⁷⁹

Thus, the college established an architectural association with the manufacturers and businessmen who were patrons of Muncie’s leading designer. In so doing, Ball State leaders made tactile and visible the alliance they maintained with the real estate elite who could afford the esteem that tasteful works by architects such as Kibele could offer them. In 1937 *Life* magazine published a photographic feature on Muncie by documentary photographer Margaret Bourke-White coinciding with the publication of *Middletown in Transition*. The magazine visually emphasized Muncie’s class divide by running striking images of the poverty on the city’s south side next to photos of an opulent, Kibele-designed Ball mansion at Minnetrista.

The board of trustees drew inspiration from elite private institutions in guiding the normal school’s future development. The Ball family in many respects emulated industrial leaders turned philanthropists like Andrew Carnegie and John D. Rockefeller, as well as recreating the internal contradictions of such industrialists. The Balls provided strong opposition to labor in their industrial concerns but gave generously to establish

⁷⁸ Numerous works have established the development of the architectural profession into a role of tastemakers in modern society, particularly through print media. Leora Auslander, *Taste and Power: Furnishing Modern France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996). Dell Upton, "Pattern Books and Professionalism," *Winterthur Portfolio* 19 (1984). David Schuyler, *Apostle of Taste: Andrew Jackson Downing* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996). For a more detailed treatment of Kibele’s interior architecture, see Noll, *The Residential Architecture of Cuno*, 58-63.

⁷⁹ Henry Seidel Canby, *Alma Mater: The Gothic Age of the American College*. 95 percent of Muncie residences in the 1920s were wood frame, implying a Kibele commission would be exceptional and visually striking in contrast to most other Muncie homes. Lynd and Lynd, *Middletown*, 95, quoted in Noll, 47.

and provide for prominent civic institutions. They made their wealth without college educations and through the production of basic industrial materials and goods; however, they made support for higher education a key aspect of their philanthropic legacies.⁸⁰ Members of the state education board governing BTC also borrowed design ideas from the campuses of such philanthropic products. Frank Ball and the other members of the board took a trip to Chicago in 1922 to consider ideas for a campus master plan. Visiting both Northwestern University in Evanston and the University of Chicago in Hyde Park on the city's South Side, the board sought architectural and planning models to emulate and adapt to their small Midwestern city.⁸¹ The Northwestern campus, an older institution dating to the 1850s, had a picturesque campus on the shore of Lake Michigan with meandering footpaths and a mélange of Victorian Gothic revival and varied historicist buildings by architects including Daniel Burnham and Gurdon Randall. The University of Chicago plan employed the quadrangle as an organizing principle and featured a more unified Gothic revival style, including more than a dozen limestone-clad buildings designed by Chicago architect Henry Ives Cobb.⁸² Board members found the latter campus plan more appealing and loosely adopted the UofC as their campus model.

Despite these pretensions, by the mid-1920s, Ball Teachers College was still a relatively small educational enterprise with only modest influence outside Muncie.⁸³ Contemporaneous observers minimized even its local impact—when Robert and Helen

⁸⁰ Merle Curti and Roderick Nash, *Philanthropy in the Shaping of American Higher Education* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1965).

⁸¹ Edmonds and Geelhoed, *Ball State University*, 79-80.

⁸² Paul V. Turner, *Campus: An American Planning Tradition* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1984), 172-77.

⁸³ By the mid 1920s, approximately 75% of students were from outside Delaware County. "County Directory for Winter Term, 1927." Folder 25 Box 25 RG 3. Pittenger Papers. BSU ASC.

Lynd arrived in Muncie in 1924, they were largely dismissive of the teachers college.

They refrained from any direct discussion of BTC in *Middletown*, offering only a handful of oblique references to “the local college” and later wrote

“Had Middletown been a ‘college town’ in any observable sense in the fall of 1923 when the city was selected for the study, the study would not have been made there...[E]ven in the spring of 1925 its impact on the town, other than its increment to local trade, was practically nil.”⁸⁴

That increment was estimated to be \$479,000 in 1926 and somewhat more optimistically figured at \$1.3 million, including construction funds, during the following 1926-27 academic year.⁸⁵ Whatever the exact economic impact, the pattern of development and the major features of the city-college relationship had been durably established and would continue to govern the growth of the city and institution.

The Ball family began to intensify their investments in the expansion of Ball Teachers College, building capacity for the institution as well as making a civic statement with architecture. As Frank Ball had found an allied legislator in Charles McGonagle, so Lemuel Pittenger played an important legislative role in the development of the BTC campus. Pittenger, a lawmaker and educator who held a long affiliation with the Balls, became the Muncie state representative in the early 1920s and served as chair of the Ways and Means committee for the Indiana State House, which handled the state budget in the lower chamber. Pittenger helped BTC achieve independence from Indiana State by

⁸⁴ Lynd and Lynd, *Middletown in Transition*, 215. Numerous local residents criticized the limited treatment of the college, among them Muncie native Lynn Perrigo, a University of Colorado graduate student in sociology whose work proved a significant source for *MIT*. See Lynn Perrigo, “Muncie and *Middletown*, 1924 to 1934.” MSS, 1935. Lynn Perrigo Papers. Middletown Studies Collection. BSU ASC. Rita Caccamo, *Back to Middletown: Three Generations of Sociological Reflections* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2000).

⁸⁵ Ball State figures indicated 99 percent of college expenditures were spent within Muncie. “Ball State College an Asset to Muncie Says Prof. Thompson.” *Easterner*. April 4, 1929. Memo, n.d. “General—Statistics,” Folder 17 Box 25 RG 3. Presidents Papers. BSU ASC. \$5.95 million and \$17.1 million, respectively, in 2008 dollars. CPI Inflation Calculator. <http://www.bls.gov> (Accessed August 25, 2008).

developing separate budget appropriations for the Muncie institution, effectively ending Terre Haute's control over the junior campus.⁸⁶ When the president of BTC died suddenly in 1927, students led a campaign to have Pittenger named his successor.⁸⁷ With the Ball brothers' blessing, Pittenger became president of BTC and remained in the position for 15 years, serving as a strong ally and partner in philanthropy to the family.⁸⁸ Not only was the family politically and financially invested in the college, they made physical investments, as well. When the university sought to establish an identity in intercollegiate athletics, they turned to the Balls again, who donated several hundred thousand dollars in 1924 for a gymnasium designed by Cuno Kibele that bore the family name.⁸⁹ Defining the west edge of the planned quadrangle, Ball Gymnasium overlooked a broad campus green towards the administration building, but served almost as the northern edge of Muncie development, as the city receded into wooded land and agricultural fields for miles around. The new sports building provided the facilities for intramural and varsity sports, developing the school's athletic programs and helping create collegiate counterparts to the popular Muncie high school athletic teams.⁹⁰

⁸⁶ Edmonds and Geelhoed, *Ball State University*, 82-83.

⁸⁷ White, *The Ball State Story*.

⁸⁸ The Lynds offer a community member's characterization of Pittenger as a small-time politician who was given the BTC presidency to prevent him from running for U.S. Congress. Revisiting the Lynds' work in 1959, Nelson Polsby used the example of Pittenger to criticize the notion of economically based community power and to advance that of electoral politics and pluralism, offering as a substitute the political explanation for Pittenger's position as BTC president. However, Pittenger's long association with the Balls and their influence in state politics undercuts this interpretation. Pittenger subsequently became president of the George and Frances Ball Foundation when Ball purchased and resold the 23,000 mile Van Sweringen railroad network in 1936. Lynd and Lynd, *Middletown in Transition*, 216-17. Polsby, "Power in Middletown," 597.

⁸⁹ Estimates of the gift range from \$400,000 to \$1,000,000, the latter from one of the donors. Bob Snelling, "Limestone and Brick." Unpublished manuscript. Buildings. Box 4 Folder 11. BSU Archives. Frank Ball, *Memoirs*, 137.

⁹⁰ The Lynds detailed the community popularity of the high school teams in their original study. Later, Muncie athletics found pop culture portrayal in the 1986 film *Hoosiers*, representing the 1954 Indiana state championship game between the long-dominant Muncie Central and the small, rural Milan basketball teams. Edmonds and Geelhoed, *Ball State University*, 80-81. While Ronald Smith argues that sports served as an expression of freedom in higher education in the late 19th century, by the early twentieth



Fig 2.5. Ball Gymnasium. (BSU ASC).

George Ball’s enthusiasm for the project was so great he reported for duty at the construction site and helped work on the building on a number of occasions.⁹¹ In just a few years, the Balls had become inextricably identified with the local college—so much so that members of the family would labor at the campus as they had in developing their own family business.

With this building boom, Ball Teachers College leaders took more aggressive steps to make their campus a node of community activity, further shifting the center of Muncie activity to the northwest. For several years the Muncie Central High School basketball team played their games at Ball Gymnasium while a new high school arena was under construction, aiding community development by connecting the institution to the Muncie population in addition to educating the city and county’s young adults for

century this pattern of development of intramural and intercollegiate athletics put students under greater control of college authorities and was part of a strategy to build “collegiality” and a “college life” at many institutions. Ronald Smith, *Sports and Freedom: The Rise of Big-Time College Athletics* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988).

⁹¹ Frederic A. Birmingham, *Ball Corporation: The First Century* (Indianapolis: Curtis Publishing Company, 1980), 128, quoted in Edmonds and Geelhoed, *Ball State University*.

professional life.⁹² The state followed the Ball donation with funding for a multi-purpose building in 1925, Library and Assembly Hall, completing the east edge of the quadrangle when it opened in February, 1927.⁹³ The three-story structure gave the library a new, larger home, moving student activities out of the Administration Building, while the Assembly Hall, a 1400-seat auditorium, was constructed with the intention that it would not only serve BTC but that it would also draw in individuals and organizations from around the city who could use the venue for lectures and performances. Thus, as college leaders developed the open, or broken, quadrangle—long interpreted as a form following a medieval tradition rejecting the external, non-academic community—the institution actually sought to *increase* engagement with Muncie society.⁹⁴

Student Housing

The development of institutional autonomy and capacity brought with it changes in the college's housing policy and services, emphasizing stark differences between the treatment of men and women students. By 1925, BTC enrollment had nearly reached 1000 students, only 60 of whom could live on campus in the lone, wood-framed Forest Hall for women.⁹⁵ The Ball family donated \$300,000 for construction of a women's dormitory in honor of their sister Lucina, the schoolteacher who had counseled them on the principles of residential real estate development.⁹⁶ Lucina Hall was a Tudor Gothic brick and limestone structure designed by Indianapolis architect George Schreiber that,

⁹² Ibid., 112.

⁹³ Ibid., 81.

⁹⁴ Paul Turner examines the divergent forms of open and closed quadrangles in his study on campus planning and illustrates the varied history of the two, but also indulges the trope of “cloistered collegiality” at institutions such as Harvard in the 1920s and 1930s. Turner, *Campus*, 244. This frequently invoked interpretation falls prey to the architectural fallacy, in which scholars read too much into the meaning of a design without considering its broader context which, in cases like this, are far more complicated, ambiguous, or even serve to contradict the formal interpretation of the architecture.

⁹⁵ Edmonds and Geelhoed, *Ball State University*, 81.

⁹⁶ Ball, *Memoirs*, 137. Recent BSU publications indicate the donation and cost were only \$150,000.

along with the Administration Building, served as the southern edge of the quadrangle. Completed in 1927, the dormitory housed more than 80 students and more than doubled the capacity of the college to house women students on campus to 143, or about 20 percent of the approximately 700 women.⁹⁷ While historians of higher education have identified the early 20th century as a period of the return of collegiate life, emphasizing on-campus living and clubby associations, Ball Teachers College diverged from the trend.⁹⁸ Until 1936, there were no men's accommodations on campus, indicating dramatically different attitudes among administrators towards men and women.

This development of housing capacity at the college increased the ability of administrators to control the social lives of students, but did nothing to alter the urban orientation of the students. Students continued to mingle with townie landlords and landladies and sought Muncie's urban services. Throughout the 1920s the dean of women's office conducted annual reviews of local boarding houses, creating an approved list of rooms to rent in the community.⁹⁹ The criteria for approval included a house mother residing on the premises whose duties included loose supervision of female lodgers and maintenance of contact with the dean, a practice shared at colleges around the country.¹⁰⁰ These female students found lodging clustered around Ball State in northwest Muncie as well as sprinkled throughout central Muncie, generally north of the

⁹⁷ Memo from W.W. Wagoner to Benjamin Burris, December 7, 1925. "Statistics – General" Folder 17 Box 25 RG 3, President's Papers. BSU ASC.

⁹⁸ Rudolph, *The American College and University: A History*.

⁹⁹ While female students were subject to the increased control of administrators, the female-majority teachers college exhibited different tendencies from those seen in many other coeducational institutions of the period. Lynn Gordon, "The Gibson Girl Goes to College," *American Quarterly* 39, no. 2 (1987): 211-30.

¹⁰⁰ Approval form. "Office of the Dean of Women." Box 22, Folder 31. RG 3 President's Papers, Lemuel A. Pittenger. University Archives. BSU ASC. "B" Book, 1928-29. University Archives. LaDale C. Winling, "City Politics, Student Housing, and the University of Michigan, 1920-1980" (M.U.P. Thesis, University of Michigan, 2007).

rail lines. Aside from the two women's dormitories on campus, there was not much significant geographic difference between men's and women's housing locations throughout Muncie in the 1920s, indicating gender differences not in students' self-perceived housing demand, but in the ways the college treated the two sexes on campus. In fact, while students sought to live near to campus, the student housing market was integrated with the broader rental housing market. There was no premium paid for proximity to campus and rental rates were more influenced by building age than location.¹⁰¹

Women who lived in campus dormitories were under much stricter institutional control than those who lived in Muncie rooming houses. In dormitories, curfews were strictly enforced and punishments could be exceedingly severe. In one case a student missed curfew one weekend night at her dormitory. Not wanting to enter late, she rode downtown with her boyfriend, stayed overnight at a Muncie hotel, and was suspended from school after the incident.¹⁰² Ball Teachers College had long worked to uphold moral standards on campus, but until housing significant numbers of students on campus, had never sought to function literally in place of parents for students. With the inception of a campus building campaign for student housing, that relationship between the institution and students began to change and became more paternalistic.¹⁰³ This attention

¹⁰¹ Analysis of housing data from archival sources yielded a low correlation coefficient when regressed against distance from campus. Though BTC was integrated, the administration steered black students to black residences on the east side of town; thus black students were partitioned into a narrower housing sub-market. "Vacant Rooms for Fall Quarter." Folder "Dean of Women 1924-1937." Box 13. President's Papers. BSU Archives. BSU ASC.

¹⁰² The student in question also suffered from "nervous attacks," a condition that required time away from school in order to improve "in health and in judgment." Letter from Grace DeHority to Mr. and Mrs. William Mason. June 17, 1927. Box 25 Folder 32. RG 3 President's Papers, Lemuel A. Pittenger. University Archives. BSU ASC.

¹⁰³ Memo re: Irene Murray, May 1931. Box 25 Folder 32. . RG 3 President's Papers, Lemuel A. Pittenger. University Archives. BSU ASC. Philanthropic gifts of female dormitories were fairly common at

to student residence, as part of an overall pattern of social control, would help further the spatial and economic reorganization of the city.

In the final phase of building in the 1920s, the college abandoned the formula of private capital and public operational expenses in favor of wholly public expenditures to create a new laboratory school directed by the college and the Muncie school district. BTC administrators lobbied the state for appropriations for the school, which would provide progressive education for Muncie students from kindergarten through senior high school and gave future teachers opportunities to gain experience through the practice teaching required by the college curriculum.¹⁰⁴ BTC leaders arranged with Muncie school officials to close a nearby grade school and have the Burriss School serve the population of northwest Muncie. The project architect was the Indianapolis firm Snyder and Babbitt, a divergence from Kibele, the customary designer chosen for Ball-supported buildings. The school's individualist curriculum, inspired by Progressive reformer and education philosopher John Dewey, produced stellar graduates and Burriss became renowned for successful athletic teams in sports hungry Muncie. From the school's completion in 1929, college officials battled charges of elitism at the school. BTC administrators defended the arrangement against accusations that it served only the wealthy business class by noting the Burriss School also aided a group of poor families living near the college. Further, they characterized the sons and daughters of Muncie's professional class as "average" and "typical" students who benefited from the principal's

universities in this period as women entered college in increasing numbers, which sparked such efforts as provision of housing. Winling, "City Politics". Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, *Campus Life: Undergraduate Cultures from the End of the Eighteenth Century to the Present* (New York: Knopf, 1987).

¹⁰⁴ Edmonds and Geelhoed, *Ball State University*.

strict discipline.¹⁰⁵ However, the Burris school's geographic district boundaries provided another significant amenity attracting business and professional class families to move to northwest Muncie.

The Gravity of Capital

Real estate continued to dominate the relationship between the Ball family, their city, and the institution that bore their name. The second generation of Ball men grew up exceedingly wealthy but, due to the long and vigorous careers of their fathers, were largely shut out of leadership of the glass manufacturing company. Several sons turned to other civic and entrepreneurial activities, including politics and real estate development.

Both national and local trends contributed to the growing real estate market in northwest Muncie. The city's industrial growth provided a demand-side impetus for investments in real estate. The city's population increased by half—12,500 people—between 1910 and 1920, while growth in industrial employment created manufacturing jobs as well as expanding the managerial and professional class. National monetary policy and the loosening of credit standards also aided the growth of suburban development. At both the national and local levels public policy, private enterprise, and consumer demand promoted and relied upon the expansion of credit. The creation of the Federal Reserve Bank in 1913 established a new national banking system to help eliminate panics and manage increases in the money supply. This national framework included regulatory and legislative mandates for banks that would borrow from the Reserve and created national structures governing lending activity. The 1920s saw numerous innovations and expansions of financial products that fueled growing

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 117.

consumerism, including installment financial instruments for such products as automobiles, laundry washing machines, refrigerators and radios—real estate was no exception.¹⁰⁶

The Ball family controlled or exerted influence over much of the land in the northwest part of the city. Frank C. Ball held strong influence over the campus grounds proper in his position as a member of the ISNS board of trustees since the founding of the Muncie branch. Members of the Ball family had purchased a large amount of land in the Normal City and Riverside developments around the college in addition to building their own opulent homes overlooking the White River.¹⁰⁷ In the 1920s the aging Edmund Ball created a family foundation to finance continued philanthropy in Muncie, funding it with the assets he had built up over a lifetime, including a great deal of Muncie land he and his wife owned.¹⁰⁸ As the normal school grew and became Ball Teachers College and then Ball State, the next generation of Balls expanded the family land investments.

Residential real estate development in northwest Muncie followed enduring principles of suburban exclusion. Edmund A. Ball, the son of Frank Ball, bought a large tract of the plentiful agricultural land that remained undeveloped north of the college campus in 1923.¹⁰⁹ He and a partner formed a land development company and platted out a residential subdivision they named Westwood in 1923. Purchase of a lot in Westwood obligated new landowners to abide by restrictions that governed nearly every

¹⁰⁶ For example, see Frederick Lewis Allen, *Only Yesterday: An Informal History of the 1920s* (New York: Harper and Row, 1964), 139-40. On the impact of Fordism and its relationship to advertising, see also Susan Strasser, *Satisfaction Guaranteed: The Making of the American Mass Market* (New York: Pantheon, 1989). T. J. Jackson Lears, *Fables of Abundance: A Cultural History of Advertising in America* (New York: Basic Books, 1994).

¹⁰⁷ County land statistics.

¹⁰⁸ This is now the Ball Brothers Foundation, one of the largest foundations in the state.

¹⁰⁹ Frederick Graham and Dawn Lee Patrick, *Westwood: A 75 Year History* (Muncie, IN: Minnetrista Cultural Foundation, 2000).

aspect of home building. The mandates established by the real estate company explicitly forbade minority ownership or residence except as domestic servants, reserving the subdivision for “the pure white race” with restrictive covenants.¹¹⁰ In addition, the community plan included barriers to the white working class, including minimum lot size of 7500 square feet, property setbacks of 7 feet from each lot line (and farther from the front line), and even required approval of architectural plans for any structures built.¹¹¹ The development restrictions and geographical location of the Westwood development made the area exclusive, figuratively and literally. Separated from much of the rest of Muncie by the White River, the subdivision was utterly remote from the working class and industrial southern section of the city and the small black community of Whitely on Muncie’s northeast side.¹¹² The developers drew upon the cachet of Ball Teachers College in their advertising, where education stood in as a class signifier and the college’s investments in planning and design provided positive externalities to the surrounding area.¹¹³ Where college populations could often be undesirable neighbors for high class residence, whether unruly or politically charged, the college’s social control over students and their housing eliminated this threat from the local properties.¹¹⁴

¹¹⁰ Plat of Westwood. Delaware County Plat Book, p. 68. County Recorder. Muncie, Ind. See Wendy Plotkin, “Hemmed In”: The Struggle against Racial Restrictive Covenants and Deed Restrictions in Post-WWII Chicago,” *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 94, no. 1 (2001). Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier*.

¹¹¹ Plat of Westwood. Delaware County Plat Book, pp. 65-68. County Recorder. Muncie, Ind.

¹¹² Whitely was originally planned as a white industrial suburb but the northern migration of African Americans earlier in the century had made it one of the centers of the metropolitan black population. Andrew Wiese provides the first major effort to understand this process of black suburbanization in the United States. Andrew Wiese, *Places of Their Own: African American Suburbanization in the Twentieth Century* (University of Chicago Press, 2004).

¹¹³ Advertisement. “Westwood – A Residential Park.” *Muncie Sunday Star*. October 19, 1924.

¹¹⁴ See, for example, the discussion of the development and disharmony of the “student ghetto” in Ithaca, New York, and the animosity between university affiliates and non-students in Newark, Delaware, in Blake Gumprecht, *The American College Town* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2008), 71-107, 296-334.

Westwood proved so successful that E.A. Ball replicated this process with a new subdivision called Westwood Park adjacent to the original development in 1939.¹¹⁵

The planning restrictions of northwest Muncie reflected attitudes of racial, ethnic, and social exclusion. Affluent Jewish families, for example, some of which were headed by the city's leading retailers, battled anti-Semitism in the schoolyard as well as being unable to establish their place among the city's elite neighborhoods.¹¹⁶ One prominent member of Muncie's Jewish community, the son of a scrap dealer who took over his father's business, grew up in Normal City and attended Burriss, the campus laboratory school. He recalled being harassed by Protestant children, shut out of a paper route by one of the city newspapers as a youth, and was denied the ability to buy a residential lot in a northwest Muncie development as an adult.¹¹⁷

The emerging regulatory framework for land development reinforced this privately-created system of exclusion through zoning.¹¹⁸ Zoning and city planning in the 1920s were becoming an increasingly popular municipal means of dealing with the consequences of mass industrialization for urbanism. The 1926 Supreme Court decision *Euclid v. Ambler Realty* affirmed the importance of protecting high-class residential areas from the chemical and noise pollution of industry.¹¹⁹ Cities like Muncie were creating

¹¹⁵ Plat of Westwood Park. Delaware County Plat Book. County Recorder. Muncie, Ind

¹¹⁶ Martin Schwartz interview. Middletown Jewish Oral History Project. R 14: 33. Sherman Zeigler interview. Middletown Jewish Oral History Project. R 14: 6, 9.

¹¹⁷ Zeigler admitted an accommodationist position, noting at the time "I certainly don't want to live where I'm not wanted." Zeigler's wife, in fact, worked for a law firm that enforced such restrictive covenants. *Ibid.*, 3, 9.

¹¹⁸ Recent scholarship has turned a critical eye on the relationship between Progressivism and city planning, including Gretchen Boger, "The Meaning of Neighborhood in the Modern City: Baltimore's Residential Segregation Ordinances, 1910-1913." *Journal of Urban History* 35 no. 2 (January 2009), pp. 236-258. David Freund, *Colored Property: State Policy and White Racial Politics in Suburban America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007).

¹¹⁹ For an analysis of the complicated relationship between zoning and exclusion in this period, see Freund, *Colored Property*, 45-98.



Fig. 2.6 The house of E. A. Ball in Westwood, the suburban subdivision he developed adjacent to BSTC. (BSU ASC).

a bureaucratic means of achieving the bourgeois vision of suburban community design promoted by designers like Frederick Law Olmstead while following the lead of private real estate investors such as J. C. Nichols in Kansas City and local entrepreneurs like Edmund A. Ball.¹²⁰

The newly formed City Plan Commission administered a master plan that had divided the city into land use districts separating industry from business from residential areas. Muncie's code also set its own minimum densities and lot sizes, reinforcing the intentions of the developers and serving as an economic barrier precluding other minority or lower middle class aspirants from relocating to the wealthy neighborhood.¹²¹

¹²⁰ On the history of suburbanization in the U.S., see Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier*. Robert Fishman, *Bourgeois Utopias: The Rise and Fall of Suburbia* (New York: Basic Books, 1987). On Olmsted in particular, see Witold Rybczynski, *A Clearing in the Distance: Frederick Law Olmsted and America in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Scribner, 1999). On the role of real estate developers in creating suburban communities, see Marc Weiss, *The Rise of the Community Builders: The American Real Estate Industry and Urban Land Planning* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1987). On Nichols in particular, see William Worley, *J.C. Nichols and the Shaping of Kansas City: Innovation in Planned Residential Communities* (Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 1990).

¹²¹ The Westwood development had a minimum lot allocation per family of 7500 square feet, the highest in the city with the Minnetrista development, which were the only two areas with such a high minimum. By

These planning instruments intensified the spatial segregation of Muncie; the resulting residential proximity of community leaders, in turn, contributed to the system of community influence held by the Balls and the business elite. The population of the exclusive new developments near the college campus by members of the city's prosperous class illustrated an increasing geographic concentration of city leaders going on within the city as Muncie's commercial leadership were drawn to the investments the Balls had made in the city's northwest quadrant.

A significant fraction of the Rotary Club, for example, lived in the Westwood development and nearly half of its members lived to the northwest of the White River in Muncie.¹²² City residents of all classes participated in community clubs, recreational organizations, and religious congregations, but the spatial concentration by class and race in a handful of more exclusive clubs reduced possibilities for class mixing and broader community influence by the industrial working class.¹²³ Even municipal bodies such the City Parks Board and Plan Commission were peopled with business and cultural leaders living on the north side of the city, including Bertha Ball, wife of Edmund Ball.¹²⁴

The combination of community influence and geographic concentration of power reached into the governing echelons of institutions like Ball Teachers College, in addition to the businesses the Balls owned outright. BTC administrators and faculty members

contrast, much of the working class south side bore minimum lots of 2400 square feet, with some areas ranging up to 4800 and, in a few instances, down to 600. "Zoning Ordinance for Muncie Indiana – As Amended December 17, 1929." (BSU Stoeckel Archives).

¹²² 18 of 40 Rotary members (45%) of a 50% membership sample of 1932 lived northwest of the White River. 5 of 40 (12.3%) lived in the Westwood neighborhood. Muncie Rotary Club membership directory. Stoeckel Archives. MSS Group 125. Box 5 Folder 7. BSU ASC. Lizabeth Cohen, for example, details the cultural and political affiliations that arose from residential proximity of industrial workers in Chicago. Lizabeth Cohen, *Making a New Deal: Industrial Workers in Chicago, 1919-1939* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

¹²³ The Lynds devote a great deal of attention to social and civic clubs in Muncie and their role in community organization. Lynd and Lynd, *Middletown*, 285-306.

¹²⁴ Emerson's Muncie City Directory, 1925-1926; 1931-32; 1934-35; 1937-38.



Fig. 2.7. 1929 aerial photo of the Ball State campus. The Administration Building is at center, augmented by Ball Gymnasium to the west (upper left), Science Hall to the east (right), Library and Assembly Hall (upper right), and Lucina and Forest Halls (extreme left of image). (BSU ASC)

were likewise residents of Muncie's north side, exhibiting the spatial segregation of their off-campus counterparts and participating in the same community organizations. Ralph Noyer, the long-time dean of Ball State, and the institution's second ranking officer, was a prominent and active member of the Muncie Rotary Club and worked to associate himself geographically, politically, and intellectually with the leaders of the city. Noyer lived northwest of the White River, a handful of blocks from campus and within walking distance from Westwood.¹²⁵ Noyer, with the learning of an English scholar and the ideology of a conservative businessman, offered counsel to his subordinates on thrift, industry, and personal responsibility as aiding every unhappy

¹²⁵ Directory of Officers and Students Ball Teachers College 1928-29. University Archives. BSU ASC.

circumstance.¹²⁶ The dean ran the college like a business and would penalize faculty members who failed to spend each weekday on campus by docking them a day's pay for absence, whether they were scheduled to teach that day or not.¹²⁷

Founding a Hospital

The Balls continued to pursue economic and real estate development in northwest Muncie, not only improving existing services like primary and post-secondary education but adding new ones, such as health care. Lucius Ball, the eldest brother and the least interested in the operations of the glass company, had pursued a profession in medicine, eventually joining the manufacturing concern as the company physician. Ball had helped found a modest, community-run hospital in 1905, the Muncie Home Hospital, and with his brother, Edmund, had long promoted the idea of a major regional hospital in Muncie. After two decades with only a single, small hospital, city leaders led by Edmund Ball decided to promote the idea of a new, larger hospital rather than an expansion of the aging Muncie Home Hospital.¹²⁸

Again the Balls used the power of the state to realize their vision for the city, catalyzed by their own financial contributions. As they had done with the normal school, members of the Ball family provided the capital to create the hospital as part of an agreement that a government unit would take over and operate the hospital once it was built. Edmund Ball negotiated with members of the state assembly to authorize the Delaware County to create a new hospital to serve east central Indiana. Prior to his death in 1925, Edmund provided in his will for the establishment of a charitable foundation—

¹²⁶ Lemuel Pittenger Files. RG 3. University Archives. BSU ASC.

¹²⁷ Lemuel Pittenger, president of the college in much of the interwar period and Noyer's superior, had been a longtime ally of the Ball family and city leaders as a state politician, even prior to his ascendance to the leadership of the college.

¹²⁸ Ball, *Memoirs*, 138.

now the Ball Brothers Foundation—to continue his philanthropic activities in Muncie, chief among them funding for the coming hospital. His surviving brothers, along with other medically minded civic leaders, formed an organization to create the hospital he had envisioned, the Ball Memorial Hospital Association (BMHA). Ball Memorial Hospital was to be operated by the county after the Balls provided funding for design and construction of the hospital.¹²⁹ Frank Ball, one of the directors of the BMHA, convinced the board to locate the hospital adjacent to the college that bore the family name, arguing that each institution would benefit from close proximity to the other.¹³⁰ Much additional land south and west of the teachers college quadrangle was owned by BTC from the original auction and donation but was restricted for educational purposes, then going unused as a result. However, the hospital was to include a nurses training program, satisfying the terms of the gift, and Frank Ball arranged for the college to transfer dozens of acres of land for the hospital to build upon.¹³¹

As with the college, the Balls put their own aesthetic and moral stamp upon the hospital. The hospital association hired Muncie architect Cuno Kibele, the designer of choice for the Balls' private commissions and several Ball State buildings, to design Ball Memorial Hospital. In keeping with his and the college's historicist designs, Kibele designed the façade in the Tudor Gothic style, symbolically lending the new institution age and authority, even as it contributed to the modernization of health care, higher education, and the economy in Muncie.

In creating the hospital, the city's leading industrial family characteristically combined philanthropy, economic development, and special attention to women's

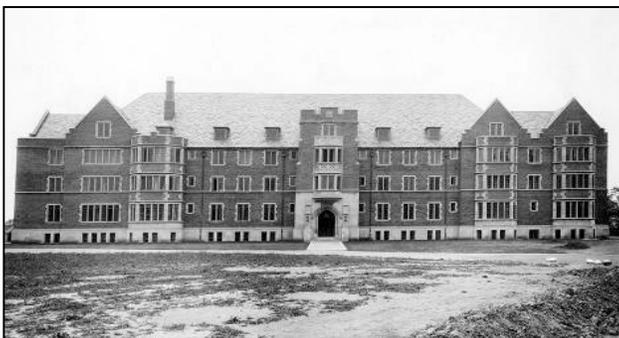
¹²⁹ Edmonds and Geelhoed, *Ball State University*, 87-88.

¹³⁰ Wiley, *Ball Memorial Hospital*, 45.

¹³¹ Ball, *Memoirs*, 138.

opportunities, all embedded within a real estate regime that concentrated investment profit and Muncie's population of knowledge workers in the northwest quadrant of the city. The Balls provided funds for Maria Bingham Hall, a women's dormitory for nurses in training at the hospital, built in 1930 and named after their mother. In sum, the complex cost \$2 million to build, paid for by the foundation and the manufacturing company.¹³² Ball Memorial Hospital opened in August of 1929 and continued the economic transformation of northwest Muncie. The hospital employed numerous physicians and trained scores of nurses annually in the course of its operations, many of whom eventually came to populate the subdivisions of northwest Muncie.¹³³

Federal Relief



Figs. 2.8, 2.9. (t) Ball Memorial Hospital, opened in 1929 (demolished); (b) Maria Bingham Hall, a dormitory for female nursing students training at BMH. (BSU ASC).

¹³² Ball, *Memoirs*, 139. \$2,010,000 in 1929 dollars, the equivalent of \$25.9 million in 2008 dollars. CPI inflation calculator. <http://www.bls.gov> (Accessed August 25, 2008).

¹³³ In the first years of the Westwood development, industrialists predominated. However, throughout the twentieth century the number and proportion of the industrialist class declined, while the amount of

The coming of the New Deal with Franklin Roosevelt's election to the presidency and the Democratic congressional landslide in 1932 altered the relationship between Ball State and the Muncie community, state government, and the federal government by bringing federal relief resources to the Midwestern community.¹³⁴ The Roosevelt administration directed passage of the National Industrial Recovery Act in the spring of 1933, which enabled creation of the Public Works Administration (PWA). This empowered the federal government, which had long remained aloof from higher education, to provide grants to local entities for design and construction of public facilities such as schools, dormitories, and other campus buildings at the primary, secondary, and post-secondary levels.¹³⁵

The creation of the Public Works Administration (PWA) opened a line of federal aid that could help Ball State Teachers College continue its growth, but it was not clear at first how, or if, Ball State would benefit from federal intervention. The PWA could provide 35 to 40 percent of the cost of a project in grants and offer a significant portion of the balance in loans.¹³⁶ The Balls and leading Muncie-ites espoused laissez-faire economic principles, stood against organized labor, and had been strong advocates for the Republican Party. George Ball, in fact, had been a major supporter of Herbert Hoover's

physicians and educators dramatically increased, together far outnumbering industrialists by the end of the century. Graham and Patrick, *Westwood: A 75 Year History*.

¹³⁴ In 1929 the state changed the name of the institution to Ball State Teachers College and made it independent of the Indiana State Teachers College. In the 1932 election, Democrats swept every congressional seat in Indiana, which had long been split between Democrats and Republicans.

¹³⁵ The Public Works Administration supported the construction of approximately 70% of the nation's new school construction between 1933 and 1939. William Leuchtenberg, *Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal, 1932-1940* (New York: Harper & Row, 1963), 133.

¹³⁶ For specifics on the programs, see Robert Leighninger, Jr., *Long Range Public Investment: The Forgotten Legacy of the New Deal* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 2007). On the political implications of New Deal public works, see Jason Scott Smith, *Building New Deal Liberalism: The Political Economy of Public Works, 1933-1956* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 54-84. Melvin Holli, *The Wizard of Washington: Emil Hurja, Franklin Roosevelt, and the Birth of Public Opinion Polling* (New York: Palgrave, 2002).

1932 re-election campaign and was a significant figure in the national Republican Party.¹³⁷ Leadership at the college saw New Deal programs as a means of expanding Ball State's physical plant and institutional capacity in specific ways—the continuation of a cultural project consistent with the economic development aims of federal aid rather than serving primarily as a work relief initiative. Desire for cultural development and the fulfillment of the quadrangular campus planning ideal prompted Ball State president Lemuel Pittenger to pursue a PWA grant for a proposed Arts Building for the college.

The Arts Building stands as a key feature of both the early development of Ball State and the changing nature of higher education in the twentieth century. Intended for the north side of the Ball State quadrangle, the structure completed the quad when it opened in 1936, fulfilling the planning ideal of the state board of education a decade earlier. In addition, it would include a museum to house a significant proportion of the Ball family art collection, which they pledged to donate to the college when the construction was complete. By contributing their art holdings, the Balls had helped create a regional college, a teaching hospital, and finally an art museum for Muncie, making it the economic and cultural capital of east central Indiana – really the major part of the state east of Indianapolis and south of Fort Wayne.

However, Ball philanthropy was no longer the sole source of development financing for college expansion or urban development—the federal government became a college benefactor, a position it would never relinquish, even as charity from the Ball family declined in the coming decades. PWA grants required matching funds through local sources and in many cases, municipalities, school districts, or other government

¹³⁷ Letter from Herbert Hoover to George Ball, November 20, 1932. Political Correspondence Folder 7, Box 14. George A. Ball Papers. Minnetrista Archives.

bodies would provide financing for the public works. If a university were the site of the project, the institution could issue bonds to meet the obligation. In the case of Ball State, however, it was again Frank Ball who provided the seed capital for campus construction. The PWA provided a grant of \$128,000 to BSTC and Ball contributed \$100,000 to cover the part of the required local match for the building that cost \$442,000.¹³⁸ The college subsequently received PWA grants of \$130,000, \$43,000, and \$66,000 to expand the Burriss teacher training school, Assembly Hall, and Ball Gymnasium, respectively, increasing college capacity and community impact by expanding three of the most public enterprises of the teachers college.¹³⁹

The 1930s saw a significant shift in the role for the federal government in helping fund higher education, in many ways beginning to supplant the tradition and expectation of private support and philanthropy at institutions such as Ball State, part of a growing commitment of the state in American life. In the end, the political nature of federal aid did not harm the Muncie college, but the political shift of the 1930s aided other institutions' and other states' relationship to the federal government far more than Ball State and Indiana, as will be discussed more thoroughly in Chapter 3.

Muncie in Transition

The consequences of these myriad investments in education and urban development were spatial as well as economic. The creation of these institutions continued the process of drawing the investment, intellectual, and cultural capital from

¹³⁸ Letter from A.H. Hinkle to L.A. Pittenger, March 29, 1934. Folder Box. RG 3 President's Papers. Letter from W.E. Wagoner to F.M. Logan, May 29, 1933. "Buildings, Federal Aid" Box 6. RG 3 President's Papers. BSU ASC. Ball, *Memoirs*, 137. Edmonds and Geelhoed, *Ball State University*, 102.

¹³⁹ Letter from D.R. Kennicott to Lemuel Pittenger, August 25, 1938. Letter from D.R. Kennicott to Lemuel Pittenger. Folder "Buildings 1938" Box 6 RG 3 President's Papers. BSU ASC. Letter from Sherman Minton to Lemuel Pittenger, June 14, 1939. Folder "Federal--National NYA, Dept. of Interior." Box 19. RG 3 President's Papers. Stoeckel Archives. BSU ASC.

the rest of Muncie and from around the state and concentrating it in the northwest section of the city in a relatively small, confined area, recreating and developing that capital on just a few educational, scientific and cultural sites. This effort was symbolic and functional in addition to being economic. The Balls worked to advance the interests of Muncie as the leading city of east central Indiana while promoting Muncie's northwest section as a new upper- and professional-class landscape, even as they individually and collectively sought to promote the interests of the family. Almost from the outset of their public lives, the Ball brothers treated the built environment with special attention, reflecting a belief that buildings and landscapes had both symbolic and functional values in addition to the economic calculus of real estate.

By the time Robert Lynd returned to Muncie in the summer of 1935 to re-examine Muncie's response to the Great Depression, the prominence of Ball State Teachers College and its benefactors could not be ignored. The authors acknowledge the growth of the college as well as the influence of the Ball family in *Middletown in Transition*, noting that locals had criticized the family's absence from the first study.¹⁴⁰ They illustratively quote a Muncie man speaking for the population that worked in the Ball plants, borrowed from the Ball-controlled bank, sent its children to Ball State, shopped in the Ball department store, read the Ball-owned newspaper, and flew from the Ball airport.¹⁴¹ The dominance of the family in his account echoes the aggrieved workers of Pullman, Illinois, two generations earlier who asserted George Pullman's control over their lives was so exploitative and pervasive they predicted "when we die, we shall go to

¹⁴⁰ Caccamo, *Back to Middletown*.

¹⁴¹ Lynd and Lynd, *Middletown in Transition*, 74.

Pullman hell.”¹⁴² To the Lynds the Ball brothers represented “the hard-headed *ethos* of Protestant capitalism” and its attendant “goodness to all concerned of unrestricted business enterprise,” “amount[ing] to a reigning royal family.”¹⁴³ During the Depression, the Balls had taken over the main downtown department store and rescued three of the city’s five banks from failure.¹⁴⁴ Like the wealthy Henry Potter in Frank Capra’s film *It’s a Wonderful Life*, the Balls had the means to save enterprises destabilized by panic or suffering from insolvency and illiquidity.¹⁴⁵ In numerous sectors—retailing, finance, and agriculture, as well as real estate and a national rail network, the Ball family scooped up enterprises overextended with debt or suffering from the economic downturn of the 1930s and accelerated the corporate consolidation of small-town life transforming the nation.

By 1937, the interdependence between the Ball family and the city’s elite institutions was entrenched as a major feature of civic life. The four bodies—the Ball family, the city itself, the Ball Memorial Hospital, and Ball State Teachers College—seemed to be joined as they looked to emerge from the Depression. The future of the college, the hospital, and the city were secure with the continued support of the Ball family, while the Balls’ work and Muncie life were enhanced by the growing influence of the college and hospital.

In the fall of 1937, Muncie’s business class drew on the cultural capital of a nationally renowned sculptor to reinforce the affinity between the Balls and themselves.

¹⁴² Pullman’s control over his company town likewise extended to the built environment. See Margaret Crawford, *Building the Workingman’s Paradise: The Design of American Company Towns* (New York: Verso, 1995).

¹⁴³ Lynd and Lynd, *Middletown in Transition*, 76-77.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 78.

¹⁴⁵ On the resonance between the Lynds’ and Capra’s work, see Eric Smoodin, *Regarding Frank Capra: Audience, Celebrity, and American Film Studies, 1930-1960* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004). Richard Maltby, "It Happened One Night: Recreation of the Patriarch," in *Frank Capra: Authorship and the Studio System*, ed. Robert Sklar and Vito Zagarrro (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1998).

The members of the Muncie Chamber of Commerce honored the Balls with the installation of a major sculpture on the grounds of Ball State Teachers College, conspicuously recognizing the family's philanthropy and tying it to their foremost community endeavors. The plan to create "Beneficence" had been launched 10 years earlier, during the prolonged economic expansion of the prosperous 1920s. The business leaders chose sculptor Daniel Chester French to design the art piece, a man whose work embodied the grandest of civic and national statements, even of imperialism. Responsible for "The Republic," the main sculpture at the Chicago Columbian Exposition, and the seated Lincoln sculpture in the Lincoln Memorial, French had been among the foremost American sculptors for nearly half a century.¹⁴⁶

The Depression delayed fundraising for the statue's creation and its installation, but by 1937 community members had amassed the money necessary to complete the vision of the Chamber of Commerce. "Beneficence" fulfilled a series of artistic and cultural metaphors in the statue's design and its placement but none more important than affirming the spatial relationship between the Balls and the northwest quadrant of the city. The bronze statue was placed on the southern edge of the original Ball State quadrangle, positioned within a semi-circle of five Corinthian columns representing the five Ball brothers.

¹⁴⁶ Michael Richman, *Daniel Chester French, an American Sculptor* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1976).

Facing out from campus, the winged woman reached out to Normal City and the rest of Muncie in welcome and held the gift of education in one hand. Located at the edge of the Ball State grounds, the statue symbolized the prodigious philanthropy the family had offered the city and made clear the connection between campus and community in Muncie, with the Ball family the beating heart of every major Muncie institution—public, private, educational, or commercial.

As Robert and Helen Lynd illustrated the influence of the Ball family on Muncie in their 1937 work, *Middletown in Transition*, so

Muncie leaders affirmed the role of the Balls on their community with the dedication of “Beneficence.” The publication of the book, like the placement of the statue in the same year, acknowledged and reinforced the spatial dimensions of the Ball family’s investments in the city, illustrating the importance of the creation of institutions like Ball State and the Ball Memorial Hospital in restructuring urban patterns of cultural and economic development. One Muncie resident sarcastically affirmed this power, noting in *Middletown in Transition* that the Ball family was such an exceptional group of



Fig 2.10. “Beneficence,” the sculpture by Daniel Chester French. Commissioned by the Muncie Chamber of Commerce and erected in 1937, this statue honors the charity and community role of the Ball family. The statue is located on the original campus quadrangle and faces out towards the rest of Muncie. (BSU ASC).

businessmen, they were “about the only people I know of who have managed to augment their fortune through the art of philanthropy.”¹⁴⁷

Conclusion

Over a period of half a century after their arrival from Buffalo, Muncie’s leading industrialists enacted a broad strategy of community engagement and education-related philanthropy in addition to their capitalist enterprises. Indeed, these two endeavors—commerce and charity—were linked as the Balls benefited from the generosity of civic leaders in establishing their first glass blowing plant and they subsequently bent public policy in their favor to create both Ball State Teachers College and Ball Memorial Hospital. In providing for the foundation of both of these institutions, the Balls put their aesthetic and moral imprint on the city’s landscape and exercised political, administrative, and financial influence over the intellectual landscape of Muncie, much as they did the industrial landscape.

In many ways, the Balls were successful in their efforts to transform the Muncie economy. Even by 1940 Muncie was among the best educated areas in the state, with the city and the county exceeding higher education levels for nearly every other county and for cities of similar size.¹⁴⁸ In so doing, the Balls matched the pattern of civic elites around the country who had worked to create, attract and promote institutions of higher education for their communities as part of a broader set of economic development efforts—the attraction of manufacturing concerns, the expansion of transportation

¹⁴⁷ Lynd and Lynd, *Middletown in Transition*, 82.

¹⁴⁸ In Muncie, 10.6% of the population over 25 had some college education, exceeding the Delaware County level of 9.8% and the state level of 9.0%. Only a handful of locales, including upper-class suburban counties and the homes of Indiana University and Wabash College, proportionally had more higher education. By “cities of similar size,” I refer to the Census class of cities between 10,000 and 100,000, of which there were 31 in 1940. 16th U.S. Census of the United States. (Washington: GPO, 1943). Characteristics of the population. Vol 4. Tables 21 and 31.

networks, the establishment of retail outlets facilitated by the two latter means, and the foundation of financial institutions, in addition to the creation and support of education enterprises. In this light the spatial relationships between higher education institutions and urban elites becomes clearer. However, it also indicates that the history of higher education is more complicated than scholars have suggested. Rather than serving solely spiritual and intellectual goals, colleges and universities also have long served political, economic, and geographic-planning goals in their affiliation with business and political leaders, even from the founding of such institutions. In addition, the student body has long played an important role in this process, whether serving as the raw material of state- and nation-building in normal schools; as pro-growth boosters in conjunction with campus and city leaders; as consumers concentrated in the local economy; or as nascent political figures taking tentative steps to participate in and reform the community around themselves.

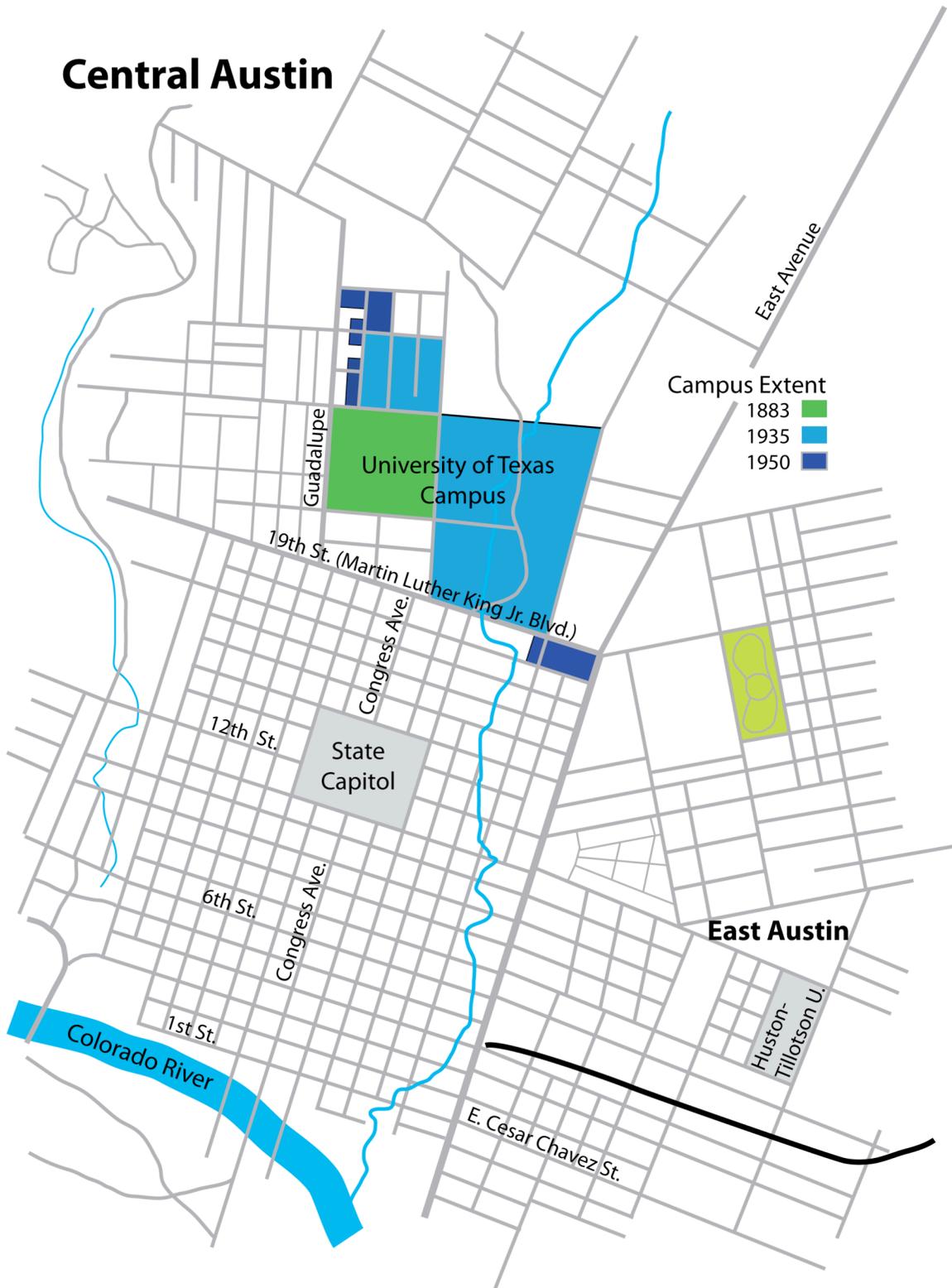
However, by the end of the 1930s, Ball philanthropy was no longer the sole source of development financing for college expansion or urban development. Through New Deal programs the federal government became a college benefactor, financing construction, providing financial aid to students, and supporting progressive educational initiatives like the Burriss School. The 1944 Servicemen's Readjustment Act would intensify this growth after World War II and begin the national transformation to mass higher education.

All of these sources of aid were part of a much larger shift in the federal government's role in higher education, in many ways beginning to supplant the tradition and expectation of private support and philanthropy at institutions such as Ball State, part

of a growing commitment of the state in American life. The federal government had also begun to alter the curricula of institutions of higher education, sponsoring basic research and providing fuel for the engine of technological and economic innovation that colleges and universities would become. The consequences for the American economy and the political economy of American regions would be serious, particularly for cities like Muncie in the Midwest that relied upon heavy manufacturing and the creation of durable goods to sustain its workforce. Throughout the period under discussion, private industrial investment continued, largely concentrated in the southeastern part of the city, developing along existing lines. However, even during the 1930s the city saw a dramatic reduction in industrial employment and growth, a long-term shift toward modest growth and contraction that war mobilization and the national post-war boom could not reverse. And while these Depression-era efforts were part of a broad set of initiatives to provide work relief and to stimulate the national economy, in Muncie they served as much to expand the foundations of what would become the post-industrial economy, especially adding capacity to the higher education sector, which would eventually become a key source of employment in its own right, but would serve as the fundamental catalyst for individual and regional economic development in the postwar era.

Though it profoundly altered the economic basis of the city's growth, federal intervention did not change the fundamental direction of development in Muncie. Instead, it intensified the existing pattern of investments that the Ball family had created, continuing a process of social and economic segregation that privileged the emerging group of knowledge workers—part of the business class of citizens the Lynds first identified and categorized in *Middletown*. Even by the 1920s, this tectonic shift had

begun to emerge and was readily apparent in the 1930s. Ball State Teachers College, the institution that joined and enabled these two forms of community transformation—economic restructuring and geographic organization—had its origins in land speculation at the turn of the century and found its footing in the community with the strong intervention of the Ball family, whose members rescued, supported, and profited from its operations, even as the political economy of federal aid began to structure a shift away from manufacturing and towards a knowledge economy.



Map 3.1. Central Austin.

Chapter 3

Texas in Tension

Lyndon Johnson's staff was not about to let it go. The workhorse congressman from Texas' tenth district was negotiating on behalf of the University of Texas in early 1946 to have a magnesium plant turned over from the federal War Assets Administration (WAA) to the university. Discussions came to a halt in the process of appraising and transferring the property, threatening to derail or significantly delay the project.¹ Johnson had narrowly won his House seat in a 1937 special election and continued to hold it by making sure his constituents received personal service from his office, a feat achieved with the resources of the broader federal government. Answering letters, lobbying for work relief projects, and steering federal contracts—Johnson did all of these, never letting up on himself and never easing up on his staff. So when valuation and equipment concerns threatened to derail the UT project, Johnson brought the full weight of his personality—the “Johnson treatment”—to bear on the problem. He and his secretary lobbied the staff of the WAA and wheedled the University of Minnesota, who had arranged to purchase some of the plant's equipment, to drop their objections that were delaying the project.² With their intervention and guidance the University of Texas reached a deal with the WAA to lease the plant and its grounds starting in 1946 and then

¹ Memo from Mary Rather to Walter Jenkins May 1, 1946. Folder “War Projects – Austin Magnesium Plant #2” Box 220. Pre-Presidential Papers. Lyndon B. Johnson Presidential Library. (*Hereafter PPP LBJPL*).

² Mary Rather to Walter Jenkins. May 1, 1946. Folder “War Project Austin Magnesium Plant #2.” Box 220. PPP LBJPL.

to purchase the property on a permanent basis. The University of Texas Off-Campus Research Facility, possibly the country's first university research park, opened with a three-year lease beginning in September 1946.³

The tenacity of Johnson's office to secure the plant for Texas was just one instance—albeit a significant one—in the process of a growing collaboration between universities and the federal government. In many cases, it was an individual such as Johnson or his predecessor in Congress, James “Buck” Buchanan, who was the catalyst or the deciding factor in the decision to award resources to the university. Politicians and civic leaders such as the future American president, UT president Theophilus Painter, longtime Austin mayor Tom Miller, and political heavyweights like former undersecretary of the Interior Alvin Wirtz were essential agents in creating the structures that came to define the postwar relationship between the federal government and higher education.⁴

At the same time, the state of Texas began to rise in terms of population, political clout, and economic potential by a combination of exploitation of natural resources and

³ Walter Long, *From a Magnesium Plant to a Research Center* (Austin: Austin Chamber of Commerce, 1962), 38. For the most robust historical account of the development of university research parks, see Margaret Pugh O'Mara, *Cities of Knowledge: Cold War Science and the Search for the Next Silicon Valley* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2005).

⁴ In this effort I take theoretical impetus from such sociologists as Anthony Giddens and William Sewell, who assert the interaction between social structures and individual agency, and mediate between the political history of scholars like William Leuchtenberg, Robert Caro, and Jordan Schwartz—who focus on the political actions of such men as Franklin Roosevelt, Lyndon Johnson, and Sam Rayburn—and the state-oriented scholars like William Novak and Christopher Loss. In their efforts to build and to build educational institutions, these political actors were not only engaging in state-building or statecraft, as Loss asserts, but they were in fact contributing to—even leading—major changes in the structures of society. William Sewell, "A Theory of Structure: Duality, Agency, and Transformation," *The American Journal of Sociology* 98, no. 1 (1992). William Leuchtenberg, *Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal, 1932-1940* (New York: Harper & Row, 1963). Robert Caro, *The Years of Lyndon Johnson: The Path to Power* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1982). Jordan Schwarz, *The New Dealers: Power Politics in the Age of Roosevelt* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1993). Christopher Loss, "From Democracy to Diversity: The Politics of American Higher Education in the Twentieth Century" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Virginia, 2007). William Novak, "The Myth of The "Weak" American State," *American Historical Review* 113, no. June 2008 (2008).

federal efforts to remedy the severe poverty and underdevelopment that plagued much of the state.⁵ Through the establishment of public works agencies like the Lower Colorado River Authority; the development of defense infrastructure such as military bases and defense manufacturing; and federal aid to education through public works, work relief grants, wartime aid, postwar building subsidies, and research funding, all facilitated by men like Buchanan and Johnson, the state promoted physical development and established a basic economic foundation that served as the seedbed for economic growth. This investment helped make Texas, as part of the South, and Austin, as a Sun Belt growth city, among the most economically robust states and metropolitan areas of the late twentieth century, as the city grew from just over 50,000 residents in 1930 to a population of more than 650,000 by the end of the century.⁶ This process of growth

⁵ Bruce Schulman, *From Cotton Belt to Sunbelt: Federal Policy, Economic Development, and the Transformation of the South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991). Interpretations on the intentions, nature, and results of the New Deal abound. A powerful narrative illustrating the role of forceful individuals in the Roosevelt administration is found in Jordan Schwarz's work, following Arthur Schlesinger, Jr.'s classic account of the Roosevelt administration and accounts from participants such as Harold Ickes. Schwarz, *The New Dealers*. Harold Ickes, *Back to Work: The Story of PWA* (New York: MacMillan Company, 1935). Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., *The Age of Roosevelt: Coming of the New Deal*, vol. 2 (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1958). However, these flows of aid also may be interpreted as part of a broader political strategy in which federal funds were strategically directed to shore up the New Deal coalition. This work/chapter uses the lens of political economy, and particularly the role of key Congressmen, to interpret the intentions and impact of the New Deal, drawing on the work of Jason Scott Smith, as well as cliometric work by economic historians such as Price Fishback and Gavin Wright. Smith also offers a narrative of continuity between Roosevelt administration public works and postwar investment in infrastructure. Even more recently, Robert Leighninger has reinvigorated the idea of infrastructure investment enabling long-term economic development in addition to benefits such as work relief. Jason Scott Smith, *Building New Deal Liberalism: The Political Economy of Public Works, 1933-1956* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006). Robert Leighninger, Jr., *Long Range Public Investment: The Forgotten Legacy of the New Deal* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 2007). Price Fishback, "Can the New Deal's Three R's Be Rehabilitated? A Program-by-Program, County-by-County Analysis," *Explorations in Economic History* 40, no. 3 (2003).

⁶ Texas' regional identity has also been subject to debate—whether it is a Southern state, a Western state, both, or neither. V.O. Key, in his seminal work on Southern politics, characterized the state as “more western than southern” by 1949. More recent scholars have acknowledged this ambiguous regional identity, conceptually, culturally, and politically splitting the state between West and South. V.O. Key, *Southern Politics in State and Nation* (New York: A.A. Knopf, 1949). Neil Foley, *The White Scourge: Mexicans, Blacks, and Poor Whites in Texas Cotton Culture* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1997). However, the utility of region as an analytical concept has come under scrutiny by historians. Matthew Lassiter and Joseph Crespino, *The Myth of Southern Exceptionalism* (New York: Oxford

involving significant federal aid also facilitated a macroeconomic shift from a resource/production economy to a knowledge/service/consumer economy while altering the nature of American labor, the work force, and socio-economic relations. Federal aid—to both real estate and research—led to changed relationships between the university and the city, between the university and the state government, and between the university and the federal government—part of a set of transformations occurring at universities in cities throughout the country.⁷

In addition to the role of education in the region and the nation, this relationship at the University of Texas had local spatial and political implications for Austin. The university came to physically dominate central Austin in this period and was an important agent in establishing the spatial order of the growing city, with racial, class, and social implications. Through the plans of *Beaux-Arts* trained architect Paul Cret and designers like Cass Gilbert and Herbert Greene, the university sought to express European refinement while expanding the university's capacity, arranging the intellectual landscape to fix a gendered geography of education and reinforce segregation in the city. This mid-century process of spatial reorganization set the stage for contentious legal and political contests in the postwar period. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People identified the University of Texas as a pressure point in the national system of state-sponsored segregation and as an agent of urban segregation in Austin, making higher education a key feature of the long civil rights movement through cases like *Sweatt v. Painter*, even before the *Brown* case took on primary school segregation in

University Press, 2009). Other examples of federal support for industries in Texas include space research and administration.

⁷ However, Texas throughout mid-century remained an underdeveloped state with lower median family incomes than 33 other states. "Table S2. Median Family Income by State: 1959, 1969, 1979, 1989, and 1999." <http://www.census.gov> (Accessed January 3, 2010).

Topeka, Kansas. Subsequently, the attractiveness of Austin and the university to intellectuals and people of political and cultural heterodoxies led to a growth and concentration of these populations in central Austin, where they became a liberal force in local politics and an emerging site of the postwar counterculture.⁸

During this period of growth the university became a site of contention among state political elites, as well. While the University of Texas became a larger, more prestigious, and more research-oriented institution before and during World War II, its administrators articulated goals that set it in opposition to the ideologies of many state leaders. As the university espoused academic freedom and intellectual inquiry to facilitate research endeavors, students and faculty found that the increasingly conservative state power structure failed to respect these ideals, flawed though they might be in practice. The Texas Regulars, the conservative faction of the Democratic party, attacked the university's world of inquiry and self-directed exploration, turning Texas politics upside down and endangering the university's and city's rise. Thus, we can see the promise of mid-century growth—the heart of the liberal consensus—endangered by the frictions of anti-communist politics, putting higher education at the center of growth policy and postwar conflict in Texas and in the nation, with roots running back to the start of the Great Depression.

In this period of expansion, the physical development of the University of Texas—its size, plan, and the design of its buildings—was an essential feature of this institutional growth. Expressing historicism in its expansion even as it wholly embraced

⁸ Douglas Rossinow, *The Politics of Authenticity: Liberalism, Christianity, and the New Left in America*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998). ———, "'The Revolution Is About Our Lives': The New Left's Counterculture," in *Imagine Nation: The American Counterculture of the 1960s and '70s*, ed. Peter Braunstein and Michael William Doyle (New York: Routledge, 2002). See also the work of Ronnie Dugger.

modernization through research the university profited from the expansion of an energy-intensive industrial economy and enabled, even helped create, the service and consumptive economy that followed. The university landscape, especially the gleaming Main tower building in the center of campus, became both a fact and symbol of the city's growth, representing the increasingly interventionist roles of the federal government in American life, higher education in urban life, and a set of new and exacerbated tensions between the university, the city, the state, and the nation.

Campus and Community

Oil is the lifeblood of the University of Texas. It courses through the financing of every building, funds endowed chairs around the university, and monuments on campus serve as testaments memorializing individual oil wells that provided the institution with millions of dollars. What Texas is, it is because of oil. Likewise, oil has played a profound role in the development of the University of Texas.

State legislators created the university in name in 1858 but the state's unsteady position after secession from Mexico and annexation into the United States kept it from giving life to such an institution. Legislators showed little inclination to open a functioning university until its inclusion in a new constitution in 1876. Then, in 1883, when Texas governor Oran Roberts and the legislature dedicated a million acres of land in west Texas to support the university, the state allowed revenue from land leases for ranching to augment state appropriations.⁹ The state opened the institution the same

⁹ Susan Richardson, "Oil, Power, and Universities: Political Struggle and Academic Advancement at the University of Texas and Texas A&M, 1876-1965" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Pennsylvania State University, 2005), 59-66. Three institutions were identified as potential beneficiaries of the fund in the state constitution, the University of Texas, the Texas Agricultural and Mechanical College (technically a branch of the University of Texas), and the Prairie View Normal School, a black institution. Historically, UT receives two-thirds of the funds and Texas A&M receives one-third. Texas State Constitution of 1876, Article VII, Sections 10-15. Letter from Scott Gaines to C.E. Nicholson, March 16, 1945..

year, locating the campus on a plot of ground at the northern outskirts of Austin, less than a mile from the capitol building, but its beginning was inauspicious. Through the last quarter of the nineteenth century and the first quarter of the twentieth century, the main campus of the University of Texas was a modest public institution in an underdeveloped state.

The university, however, held pretensions of ranking with the elite universities of the east coast, both in its intellectual capacity and in its built form. The state constitution provided for “a university of the first class”, a mandate that has both motivated and troubled university leaders since its creation.¹⁰ When the first set of buildings constructed in the 1880s and 1890s began to prove inadequate for the ambition of the university after the turn of the century, UT regents hired architect Cass Gilbert to develop a campus master plan and design a handful of campus buildings. Gilbert, later the designer of such buildings as the Woolworth Building in New York City, the U.S. Supreme Court Building in Washington, D.C., and the Detroit Public Library, traveled in France and Italy as a young architect and worked in the office of McKim, Mead and White, learning to draw upon European and classical precedents in designing structures that were both functional and monumental.¹¹ Gilbert’s work at Texas included several master plan documents to guide campus expansion and he designed two buildings that were eventually constructed, the library (now Battle Hall) built in 1911 and the education building, (now Sutton Hall) built in 1917, both detailed in a historicist Spanish

¹⁰ Texas Constitution of 1876, Art. VII, § 10.

¹¹ Geoffrey Blodgett, *Cass Gilbert: The Early Years* (St. Paul, MN: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 2001). On the work of McKim, Mead, and White, see Leland Roth, *McKim, Mead & White, Architects* (New York: Harper & Row, 1984). Carol McMichael, *Paul Cret at Texas: Architectural Drawing and the Image of the University in the 1930s* (Austin, TX: Huntington Art Gallery, College of Fine Arts, University of Texas, 1983).

Fig 3.1. Architecture Building (now Battle Hall) by Cass Gilbert. The building features the characteristic symmetry of *Beaux-Arts* architecture and the monumental, historicist design.



Mediterranean style.¹² Gilbert's plan featured an orthogonal arrangement of buildings visually and physically connected over the hilly campus land by a series of terraces. The Minnesota architect's plan and buildings established a design idiom and an overarching aesthetic that guided architectural decisions even after he ceased serving as the university's architect.¹³

In 1923 wildcat prospectors struck oil on state land dedicated to the university and the drilling bonanza enabled the fulfillment of the constitutional mandate for a

¹² This was explicitly and intentionally Mediterranean, rather than Spanish colonial, owing to the influence of campus leader (and former president) William Battle, who led the Campus Development Committee. McMichael, *Paul Cret at Texas*.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 38-39. The classic work of American campus planning history interprets Cret's subsequent work as merely a continuation of Gilbert's plan, though McMichael asserts a rupture between the two architects' designs. This dissertation interprets the architects having two distinct design ideals within the Beaux-Arts tradition, particularly evident in the two designers' approaches to visual unity and physical connections between buildings. Paul V. Turner, *Campus: An American Planning Tradition* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1984). On the Ecole des Beau-Arts, see James Noffsinger, "The Influence of the Ecole Des Beaux-Arts on the Architects of the United States" (D. Arch. dissertation, The Catholic University of America, 1955). More recently, architectural historian Isabelle Gournay is working on a history of Americans at the *École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts*.

university of the first class.¹⁴ This windfall provoked several years of legal wrangling between state officials and university leaders at the University of Texas and the Agricultural and Mechanical College of Texas (Texas A&M) over who could draw the resources from the permanent fund and under what conditions.¹⁵ By January of 1930 the University of Texas and Texas A&M settled the dispute and upwards of three million dollars a year flowed into the Permanent University Fund, a state repository of oil revenues for education, enabling a dramatic physical expansion of both university campuses.¹⁶ Under the settlement, The University of Texas and Texas A&M would be the beneficiaries of the oil funds, receiving two-thirds and one-third of the revenues, respectively, while Prairie View Normal School, another constitutionally-created state college for African Americans, was left out of the revenue stream.¹⁷

Austin in 1930 was a lively, mid-sized city. With a census population of 53,120, it had just surpassed the size of Muncie in the 1920s.¹⁸ Texas was the nation's fifth most populous state, and though Austin was the capital, most of the state's business economy flowed elsewhere—oil money through Houston, banking through Dallas, and Galveston had long served as the state's chief port. Austin's chief commodity was politics and, like the state's position in the region, it served as both a geographically central point in Texas and a metaphorical one where east Texans of the Old South mindset brokered compromises with politicians from the ranching Hill Country and the agricultural

¹⁴ Richardson, "Oil, Power, and Universities", 116.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 120-21.

¹⁶ The state was forbidden from appropriating money for construction at the University of Texas campus, for which the Permanent University Fund and its more liquid counterpart, the Available University Fund, was intended. *Ibid.*, 124. (Approximately \$38.2 million in 2008 dollars) CPI CALC (Accessed February 8, 2009). By 2008, the University of Texas system had the fourth-largest endowment of all American universities at \$16.1 billion.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* Now known as Prairie View A&M.

¹⁸ 1930 U.S. Census of Population. (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1934).

Panhandle.¹⁹ The recent growth that had led to a doubling of its population in the 1920s was largely due to government spending and investments in infrastructure, civic leaders claimed, including highway construction that connected the capital to producers and markets, the expansion of state institutions like the university and the state School for the Blind, and the location of military camps in the region.²⁰

By the 1930s Austin was also a segregated city, a feature of Southern urban life that would complicate the development of Austin's chief intellectual resource at mid-century. The state constitution of 1876 precluded African Americans from attending the University of Texas. Instead, Texas had created Prairie View Normal School in a neighboring county and forbade black students from attending UT, a policy reinforced by the 1896 *Plessy* decision.²¹ Approximately a fifth of the residents of Travis County, where Austin made up more than two thirds of the population, were non-white, largely mixed between black and Hispanic residents.²² Numerous institutions for African Americans were clustered in the segregated southeast section of the city, known as East Austin—where nearly three quarters of the city's black population lived—including a public library, a high school, and two small colleges, Sam Huston College and Tillotson College.

City leaders had worked to formalize this geographic segregation and reinforce it through the provision of public services. Following the implementation of a council-manager form of municipal government in 1926, the city commissioned its first master

¹⁹ As an intellectual and political entrepôt, Austin was a hotbed of ideologies across the political spectrum and the university drew scholars from around the country. This intellectual life was in many ways opposed to segregation and was part and parcel to the tensions in Austin that would break apart later. Foley, *The White Scourge*, 1-4.

²⁰ Judith Jenkins, "Austin, Texas During the Great Depression, 1929-1936" (M.A. thesis, University of Texas, 1965), 34-35.

²¹ Texas State Constitution of 1876, Section 14.

²² 1930 U.S. Census of Population. (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1934).

plan in 1927. Koch and Fowler, a Dallas engineering firm creating the plan, proposed establishing a black district in East Austin where the city would locate any new public services for African American residents of the city.

“...[T]he nearest approach to the solution of the race segregation problem will be the recommendation of this district as a negro district; and that all the facilities and conveniences be provided the negroes in this district, as an incentive to draw the negro population to this area. This will eliminate the necessity of duplication of white and black schools, white and black parks, and other duplicate facilities for this area.”²³

Thus, the racial geography of Austin was shaped through the force of law and through the suasion of segregationist community planning, which the university helped to reinforce through its development in the first half of the century.

Urban planning and city politics combined to create the East Austin ghetto; the interests of pro-segregation forces and black empowerment leaders came together to build a dual-track urban infrastructure that, a generation later, the civil rights movement would mobilize to dismantle. In the 1920s, Austin’s African American leaders accepted the notion of a segregated district and used it to create political leverage with city leaders. When a city bond issue came before the public in 1928, civic leaders withheld support and refused to campaign for its approval unless city politicians agreed to devote bond monies to building black institutions. African Americans comprised nearly twenty percent of the city’s population, and could potentially serve as a swing vote in municipal elections.²⁴ Everett Givens, a leading dentist and businessman, demanded institutions

²³ The *Sunday Morning News* City Plan Supplement: Being The Report and Recommendations of Koch and Fowler, City Plan Engineers, for the City of Austin, February 12, 1928, p. 14. Center for American History at the University of Texas (*hereafter* CAHUT).

²⁴ 1930 U.S. Census, quoted in Jason McDonald, "Confronting Jim Crow in the 'Lone Star' Capital: The Contrasting Strategies of African-American and Ethnic-Mexican Political Leaders in Austin, Texas, 1910-1930," *Continuity and Change* 22, no. 1 (2007): 146. Indeed, rather than exclusion from the franchise, Austin African Americans in the 1920s and 1930s were a key constituency in municipal elections and

like the ones Koch and Fowler had suggested should be used to reinforce segregation in Austin. Receiving assurances that Austin's African American community would see such benefits, Givens lent his support to the issue, helping it pass where two previous bond elections had failed.²⁵ As a result, the city built a hard-won public library branch and began a road paving effort to improve East Austin infrastructure.

Campus Plan

The discovery of oil commenced a period of dramatic change for the university, for the city of Austin, and for the state of Texas. The petroleum proceeds enabled the university to invest in campus growth and to pursue a more ambitious institutional agenda—greater prestige at the undergraduate level, more robust programs at the graduate level, and a faculty engaging in nation- and world-leading research. After the compromise with Texas A&M over oil revenues in 1930, the University Regents hired Philadelphia architect Paul Philippe Cret to create a campus master plan to guide the university's future development.²⁶ In a classic Texas conundrum, the university was on the verge of an era of fiscal plenty based on resource exploitation while the nation was sliding into the Great Depression. The university had suffered from want for many years and relied upon numerous wood-frame, temporary buildings built in the early 1910s that came to be known as “the shacks.”²⁷ Travel writers disparaged the shacks as giving the campus the look of a “military cantonment,” and civic and university leaders asserted that the ambition of the institution had to be matched by proportionately grand and attractive

candidates often appealed to them directly for support. Floylee Hemphill, "Mayor Tom Miller and the First Year of the New Deal in Austin, Texas" (M.A. Thesis, University of Texas, 1976), 36-37.

²⁵ McDonald, "Confronting Jim Crow in the 'Lone Star' Capital," 167.

²⁶ McMichael, *Paul Cret at Texas*, 23-24.

²⁷ Margaret Berry, *Brick by Golden Brick: A History of Campus Buildings at the University of Texas at Austin, 1883-1993* (Austin, TX: LBCo., 1993), 10.



Fig 3.2. The UT Shacks. Built in the World War I era, these structures remained in use until the middle 1930s. (CAHUT)

buildings.²⁸ However, the shacks remained in use at the university for two decades until proceeds of the Permanent University Fund became available to finance campus development.

Paul Cret's work at Texas was part of a national transformation in higher education and in architectural practice. Born in France and trained at the *École des Beaux-Arts* in Lyon and in Paris, the University of Pennsylvania invited Cret to teach in the architecture school in 1903.²⁹ Working to reconcile the enduring and recognizable forms of classical architecture with the new technological capabilities of modern architecture in varied programmatic contexts, Cret developed a columnar style throughout the early twentieth century he came to call "New Classicism," negotiating the

²⁸ Works Progress Administration, *Texas: A Guide to the Lone Star State* (New York: Hastings House, 1940). Jenkins, "Austin, Texas", 41.

²⁹ Cret's work as an educator illustrates his transitional role in architecture at this time. One of the significant figures of postwar architecture who learned his art in Cret's studio courses at Penn was Louis Kahn, renowned enthusiast of the plasticity of postwar materials in his building designs. Kenneth Frampton, *Modern Architecture: A Critical History* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1985), 243. Joseph Esherick, "Architectural Education in the Thirties and the Seventies: A Personal View," in Spiro Kostof, ed. *The Architect*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), 239, quoted in McMichael, *Paul Cret at Texas*, 42.

historicist architectural tastes of the public and the increasingly modernist direction of the architectural vanguard.³⁰

Cret's work gloried in the use of architecture as a civic statement. He had devoted himself from his years at the *École des Beaux-Arts* to the exploration of architecture's role in promoting civic institutions. The architect's portfolio featured such works as the Detroit Institute of Arts (directly across the street from Cass Gilbert's Detroit Public Library building), the Indianapolis Public Library, and the Folger Shakespeare Library and Federal Reserve Building, both in Washington, D.C.³¹ Cret had experience working with institutions of higher education, as well. In 1908 he had developed a campus plan for the University of Wisconsin, following that in 1913 with a plan for the University of Pennsylvania, where he taught, and a plan for Brown University in Providence, Rhode Island in 1922.³² These plans reflected a combination of artistic intent shaped by Cret's *Beaux-Arts* education and a pragmatic understanding of the economic and social context of planning and architecture. Cret discussed real estate costs and traffic patterns with as much emphasis as sight lines and street facades, planning for the collection of compatible uses in contiguous areas of campus.³³

³⁰ Elizabeth Grossman, *The Civic Architecture of Paul Cret* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), xvi. Grossman emphasizes the monumental influence of *Beaux-Arts* design training in Cret's architecture. Mauro Guillen, *The Taylorized Beauty of the Mechanical: Scientific Management and the Rise of Modern Architecture* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2006). Frampton, *Modern Architecture: A Critical History*. Le Corbusier, *Towards a New Architecture*, trans. Fredrick Etchells (London: J. Rodker, 1931). Henry-Russell Hitchcock and Philip Johnson, *The International Style: Architecture since 1922* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1932).

³¹ Grossman, *The Civic Architecture of Paul Cret*.

³² Scholars interpret such *Beaux-Arts* designs as Cret's campus planning work as being largely defined by the principles of *Beaux-Arts* schooling rather than as individual works of creativity. Turner, *Campus*, 208-09. This early work by Cret comes at the height of *Beaux-Arts* and City Beautiful planning, best represented by the 1909 Plan of Chicago by Daniel Burnham and Edward Bennett. Carl Smith, *The Chicago Plan: Daniel Burnham and the Remaking of the American City* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006).

³³ Paul Philippe Cret, Arthur Peabody, Warren Powers Laird. "University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin, Comprehensive Plan." 1908. V. 27, Paul Philippe Cret, Warren Powers Laird, Olmsted

The opportunity with the University of Texas was a special one in which Cret would have more influence than in any other project to date. As planner and chief architect, Cret would be able to guide the development of a whole complex in one of the increasingly important civic institutions in Austin, in Texas and more broadly in American society. Writing years later, after working as the university architect for a decade, Cret affirmed that the Texas campus held “an important place in my life.”³⁴ Having the university as a client—a single, growing, wealthy institution with the power of the state behind it—allowed Cret to develop a coordinated design scheme that resulted in 18 separate buildings over 15 years, fulfilling a vision, an extensive architectural essay for the Austin landscape rather than a brief, isolated design statement for the campus.³⁵

The process of plan development was characterized by the reconciliation of modernization and the conservative principles of the academy and the built environment. William Battle, a professor of classics who had served as acting university president in the 1910s and clashed with the state legislature, led the Faculty Building Committee, a body that consulted with the university president and held a good deal of influence over the selection of architects and design concepts.³⁶ The discipline of classics, having faced a diminution of the traditional curriculum, had reconciled itself to aiding the project of modernization and industrialization in higher education rather than serving as the

Brothers, “University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. – Comprehensive Plan.” 1913. V. 30, 5-17. Warren Powers Laird Collection. Architectural Archives of the University of Pennsylvania.

³⁴ Paul Cret to J.W. Calhoun, January 15, 1940, Box 5 Cret Papers, VPL, quoted in McMichael, *Paul Cret at Texas*, 23.

³⁵ These 18 buildings include the Library, the Physics Building, Home Economics, Architecture, Engineering, Geology, a Practice School, Men’s Dorm, the Student Union and Auditorium, Roberts, Andrews, Prather and Carothers dormitories, Hill Hall, Music, Chemical Engineering, Petroleum Engineering, and the Texas Memorial Museum. Ibid.

³⁶ Ibid., 22.

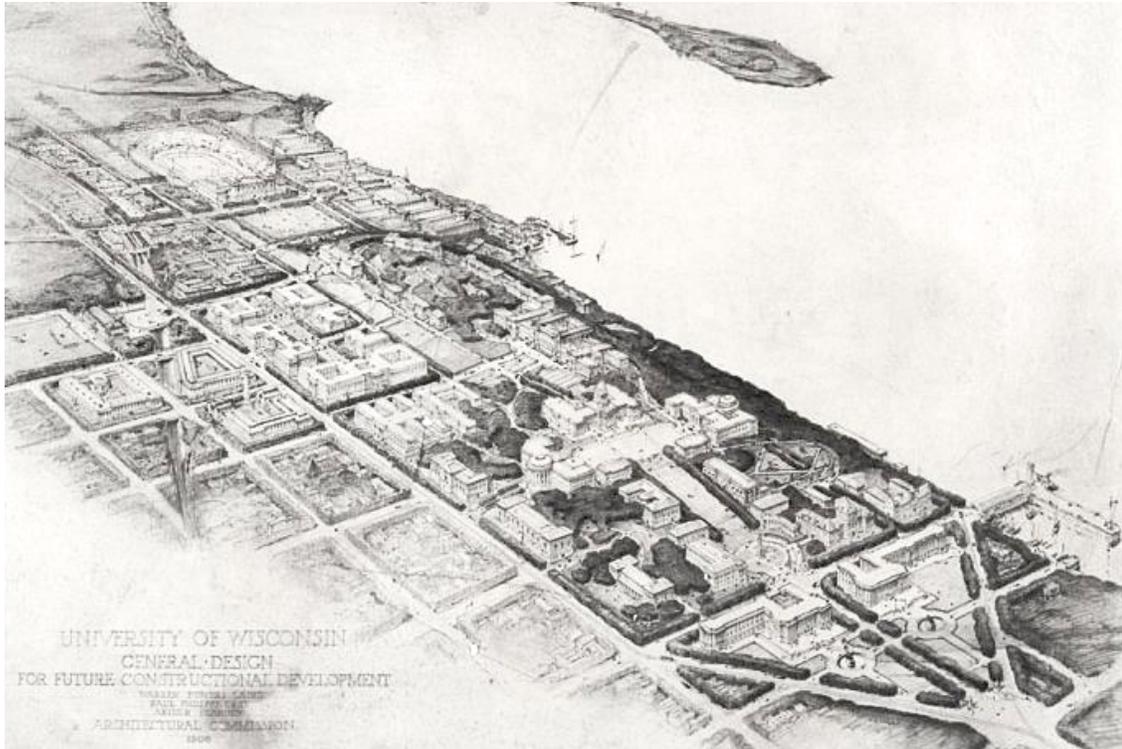


Fig. 3.3. Proposed 1908 campus plan for the University of Wisconsin-Madison by Warren Laird and Paul Cret. The axial arrangement along Lake Mendota is characteristic of the *Beaux-Arts* planning principles Cret would employ at the University of Texas. (University of Wisconsin-Madison Archives)

centerpiece of colleges and universities.³⁷ In the same way, Battle sought to engage the classical tradition even as the university trained scientists, engineers, architects and businessmen in addition to humanities scholars. Battle had worked with Cass Gilbert during the 1910s and approved of an axial, planned campus, while intending the university buildings to display a contextual, regional architectural idiom appropriate for the climate, such as Spanish Renaissance.³⁸ Save Paul Cret and the university's staff architect, Robert Leon White, no man during the 1930s and 1940s held as much influence over university development as William Battle.

³⁷ Julie Reuben, *The Making of the Modern University: Intellectual Transformation and the Marginalization of Morality* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996). Caroline Winterer, *The Culture of Classicism: Ancient Greece and Rome in American Intellectual Life, 1780-1910* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002).

³⁸ McMichael, *Paul Cret at Texas*, 18-22.

Cret worked on the plan for two years, negotiating existing conditions to establish the framework that would guide university development for the next twenty years and the physical character of the university for the rest of the century. The topography of the campus figured prominently in design considerations. Each of the university's architects faced the issue of the campus' sloping land, rising from a low elevation from the south—the Colorado River—through the capitol building and cresting in the middle of the Forty Acres. It was there that the university's Victorian-era Main Building stood beginning in 1889 and where Cret would locate the tower that became the university's signature building.

The French architect adopted many of the principles of the campus planners that preceded him, and called for the campus to increase in area and approximately double in the number of permanent buildings over twenty years, creating and adapting campus zones that shaped the character of university and community life. After Cass Gilbert's departure, Dallas architectural firm Greene LaRoche and Dahl had been hired to serve as campus architects.³⁹ Partner Herbert Greene established areas on campus for science teaching and laboratories, for women's activities, and for a social zone; however, the university had not had the resources to act upon them. Cret adopted many of Greene's divisions, emphasizing the organization of educational activity by sex. Building on the spatial separation defined by the Scottish Rite Dormitory, an existing private women's residence north of the UT grounds; the Littlefield Dormitory, a recently built university women's residence; and the UT women's gymnasium then under construction, Cret intensified the women's zone on the northwest edge of campus, far from East Austin, locating a women's university dormitory (Carothers Hall) and the home economics

³⁹ Ibid.

building in his campus plan.⁴⁰ The zones not only responded to Austin conditions but shaped campus and community life in the following decades. In the social zone on the west edge of campus near Guadalupe, Cret placed a faculty club, the student union, a museum, and a concert hall, matching the intense development housing commercial, social, and religious institutions to the west of campus.⁴¹

This plan reinforced the broader social and racial values of urban Austin, locating the area for UT's white female students as far on campus as possible from the segregated, black East Austin, and using the existing Texas Memorial Stadium, along with new parking, men's housing, athletic fields and open space as a buffer between East Austin and campus.⁴² As a result, few students living off campus resided southeast of campus and off-campus housing was concentrated west and north of the university grounds, making Guadalupe a vibrant thoroughfare known as "The Drag," while East Avenue was became more of a psychological and geographical barrier. The colossal football stadium, men's residences, the men's Gregory Gymnasium and athletic facilities branded the southeast area of campus a masculine part of the university community full of exertion and spectacle while the northwest area of campus characterized by female domesticity, religious institutions, and training in home management comprised a feminine landscape aimed at the reproduction of gendered values of student life. This pattern of campus, commercial, institutional and residential development established and intensified by the

⁴⁰ Coeducational public universities like Texas were more likely to develop home economics and domestic science curricula than at women's private colleges in order to facilitate their presumed pursuit of domesticity as adults. In this way women students were segregated intellectually as well as spatially from male students at Texas. Lynn Gordon, "The Gibson Girl Goes To College:..." *American Quarterly* 39 no. 2 (Summer 1987), pp. 211-230.

⁴¹ McMichael, *Paul Cret at Texas*.

⁴² Scottish Rite Dormitory was renowned as the most desirable residence for women at Texas in the 1920s and 1930s. Jan Jarboe Russell, *Lady Bird: A Biography of Mrs. Johnson* (New York: Taylor Trade Publishing, 2004), 76.

university architect provided a nexus in the following decades—particularly at the YMCA across from campus at Guadalupe and 22nd St.—for student groups and community members interested in campus politics, social justice, and issues at the intersection of intellectual, spiritual, and social exploration.⁴³

Community interest in the university, its growth, and its relationship with the city extended far beyond the boundaries of the university. Battle, the classics professor, maintained a prominent position in Austin and served as a university liaison to the city's business class through the Town and Gown social club, a collection of the city's leading citizens in a variety of lines of work, along the lines of Rotary. In this role he maintained relations with commercial, legal, and political leaders on behalf of the university.⁴⁴ In addition, the university-city relationship was a metropolitan political issue, and candidates for office included such issues as part of their platforms. Long-time mayor Tom Miller addressed the topic in his first run for office in 1933, writing in a full-page newspaper advertisement,

“Knowing and believing that Austin is greatly benefited by being the State seat of Government and appreciating the value of all State institutions located here, and especially the University of Texas, I will further cordial relations between the city government and State and University authorities. I am also conscious of the great asset in material and cultural value of all the other great schools of Austin.”⁴⁵

In addition to politicians, business leaders recognized the importance of the university to the city—Walter Long, the longtime head of the Chamber of Commerce credited the

⁴³ This social area is matched by the diverse, student-oriented district across Guadalupe, including the YMCA building, a Petri dish of Christian liberalism that grew into a site of New Left community-building in the 1950s and 1960s illuminated by Rossinow, *The Politics of Authenticity*, 85-114.

⁴⁴ *The Town and Gown Club: The First 100 Years*. (Austin, TX: Nortex Press, 2002).

⁴⁵ Hemphill, "Mayor Tom Miller", 29.

campus building program as one of Austin's key bulwarks against the waves of misery and unemployment that characterized most of America during the Depression.⁴⁶

Progress and Politics in the New Deal

The campus expansion planned by Paul Cret was ironically financed by a combination of abundant oil money and New Deal relief funds. Fourteen of Cret's buildings were constructed between 1930 and 1940, many of them drawing heavily on the programs for economic stimulus and public investment in infrastructure created by the New Deal in addition to the new revenue from the West Texas oil fields. The Available University Fund provided \$800,000 for construction in 1929 and would accrue millions of dollars a year by the end of the 1930s, providing more than adequate local capital to meet the requirements of federal grants.⁴⁷

Regional and partisan political concerns help explain the university's success in attracting federal support even amid a period of abundant state and institutional resources. National economic recovery and education in particular were identified as significant goals of New Deal relief efforts.⁴⁸ However, lobbying by Texas legislators and the broader national electoral strategy of the Roosevelt administration played as important a role in determining which projects were funded and where as did bureaucratic standards for evaluating proposed projects. The Roosevelt administration and the Democratic Party were highly sensitive to political concerns, having swept into office after more than a decade out of the White House. After three consecutive Republican presidential terms, and 7 of 9 terms since 1897, Democrats could finally reward loyal party workers with patronage positions in a presidential administration. The

⁴⁶ The other was the Lower Colorado River Authority. Jenkins, "Austin, Texas", 42.

⁴⁷ McMichael, *Paul Cret at Texas*, 24. \$9.9 million in 2008 dollars CPI (Accessed February 10, 2009).

⁴⁸ Ickes, *Back to Work*, 91-92.

political prospects for the new programs coming as part of the New Deal also seemed promising to help cement Roosevelt's hold on the White House.⁴⁹

The creation of New Deal relief and works programs, such as the Public Works Administration (PWA), the Works Progress Administration (WPA), and the National Youth Association (NYA) served both national economic concerns and local, political party-building interests.⁵⁰ The Roosevelt administration created the PWA with authority and appropriations from the National Industrial Recovery Act, passed in the spring of 1933. Its intent was to develop the nation's infrastructure in a careful, planned fashion and Harold Ickes at the head of the agency proceeded slowly and methodically to avoid scandal. The WPA and NYA came about after the passage of the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act in 1935, a massive effort to reduce unemployment with an

⁴⁹ Jason Scott Smith indicates that the 1935 Hatch Act prohibiting the use of government resources to promote electoral politics was created in response to political considerations in public works strategies in the Roosevelt administration. Smith, *Building New Deal Liberalism*. William Leuchtenberg, *The White House Looks South: Franklin D. Roosevelt, Harry S. Truman, Lyndon B. Johnson* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2005).

⁵⁰ Early interpretations of the New Deal emphasized such programs' stimulative and relief effects, including works by administrators such as Harold Ickes. Ickes, *Back to Work*. Liberal historians first emphasized the reforming impulse of Roosevelt and the New Deal and its continuity with a democratic reform tradition. Richard Hofstadter, *The Age of Reform: From Bryan to Fdr* (New York: Vintage Books, 1955). Schlesinger, *The Age of Roosevelt: Coming of the New Deal*. Leuchtenberg, *Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal, 1932-1940*. Revisionist historians emphasized the conservative nature of New Deal achievements by deemphasizing the reform ideals of the administration and examining the alliance of the New Deal with private business interests. Howard Zinn, *New Deal Thought* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1966). Barton Bernstein, "The New Deal: The Conservative Achievements of Liberal Reform," in *Towards a New Past: Dissenting Essays in American History*, ed. Barton Bernstein (New York: Vintage Books, 1967). Colin Gordon, *New Deals: Business, Labor, and Politics in America, 1920-1935*. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994). Alan Brinkley, *The End of Reform: New Deal Liberalism in Recession and War* (New York: Knopf, 1995). Twenty-first century economic turmoil and the consequences of neo-liberal privatization and deregulation has prompted a positive reexamination of the New Deal and investments in infrastructure such as Leighninger, *Long Range Public Investment*. On the Roosevelt administration's strategy regarding education, see Paula Fass, "Without Design: Education Policy in the New Deal," *American Journal of Education* 91, no. 1 (1982): 36-64.



Fig 3.4. Overhead plan of development by Paul Cret. 1933. (UT AAA)



Fig 3.5. Perspective view, plan of development by Paul Cret. 1933. (UT AAA)



Fig. 3.6. Aerial view of UT campus from west, ca. 1925. Cass Gilbert's Sutton and Battle Halls are the lower right of the image. In the center of the image is Frederick Ruffini's Victorian Main building. (CAHUT)



Fig. 3.7. Aerial view of campus from south, ca. 1935. Cret's plan has begun to be implemented with New Deal funds and resources from university oil lands, ordering and updating the image and facilities of the campus with new, stylistically modern buildings, and landscaped grounds. (CAHUT)

appropriation of almost \$5 billion.⁵¹ From 1933 to 1939 unemployment plummeted from 10.6 million to 6.2 million and federal relief programs (including other agencies such as the CCC) employed between 2 and 4 million people in the period, reaching a peak of 3.7 million in 1936.⁵² Conservative Midwestern regions like that of Muncie in Delaware County, Indiana, were only able to attract a handful of PWA grants for institutions such as the Republican-backed Ball State Teachers College, but long-time Democratic districts in the South were more successful in bringing home federal aid. Meanwhile, the changing party loyalties of states and districts seemed to handicap junior representatives' ability to draw on federal funds, owing to their minimal seniority in Congress.⁵³

Individual Texas politicians played essential roles in influencing the delivery of services and aid by the Roosevelt Administration.⁵⁴ James P. "Buck" Buchanan was the U.S. Congressman for the Texas tenth district—including Austin—from 1913 until 1937 and Democratic chair of the House Appropriations Committee for the last four of those years. Buchanan, an alumnus of the University of Texas law school, served as a conduit

⁵¹ Leuchtenberg, *Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal, 1932-1940*, 125. \$77.5 billion in 2008 dollars. CPI. Youth relief already had been launched as a pilot program within the Federal Emergency Relief Agency (FERA), but this appropriation enabled the expansion and institutionalization of the program. George Rawick, "The New Deal and Youth: The Civilian Conservation Corps, the National Youth Administration and the American Youth Congress" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1957), 176.

⁵² Michael Darby, "Three-and-a-Half Million U.S. Employees Have Been Misled: Or, an Explanation of Unemployment, 1934-1941," *The Journal of Political Economy* 84, no. 1 (1976): 7.

⁵³ Smith, *Building New Deal Liberalism*. Cliometric research indicates that the allocation of federal PWA grants did not correlate with the incidence of a swing district, but did correlate with increased unemployment in a district. The Indiana 10th district, where Muncie was located, had long been a Republican seat until the 1932 election. A Democrat held the seat until the 1938 election when it swung back Republican. The Texas 10th including Austin, by contrast, was a Democratic seat from 1901 to 2005. Fishback, "Can the New Deal's Three R's Be Rehabilitated?." Texas, the fifth-most populous state, received the fourth-highest total for PWA grants and loans in the nation behind New York, Illinois, and Pennsylvania, but ahead of Ohio, and had the second-highest number of funded projects. Indiana, by contrast, the eleventh-most populous state, ranked twelfth in number of projects and thirteenth in total allocations. *America Builds: The Record of the PWA* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1939), 284-285 quoted in Smith, *Building New Deal Liberalism*, 92-93.

⁵⁴ Recent scholarship illustrates the key role that universities and higher education played in the delivery of services to the public in the New Deal. Loss, "From Democracy to Diversity".

for federal aid for economic development, particularly through his committee chairmanship, which was tasked with funding the New Deal, and his support of the Lower Colorado River Authority (LCRA).⁵⁵ Like the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA), the LCRA was a government-formed corporation intended to develop energy resources for an impoverished region from a series of hydroelectric dams and to aid in flood control. Whereas the TVA was a federal corporation, the state of Texas created its own authority in 1934. State senator Alvin Wirtz and Buchanan arranged for a \$4.5 million loan from the Public Works Administration (PWA) to take over a failed dam project from the Insull energy companies, catalyzing the development of a major state-owned utility in the LCRA.⁵⁶ The authority, central Texas, and Austin were the beneficiaries of numerous sources of federal aid over the next two decades including grants and loans from the PWA, the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, and the Rural Electrification Administration amounting to an estimated 4 billion dollars.⁵⁷ The University of Texas saw construction aid for five buildings during the first four years of

⁵⁵ Buchanan rose to chairmanship of Appropriations in the scramble for position after the 1932 elections. According to an account of the period, “Tennessee, Tammany and Texas combined last week to name the new Speaker of the House—Henry Thomas Rainey of Illinois. Out of the deal Tennessee got the floor leadership. Tammany the assistant floor leadership, Texas the chairmanship of the potent Committee on Appropriations,” which would bolster the southern state’s position in the federal budget. “Rainey for Speaker.” *TIME*, March 13, 1933. Much of the Democratic leadership in this period came from the south, including all Speakers of the House from 1931-1947, two of whom—John Nance Garner and Sam Rayburn—were Texans.

⁵⁶ John Adams Jr., *Damming the Colorado: The Rise of the Lower Colorado River Authority, 1933-1939* (College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press, 1990), 68. Alvin Wirtz, an attorney, served as executor to the failed Insull enterprise, general counsel to the LCRA, and general counsel to infrastructure services company Brown & Root, illustrating the collegial relations among power interests in Texas. Wirtz became a longtime friend and advisor to Lyndon Johnson after Buchanan’s death and served as undersecretary of the Interior in the Roosevelt administration. The original dam is now known as Buchanan Dam, named for the late congressman, and created Lake Buchanan, located approximately 45 miles northwest of Austin. Robert Dallek, *Lone Star Rising: Lyndon Johnson and His Times, 1908-1960* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 173-81.

⁵⁷ Figure from Adams Jr., *Damming the Colorado*, 69. Congressmen such as Johnson frequently announced awards of several million to the LCRA. “FDR OK’s Fund at Johnson’s Request.” *Austin Statesman* July 21, 1937.

the New Deal, due in no small part to Buchanan's importance to Roosevelt's legislative agenda.⁵⁸

The Roosevelt administration identified education as an essential area of investment, both politically and economically.⁵⁹ Colleges and universities became significant beneficiaries of federal aid. The National Youth Administration (NYA) was created to keep youths in secondary school; to prevent young adults from dropping out of college, derailing their career trajectories; and to promote working class industriousness and ideals of participatory citizenship. And, while it sought to promote these ideals, the administration also sought stability with these programs, intending to preempt youths from rejecting democratic capitalism, owing to such sustained hardship, and becoming radical proponents of communism or other political alternatives, as their European counterparts had done.⁶⁰

In this period of crisis for the nation and for higher education Lyndon Johnson launched the political career that would span four decades. Johnson served as the congressional secretary for Richard Mifflin Kleberg, Congressman for the fourteenth district in southeast Texas, then became the Texas state director of the National Youth

⁵⁸ Lloyd Dwight Chaney, "The Texas Congressional Delegation's Relation to the New Deal" (M.A. thesis, East Texas State University, 1967). Daniel Geary, *Radical Ambition: C.Wright Mills, the Left, and American Social Thought* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2009).

⁵⁹ The Public Works Administration supported the construction of approximately 70% of the nation's new school construction between 1933 and 1939. Leuchtenberg, *Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal, 1932-1940*, 133. Proportionally, education buildings were the second best-funded PWA project type in terms of both number of projects and project funds after streets and highways. Streets and highways received 15.7% of funds while education buildings received 14.0%. Smith, *Building New Deal Liberalism*, 90. See also "P.W.A. Non-Allotments for Colleges and Universities," 1938. Box 13 Publications, RG 135 Public Works Administration. NARA II. College Park, MD.

⁶⁰ Richard Reiman, *The New Deal and American Youth: Ideas and Ideals in a Depression Decade* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1992). Rawick, "The New Deal and Youth", 176.

Administration (NYA).⁶¹ The future president ran Kleberg's office in Washington and developed political experience and a Washington network before office tensions forced him to return to Texas.⁶² As a student, Johnson had worked for the president of Southwest Texas State Teachers College and was familiar with the operations of academic administrations. Johnson had recently married Claudia "Lady Bird" Taylor, the daughter of an affluent Texas family, and he prized the opportunity to make a name for himself within the state. As the Texas director for the NYA, Johnson built relationships with college and university administrators all over the state, from Southwest Texas State in San Marcos to Texas A&M in College Station and the University of Texas in east central Texas.⁶³ Managing an aid budget of more than \$100,000 dollars, Johnson cajoled and wheedled jobs for college students and developed work projects to beautify Texas highways, construct playgrounds and contribute to construction projects at the front lines of the New Deal.⁶⁴ In nearly two years of service, Johnson distributed aid to more than 80 institutions and more than 20,000 students, with scores of higher education administrators especially grateful for the federal resources he had sent to their schools.⁶⁵ Johnson used his job working for Texas youth not only to fulfill the Roosevelt administration's hope for democratic solidarity and political advantage, he exploited those resources and the force of his own personality to solidify a statewide network of

⁶¹ Associates recalled that Johnson played an integral role in facilitating the creation of the Lower Colorado River Authority while working as Kleberg's assistant, cajoling administration officials to cooperate with Texas state authorities. Caro, *The Path to Power*, 284-85.

⁶² Kleberg's wife disliked Johnson because she suspected he shielded the Congressman from her and covered up personal wrongdoings for his boss. Dallek, *Lone Star Rising*, 122-23.

⁶³ Ibid. Caro, *The Path to Power*.

⁶⁴ The 1936 Texas NYA budget was \$133,000, the equivalent of \$2,102,000 in 2008 dollars. Bureau of Labor Statistics CPI Inflation Calculator. <http://data.bls.gov/cgi-bin/cpicalc.pl> (Accessed December 1, 2008). Schwarz, *The New Dealers*, 269. Dallek, *Lone Star Rising*, 125-44.

⁶⁵ Dallek, *Lone Star Rising*, 142.

colleagues, acquaintances and supporters whom he would turn to in years to come.⁶⁶ His colleague in the Texas delegation, George Mahon, remembered, “he had made friends with the key people. He courted the right people in the right places all over the state. He had statewide ambitions from the day he came up here.”⁶⁷

While relief aid was essential to sustaining colleges and universities during periods of decreasing enrollment for tuition and student jobs, even more important for universities’ long-term prospects were the design and construction subsidies of the New Deal. More than a thousand students at the University of Texas received aid through the NYA, working office, service, or janitorial positions for their relief money. However, tens of thousands of students have found residence in the UT dormitories built with New Deal aid money, and even more found the New Deal library, laboratory, and classroom buildings key parts of their education. Institutions of higher education had been expanding throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, in many cases creating professional and graduate schools, and this expansion both included and necessitated physical expansion.⁶⁸ At large private colleges and universities, such real estate acquisition and construction was often paid for by donors, but public universities normally relied upon the irregular generosity of legislators for construction

⁶⁶ The Roosevelt administration intended both to keep American youth from becoming despondent and perpetually unemployed and to prevent their embracing of radicalism and especially communism as an alternative to democratic capitalism.

⁶⁷ Caro, *The Path to Power*, 534.

⁶⁸ Leslie, Geiger, Veysey. Laurence Veysey, *The Emergence of the American University* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965). W. Bruce Leslie, *Gentlemen and Scholars: College and Community in The "Age of the University."* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1992). Even during the 1920s, national enrollment in degree programs increased from 597,800 to 1.1 million. Garland Parker, *The Enrollment Explosion: A Half-Century of Attendance in U.S. Colleges and Universities* (New York: School & Society Books, 1971), 24-25.

appropriations in addition to ongoing operational appropriations.⁶⁹ The construction subsidies of the PWA—typically grants for 40% of cost and often loans in addition—not only put out-of-work architects and construction contractors to work, it also primed the pump for the expansion of institutions that were becoming central to the future of American intellectual, scientific, and economic development.⁷⁰ The construction of dormitories allowed more students to attend universities, and to pay affordable rates for



Fig 3.8. Main Building with Littlefield Fountain in background, UT-Austin. (CAHUT)

housing. At institutions such as Texas that charged no tuition, room and board could be the chief financial obstacle to a college degree. Small-to-mid-sized cities such as Austin—where students could make up a quarter of the population—often suffered from rental housing shortages that resulted in poor conditions and high rental costs, particularly near the university campus.⁷¹ Federally subsidized dormitories aided problems of capacity, affordability, and quality in student housing.

At Texas, the practical considerations of campus construction and the symbolic importance of a library were given form in an architectural statement that would become an architectural and cultural landmark in Austin for decades to come. A new library and

⁶⁹ Late in the Hoover administration the federal government created the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, which provided loans to institutions of higher education for dormitories. The first recipients of such financing were the University of Colorado, Arkansas A&M, and Oklahoma State Agricultural College. “Statistics.” *TIME* Magazine. December 26, 1932.

⁷⁰ Leighninger, *Long Range Public Investment*.

⁷¹ See map illustrating housing patterns, Appendices, and, for historical comparison, LaDale C. Winling, “City Politics, Student Housing, and the University of Michigan, 1920-1980” (M.U.P. Thesis, University of Michigan, 2007).

administration building was the first UT construction to be supported by the Works Progress Administration and Cret envisioned it as the centerpiece of the university campus. Influenced by Charles Klauder, architect of the Cathedral of Learning at the University of

	Grant	Loan
Main Building	\$433,300	\$1,200,000
Andrews and Roberts Halls	\$114,000	\$354,000
Prather Hall	\$110,454	\$135,000
Carothers Hall	\$72,000	\$178,000
Hill Hill	\$46,636	\$57,000

Table 1. Federal resources for University of Texas construction projects. From varied sources.

Pittsburgh, the University of Texas tower reached twenty-eight stories and 307 feet in height, nearly the equal of Austin’s state capital building.⁷² The Tower, as it came to be known, countered the capital dome in another way, illustrating uses for stripped neoclassical forms and proportions in a wholly modern skyscraper building, contrasted to the archetypical neoclassical capital dome. Much as the neo-Gothic “Cathedral of Learning” had done, the UT Tower attempted to fulfill an architectural vision for reconciling the emerging project of modernization in higher education with the traditional academic curriculum and landscape from which it was built.⁷³

Amid this period of development in Austin, Congressman James Buchanan’s death in 1937 provided Lyndon Johnson the opportunity to move from a New Deal

⁷² The Cathedral of Learning held its first classes in 1931, though it was not completed until 1934. Klauder was one of the leading campus architects of the period, and his reputation and influence were strengthened by his publication of the leading campus planning guide of the era, Charles Klauder and Herbert Wise, *College Architecture in America and Its Part in the Development of the Campus* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1929).

⁷³ The Cathedral of Learning drew on individual private support, benefiting from a major Pittsburgh fundraising campaign to support its construction. Like the Tower (and likely its own precedent, the Chicago *Tribune* Tower building), the Cathedral of Learning was a steel-frame structure clad with limestone.

administrator to become a federal legislator who would devise such programs. The congressman died of a heart attack in February of 1937, just after the dedication of the LCRA's Marshall Ford Dam, approximately 45 miles northwest of Austin.⁷⁴ Johnson muscled his way to the head of a crowded field to succeed Buchanan as representative of the tenth district. In his special election campaign, Johnson made his alliance with the popular Franklin Roosevelt clear, promising to pursue a two-part agenda during a major radio address before election day:

“FIRST: Complete and unswerving support of the President's program, including Supreme Court reform.

SECOND: Uninterrupted progress for and development of the Tenth District of Texas through operation of that program nationally.”⁷⁵

Drawing heavily on Austin elites, including business leaders and UT alumni, Johnson won the special election and immediately began drawing on his Washington connections to fulfill the second of his campaign promises.⁷⁶

From the outset Johnson put his renowned skills of persuasion to work for the benefit of the tenth district. The congressman had a reputation for driving himself hard and his staff even harder, working long hours and pressing administration officials to approve aid for Texas projects and programs.⁷⁷ During Johnson's tenure as U.S. Representative for Austin, the University of Texas administration was in regular contact with Johnson and other members of the Texas delegation regarding their applications for

⁷⁴ Marshall Ford Dam was subsequently named for Buchanan. Adams Jr., *Damming the Colorado*, 70.

⁷⁵ Roosevelt had won a resounding national victory in 1936 and won the state of Texas by a margin of 87% to 12%. The state was overwhelmingly Democratic and, at the outset of the economic crisis of the 1930s, strongly supported Roosevelt and the New Deal. Quotation from April 7, 1937 radio address “The Man for the Tenth District.” Folder “Radio Address over WOAI Austin, Texas.” Box 1 Statements of Lyndon Johnson, 1937-1938. Lyndon Baines Johnson Archive (Hereafter LBJA). LBJPL. Key, *Southern Politics in State and Nation*.

⁷⁶ Johnson requested Roosevelt arrange a seat on the House appropriations committee to replace Buchanan, but was rebuffed and named to Naval Affairs instead. Dallek, *Lone Star Rising*, 154-55, 60-61.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

federal grants and loans, proving inordinately successful in receiving PWA and WPA aid for buildings.⁷⁸

Johnson sought federal investment of all types in pursuit of tenth district development, successfully lobbying for federally-funded public housing in both Austin and on the UT campus. In 1933 the Roosevelt administration had made the first tentative steps towards a federally-funded public housing program, but the plan sputtered amid bureaucratic difficulties and conservative political opposition.⁷⁹ Upon reelection the president advocated passage of legislation resulting in the Housing Act of 1937, which established a national system for constructing and administering public housing, by invoking the “one-third of a nation ill-housed, ill-clad, ill-nourished,” that required government aid.⁸⁰ Johnson seized upon this program and the resources it could bring to Texas, establishing his liberal credentials in aiding those stricken by poverty while facilitating work for Texas architects and contractors. The congressman sought to make Austin first in the nation to receive public housing grants, persuading Mayor Tom Miller and other Austin politicians to create the structures necessary to receive aid.⁸¹ In January of 1938 Johnson gave a radio address over Austin airwaves on the need for federal housing titled “Tarnish on the Violet Crown,” invoking native son William Sydney Porter (O. Henry)’s moniker for the city.

⁷⁸ Folder “P.W.A. APPLICATIONS and other FEDERAL Loan and Grant matters” Box VF 15 15/D.b UT President’s office Records 1907-1968. CAHUT. Berry, *Brick by Golden Brick*. “P.W. 81137-16” Memo from Federal Emergency Administration to Board of Regents of the University of Texas, June 28, 1938. “P.W.A. Projects, The University of Texas.” N.D. CAHUT.

⁷⁹ Gail Radford, *Modern Housing for America: Policy Struggles in the New Deal Era* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996).

⁸⁰ FDR’s Second Inaugural Address. <http://historymatters.gmu.edu/d/5105> (Accessed February 10, 2009)

⁸¹ “Johnson Coming Home to Explain Housing Project,” *Austin American*. January 21, 1938. “Public Hearing on Slums War at 7:30,” *Austin Statesman*. January 24, 1938. “City OKEHS Slum Bonds After Long Hullabaloo,” *Austin Statesman*. January 27, 1938.

Last Christmas, when all over the world people were celebrating the birth of the Christ child, I took a walk here in Austin—a short walk, just a few blocks from Congress Avenue, and there I found people living in such squalor that Christmas Day was to them just one more day of filth and misery. Forty families on one lot, using one water faucet. Living in barren one-room huts, they were deprived of the glory of sunshine in the daytime, and were so poor they could not even at night use the electricity that is to be generated by our great river. Here the men and women did not play at Santa Claus. Here the children were so much in need of the very essentials of life that they scarcely missed the added pleasures of our Christian celebration.⁸²

Johnson's vivid rhetoric helped solidify public and political sentiment in favor of a public housing program. Austin, a city of less than 90,000 in 1938, received the first grants in the nation for housing along with New York and New Orleans, cities of more than 7 million and nearly 500,000, respectively. The initial grants of \$450,000 funded the construction of three public housing projects in East Austin—one for white residents, one for black residents, and one for Latino residents.⁸³

Johnson's successful efforts to promote development in the tenth district were rewarded by the electorate. The congressman had helped bring funds for educational construction on the UT campus, for power generation and flood control through dams in the hill country west of Austin, and for public housing for the city of Austin. In building his political career, the congressman drew resources from Austin to Washington as well as bringing them to all of Texas from the nation's capital. Johnson began to develop a student constituency at the University of Texas, whose enthusiasm for the New Deal nearly matched the congressman's. Johnson soon met and hired John Connally, a UT law student and president of the student body, and Walter Jenkins, a recent graduate of the university, to work in his Congressional offices.⁸⁴ Thus Johnson began a habit of hiring

⁸² "Tarnish on the Violet Crown." LBJ Speeches Collection, LBJPL.

⁸³ The Chalmers Court, Santa Rita, and Rosewood Court projects, built in 1939. \$6.9 million in 2008 dollars. CPI inflation calculator. (Accessed Feb 21, 2009).

⁸⁴ Dallek, *Lone Star Rising*, 186-87.

Texas alumni and young Austin journalists and politicians to work for him, strengthening his relationship to the university and providing the tireless politician an equally tireless staff. His strategy was well-considered, as Johnson was handily re-elected to the House every year until 1948 when he gave up his seat in a narrowly successful run for the Senate.⁸⁵ Several members of the congressman's staff later went on to pursue their own political careers with their own networks of support including the university.⁸⁶

Political Conflict

The expansion of higher education in the interwar period contributed to political conflict in the 1940s. The growing association between higher education and the liberal state through federal agencies such as the National Youth Association, the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, and the Office of Education allowed resurgent conservatives to tar university leftists as subversive with the return of anti-communist scare tactics and the decline of a reformist national agenda—when Dr. New Deal was sacrificed to win the war. The vibrant intellectual spirit and sense of possibility that New Deal reform had enabled was soon crushed under nationalistic war boosterism and undermined by events in Europe such as the Nazi-Soviet non-aggression pact, which dispirited the academic left.⁸⁷ This political shift forced a liberal retrenchment and allowed conservatives to cast leftist academics as un-American and even anti-American forces to be routed as part of the broader national defense.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ Most notable among these were John Connally, who served as U.S. Secretary of the Navy in 1961 and Democratic governor of Texas 1963-1969 before switching party allegiance and serving as U.S. Secretary of the Treasury under Richard Nixon. J.J. "Jake" Pickle represented Texas' tenth district as a Democrat in Congress from 1963-1995.

⁸⁷ Ellen Schrecker, *No Ivory Tower: McCarthyism and the Universities* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986). Robert Cohen, *When the Old Left Was Young* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993).

As national energy demands increased and economic stability returned to Texas in the 1940s, the state's liberal faction lost its political power and the rhetoric of the free market and anti-communism was ascendant among state political leaders and the electorate.⁸⁸ This newly revived conservative business class grated against the liberal ideology strengthened by the New Deal and the rise of the state and the public sector that provided and protected civil liberties and individual opportunity. Nowhere was this conflict more evident than in Homer Rainey's controversial tenure as president of the University of Texas.

Texas politics had a long history of tension between the state government and the university. The source of much of this tension was the structure of university governance, which institutionalized the influence of state electoral politics on higher education. State governors held the power to appoint members of the Board of Regents, a body of 9 whose membership served on staggered six-year terms. The structure—shared by a number of public universities around the country—was intended to insulate the work of the university and the politics of the capitol, creating a lag between gubernatorial elections and turnover of Regents. However, appropriations were handled directly by the state legislature and the governor, meaning that legislative politics often surfaced to trouble the university. In the 1910s governor James “Pa” Ferguson employed populist rhetoric against higher education and elite institutions such as the University of Texas. Ferguson had threatened to eliminate state appropriations and close the university while William Battle was acting president because he objected to the research and reputation of several members of the faculty. This clash was preempted when the governor was

⁸⁸ George Norris Green, *The Establishment in Texas Politics: The Primitive Years, 1938-1957* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1979). Dallek, *Lone Star Rising*.

impeached in 1917 for corruption, but the tension was not resolved.⁸⁹ Relations improved during the 1930s when James Allred, liberal governor, was a staunch supporter of the university and saw the institution as a means for developing the state's economy and cultural resources. Allred named Regents who supported the expansion of the research project and rarely intervened in the academic affairs of the university, allowing a growth in institutional status enabled in significant part by the PUF.

Student politics tilted liberal in the 1930s as particularly vocal pockets of UT students supported the New Deal and opposed corporate power. Throughout the middle of the decade the student newspaper, the *Daily Texan*, editorialized in favor of robust federal intervention in the economy and criticized opponents of the New Deal.⁹⁰ In addition, the student newspaper mobilized in opposition of the university's leadership in 1932 when the university censored the *Daily Texan*, subjecting the publication to review after a critical editorial caught legislators' attention and caused an outcry in Austin.⁹¹

The university in the 1930s reflected the contradictions of public university growth in a dramatically underdeveloped state. In 1939 the university Regents hired native Texan Homer Price Rainey as its president, intending that the University of Chicago-trained educator and administrator would help UT become a nationally prominent university in all respects. Building on the new revenue sources from oil and federal aid, Rainey arranged for dedicated research funds from the state to attract leading faculty from other institutions and to support the activities of UT researchers. Rainey and

⁸⁹ Green, *The Establishment in Texas Politics*, 13.

⁹⁰ Firebrand sociologist C. Wright Mills hailed from Texas, earning his B.A. in 1938 and his M.A. 1939 before taking his doctorate at Wisconsin. Mills explored the philosophy of John Dewey's individualistic education ideas in his early graduate work before turning to the broader critiques of American institutions and society that would help inspire a student movement in the early 1960s.

⁹¹ Rossinow, *The Politics of Authenticity*, 29-33.

the regents also worked to raise faculty salaries and to make university compensation competitive with top-level universities.⁹² However, exploitation of Texas' rural populism based on the rhetoric of self-reliance, fundamentalist religious orthodoxy, and sectional resentments was a political force in a poverty-stricken state that could prove dangerous to the university's ambitions, as the Ferguson controversy in the 1910s had illustrated. The state shifted more conservative at the end of the 1930s and into the 1940s as economic stability returned to Texas and rhetoric on the evils of communism began to percolate throughout the electorate. A group of conservative Democrats known as the Texas Regulars reasserted power within the Democratic Party and the state and intensified a campaign against the New Deal, in particular, and liberalism more generally.⁹³ The elections of conservatives W. Lee "Pappy" O'Daniel and Coke Stevenson to the governor's office in 1938 and 1942 commenced a dramatic shift in the political relationship of the university to the state political hierarchy.⁹⁴ O'Daniel and Stevenson nominated conservative allies to the Board of Regents who were increasingly critical of Rainey and the intellectual and political license of the faculty.⁹⁵

This change in education politics created a tension between the university's agenda of institutional advancement on the one hand, enabled by growing oil wealth and federal aid, and the growing parochialism among the state's political leaders on the other, a response to liberal advances around the country. In 1940 President Rainey sought to lure physicist and recent Nobel Prize winner Ernest O. Lawrence from the University of

⁹² Richardson, "Oil, Power, and Universities", 191-93.

⁹³ This group opposed moderates and liberals throughout the state, including Johnson himself during much of his Senate career. Dallek, *Lone Star Rising*. V.O. Key, *Southern Politics in State and Nation*, 256-58.

⁹⁴ Stevenson ascended from Lt. Governor to the governorship in 1941 when O'Daniel won special election to the U.S. Senate, including a primary victory against Lyndon Johnson. Stevenson then won regular election in 1942.

⁹⁵ Rossinow, *The Politics of Authenticity*, 25-28.

California after an unsuccessful attempt to attract Nobel physicist Arthur Compton from the University of Chicago. Lawrence's atomic research had reached the limits of the UC cyclotron and his laboratory work required a more advanced, expensive facility.

Lawrence pledged to bring several faculty colleagues with him if he accepted a Texas offer for a position and facilities, which would immediately give the university status as a global leader in scientific research. When the University of California decided to match the UT bid with one of their own—including a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation—several Texas Regents balked at committing state funds to atomic research, not believing that the legislature would invest in such esoteric pursuits. Lawrence remained in California and Rainey's efforts to rocket the university to national leadership stalled.⁹⁶

As the nation mobilized for war in the early 1940s the relationship between the Regents and state politicians on one side and Rainey and the university community on the other became more contentious. Several controversies emerged from this tension between the university community and state politicians, with manifestations that were both academic and administrative. Liberal members of the faculty were identified for dismissal and accused of supporting communism and socialism based on their support for public utilities, their teaching about communism in classes, and their defense of organized labor. Conservative Regents such as D.F. Strickland and Orville Bullington worked to gain direct control of hiring, firing, promotion, and compensation changes of individual faculty members, with partial success. The Regents also began to individually reject proposals for university-supported faculty research projects, in one instance

⁹⁶ Incidentally, both Compton and Lawrence would play crucial roles in the development of atomic weapons during World War Two. Richardson, "Oil, Power, and Universities", 191-93.

singling out a project in the English department for unacceptability.⁹⁷ State legislators called the loyalties of the student newspaper staff into question when an editorial praised the Soviet war effort in 1943 and attributed their success, in part, to the restriction of religiosity in the U.S.S.R. The legislature responded by calling for censorship and university control of the paper, a step that was fulfilled by imposition of administrative review of the publication's content for two years.⁹⁸

Aside from these more or less intellectual clashes, an uneasy tension held between the two forces, as a superficial unity of effort behind the war papered over their significant differences and contributed to what one scholar has called "the campus militarization of the 1940s."⁹⁹ The university was still flush with oil money but institutions around the country were wanting for students. Military training programs helped supply revenue and bodies for classes and so Army, Navy, and Air Corps units were highly sought after at universities. Lyndon Johnson, by then a prominent member of the House Naval Affairs Committee, came to the aid of UT and a few other select institutions among the many Texas schools clamoring to attract students and funds from the military.¹⁰⁰ During the war Johnson lobbied the Navy to locate a V-12 unit of Naval trainees at the UT campus. The Department of War complied, directing more than a thousand Naval men to Austin during the war.¹⁰¹

In 1943 the Regents and legislators sought increased managerial control of the university in efforts that incited university community members as infringements of

⁹⁷ Ibid., 196-98.

⁹⁸ The *Daily Texan*.

⁹⁹ Clarence Mohr, "World War II and the Transformation of Southern Higher Education," in *Remaking Dixie: The Impact of World War II on the American South*, ed. Neil McMillen (Jackson, MS: University of Mississippi Press, 1996), 35.

¹⁰⁰ Lyndon B. Johnson Pre-Presidential Papers, Boxes 200-228. LBJPL.

¹⁰¹ Berry, *Brick by Golden Brick*, 13.

academic freedom. Conservative politicians used the war effort and rising antipathy towards communism to promote conservative cultural and economic orthodoxy. They sought to identify and to cast homosexuals out of the university's faculty and student body, initiating a campus investigation that resulted in the expulsion and discipline of students and instructors alike.¹⁰² Administratively, members of the Regents clashed with Rainey over control of the UT medical school and hospital in Galveston, refusing to centralize control in the president. The Regents also banned books such as John Dos Passos' *The Big Money* from the English curriculum, usurping the power of the department after an English committee recommended it for undergraduate supplementary reading. In 1943 Regent Strickland proposed a faculty loyalty oath that was narrowly defeated with Rainey's forceful opposition.¹⁰³ After Rainey requested the American Association of University Professors (AAUP) conduct an investigation of the university's tenure system, regents restricted his travel schedule and forbade him from giving public addresses where they thought he would criticize the actions of the governing board.¹⁰⁴ The AAUP had recently codified its *Statement of Principles on Academic Freedom and Tenure* and was battling for national acceptance of intellectual autonomy in academia. The organization had been founded in 1915 by philosophers John Dewey and Arthur Lovejoy, men motivated by the firing of a Stanford sociologist whose research cast university founder Leland Stanford in a negative light.¹⁰⁵ The 1940 statement arose from

¹⁰² "University Row Laid Partly to Homosexuality." *Los Angeles Times*, November 18, 1944: 4. Memo from Dixon to Homer Garrison, Jr., July 14, 1944 and "Summary of Report." VF 4/B.a Center for American History at the University of Texas. Kimberly Marinucci, "Probing the Nation: Americanism, Public Universities, and the Politics of Academic Freedom, 1918-1946" (Ph.D. dissertation, SUNY-Stony Brook, 2001), 204-05.

¹⁰³ Homer Rainey, *The Tower and the Dome: A Free University Versus Political Control* (Boulder, CO: Pruett, 1971).

¹⁰⁴ Richardson, "Oil, Power, and Universities".

¹⁰⁵ Schrecker, *No Ivory Tower*, 13-15.

another set of attacks on faculty around the country and cast academics as part of a “learned profession” that should be insulated from public criticism if a set of intellectual and professional standards were upheld.

Frustrated by the Regents, Homer Rainey sought confrontation and posed the values of a tolerant university that espoused intellectual freedom as being necessary for a growing and prestigious university. He called a meeting of the faculty in October of 1944 and presented a list of sixteen grievances about the university’s governing board—largely dealing with politically-charged administrative and personnel decisions.¹⁰⁶

Challenged by this action, the Regents held a hearing to determine Rainey’s future with the university. Favorable testimony by faculty and the Ex-Students Association (akin to the alumni organization) indicated Rainey would be retained, but when the president refused to retract in full his list of grievances, the Regents fired him, creating a national scandal.¹⁰⁷

Students, who had grown increasingly concerned over the issue of academic freedom along with the faculty and administrators, organized a protest of Rainey’s firing and proved the most strident critics of the Regents and conservative state politicians. Led by Malcolm Wallace, a student and Marine Corps veteran, thousands of students marched behind pallbearers who carried a coffin, shrouded in black and labeled “Academic Freedom,” to the rotunda of the state capitol. There, Wallace delivered a demand to governor Coke Stevenson that he instruct the Regents to maintain Rainey as the UT president. Stevenson refused to intervene, explaining to the press, “I’ve been around the

¹⁰⁶ Rainey, *The Tower and the Dome*, 11.

¹⁰⁷ Richardson, “Oil, Power, and Universities”. “Texas Board Ousts University Head.” *New York Times*. November 3, 1944: 38. Thomas L. Stokes, “What Started Texas U Row.” *Los Angeles Times*. November 23, 1944, A4.

campfire long enough to know you can't drink coffee out of a boiling pot without burning your lips," a denial of responsibility used against him in subsequent political campaigns.¹⁰⁸ Rainey was not reinstated and he responded by attempting to energize the liberal wing of the state Democratic Party through a gubernatorial campaign against former Regent Beauford Jester in 1946. Rainey lost to Jester in the primary and returned to academia, moving to Missouri to assume the presidency of Stephens College, then finished his professional career as a professor at the University of Colorado.¹⁰⁹

The Rainey affair, like political attacks upon academic administrators in North Carolina and faculty around the country, illustrated a clear tension between the attempts to remove intellectual inquiry from the realm of state politics and the effort to expand higher education and make it more far-reaching and relevant to contemporary society.¹¹⁰ In the years during and immediately surrounding the war the built environment of universities like the University of Texas came to stand for this tension. The rational planning principles, the regularly arranged buildings, the separation of zones of activity, and the historicist lines of *Beaux-Arts* architecture and planning such as Paul Cret had practiced were labeled "academic classicism," metaphorically setting in stone the project of research and rational inquiry. The university built a gleaming, stone high rise structure—an ivory tower—and made it the aspirational centerpiece of campus, while faculty, administrators, and students battled politicians over academic freedom, reinvigorating the metaphor that had existed for decades and giving it form in a new

¹⁰⁸ The crowd for the protest has been variously estimated between 5,000 and 10,000. "Texas Board Ousts University Head." *New York Times*. November 3, 1944: 38. Transcript, Horace Busby Oral History Interview III, 7/2/82, by Michael L. Gillette, LBJ Library, 6, 9. Rainey, *The Tower and the Dome*, 13.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁰ University of North Carolina president Frank Porter Graham came under investigation from the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HUAC) in 1947 for serving in a human rights and poverty organization. Warren Ashby, *Frank Porter Graham: A Southern Liberal* (Winston-Salem, NC: John F. Blair, 1980), 233-34.

context for higher education.¹¹¹ Universities around the country were similarly engaged in a project of attempting to isolating themselves from their political communities even while their expansion meant that their growth created greater contact with their geographical communities. Years later Rainey acknowledged the correspondence between the built environment and politics in Austin when he titled his account of the controversy *The Tower and the Dome: A Free University Versus Political Control*. Located just a mile apart in central Austin, the two structures—Paul Cret’s administrative tower and Elijah Myers’ capitol dome—and the two institutions—the university and the state government—culturally and visually dominated Austin while existing in uneasy tension. In the midst of this tension, Rainey asserted the University of Virginia as a model for higher education. The campus grounds had been designed by Thomas Jefferson and stood for the ideals of cloistered intellectual inquiry in an “academical village.”

Chastened in this political controversy in the midst of the war, the Regents sought to separate the institutional growth agenda from an overt political position in their next president. The University Regents appointed zoology and genetics professor Theophilus Painter to serve as acting president for two years, then made him permanent president of the university from 1946 to 1952. Painter was an accomplished researcher, having made several early discoveries on the utility of the *drosophila* fruit fly in genetics research.¹¹²

¹¹¹ It was only in the World War II era and afterwards that the term “ivory tower” came to refer to higher education. In this sense, the term was used by international interventionists to critique the late-1930s isolationism of a number of academic leaders. After the war, critics used the phrase to disparage universities for not engaging forcefully enough with private industry, especially in Cold War militarism against the Soviet Union and the fear of creeping communism.

¹¹² Robert Kohler, *Lords of the Fly: Drosophila Genetics and the Experimental Life* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994).



Fig. 3.9. Student protest against the firing of UT President Homer Rainey. (CAHUT)

The Regents' replacement of the education professor with a hard scientist illustrated a more robust commitment to research, but also reflected their interest in a technocratic form of university administration rather than Rainey's liberal governance and overt engagement with the politics of higher education. After political conflict and a reprimand from the American Association of University Professors (AAUP), the Texas leadership sought to remove higher education from the realm of politics. As the Regents would learn, politics is deeply embedded in the built environment and the development of campus facilities would be no less controversial than the curriculum.

Balcones Magnesium Plant

As World War II came to a close, the federal government was demobilizing—preparing land, buildings, and equipment for civilian use while private business interests sought to convert from war production and home front solidarity to postwar profit-making. Outside Austin, a magnesium plant became one of the most coveted surplus properties in central Texas, attracting the interest of public authorities, state bodies,

veterans groups, universities, and private business interests.¹¹³ The War Production Board had closed down the Austin plant in late 1944 as the need for magnesium in the war effort waned. One of 12 federal plants across the country, it was the last of seven to be closed in 1944.¹¹⁴ Lyndon Johnson, who had been a significant part of the magnesium plant's development in Austin 3 years earlier, sprang into action, contacting the University of Texas, Austin mayor Tom Miller, and Chamber of Commerce head Walter Long, to spur redevelopment efforts and reaffirm the importance of the plant to the Austin area.¹¹⁵

The magnesium plant, known as Plancor 265, had been part of a web of development efforts for central Texas and the Austin area. The LCRA had built the Tom Miller hydroelectric dam on the east edge of the city to provide the area with electricity and subsequently sought customers for the resulting energy surplus.¹¹⁶ Magnesium production was an energy-intensive process and Plancor 265 had contracted with the LCRA for 30,000 kilowatts of hydroelectric power each year, a revenue source the power authority was eager to recoup through private industrial clients.¹¹⁷ The magnesium created at the plant was used for lightweight metal alloys for airplane building and for the creation of incendiary bombs, dropped in both the European and Pacific theaters.¹¹⁸

Johnson had long sought less overtly political means of engaging the university community that would continue to build and consolidate his support at UT and in Austin.

¹¹³ Memo from A.O. Greist to Sam Husbands, October 22, 1945. Folder "War Projects—Austin Magnesium Plant," Box 220. PPP. LBJPL.

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

¹¹⁵ Letter from Johnson to Miller. July 13, 1945. Letter from Johnson to Long. July 12, 1945. Folder "War Projects—Austin Magnesium Plant," Box 220. PPP LBJPL. Long, *From a Magnesium Plant to a Research Center*, 21.

¹¹⁶ Adams Jr., *Damming the Colorado*, 93-108.

¹¹⁷ Long, *From a Magnesium Plant to a Research Center*, 30. Memo from A.O. Greist to Sam Husbands, October 22, 1945. Folder "War Projects—Austin Magnesium Plant," Box 220. PPP LBJPL.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., 32.

The congressman had stayed out of the sensitive Rainey affair while on reserve duty in the Navy and concentrating on war legislation and policy. Johnson was also subject to the blowing winds of state politics and narrowly lost a special Senate election in 1941 to Governor W. Lee O'Daniel. His and Lady Bird's sympathies, however, remained with the university community and Homer Rainey. In 1943 the Johnsons arranged to purchase KTBC, a local AM radio station, in part to help build support for liberal causes through mass media. Lady Bird, the station's owner, noted she specifically hoped to counter some of the "vicious attacks on President Rainey" and "give him a fair break" with more friendly programming and commentary.¹¹⁹ In addition, Johnson continued to build his staff with UT alumni, adding Horace Busby, a young Austin journalist who had covered the Rainey protest for the *Daily Texan*, and Warren Woodward, a UT grad, to his early protégés Connally, Pickle, and Jenkins.

The national reconversion effort opened such opportunities for Johnson and the university. The Surplus Property Administration became the vehicle for transferring extraneous government war material to private hands after its creation in 1944 and handled the transaction with the University of Texas. Over the course of several months Johnson and the UT president, Theophilus Painter, coordinated their efforts to transfer the plant grounds, buildings, and equipment from the federal government to the university for a nominal fee. UT scholars and administrators had developed a working plan for the grounds of the plant including university housing, radio research for the Navy, a missile research project for both the Army and Navy, and an ordnance accuracy project for the

¹¹⁹ Dallek, *Lone Star Rising*, 248-49.

Army Air Corps, among others.¹²⁰ Eschewing other individuals and corporations interested in the plant grounds, Johnson’s office lobbied the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, the War Assets Administration, the War Production Board, and the Surplus Property Board on behalf of the University of Texas, enabling a bid and the negotiation of an agreement with the SPB. UT would lease the property for three years at a rate of \$1 and make all its own improvements, amounting to \$75,000.¹²¹ Thereafter, the federal government entered into a purchase agreement with the university, a twenty-year contract in which the university’s payments were to be made through a vague “educational benefit” rather than cash payments on the \$1,476,000 value of the property.¹²² This accounting trick meant that the property transaction amounted to a federal grant arranged by then-Senator Lyndon Johnson.¹²³

The Off-Campus Research Center, as it came to be called, was at first solely a university enterprise marooned in a sea of rural land.¹²⁴ As Margaret O’Mara illustrated in *Cities of Knowledge*, the availability of large amounts of open space for university and business development was a key feature in the success of the Stanford Research Park.¹²⁵ At the University of Texas, the 394-acre OCRC was so far into the rural hinterland — more than 5 miles from the edge of Austin development—that it was at first an

¹²⁰ Letter from T.S. Painter to J.W. Toelken, June 18, 1946. “War Projects Austin Magnesium Plant #2.” Box 220. PPP LBJPL.

¹²¹ Letter from R.G Rhett to T.S. Painter, May 21, 1946. “War Projects Austin Magnesium Plant #2.” Box 220. PPP LBJPL.

¹²² Long, *From a Magnesium Plant to a Research Center*, 38. Approximately \$13.4 million in 2008 dollars. Bureau of Labor Statistics CPI Inflation Calculator. <http://data.bls.gov/cgi-bin/cpicalc.pl> (Accessed December 1, 2008)

¹²³ Johnson became U.S. Senator in a close 1948 election campaign against former Texas governor Coke Stephenson, decided by fewer than 100 votes. Dallek, *Lone Star Rising*, 298-350.

¹²⁴ The campus is now called the J.J. Pickle Research Campus, named for the late U.S. congressman for the tenth district who was a Johnson protégé.

¹²⁵ O’Mara, *Cities of Knowledge*.



Fig 3.10. The research campus in the 1950s, beyond the fringe of Austin development.

obstacle to research and discovery. However, the extension of U.S. Highway 183 in 1950 connected the plant to the national highway network and to central Austin. Several university departments and research centers, led by electrical engineering and the Military Physics Research Lab occupied the laboratory space and, for many years, toiled on government contracts such as solving problems with missile and gunfire for the Air Force, along with research on structural clay products for the building industry.¹²⁶

Where central Austin saw development as a consequence of the militarization of campus, the outer edge of the city was developed through the intellectualization of defense infrastructure, in the process becoming what Clark Kerr later called “instruments of national purpose.”¹²⁷ The research park endeavor from its inception relied upon and facilitated federal defense research contracts conducted by University of Texas faculty and was sustained by federal grants and contracts. One contract at the Military Physics Research Laboratory with the Air Force involved developing improved gunfire control

¹²⁶ Long, *From a Magnesium Plant to a Research Center*, 37-63.

¹²⁷ Clark Kerr, *The Uses of the University*, Fourth ed. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963; reprint, 1995).

for airplanes. Another contract, held by the Defense Research Laboratory for the U.S. Navy, entailed wind tunnel research on the flight trajectory of military ordnance.¹²⁸ To these military partnerships the university added research space and personnel devoted to exploiting the region's mineral and energy resources, as government contracts proliferated. In 1949 the university established a service agreement between the UT Bureau of Economic Geology and the U.S. Geological Survey to perform research designated by the federal government, setting graduate students to the task of geological analysis.¹²⁹

The BRC subsequently attracted private research investment both on and near the campus as the city of Austin grew into a center for technological development. In maintenance of a longstanding partnership, the university allied with petroleum companies to store and conduct research on oil field cores, columns of rock drilled from the earth illustrating the stratigraphy and geological history of Texas oil lands.¹³⁰ In 1959, IBM located its own research campus across the street from the BRC. In 1962, a coalition of private corporations known as Micro Computers Consortium (MCC), likewise selected a location near the BRC for its easy development prospects, the government development subsidies, and its proximity to a store of knowledge workers at the city's northern periphery.¹³¹ By the early 1960s the BRC employed upwards of 1,000 people and the northern edge of the city expanded toward the research campus as Austin became an increasingly research and tech-oriented economy. The city itself more than

¹²⁸ Long, *From a Magnesium Plant to a Research Center*, 48, 54.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, 52.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, 51-52.

¹³¹ John Logan and Harvey Molotch, *Urban Fortunes: The Political Economy of Place* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1987), 75-76.

tripled in population, from 53,000 to 186,000, and the reach of the university expanded in both power and geography as an integral part of the Austin economy.¹³²

Sweatt v. Painter

These federal investments in southern cities like Austin revealed a profound contradiction in the postwar order. While public resources were being used to create economic growth and individual opportunity for whites, these same investments were unequally distributed and, in some cases, were explicitly denied to African Americans and other minorities. As the University of Texas became a leading southern institution—in part due to direct federal aid such as PWA and SAA grants, and indirect aid to the region including LCRA grants and highway spending—a coalition of African American activists within the state identified the university as an opportunity to advance the cause of civil rights and to desegregate higher education. The Texas constitution had established separate tracks of college education for whites and blacks by forbidding black attendance at UT and the College of Agriculture and Mechanics (now Texas A&M) and creating Prairie View State Normal and Industrial College for African Americans.¹³³ By the late 1930s, the Texas NAACP had set upon a long-term strategy to desegregate graduate and professional education in state higher education.¹³⁴ As a result of a 1938 state NAACP effort, black applicants to UT graduate programs were paid to attend

¹³² 1960 U.S. Census.

¹³³ Michael Gillette, "The Naacp in Texas, 1937-1957" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Texas-Austin, 1984), 40.

¹³⁴ Some accounts interpret the desegregation effort as a spontaneous occurrence, when it was in fact an organized, planned process that came about through long-term grassroots organizing and planning. Anthony Orum, *Power, Money & the People: The Making of Modern Austin* (Austin: Texas Monthly Press, 1987). More recently, scholars have produced accounts illustrating the development of a long-term strategy for legal change in civil rights and particularly in education. Amilcar Shabazz, *Advancing Democracy: African Americans and the Struggle for Access and Equity in Higher Education* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2004). Melissa Kean, *Desegregating Private Higher Education in the South: Duke, Emory, Rice, Tulane, and Vanderbilt* (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 2008). Jacquelyn Dowd Hall, "The Long Civil Rights Movement and the Political Uses of the Past," *Journal of American History* 91, no. 4 (2005): 1233-63.

graduate school in other states in lieu of admission.¹³⁵ However, the 1938 U.S. Supreme Court decision in *Missouri ex rel. Gaines v. Canada* had mandated that states provide such education within their own borders, making the out-of-state scholarship program susceptible to litigation.¹³⁶ Black Texans temporarily accepted a compromise measure for out-of-state aid that maintained the system of segregation—like the system that had been struck down in Missouri—because it was at least a minor advancement in the ability to pursue higher education.¹³⁷

Education and politics were functionally and philosophically intertwined in the growing civil rights movement, which became clear when another court challenge to segregation reinvigorated the effort to desegregate the University of Texas. Black civic leaders like Dallas businessman A. Maceo Smith served in the statewide alliance of NAACP chapters, fundraising, advocating for change, and engaging state government leaders on the issue of race.¹³⁸ Smith served as part of a state-sanctioned inquiry on black education in Texas, and attacked the Texas whites-only primary system by helping select the plaintiff from nearby Harris County in the court case *Smith v. Allwright*.¹³⁹ In the *Smith* case, the first of the Texas challenges where Thurgood Marshall led the legal team, the NAACP argued that the Democratic primary was the *de facto* election in Texas and

¹³⁵ Gillette, "The Naacp in Texas, 1937-1957", 41-44. Dwonna Goldstone, "'in the Shadow of the South': The Untold History of Racial Integration at the University of Texas at Austin" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Texas-Austin, 2001), 14-15. This effort was led by the Dallas NAACP chapter.

¹³⁶ *Missouri ex rel. Gaines v. Canada*. 305 U.S. 337 (1938). In addition, funds for such support were limited and numerous applicants were turned down owing to a lack of resources. For a history of the Supreme Court's rulings on race and segregation, see Michael Klarman's *From Jim Crow to Civil Rights*.

¹³⁷ Political leaders had been working for just such a system of out-of-state aid when the Missouri ruling came down and proceeded to enact it, yielding \$25,000 a year in scholarship funds. (\$382,000 in 2008 dollars) BLS CPI inflation calculator (Accessed January 29, 2008). Shabazz, *Advancing Democracy*, 30.

¹³⁸ Smith was a real estate investor, business school teacher, and publisher of the *Dallas Express*, a weekly African American newspaper.

¹³⁹ *Smith v. Allwright*, 321 U.S. 649 (1944). Gillette, "The NAACP in Texas, 1937-1957", 20.

prohibiting black participation would ultimately mean disenfranchisement.¹⁴⁰ The NAACP won the challenge, receiving a Supreme Court ruling in April of 1944, invigorating the statewide coalition's wide-ranging legal strategy against segregation, in politics as well as education.

The next target of the civil rights effort was the University of Texas. A well-endowed university rich with oil and a newly developed physical plant as impressive as nearly any university in the nation, UT represented not merely the flagship institution of a southern state, but access to the renewed promise of postwar prosperity and the reward for the joint war effort against fascism. Members of the NAACP began a search for a qualified local applicant who was willing to participate in a suit and to attend law school at Texas should a suit be won. By the fall of 1945, the Texas NAACP had raised several thousand dollars and, after a lengthy search, found a plaintiff for their case. Heman Sweatt, a Houston postal worker and alumnus of Wiley College, applied to the law school because the procedure and selection process was more transparent than that of other graduate programs.¹⁴¹ State education and political leaders realized the strength of such a potential suit and worked to head it off, authorizing Prairie View Normal College to teach any undergraduate or graduate course on demand and elevating the school to the status of a university.¹⁴² In February of 1946, Heman Sweatt and members of the Texas NAACP met with university officers on campus where president Theophilus Painter denied Sweatt's application with support from the state's attorney general. Sweatt and his supporters filed suit.

¹⁴⁰ In a 1935 case, *Grovey v. Townsend*, Texas litigants lost a challenge to the white-only primary on the basis that the Democratic Party, being a private organization, was free to include and exclude from its membership as it saw fit. *Grovey v. Townsend*, 295 U.S. 45 (1935).

¹⁴¹ Goldstone, "'In the Shadow of the South'". Gillette, "The NAACP in Texas, 1937-1957".

¹⁴² Gillette, "The NAACP in Texas, 1937-1957", 44.

The NAACP litigation process reflected a significant change in the African American community's approach to segregation, from the ethnic model of political organizing for the municipal bond issue in the late 1920s to direct attack on the institution by the 1940s. W. Astor Kirk, a political science professor at Tillotson College, a black-only private college in East Austin, led in the effort to oppose municipal segregation in the 1940s. Kirk organized students to identify city segregation practices that did not have the support of Texas law, which was limited to schools, public transportation, and coal mines. In places where segregation was supported by custom rather than legal means, Kirk and his Tillotson students found institutions, such as the public library, where building an equal black institution was fiscally untenable and harassed them with voluminous requests for books and services, forcing Austin government to integrate rather than face a costly, losing lawsuit.¹⁴³

Facilities, faculty, and students were at the heart of the desegregation lawsuit. The national NAACP had developed a legal strategy with shifting bases to attack the system of segregation in public education, from seeking state support, to promoting roughly equal access, to attacking segregation as creating inherently unequal facilities.¹⁴⁴ Legal principle required that the state provide educational opportunities for blacks that were "substantially equivalent" to those available at the University of Texas. The state had no law school open to blacks at the time, but the trial judge at the state level ordered that, if Texas could provide one within a few months, Heman Sweatt's suit would be

¹⁴³ Orum, *Power, Money & the People*, 198-202. Kirk also joined the NAACP legal challenges against the University of Texas and attended graduate school at UT after the *McLaurin* ruling in June of 1950. See also Shabazz, *Advancing Democracy*, 74-76. Dwonna Goldstone, *Integrating the 40 Acres: The Fifty-Year Struggle for Racial Equality at the University of Texas* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2006), 26.

¹⁴⁴ Howard Ball, *A Defiant Life: Thurgood Marshall and the Persistence of Racism in America* (New York: Crown Publishers, 1998), 67-69.

obviated and dismissed.¹⁴⁵ Given time to comply by the trial judge, Roy Archer, the University of Texas Regents solicited a \$100,000 appropriation from the state legislature for a temporary school in Austin, south of the main UT campus. When state lawmakers agreed, UT rented the basement of an Austin office building between the campus and the capitol for instruction at the newly created Texas State University for Negroes. The temporary setup at the law school consisted of the space rented from an oil company, a table and some chairs, and faculty and staff shared by the University of Texas law school, as well as 900 books, some of them donated from UT alumni.¹⁴⁶ A handful of local black residents applied and enrolled in the school, satisfying the trial judge who ruled in favor of the university in 1947.¹⁴⁷

Sweatt and NAACP strategists refused these efforts as tokenism and instead pursued the case both against the doctrine of separate but equal and to advance the social and economic gains that would result from open schools and an open society.¹⁴⁸ The plaintiff appealed the suit to the U.S. Supreme Court. The stakes for maintenance of the dual track system of public education were significant and clear throughout the south. State attorneys general throughout the south banded together to file an amicus curiae brief, arguing on the side of the state of Texas, lest their own graduate schools be

¹⁴⁵ Gillette, "The NAACP in Texas, 1937-1957", 63-64.

¹⁴⁶ Goldstone, *Integrating the 40 Acres*, 23-24. \$982,450 in 2008 dollars. Bureau of Labor Statistics CPI Inflation Calculator. <http://data.bls.gov/cgi-bin/cpicalc.pl> (Accessed September 21, 2008)

¹⁴⁷ Gillette, "The NAACP in Texas, 1937-1957", 65. The court eventually distinguished the *Sweatt* case from a similar case filed in 1946 in Oklahoma, determined in favor of an African American law applicant, based on the 14th amendment's equal protection clause, *Sipuel v. Board of Regents*, 332 U. S. 631 (1948). In that case, the university made no attempt to create a parallel law school for black students.

¹⁴⁸ In his writing and speeches in this period, Marshall argued that there were economic, political, and moral costs to the American system of segregation. Goldstone, *Integrating the 40 Acres*, 23. Thurgood Marshall, "Segregation and Desegregation," 1954 in John Clay Smith, ed. *Supreme Justice: Speeches and Writings: Thurgood Marshall* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003).

desegregated in the event of a ruling for Sweatt.¹⁴⁹ Within Texas, the legislature intensified its investment in an alternative education track and created a permanent version of Texas State University in Houston in 1947, appropriating \$2,000,000 for facilities and \$50,000 a year for its operations.¹⁵⁰ However, with dedicated, architect-designed buildings in the heart of a *Beaux-Arts* campus in the state capital, tens of thousands of library volumes at their disposal, and an alumni network that ran both broad and deep, the institutional wealth disparity in favor of the UT law school was a clear and weighty matter.

The U.S. Supreme Court ruled unanimously in favor of Heman Sweatt in June, 1950, offering the NAACP another major victory in the battle over provision of public education, and allowing Sweatt to enroll at the UT Law School.¹⁵¹ By the time the Supreme Court ruled on the *Sweatt* case in 1950, civil rights activists had begun to make inroads in the practice of segregation, as the court had heard several civil rights cases in rapid succession and decided in plaintiffs' favor, including *Shelley v. Kraemer*, *Sipuel v. Oklahoma*, and another higher education case heard with it, *McLaurin v. Oklahoma State Regents*, in addition to *Sweatt*.¹⁵² While initially the NAACP had been "shadowboxing" in the 1930s, exploring the weak points of the foundation for segregation, with this succession of cases the NAACP legal team was making increasingly aggressive tests of

¹⁴⁹ *Sweatt v. Painter* 339 U.S. 629 (1950).

¹⁵⁰ *Sweatt v. Painter* 210 S.W.2d 442 (1948). This institution is now Texas Southern University. \$20.28 million in 2008 dollars. Bureau of Labor Statistics CPI Inflation Calculator. <http://data.bls.gov/cgi-bin/cpicalc.pl> (Accessed March 15, 2010)

¹⁵¹ *Sweatt v. Painter* 339 U.S. 629 (1950).

¹⁵² In *McLaurin v. Oklahoma State Regents* an African American admittee to graduate school at the University of Oklahoma was forced to remain physically separate from his classmates, taking instruction by sitting in adjacent classrooms to listen in on his classes and sitting at a desk in the library on a separate floor from the main reading room. Prior to argument before the Supreme Court the university allowed the student to sit in classes cordoned off from his classmates. The court ruled that this did not constitute an equal education. *McLaurin v. Oklahoma State Regents* 339 U.S. 637 (1950).

the segregation system and focusing on higher education in preparation for a legal broadside against Jim Crow in *Brown*.¹⁵³

Facilities issues played another part in the U.S. Supreme Court decision, this time by their absence. When the *Sweatt* decision was released, it gave less emphasis to facilities than the appeals court had done. Rapid legislative action in appropriating millions of dollars had established the facilities of the new, segregated university at a level roughly comparable to those of the University of Texas. However, dramatic disparities remained between the University of Texas and Texas State University in terms of alumni, course variety, and capacity of law libraries—65,000 versus 16,500 volumes in the latter case—by which the TSU law school could not provide an education equal to the UT law school.¹⁵⁴ After the June ruling, Heman Sweatt registered for classes in September 1950 along with six other African American classmates and attended for two years, residing in segregated East Austin while he attended integrated law school.¹⁵⁵ The NAACP and the law student had pried open the door to a school that had long fed white alumni into positions of state legislative and executive power, and that continued to see its white graduates in the highest echelons of power in the land. Most importantly, desegregating the University of Texas Law School served to weaken the Jim Crow system of legally enforced racial separation, a structure that would begin to be dismantled in 1954.

Mass Housing and Suburban Families

¹⁵³ Thurgood Marshall, "Segregation and Desegregation," 1954 in Smith, ed. *Supreme Justice*.

¹⁵⁴ *Sweatt v. Painter* 339 U.S. 629 (1950).

¹⁵⁵ Goldstone, *Integrating the 40 Acres*, 29. Bernie Weberman and Steve Jackson, "Sweatt Paints Dim Past," *Texas Law Forum*, October 3 1974. quoted in Goldstone, "'In the Shadow of the South'", 46.

As Heman Sweatt met with Theophilus Painter in February of 1946, the university also faced a dramatic expansion of student enrollment and the stresses this growth entailed. The principal causes of this rapid growth were the pent-up demand of the war era and the federal aid offered to World War II veterans through the 1944 Servicemen's Readjustment Act, or GI Bill of Rights. From 1942 to 1946 the number of students enrolled at UT shot up from 8,900 to 18,500, crowding the campus and overwhelming faculty.¹⁵⁶ This expansion occurred across the country as the GI Bill enabled millions of veterans to pursue education and training.¹⁵⁷

The local housing shortage resulting from this expansion was particularly acute. The private development market for rental housing in a mid-sized city—even a growing one like Austin—was unable to create enough supply to keep up with demand. UT undergrads had shown a strong preference for near-campus residences, long shaped by UT restrictions, whether living in university housing or not. In 1950 the citywide vacancy rate was a low 3.2% while the neighborhoods in central Austin—between the campus and the capitol—suffered from similarly low vacancy rates of 2.9 to 4.1% and high rents due to scarcity and student demand.¹⁵⁸ These crowded areas included particularly high concentrations of rental housing, 75 to 80% of all units, where vacancy rates were more typically near 6%. The segregated census tracts of East Austin bore even lower vacancy rates, including neighborhoods with rates as low as 1.5% in early 1950, while in the newly developing areas to the north of the city, the white, home ownership

¹⁵⁶ Kathryn Allen, "A Study of the Evolution of the Philosophy of Student Housing at the University of Texas at Austin from 1883 to 1973" (PhD Dissertation, University of Texas, 1975). *Institutional Self-Study General Report University of Texas at Austin*. October 1975.

¹⁵⁷ Kathleen Frydl, *The GI Bill* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009). Keith Olson, *The G. I. Bill, the Veterans and the Colleges* (Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 1974).

¹⁵⁸ This figure does not include vacancies in the small number of seasonal units in the city, tallied separately by the U.S. Census Bureau.

heavy neighborhoods enjoyed a vacancy rate just over 10%, reflecting the market failure and unequal burdens imposed by the Jim Crow system of segregation.¹⁵⁹

In the wake of World War II, the esteem of higher education was at an all-time high and its contributions to the postwar economic system seemed to offer a way to avoid the pre-war difficulties of industrialism. The successful coordination of universities and research labs in the Manhattan Project had resulted in the development of the atomic bomb and hastened the war's conclusion. The collaborations between the federal government and universities in defense activities and research seemed to promise a new path to increased industrial development. However, the GI Bill also proved exceedingly popular, enabling more than a million veterans to receive college or post-collegiate training and allowing them to step to higher rungs on the ladder of economic status.¹⁶⁰ The logic of Keynesian economics came to dominance in postwar Washington and throughout academia and came to be implemented in a number of ways, both to moderate the American economy and to effect social policy.

Spurred by enrollment crises and housing shortages around the country like that of Austin, the American Council on Education (ACE), the nation's leading education think tank and lobbying group, began developing proposals for federal housing aid to universities shortly after the war's conclusion.¹⁶¹ Demobilization after the war and delays in transitioning to a peace-time economy meant that housing production was at a standstill, particularly due to shortages in finished materials. As the housing shortage

¹⁵⁹ 1950 US Census of Housing and Population.

¹⁶⁰ Olson, *The G. I. Bill, the Veterans and the Colleges*. Access to GI Bill benefits were also unevenly shared and implemented. Lizabeth Cohen, *A Consumers' Republic: The Politics of Mass Consumption in Postwar America* (New York: Vintage Books, 2003).

¹⁶¹ Israel Rafkind, "The Federal Government's College Housing Loan Program: An Appraisal and Critique.," (Washington D.C.: American Council on Education, 1963).

grew more severe in university communities, members of an education coalition led by the ACE began to build support for federal housing intervention for higher education. In 1949, two U.S. Senators, New Deal Democrats Claude Pepper (D-FL) and Matthew Neely (D-WV), introduced the first of a series of higher education housing bills proposing grants and loans to colleges and universities nationwide.¹⁶² Higher education interest groups insisted that colleges and universities needed federal aid to correct the difficulties caused by the GI Bill and the postwar enrollment boom, and university administrators testified in Congressional hearings on several bills.¹⁶³ They explained the housing situation that faced their campuses and others, arguing that the high costs of borrowing and construction would make college unaffordable, causing the nation to renege on the post-war promise of access to higher education for veterans and the growing middle class.

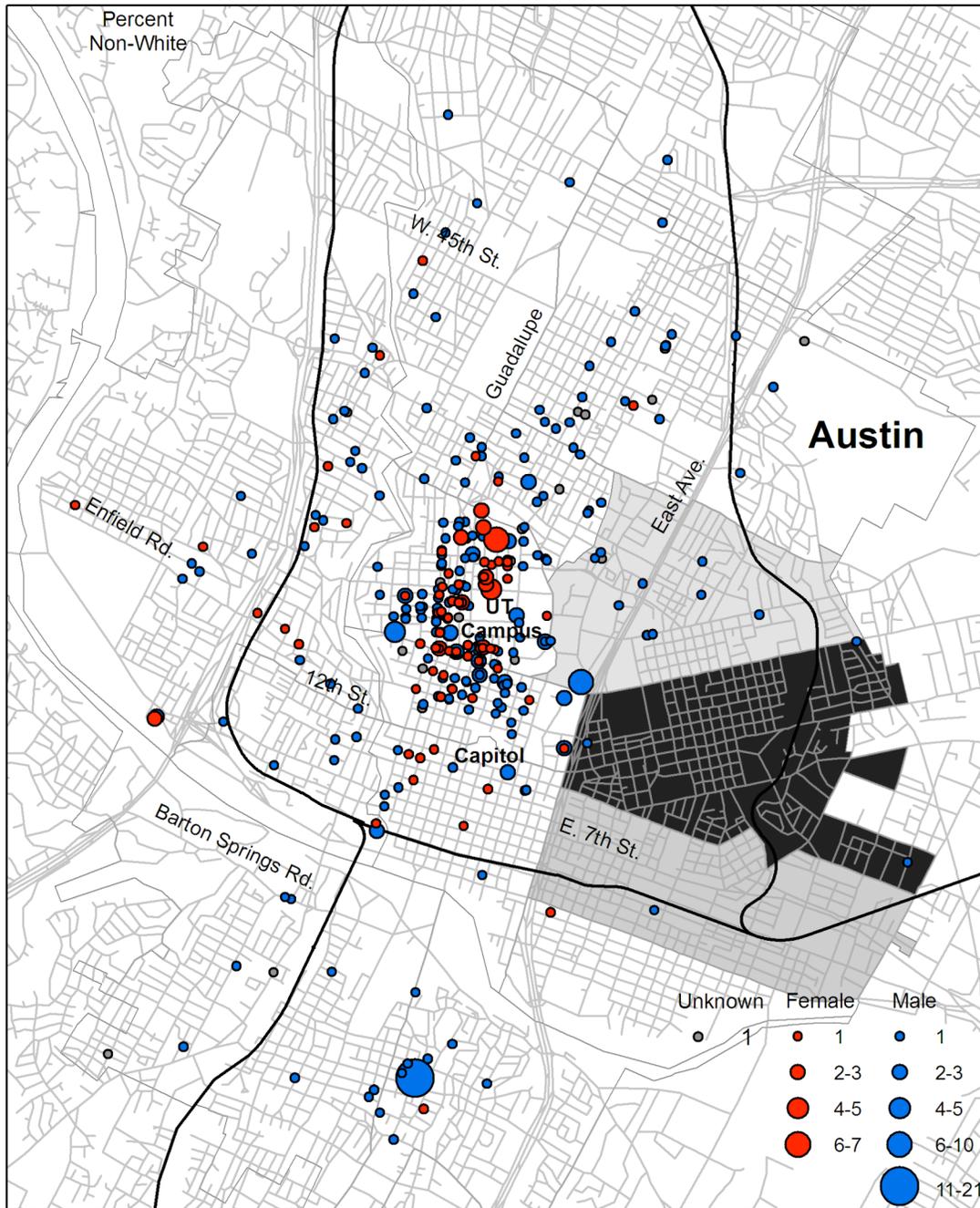
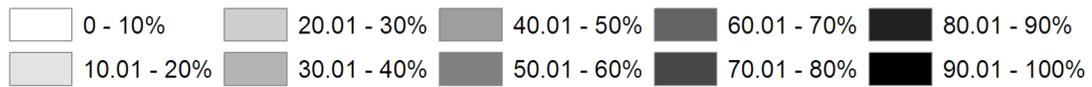
Housing reform had become a key part of the Truman administration's Fair Deal program, a pledge to continue much of the aid of Roosevelt's New Deal, and aid for student housing fell under this expanding Keynesian umbrella. Title I of the 1949 Housing Act creating the federal slum clearance program had established a prominent role for the federal government in both housing and urban redevelopment, building on public works and housing precedents from the Roosevelt administration.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶² Ibid.

¹⁶³ Senate Committee on Banking and Currency. Subcommittee on Housing and Rents. *Hearings on H.R. 1376; 81 S. 138; 81 S. 685; 81 S. 686; 81 S. 709; 81 S. 712; 81 S. 724; 81 S. 757.* 81st Cong., 2nd sess., 1949, 649-50.

¹⁶⁴ Richard Davies, *Housing Reform During the Truman Administration* (Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 1966).

Student Residences and Race, 1946-50



Data from 5% Sample of 1946-47 Student Directory and 1950 U.S. Census Copyright 2008 Dale Winling

Map 3.2. Student Residences and Race, 1946-50. By the author.

Despite a Republican resurgence during the Truman administration, the New Deal influence and its commitment to education remained strong in Congress. After several attempts to push bills through Congress, program supporters successfully included it as part of the Housing Act of 1950, institutionalizing its expanding commitment to higher education, providing construction subsidies and promoting physical expansion of universities throughout the middle of the century.¹⁶⁵ The College Housing Program, administered through the Housing and Home Finance Agency, authorized \$250 million in Treasury loans at below-market rates over three years to universities for dormitory construction. Senator Paul Douglas (D-IL), a significant influence on postwar housing legislation, railed against the aesthetics of East Coast university architecture and inserted a provision in the bill mandating that “economy will be promoted in its construction, and that it will not be of elaborate or extravagant design or materials,” facilitating the transition to explicitly modernist campus architecture.¹⁶⁶ The program proved exceedingly popular and would be renewed and expanded in housing bills throughout the 1950s and 1960s, eventually facilitating more than four billion dollars of construction before the program’s demise in the 1980s.¹⁶⁷

After passage of the 1950 Housing Act, the University of Texas again successfully exploited federal aid to help expand their campus and capacity, where

¹⁶⁵ Israel Rafkind, *The Federal Government’s College Housing Loan Program: An Appraisal and Critique* (Washington D.C.: American Council on Education, 1966). For a conservative view on the program, see John J. Agria, *College Housing: A Critique of the Federal Housing Lending Program*. (Washington, DC: American Enterprise Institute, 1972).

¹⁶⁶ 73 Stat. 681; 12 U.S.C. 1749a(f). Douglas made the case that federally financed dormitories should promote austerity in order to “house a maximum number of people, with dignity and with comfort, but with not the slightest element of waste,” even suggesting standardized designs, “Otherwise, the architects will run away with you.” CIS NO: 81 S909-4. p. 187-188. For more on Douglas’ housing work on the Banking and Currency committee, see chapter 4.

¹⁶⁷ Israel Rafkind, *The Federal Government’s College Housing Loan Program: An Appraisal and Critique* (Washington D.C.: American Council on Education, 1966).

student enrollment exceeded 19,000.¹⁶⁸ Administrators drew on the College Housing Loan program to finance the construction of several residential projects as the university featured a new emphasis on graduate students that necessitated, in turn, graduate family housing.¹⁶⁹ To deal with this housing demand, the University of Texas expanded outwards from its original forty-acre campus, intensifying urbanization in central Austin and creating housing density on the city's periphery.

Housing construction at UT subsidized through the College Housing Program fulfilled two distinct housing types—a dense, single building project for undergraduates and a low-density, multi-building apartment complex. Kinsolving Hall, a large women's dormitory in the northwest reaches of the UT campus, is an example of the first. This dormitory was built on the site of a Victorian mansion, named Kinsolving House, which had served as a women's residence and was demolished in 1955. Typical of the period and consistent with the mandates of the 1950 legislation for economy, Kinsolving was a mainstream modern reinforced concrete building with brick exterior, limestone detailing, and horizontal bands of windows, housing more than 700 students. The enormity of its capacity reflected both the dramatic postwar efforts universities made to accommodate the rapidly growing student enrollment and the new structural and architectural capabilities of mid-century modern design—as well as the real estate practices that accompanied them. As urban land became more valuable, the economic imperative and the technological ability to concentrate people and activities upon individual sites were important influences in building design—in University of Texas residence halls as much

¹⁶⁸ Institutional Self-Study General Report University of Texas at Austin. October 1975.

¹⁶⁹ Clark Kerr recognized this growth, even suggesting a new region of national university research excellence might emerge centered in Texas in *The Uses of the University*. Kerr, *The Uses of the University*, 69.

as in Chicago School commercial buildings.¹⁷⁰ However, the scale and seeming impersonality of such dormitory designs, coupled with housing policies that clashed with a changing student culture nationwide, often brought these buildings under criticism from students as representing the worst in mass education. Kinsolving dormitory itself, which opened in 1958, came to be a political flashpoint in the years after its construction, serving as the site of several pro-integration protests.¹⁷¹ The university constructed several examples of the apartment-type complex. Located far from campus, Brackenridge Apartments, built in 1947, and Deep Eddy Apartments, built in 1966, included wide open spaces surrounding buildings for play space and the parking lots for automobiles that were essential to housing distant from the main campus. The low-density apartment complexes illustrated a concerted shift in the development ethos of universities. Particularly as far as graduate students were concerned, the university developed a broader conception about the needs of knowledge creators. No longer would simple dormitories serve single graduate students—researchers' piece of mind was bound to the well-being of their families. Multi-room apartments, kitchen and laundry rooms, and outdoor space including picnic and children's play areas all came to be included in family housing developments for graduate students. The transformation of research brought older students and with it, a new model for student housing and university development.

Conclusion

¹⁷⁰ Carl Condit, *The Chicago School of Architecture: A History of Commercial and Public Building in the Chicago Area, 1875-1925* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1973).

¹⁷¹ Martin Kuhlman, "Direct Action at the University of Texas during the Civil Rights Movement, 1960-1965," *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 98, No. 4 (Apr., 1995), pp. 550-566

On October 4, 1957, the Soviet Union launched the *Sputnik* satellite, a technical and symbolic achievement that incited a crisis of confidence in the American public.¹⁷² President Eisenhower waited 5 days to address the nation in a press conference, but by October 7th, Lyndon Johnson, then Senate Majority Leader, had announced his intentions for hearings on the space program before his Preparedness Subcommittee of the Senate Armed Services Committee, making the space issue a political launch pad.¹⁷³ Taking the opportunity to draw together several emergent issues with sweeping legislation, Johnson pushed the Armed Services Committee to develop new programs that would exploit the ever-growing capacities of American higher education, provide new aid to students, and use both of these resources to drive the American space program back into world leadership. Johnson combined his interest in education from his early personal experiences with the raw political consideration of courting future voters with a legislative flourish that became the National Defense Education Act, a major piece of Cold War legislation that mobilized the nation's top research institutions in the battle against the Soviet Union for scientific supremacy in addition to the ongoing struggle for global political hegemony.¹⁷⁴ The NDEA created a loan program for undergraduates, scholarships for science and engineering graduate students, and provided funds for language and international studies institutes, largely benefiting larger, research universities.¹⁷⁵

¹⁷² Paul Dickson, *Sputnik: The Shock of the Century* (New York: Walker & Co., 2001). Zuoyue Wang, *In Sputnik's Shadow: The President's Science Advisory Committee and Cold War America* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2008).

¹⁷³ Allen Drury. "Democratic Senators Demand a Full Investigation of the Nation's Satellite Program." *New York Times* October 10, 1957.

¹⁷⁴ In 1959 Johnson began an effort to create a government guarantee program for student loans like FHA mortgage insurance in order to win the support of young voters and voters-to-be.

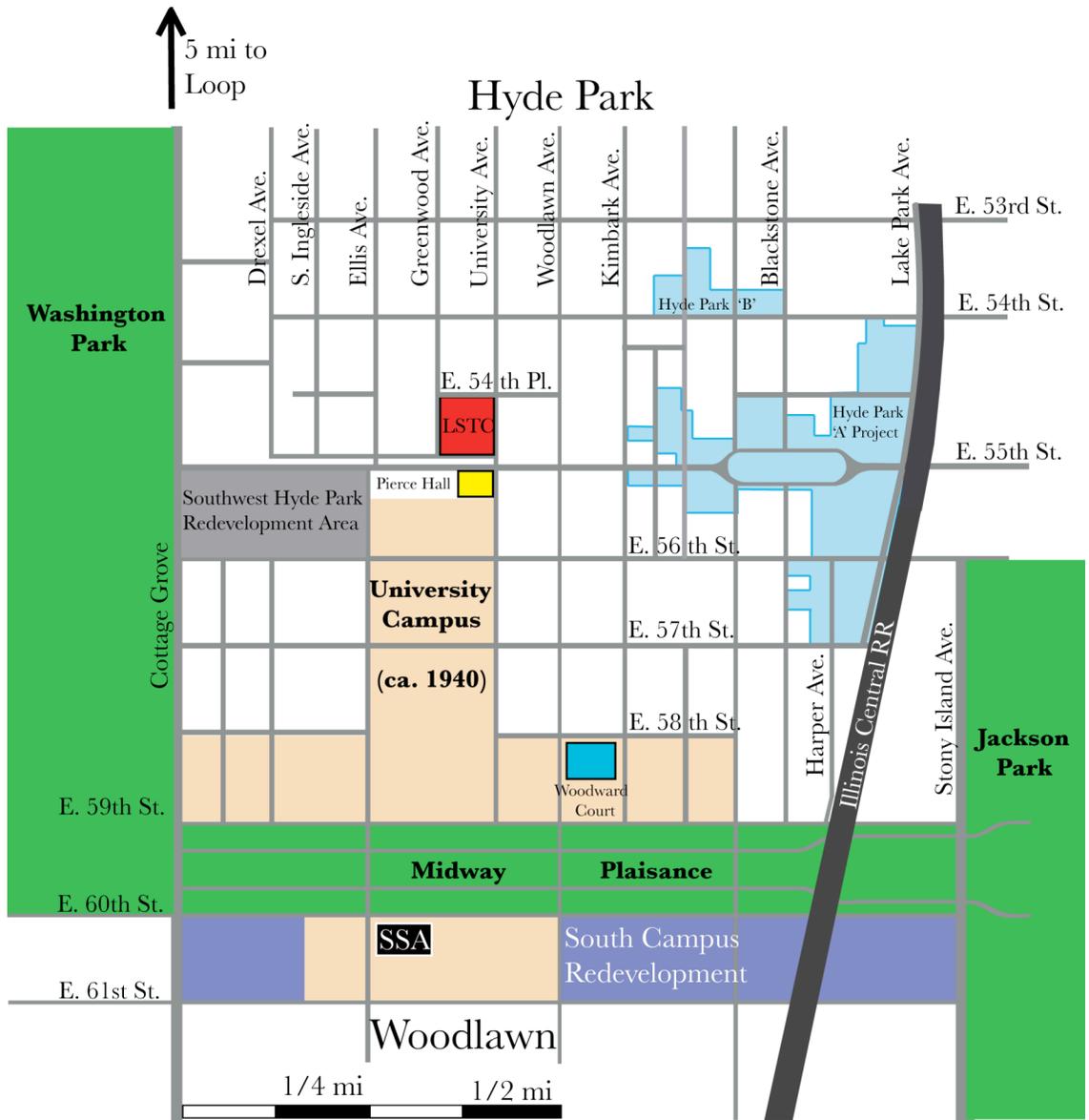
¹⁷⁵ Roger Geiger, *Research and Relevant Knowledge: American Research Universities since World War I* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 165.



Fig 3.11. Kinsolving Dormitory, at center, financed in part by the CHP program.

In many ways the NDEA was the fulfillment of a process in which higher education became ever more intertwined with the federal government, playing a growing role in Cold War militarism. Lyndon Johnson played an essential role in this process, which by the time of the NDEA was a familiar one—harnessing the resources of the federal government to facilitate greater instructional and research capacity at universities around the nation. However, this was also part of a much larger political agenda for Johnson as a Southern race moderate who played a pivotal role in brokering between northern liberals who would continue to direct federal resources to the southern segregationists if they would temper their positions on race. In so doing, Johnson led a coalition that brought resources not only to higher education generally but to Texas and the South more directly. From the National Aeronautics and Space Administration headquarters to the Balcones Research Campus to the campus buildings of the University of Texas, Johnson was a key player in a group of southern politicians who brought these

resources to the state as part of a development strategy that played upon Texas' status as a southern state, the poverty found there, and the idea that support for higher education could facilitate the economic development of the region and, eventually, the expansion of civil rights in the South. In the process, these efforts helped create the postwar university model that, as in the case of the University of Texas, reaffirmed its position within the metropolitan growth coalition even as this mid-century physical and institutional expansion led to increased conflict between university leadership and students and faculty, raised concerns about academic freedom and the nature of academic life, and helped create the idea of universities as national institutions essential to the well-being of the country and key to the struggle for postwar international dominance.



Map 4.1. The Hyde Park-Woodlawn campus area. Projects in the university's urban renewal effort dramatically reshaped South East Chicago. Map by the author.

Chapter 4

The Architecture of Control

Ely Aaron's letter to the University of Chicago met with silence. Aaron, chair of the city of Chicago's Commission on Human Relations, wrote to university administrators in the spring of 1962 requesting that the school forbid housing discrimination by landlords who listed their Hyde Park student rooming houses and apartments with the university housing service.¹ The March letter followed a much-publicized occupation of the administration building and real estate office in January 1962 by the local chapter of the Congress on Racial Equality. The Human Relations commission argued that, if the city was to overcome its problems in housing discrimination and racial segregation, change would have to begin with leading liberal institutions such as the University of Chicago. After consideration, the administration concluded that they would not respond to the commission rather than take an anti-discrimination position and provoke the ire of local property managers in the name of housing equality. Wrote a university business officer, "Certainly, we can ill afford to undertake the responsibility for telling our neighbors that they should not discriminate."²

This administrative decision on student housing policy in a racially charged northern metropolis in the midst of a massive effort to remake the urban landscape while

¹ Memo from Ely Aaron to George Beadle, March 26, 1962. Box 22 Folder 8. Commission on Human Relations 1956-62. Beadle Administration Papers (hereafter *BAP*). University of Chicago Special Collections (hereafter *UCSC*).

² Memo from Ray Brown to Warner Wick May 29, 1962. Box 22 Folder 8 *BAP*. *UCSC*.

shoring up racial barriers, helps illustrate the importance of universities in the process of social change and the effect that university policies have in urban communities.

University of Chicago administrators in the 1960s were unwilling to oppose housing discrimination in their own community, part of the contradictory nature of university governance in service of national liberal goals, including a Cold War arms race that started at the university. In contrast to the frequent interpretation and self-promotion of higher education institutions as exemplary communities of opportunity and equality, universities like Chicago given opportunities for regional leadership in race relations were as likely to reinforce segregation and pursue redevelopment to the detriment of minority communities as they were to embrace liberal leaders' calls for freedom and opportunity. The actions of the University of Chicago implicate students and housing policy—seemingly the university's most malleable resource—as a particularly important part of a larger university effort to manage, segregate, and redevelop the Hyde Park and Woodlawn communities for institutional self-interest, often at the expense of community and city-wide integration.

Considering the university's relationships to its local neighborhoods illustrates more than just the response of administrators and community organizations to changing demographic conditions. Housing and redevelopment in southeast Chicago demonstrated the power and the status of the elite university after World War II to dramatically reshape the physical landscape of the nation's second largest city, setting an example for universities around the country. The university's position as a national educational leader was threatened and UC administrators developed new strategies to maintain its reputation and ability to attract students and faculty. Wielding political clout, developing public

policy, and intervening in the real estate market, the university leadership took on responsibilities typically outside the purview of and seemingly anathema to institutions of higher education. Many Chicago organizations, among them local neighborhood clubs and the city bureaucracy, made efforts to promote urban conservation in South East Chicago in the face of postwar economic and demographic change, including some of the first stirrings of an urban grassroots protest movement. However, since the early 1950s the university has been the prime mover of the changing landscape in Hyde Park, Kenwood, and Woodlawn.³

Julian Levi, the executive director of the university-led South East Chicago Commission (SECC), emerged as the head architect in the creation of a landscape developed by federal, state, and local legislation and programs; by the resources of business elites, philanthropic organizations, and education institutions; and by the work of architects, planners, and public administrators from around Chicago and around the country. Leveraging the clout of its trustees and their political connections, Levi and successive university presidents Lawrence Kimpton, George Beadle, and Edward Levi successfully lobbied for state and federal legislation as well as wielding considerable local influence. University trustees and administrators had significant resources at their disposal and faced a largely compliant city government in the Richard J. Daley

³ Several studies of South Side redevelopment have emphasized the efforts of the Hyde Park-Kenwood Community Conference, a community organization of professional-class urban liberals, to build community and create “an interracial community of high standards” in a model example of community participation and political negotiation of limited success. However, this work takes an alternate approach, placing the UofC administration in opposition to the HPKCC—pursuing decidedly different goals—rather than simply in a pluralist tension with a largely allied community constituency. Martin Meyerson and Charles Banfield, *Politics, Planning and the Public Interest: The Case of Public Housing in Chicago* (Glencoe, IL: The Free Press, 1955). Julia Abrahamson, *A Neighborhood Finds Itself* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1959). Peter Rossi and Robert Dentler, *The Politics of Urban Renewal: The Chicago Findings* (Glencoe, IL: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1961). Arnold R. Hirsch, *Making the Second Ghetto: Race and Housing in Chicago, 1940-1960*, 2nd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998).

administration. As a result, the university was able to remake its campus and local community through acquisition, demolition, and redevelopment in order to segregate itself from the growing South Side Black Belt. Drawing on the increased postwar capacity of the federal government and particularly a federal willingness to support higher education, the University of Chicago was an active participant in racial reorganization, using the rhetoric of education, national advancement, and Cold War competition while applying political brawn to facilitate local redevelopment. Through his mastery of politics, law, finance, and the personal, community and institutional relationships related to the university, Julian Levi became a development figure as powerful and effective as any in the country save, perhaps, Robert Moses.⁴

As a result of his efforts, the University of Chicago held off an urban demographic wave at mid-century, orchestrated a national urban redevelopment effort led by universities and hospitals, promoted an urban vision featuring educated professionals and innovators that largely came to pass, both in South East Chicago and in cities around the country, and recruited the leading lights of mid-century architectural design to fulfill this vision.⁵ However, enacting this plan and redeveloping these areas alienated

⁴ Moses' legacy has been the subject of vigorous debate since the publication of *The Power Broker*, and his reputation has been somewhat rehabilitated by recent revisionism. As with Moses, Levi's works in the service of grand plans involving such institutions as transportation authorities, universities, and redevelopment corporations have come up for reconsideration as part of the necessary, even desirable churn of robust urbanism. Robert Caro, *The Power Broker: Robert Moses and the Fall of New York* (New York: Knopf, 1974). Hilary Ballon and Kenneth Jackson, *Robert Moses and the Modern City: The Transformation of New York* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2007).

⁵ Arnold Hirsch details the role of Michael Reese Hospital in South Side urban renewal in *Making the Second Ghetto*. Julian Levi himself worked as a consultant to help hospitals leverage urban renewal funds. Historians have recognized both hospitals and universities, "meds and eds," as the most successful economic development tools in the second half of the twentieth century. Hirsch, *Making the Second Ghetto*, 115-17. Margaret Pugh O'Mara, *Cities of Knowledge: Cold War Science and the Search for the Next Silicon Valley* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2004). Thomas Sugrue, *The Origins of the Urban Crisis: Race and Inequality in Postwar Detroit*, 2nd ed. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003). See also Julian Levi, *Municipal and Institutional Relations within Boston: The Benefits of Section 112 in the Housing Act of 1961* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964).

significant segments of the local community and helped push a newly energized corps of students to political action in service of the broader ideals of liberalism and the civil rights movement, as contests over the built environment became central to the upheavals of the 1960s and 1970s.

UC History

From the founding of the institution, the University of Chicago was concerned with the character of its surroundings. The beneficiary of support from oil magnate John D. Rockefeller, the university was to serve as an intellectual center for Baptists throughout the Midwest and respond to the rapid rate of American urbanization at the end of the nineteenth century.⁶ Intentionally located within the borders of Chicago at its inception, the university took on the charge of using the city as the laboratory for its research. President William Rainey Harper proclaimed the University of Chicago would be the kind of institution “which will adapt itself to urban influence, which will undertake to serve as an expression of urban civilization, and which is compelled to meet the demands of an urban environment.”⁷ Plans for university development, emphasizing research and graduate instruction, required real estate but the form of the UofC was entirely consistent with the professional class environment of Hyde Park. In the words of a founder, the neighborhood was characterized by “residence property and form[ed] the location of the higher middle and aristocratic classes,” the very constituency the university served, contributing to strong campus and community relations.⁸ The University of Chicago located its campus on twenty acres at Ellis Avenue and 56th Street

⁶ Thomas Goodspeed, *A History of the University of Chicago Founded by John D. Rockefeller: The First Quarter-Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1916; reprint, 1972), 84-85.

⁷ Quoted in Robin Bachin, *Building the South Side: Urban Space and Civic Culture in Chicago, 1890-1919* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 27.

⁸ Goodspeed, *The History of the University of Chicago*.

in a nascent residential community five miles south of the Loop, the city's central business district. Solicitors convinced retail scion Marshall Field to donate part of the land; he demanded the university purchase another section of the land necessary for campus from his real estate operations. The city of Chicago had annexed most of what is now the South Side into the city in 1889, realizing the speculative wagers of patient real estate investors as the city spread its services to the former suburb of Hyde Park.⁹ Field, for example, profited from his investment in South Side land holdings by selling other real estate in the surrounding area to homebuilders near the university campus.¹⁰

The administration attempted to cloak this new kind of institution in a cape of traditionalism. William Rainey Harper suggested to the university trustees that, on the school's opening day, "the work of the University begin October 1 as if it were the continuation of work which had been conducted for a thousand years."¹¹ Campus architect Henry Ives Cobb's designs were eminently consistent with these directions, planning UofC's first dozen buildings in limestone-clad neo-Gothic designs, which delineated large, park-like quadrangles that organized social interaction.¹²

The movement of southern African Americans in the Great Migration to the nearby Black Belt illustrated an enduring tension between the university and its surrounding community on the questions of racial integration and neighborhood environment. As surrounding housing began filtering to other economic and social classes, campus ambition and expansion increasingly put the university and segments of

⁹ Ann Durkin Keating, *Building Chicago: Suburban Developers & the Creation of a Divided Metropolis* (Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press, 1988), 109-10. Bachin, *Building the South Side*, 42.

¹⁰ Bachin, *Building the South Side*, 34-35.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² Jean Block, *The Uses of Gothic: Planning and Building the University of Chicago, 1892-1932* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983).

the local community at odds.¹³ From early in the century the university worked with neighborhood groups to promote restrictive racial covenants throughout the area and to isolate the university from the black district west of Washington Park.¹⁴ In the 1930s, a number of black residents worked to overcome this form of *de jure* segregation supported by the force of law. In 1938, real estate broker Carl Hansberry challenged restrictive covenants and the existing Cook County judicial regime by moving to the white Washington Park subdivision south of the park and rebutting legal challenges to his deed. The 1940 U.S. Supreme Court decision in *Hansberry v. Lee* marked a small step against such covenants until the 1948 decision in *Shelley v. Kraemer* outlawed the instruments.¹⁵ One of Hansberry's daughters, Lorraine, was profoundly affected by the legal, physical, and emotional intimidation the family faced in the neighborhood, making the experience the basis for her play, *A Raisin in the Sun*.¹⁶

Though the University of Chicago had won renown for its ambitious research agenda early in the twentieth century, depression and war hampered the university's institutional capacity. Enrollment, endowment, and the school's reputation were all in stasis during the 1930s and 1940s, if not decline, leading members of the administration to conclude the institution was facing a loss of prestige and effectiveness unless they took decisive action to rebuild these central features. The fortunes of the university fell in the 1930s as they did at higher education institutions throughout the country, running annual deficits, losing enrollment and faculty, and finding difficulty raising money under the

¹³ Homer Hoyt, *One Hundred Years of Land Values in Chicago: The Relationship of the Growth of Chicago to the Rise in Its Land Values, 1830-1933* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1933). Richard Muth, *Cities and Housing: The Spatial Pattern of Urban Residential Land Use* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969).

¹⁴ Bachin, *Building the South Side*, 55-61. Hirsch, *Making the Second Ghetto*, 44-45..

¹⁵ *Hansberry v. Lee*, 311 U.S. 32 (1940), *Shelley v. Kraemer*, 334 U.S. 1 (1948)

¹⁶ Lorraine Hansberry, *To Be Young, Gifted, and Black: Lorraine Hansberry in Her Own Words* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1961).

leadership of Robert Maynard Hutchins. While mobilization for the Second World War reversed national economic decline, the University of Chicago sacrificed students and funds to the war effort.¹⁷ University of Chicago boosters, administrators, and faculty found the confluence of institutional deterioration and racial transition a frightening prospect that threatened the future of the university.¹⁸

Hutchins was unable to create a postwar agenda for the university that addressed both the dire needs of the metropolitan region and the ambitions of a leading U.S. educational institution. University chancellor since 1937, he had dedicated himself to a revolution in higher education. Reorganizing the units within the university and establishing a universal, or “core” curriculum, Hutchins worked to make Chicago a leader in educational innovation for gifted Midwestern students while maintaining a fidelity to—and helping shape—the western canon of knowledge.¹⁹ However, the chancellor was less adept at reconciling the university’s national and international ambitions to its local context. Hutchins’ conflicted agenda led to his supporting racial covenants around the university campus while attempting to draw the city’s elite into lifelong education programs, but unable to stem the tide of the university’s seeming decline.²⁰ In a period when higher education institutions seemed to be on the upswing after a decade-and-a-half

¹⁷ Milton Mayer, *Robert Maynard Hutchins: A Memoir* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993). John Boyer, Annual Report to the Faculty of the College.

<http://www.uchicago.edu/docs/education/record/11-4-99/reporttothefaculty.html> (Accessed October 4, 2007).

¹⁸ University enrollment reached a low of 4600 in 1953 after a high of 8500 in the immediate postwar period. “Profile of the University of Chicago for Ford Foundation.” Folder 10, Box 145. BAP. UCSC.

¹⁹ Hutchins laid out his vision in a book on higher education, just prior to taking the helm of the University of Chicago. Robert Maynard Hutchins, *The Higher Learning in America* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1936). University of Chicago professor Harold Bloom later took up the cause of cultural and intellectual conservatism in the academy with his book *The Closing of the American Mind*.

²⁰ Hirsch, *Making the Second Ghetto*, 145.

of depression and war, the postwar difficulties of the University of Chicago seemed especially acute and calling for forceful intervention.

Community Activism

In the late 1940s and early 1950s, Hyde Park was an exceptional community. Left-leaning, ethnically and culturally diverse, the neighborhood showed the imprint of university impact. Residents were highly educated, politically involved, and engaged in numerous types of creative endeavors. University professors Charles Merriam and Paul Douglas, leaders in their respective fields of political science and economics had served as Chicago alderman, with Merriam going to work in the Roosevelt administration and Douglas serving in the U.S. Senate for two terms after election in 1948. Chicago students and graduates were active in the local theater community, with thespians like Paul Sills, Mike Nichols, and Elaine May working in the Compass Theater on E. 55th Street before founding the Second City company.²¹ Residents remember it as a chaotic place of artists, leftists, intellectuals and hangers-on.²² Members of the community, “Hyde Parkers,” as they called themselves, feared a postwar deterioration of the community and the university that helped define the neighborhood they loved so much. Like the Columbian Exposition that coincided with the opening of the university, the neighborhood’s most glorious years seemed to have faded like a dream into some kind of shabby reality.

One of the last remaining community buildings from the fair era stood as both fact and symbol of Hyde Parkers’ distressed neighborhood, representing a precipitous decline

²¹ Janet Coleman, *The Compass: The Improvisational Theatre That Revolutionized American Comedy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991). The Compass Theater was originally housed at 1152 E. 55th St., then was forced to move by the urban renewal process to 6473 Lake Park Avenue in Woodlawn in 1956, and N. Broadway, when it closed in 1957.

²² Jeffrey Sweet. *Something Wonderful Right Away*. (New York: Avon Books, 1978.)



Fig 4.1. Buildings of the 57th Street Art Colony. These structures, remaining from the 1892-3 Columbian Exposition, became increasingly contentious sites as community residents complained about crime and blight. Demolished in 1961. (Buildings and Grounds, UCSC).

from the height of Progressive Era visions of urban reform.²³ The exposition's storage buildings on 57th Street seemed long past their best days and had become an artists' colony, cheap structures housing beatniks, bohemians, studios, used bookstores, and diners that brought a diversity to the community alternately characterized as eccentric and unsafe.

In 1949, as whites and blacks clashed over public space and residence in places like the Chicago Housing Authority's Fernwood Park Homes, members of this Hyde Park community came together to promote neighborhood conservation.²⁴ The movement of black residents into Hyde Park and Kenwood after the war created fear of racial transition and the coming of slums, which prompted the creation of a community-wide prevention strategy.²⁵

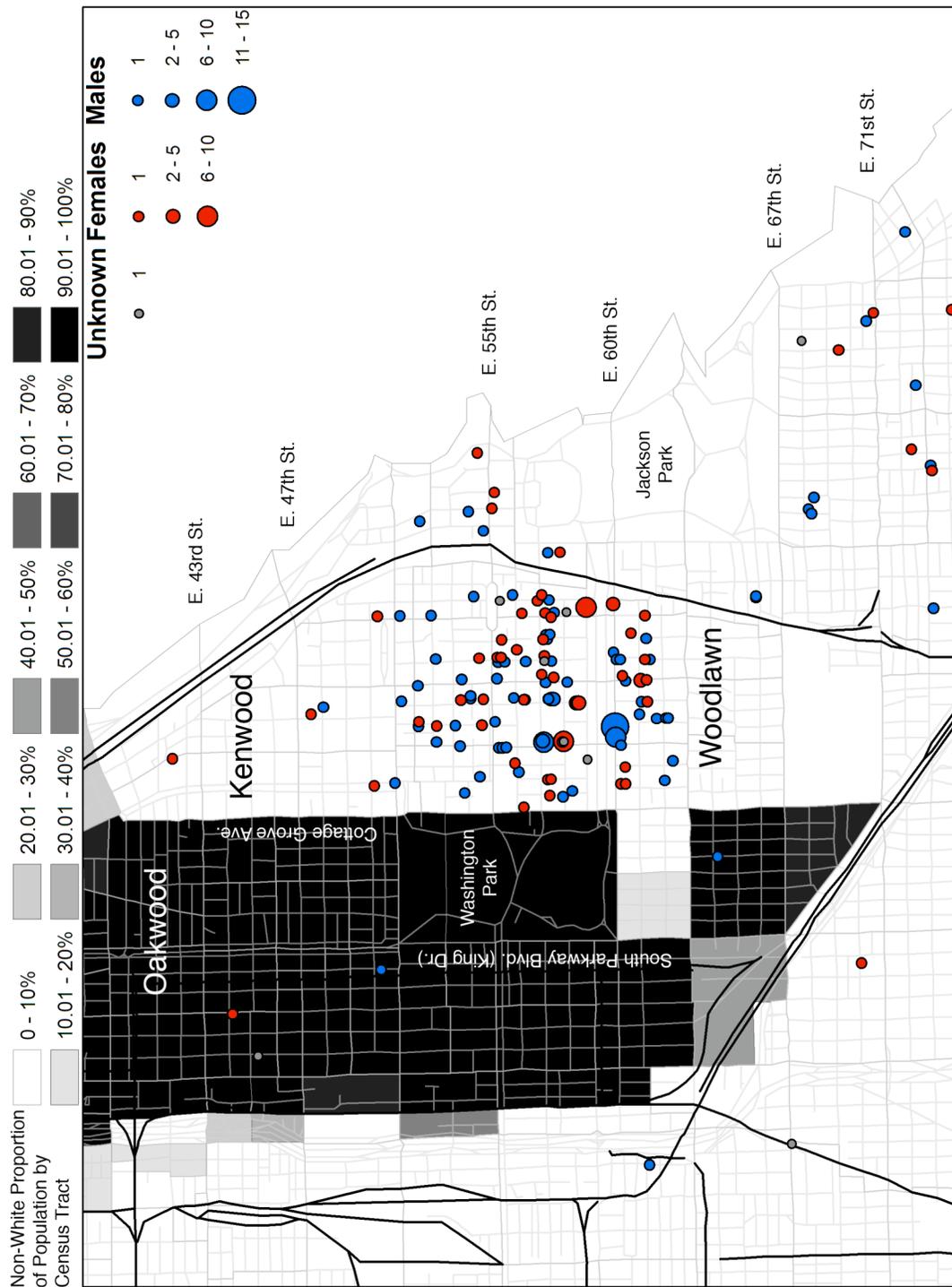
Leading this effort was Hyde Park's professional class, including businessmen,

²³ By this I mean that they had a local cultural meaning signifying decay as powerful as their actual decay. Alan Trachtenberg, *Brooklyn Bridge: Fact and Symbol*, 2nd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979).

²⁴ Hirsch, *Making the Second Ghetto*, 54, 137. Abrahamson, *A Neighborhood Finds Itself*, 20.

²⁵ Hirsch, *Making the Second Ghetto*, 137-38. Abrahamson, *A Neighborhood Finds Itself*, 15-17.

Race and Student Residences, University of Chicago Area 1940



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 Data from U.S. Census, 5% Sample of 1939-40 University of Chicago Student Directory
 211 of 304 sample students depicted

Map 4.2. Race and Student Residences, University of Chicago Area, 1940. The Black Belt is a highly segregated area of black residence south of the Loop. In 1940 there was virtually no black residence across Cottage Grove, the eastern boundary. A few UC students are scattered in the Black Belt, but the large majority reside in white areas within walking distance of campus. Data from U.S. Census and a 5% sample of the UC student directory. (NHGIS and UCSC).

local church officials and university faculty, who sidestepped race and blamed capitalism for their local troubles. Joining together to form the Hyde Park-Kenwood Community Conference (HPKCC), community members such as sociologist Louis Wirth were overwhelmingly white middle- and upper-middle class white-collar workers who generally owned their houses, cooperative buildings, or condominiums in the neighborhood.²⁶ HPKCC members largely lived on the east side of Hyde Park and Kenwood, near the Lake Michigan shore, away from Cottage Grove Avenue, which divided Hyde Park and Kenwood from the pre-war Black Belt.²⁷ Locals called the area several blocks east of campus the “Golden Square” for its high property values and exclusivity.²⁸ Angst over economic security and social stability drove the community agenda. While exercised over the prospect of community transition, many members of the neighborhood coalition were ostensibly liberal on the issue of race. Recognizing the strong link between race and economic status, the HPKCC sought a way to navigate the difficult tangle of socio-political issues involved in neighborhood protection and racial relations. Members eventually settled on a goal of creating “a stable interracial community of high standards,” including professional-class African Americans as homeowners and full community participants while suggesting they would accept small amounts of largely black-occupied public housing in select neighborhood locations. Promoting racial integration in Hyde Park, HPKCC members instead claimed their chief

²⁶ Bonnie Marantz, "The Political Effectiveness of the Hyde Park-Kenwood Community Conference" (MA Thesis, University of Chicago, 1967). Matthew Lasner, "No Lawn to Mow: Co-Ops, Condominiums, and the Revolution in Collective Homeownership in Metropolitan America, 1881-1973" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Harvard University, 2007).

²⁷ Marantz, "Political Effectiveness". 20-24. Abrahamson, *A Neighborhood Finds Itself*, 58.

²⁸ Rossi and Dentler, *The Politics of Urban Renewal*.



Fig. 4.2. Aerial view of Hyde Park and Woodlawn looking east prior to clearance and urban renewal. Washington Park is in the foreground and E. 55th, fairly densely developed, runs to the top left of the image toward Lake Michigan. The Midway Plaisance at the right separates the university from the Woodlawn neighborhood. UCSC.

concern to be the excesses of capitalism, decrying “overuse of property” including illegal tenure conversions from owner occupancy to rental units and predatory landlords’ splitting of large apartments into tiny kitchenette units that led to overcrowding and threatened to change individual buildings and eventually the whole neighborhood.²⁹

Robert Hutchins’ resignation as chancellor in 1951 brought more aggressive neighborhood intervention led by his successor, Lawrence Kimpton.³⁰ Kimpton was a long-time administrator who had studied philosophy in graduate school at Stanford, then led the Chicago segment of the Manhattan Project during World War II and worked his way through the UC administrative ranks. In 1952 the University of Chicago followed the lead of community members, creating its own area organization, the South East

²⁹ Abrahamson, *A Neighborhood Finds Itself*, 28. Hirsch, *Making the Second Ghetto*.

³⁰ Hutchins took a position with the newly created Ford Foundation. “Philanthropoid No. 1.” *Time*. June 10, 1957.

Chicago Commission (SECC), to deal with race, crime, and housing issues in order to safeguard the university's investments and reputation. The university largely funded the SECC's operations in its early years and the organization became synonymous with UC, known as "the urban renewal arm of the university."³¹ In several early memos to the university president, the SECC's director, Julian Levi, delineated the organization's priorities, urging Kimpton that the university had to

"maintain and create the kind of community within which students and faculty wish to live"; "to protect the operations of the institution itself"; and "to protect and develop major real estate holdings already within this area."

Among other measures, this required "that [Hyde Park] must be rid of slum and blight which will attract lower class Whites and Negroes."³² In perhaps the most explicit statement of their collaborative vision and its beginning steps, Levi wrote in a memo to Kimpton:

"The general planning objectives to be sought in the preparation of plans of the University Community under the Neighborhood Redevelopment Corporation Law are the following:

1. The development of the concept of a unified University of Chicago campus, involving the development of an integrated community characterized by limited traffic access, broad community landscaping, etc.
2. A drastic reduction in density, to be obtained by the demolition and destruction of over-aged apartment buildings throughout the area and their replacement by single residence, town house, and duplex structures.
3. The establishment of a homogeneous, economic, middle class or better level within the community."³³

³¹ The SECC was a private, non-profit corporation distinct from the university, with Lawrence Kimpton as the president of its board. Julian Levi was an employee of the SECC but later became a member of the UC faculty, paid directly by the university. Levi interview. Muriel Beadle, *Where Has All the Ivy Gone?* (New York: Doubleday and Co., 1972).

³² Though Levi names whites as a concern here, most effort was explicitly focused on black in-migration and what it would do to the desirability of Hyde Park. Confidential memo from Julian Levi to Lawrence Kimpton November 3, 1954. Box 231 Folder 1. KAP. UCSC.

³³ "Memorandum—Planning Objective" n.d. Folder 6 Box 234. KAP. UCSC.

UC leadership sought a dramatic, sweeping strategy that would guide them in their effort to secure the surroundings and reputation of the university. In the 1950s there were few models for dealing with the challenges that would come to be known as the “urban crisis.” The City Beautiful movement had worked to tame urban disarray—almost a surplus of economic and human vitality—rather than decline and deterioration. Older patterns of urban development based on boosterism and growth had little to offer cities facing losses of human and investment capital owing to metropolitan expansion and suburbanization.³⁴ “Slum clearance” was a concept that offered communities possibilities for remediation and reinvestment, particularly after the passage of the Housing Act of 1949, which provided cities resources to level and redevelop areas deemed blighted. Urban renewal and urban conservation followed from the Housing Act of 1954, and the strategy that an area or a city could be made new again by redeveloping the most problematic parcels or blocks and by reinvesting in the rest of the area to keep it from becoming blighted. Searching for some means of institutional preservation, UC administrators could not adopt the strategies of the historic preservation movement, yet to percolate from multiple communities to national prominence, or the grassroots strategy of neo-traditional urbanism, which would only begin to find its critical voices in the early 1960s.³⁵ Instead, leaders like Levi groped for the emerging strategy of centrally planned urban redevelopment that would dominate the field of urban planning for the next two decades.

Levi, early in his tenure as SECC head, had developed a long-term vision for the surrounding communities that would involve a pattern of efforts to change laws and

³⁴ Kenneth Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985).

³⁵ Jane Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (New York: Vintage, 1961).

exploit programs by lobbying municipal, state and federal authorities—largely successfully. A prosperous businessman and lawyer, brother of Edward Levi, the dean of Chicago’s law school, and grandson of a UC founder, Julian Levi sought aid and collaboration from the city administration but found Mayor Kennelly’s administration uncooperative partners in neighborhood management, later recounting,

“...[W]e simply could not operate by cajoling the city of Chicago, by pleading with them. We had to somehow or other develop a position that really required them to respond whether they wanted to or not.”³⁶

Levi lobbied the state for new powers in order to gain leverage with the city administration. Seeking amendments to the 1941 Neighborhood Redevelopment Corporation Act, Levi negotiated with Illinois legislators to create a program whereby powers of eminent domain could be granted to a private redevelopment corporation.³⁷ As a result of the statute, the University of Chicago could create a private redevelopment corporation and, if it convinced or comprised 60 percent of landowners in a given area, could take the designated area by eminent domain and commence redevelopment.³⁸ No longer would the university be forced to lobby the city; instead it could initiate its own slum clearance projects with few political obstacles.

The University of Chicago administration turned to the regional masters of industrial capital for help and leadership as it began to develop a much more ambitious agenda of neighborhood control and redevelopment. These men were chiefly embodied in the institution’s board of trustees. As the premier institution of higher education in the

³⁶ Julian Levi interview, 25. UCSC. Martin Kennelly served as mayor from 1951-1955. Richard J. Daley served from 1955 until his death in 1976. See Adam Cohen and Elizabeth Taylor, *American Pharaoh -- Mayor Richard J. Daley: His Battle for Chicago and the Nation* (Boston: Little Brown, 2000), Mike Royko, *Boss: Richard J. Daley of Chicago* (New York: New American Library, 1971).

³⁷ Levi interview, 25. UCSC.

³⁸ Julian Levi, *The Neighborhood Program of the University of Chicago* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1961), 12. Rossi and Dentler, *The Politics of Urban Renewal*.

city for more than a half-century, the university numbered a significant proportion of Chicago's industrial, commercial, political, cultural, and intellectual leaders among their alumni, patrons, and trustees—sometimes all three. Men like meatpacking heir Harold Swift; steel executive Edward Ryerson; retailer and publisher of the Chicago *Sun-Times* Marshall Field III; his son, Marshall Field IV, also *Sun-Times* publisher; Laird Bell, a Chicago lawyer on the board of Weyerhaeuser, the timber corporation; and J. Howard Wood, publisher of the Chicago *Tribune*, were creators and heirs of business fortunes while such wealth and clout were still concentrated in local businesses, families, and individuals.³⁹

The businessmen who led the University of Chicago were heirs to the commodities fortunes—the flows of iron, timber, livestock, and grain, as well as retailing and media empires—that had made the city an industrial leader. All of these endeavors were enabled by the transportation network in which all railroads led to Chicago.⁴⁰ Invested in the welfare of the city, the trustees worked to assure that the foundation of the city's and nation's future economic well-being—increasingly believed to be built on post-industrial bases like education, research, and the knowledge economy—would be as

³⁹ Sharon Zukin, for example, describes such a period of local power and its attendant impact on the built environment as forming a vernacular landscape, one in which design and development originates within a locale, as opposed to control over the contemporary built environment, the sources of which are far more financially and politically diffuse, even inscrutable. Sharon Zukin, *Landscapes of Power: From Detroit to Disney World* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991). Scholars associated with the Venice School interpret the prewar American city as the product of imperial ambition and capitalist demands. See, for example, Giorgio Ciucci, ed. *The American City: From the Civil War to the New Deal* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1979). In grounding the basis for university creation and revitalization in the political and economic resources of Chicago's industrial elites, I offer a starkly different model for understanding the university, which scholars like Neil Harris and Robin Bachin have characterized as “in the city, but not of it.” Bachin, *Building the South Side*.

⁴⁰ William Cronon, *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1991).

solid as the industrial history that had enriched and empowered them.⁴¹ In addition, these wealthy, largely Protestant and Republican local elites provided a significant counterbalance to the Irish and Polish Catholic leaders of the Cook County Democratic Party the university administration would ally with, yielding both national and local influence, providing broad support for the university's activities.⁴²

In order to implement Levi's plan, the university formed a planning office in 1954 and drew upon the connections of its trustees, receiving a \$100,000 grant from the Marshall Field Foundation in New York.⁴³ This planning staff was part of the university administration but would consult closely with the SECC to create plans for physical redevelopment of the university area. In some cases it would even contract with the city to perform planning work for the Daley administration.⁴⁴ Hired to lead this office was Jack Meltzer, a planner with Michael Reese Hospital near the Illinois Institute of Technology, two institutions that together had worked to reshape the Bronzeville neighborhood a mile north of the University of Chicago.⁴⁵ Having a planning staff and powers of eminent domain newly created for use in their community, the university and the SECC were able to take control of the local redevelopment process according to

⁴¹ University of California system president Clark Kerr described this transition in a series of lectures on higher education later published as a book. Clark Kerr, *The Uses of the University*, Fourth ed. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963; reprint, 1995).

⁴² Milton Rakove, *Don't Make No Waves, Don't Back No Losers* (Bloomington, IN: University of Indiana Press, 1975).

⁴³ "Dutch" Smith, for example, was a member of the both the Chicago Board of Trustees and the Field Foundation. Sanford Horwitt, *Let Them Call Me Rebel: Saul Alinsky, His Life and Legacy* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1989). Approximately \$787,000 in 2008 dollars. Consumer Price Index Inflation Calculator. <http://www.bls.gov> (Accessed March 28, 2008).

⁴⁴ "Agreement Between the University of Chicago..." Folder 2, Box 67. KAP. UCSC.

⁴⁵ Hirsch, *Making the Second Ghetto*, 115-17. See forthcoming dissertation by Michael Carriere.

Julian Levi's designs, driving urban renewal in southeast Chicago for the next two decades.⁴⁶

U-C administrators commenced a public relations campaign that would provide the justification for such an aggressive intervention on the landscape. Julian Levi and Chancellor Kimpton claimed that the very foundation of the University of Chicago was jeopardized, asserting that the university's students, scholars and researchers, whose work would lead the nation to greater prosperity and scientific achievement, were endangered by neighborhood problems. Kimpton broached the subject in a "State of the University" address:

The neighborhood surrounding the University has come to occupy an increasing amount of concern and energy on the part of both faculty and administration. It is extremely important that we maintain a community in which our faculty desire to live and in which our students will be secure. In order to combat the forces of uncertainty and deterioration at work in the neighborhood, the University has taken the initiative in the organization of the South East Chicago Commission.⁴⁷

Levi and Kimpton used the figures of the student body and the faculty repeatedly to advance their argument for federal intervention and urban renewal, even though they were hostile to members of the faculty, community, and student body who attempted to engage them on urban renewal activities.⁴⁸ However, UC leaders continually reiterated that the university's problematic local context threatened Chicago's position as a national leader in education and research, particularly when considering the prominence of competing institutions such as Stanford, Michigan and Princeton in wealthier, whiter, and

⁴⁶ Ibid., 152. Levi interview, 96.

⁴⁷ *The State of the University: A Report by Lawrence A. Kimpton to the Faculties of the University of Chicago*. October 14, 1952. UCSC.

⁴⁸ Levi, for example, regularly lauded the Chicago faculty in public and praised HPKCC members while in private he lambasted them. Levi to Kimpton, December 7, 1956. Folder 4, Box 231. KAP. UCSC.

more spacious settings that had less severe problems of race, poverty, or expansion to contend with.

Levi connected the university's specific concerns to the national educational project when he spoke on issues of urban universities before a sympathetic audience at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in 1959, justifying the necessity of a massive planning intervention by grounding it in student needs.

“If we are really serious about the next generation of teachers and scholars, lawyers and doctors, physicists and chemists, then we have got to worry about the adequate housing of the graduate student... We cannot have it both ways. We are either going to have graduate students, who produce leadership for the next generation... or we are not going to achieve these results because we are unwilling to disturb existing owners and populations.”⁴⁹

While the enrollment boom of veterans had dropped off by the mid-1950s, the emerging importance of higher education to national scientific and engineering achievement raised the stakes for local and federal support of higher education.⁵⁰ Levi, who consulted on, lobbied for, and promoted university redevelopment around the country, later campaigned for student-centered renewal as a means of preserving urban quality of life in university communities.

“No sensible person would argue that any university does not have the obligation of responsible corporate citizenship and that it must be a good neighbor. In this context, for example, universities have an obligation to develop adequate programs for the housing of students rather than committing the problem to the tender mercies of a rooming-house operator and then to complain about deterioration thereby caused. But universities are not civic betterment associations or social service agencies.”⁵¹

⁴⁹ Julian Levi quoted in Hirsch, *Making the Second Ghetto*, 154.

⁵⁰ Kerr, *The Uses of the University*. Roger Geiger, *To Advance Knowledge: The Growth of American Research Universities, 1900-1940* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986).

⁵¹ This attitude toward landlords stands in stark contrast to the UC response to Ely Aaron in 1962. Levi delivered a similar speech at the Ford Foundation-sponsored Conference on the Role of the University in an Urban Setting, in Milwaukee in October of 1960. Julian Levi. “The University and Preservation of Urban Values in Chicago.” *Context*, A University of Chicago Magazine v. 1 no. 1 spring 1961. Robin Bachin illustrates the university's choice of research and institutional prestige over community engagement in her book on civic space, repudiating the prospect of a “civic betterment” agenda early in the university's history. Bachin, *Building the South Side*.

Using graduate students as rhetorical proxies for the future of national advancement and the figure of the faculty as leading technicians and engineers in the Cold War, UC administrators were able to convince members of the community, the city, and national politicians that a university-led redevelopment effort was good for Chicago and good for the country.⁵²

City Planning

The University of Chicago found in Richard J. Daley, Martin Kennelly's successor as mayor who came to office in 1955, far more congenial a political ally than they had in his predecessor. When one of the city's most prestigious institutions sought municipal support for its urban renewal efforts, the mayor pledged his help. Despite such tensions, the mayor was eager to attract federal money for redevelopment and the power it would entail, despite the political difficulties that the racial aspect of demolition and rebuilding on the South Side would raise.⁵³ Levi and Kimpton arranged for the university and the SECC to finance and conduct all the planning involved in creating the

⁵² This relationship was just one form of the alliances that universities forged with the federal government in the postwar era. Numerous large universities developed research relationships with the federal government and made Cold War research a high priority and powerful justification and means for their expansion. Rebecca Lowen, *Creating the Cold War University: The Transformation of Stanford* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997). Stuart Leslie, *The Cold War and American Science* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994). Roger Geiger, *Research and Relevant Knowledge: American Research Universities since World War II* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993). Margaret Pugh O'Mara, *Cities of Knowledge: Cold War Science and the Search for the Next Silicon Valley* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2005).

⁵³ Daley's record on racial issues was mixed; he refused to push the city's anti-integrationist whites to accept mixed-race housing in residential areas such as Bridgeport and housing projects in South Deering, for example. However, he simultaneously accepted the support of the city's Democratic black electorate and political leaders while pledging sympathy to black communities Hirsch, *Making the Second Ghetto*, 15. James Q. Wilson, *Negro Politics: The Search for Leadership* (New York: Free Press, 1965). More recent research offers a more complex view of black politics in this era. Christopher Manning, "The Ties That Bind: The Congressional Career of William L. Dawson and the Limits of Black Electoral Power, 1942-1970" (Dissertation, Northwestern University, 2003). Levi interview, 83. UCSC.

Hyde Park clearance and urban renewal plans, to which the mayor agreed, leaving them full control of public input and development priorities through the whole process.⁵⁴

The first major SECC project was a redevelopment west of campus in Hyde Park. The amendments to the 1941 Neighborhood Redevelopment Corporation Act empowered non-government agents to form a redevelopment corporation and take local property by eminent domain to prevent blight, rather than to eliminate buildings that had become blighted.⁵⁵ The university formed such a body and designated a four-block area south of E. 55th St. and east of Washington Park for seizure. The South West Hyde Park Redevelopment Corporation—whose officers included Julian Levi, UC vice president for business William Harrell, and UC trustee Howard Goodman, among others—acquired 14 acres through eminent domain and proposed clearing the land and selling it to the university for the development of married student housing. Neighborhood opposition to the use of eminent domain was fierce, including prominent sociologist St. Clair Drake, who complained that such takings were unjust to residents precluded by discrimination from living in the more affluent areas east of the Chicago campus.⁵⁶ The university ultimately prevailed, clearing and holding the land on the border between the campus area and the rest of Hyde Park for more than a decade, though it never built housing for married students on the four cleared blocks.⁵⁷

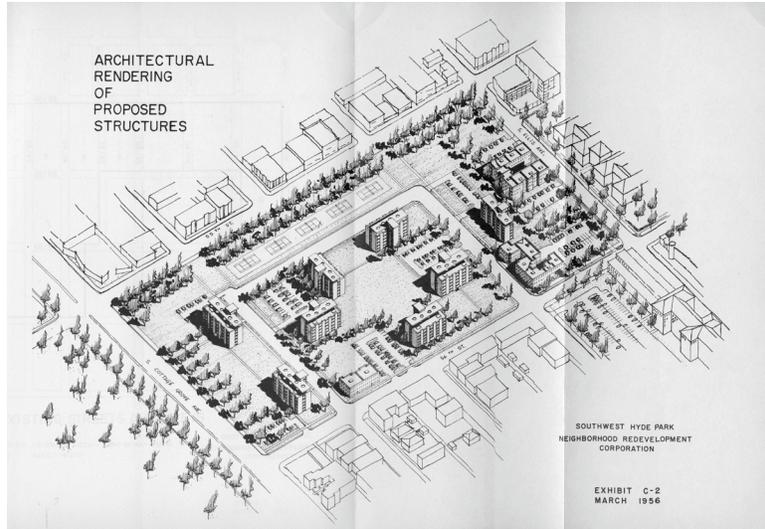
⁵⁴ Ibid., 46. UCSC. “Agreement Between the University of Chicago...” Folder 2, Box 67. KAP. UCSC.

⁵⁵ Talk about Hirsch and Berman v. Parker. Levi, *The Neighborhood Program of the University of Chicago*, 12.

⁵⁶ Rossi and Dentler, *The Politics of Urban Renewal*.

⁵⁷ Ibid. The site in question is now the location of the athletic fields, moved from the site of what is now the Regenstein Library in the early 1970s. Amanda Seligman, *Block by Block: Neighborhoods and Public Policy on Chicago's West Side* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 76-77.

Fig. 4.3. Proposed scheme for graduate housing. Land acquired by eminent domain pursuant to NCRA. Note the separation between proposed housing and E. 55th St. achieved with double arcade of trees and tennis courts. This development was never built; the site is now used for the UC football field and athletics track. (UCSC)



Pulling political levers within the Eisenhower administration, university leaders then arranged for fifteen million dollars in grants from the Housing and Home Finance Administration and simultaneously drew more federal resources for planning through a provision of the 1954 Housing Act.⁵⁸ Thus followed the Hyde Park A and B “slum clearance” projects passed at the local, state, and federal levels in the winter of 1954-55, which razed areas considered blighted in east Hyde Park on East 51st St. and at East 55th St. and the Illinois Central Railroad.

The university began to find opposition to its development activities on racial grounds. In response to criticism that the clearance projects were aimed at removing South East Chicago black residents, the university argued that the residents displaced would be largely white and represented no racial motivation. The clearance effort, however, served to make new development in these transitional areas subject to the latest zoning ordinances, reducing the density of development and mandating significant

⁵⁸ Clarence Randall, chairman of Inland Steel and university trustee, served as a special economic advisor to President Eisenhower with an office in the Old Executive Office Building. Levi interview, 45. Memo from Clarence Randall to Edward Ryerson, July 19, 1954. Box 231, Folder 1. KAP. The university planning office received \$198,000 from the federal government. “Agreement between the University of Chicago...” Folder 2, Box 67. KAP. UCSC.

increases in off-street parking. While Levi argued there was no effort to remove black Hyde Park residents, UC specifically pursued development that would reduce housing and build institutional developments that would prevent the in-migration of additional black residents or the conversion of apartment units.⁵⁹

The third effort, the broader Hyde Park urban renewal plan, called for redevelopment of numerous sites deemed of deleterious character between 47th Street in Kenwood and 59th Street at the Midway Plaisance in the name of area conservation. Though proponents called it a new kind of urban renewal—only twenty percent of structures within the plan area would be demolished—the intent was nearly the same as in cases of wholesale demolition: serving the interests of the metropolitan elite and shunting the poor—largely minorities—away from their neighborhoods.⁶⁰

When the city and university finally released the draft urban renewal plan in 1958, public reaction was contentious. Several prominent Chicago institutions voiced their opposition, while local community groups organized in support of the plan. The African-American newspaper the *Chicago Defender* and a Catholic council on urban conservation created by the Chicago archbishop, Cardinal Stritch, both opposed the slum clearance and urban renewal plans because they served to halt the process of integration in Chicago by prioritizing the maintenance of a middle class, largely white enclave in Hyde Park, rather than a broad, citywide solution.⁶¹

⁵⁹ Avery address. Folder 2, Box 104. KAP. UCSC.

⁶⁰ The SECC opposed the development of public housing in Hyde Park— an express goal of the HPKCC and Hyde Park race liberals—and worked to redirect it to Woodlawn and Kenwood. Levi to Kimpton, Kirkpatrick, Harrell, July 27, 1959. Folder 1, Box 233. KAP. Levi to Kirkpatrick. June 4, 1959. Folder 233, Box 1. KAP. UCSC.

⁶¹ Levi argued that the Catholic Church was defending the boundaries of its largely ethnic white parishes in other neighborhoods from integration. Hirsch, *Making the Second Ghetto*, 165, 250.

Especially important was the cooperation of the Hyde Park-Kenwood Community Conference, the most active neighborhood group and the earliest to form to combat racial transition. The HPKCC had developed an active set of block organizations and performed the regular work of meeting and recruiting neighbors into a network of personal contacts throughout the community. As such, their support for the plan was important to its passage. Hyde Park-Woodlawn alderman Leon Despres, for example, was not part of the Democratic Party machine and was subject to the political will of constituents like members of the HPKCC because he depended on their help getting out the vote at election time.⁶² Despres expressed reservations about the renewal plan and worked to tweak some provisions but ultimately supported its passage, representing the liberal, professional-class constituency that sought an “interracial community of high standards.”⁶³ While the Catholic Archdiocese, the university, and City Hall battled over the plan, local community members and politicians within the affected neighborhoods also held some sway in the negotiations over the urban renewal plan.⁶⁴

Despite the utility of Hyde Park activists in supporting the urban renewal plan, among all the clearance, renewal, and development activities the university undertook, the renewal plan was the only measure requiring community support, thus the HPKCC’s only indispensable role in the redevelopment process. The university and the SECC had allowed local residents little input into development of the plan created by Smeltzer,

⁶² Leon Despres, *Challenging the Daley Machine: A Chicago Alderman's Memoirs* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 2005).

⁶³ Abrahamson. *A Neighborhood Finds Itself*.

⁶⁴ While sociologist Peter Rossi terms the disagreements between the university and the HPKCC over planning efforts “failure to achieve consensus,” this interpretation is tinted by the lens of community pluralism, an argument advanced by Robert Dahl. The university and SECC never sought consensus and only engaged the HPKCC when Levi thought it would facilitate the university’s plans. Peter Rossi and Robert Dentler. *The Politics of Urban Renewal: The Chicago Findings*. (The Free Press: Glencoe, IL, 1961). Robert Dahl. Robert Dahl, *Who Governs?: Democracy and Power in the American City* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1961).

essentially removing community members from the university-centered planning process.⁶⁵ Indeed, though the SECC billed itself as an organization composed of local people and neighborhood groups to offer it credibility, even board members accused Levi and Kimpton of secretly running the organization and using community members as window dressing for university plans.

Campus Plan

Seeking both to reestablish its preeminence as a major research and educational institution while promoting redevelopment, UC administrators and trustees also began working to replan, redevelop, and expand the university's campus to augment redevelopment in Hyde Park. As the university sought to establish and expand professional schools and its hospital, for example, each enterprise would require additional real estate and new buildings. In effect, the neighborhood transition and apparent deterioration facilitated campus expansion and redevelopment by reducing potential public opposition and creating a robust market for sale and purchase of properties.⁶⁶

The university began to leverage post-GI Bill federal programs for education to promote campus development, in addition to federal urban renewal programs for off-campus redevelopment.⁶⁷ Among the measures the university drew upon was the College Housing Program, created by Section 402 of the Housing Act of 1950, which provided

⁶⁵ Hirsch, *Making the Second Ghetto*, 164. Levi worked to discourage public input during hearings on the urban renewal plan, referring to HPKCC Executive Director James Cunningham as "a damned fool" for trying to increase public participation. James Cunningham to Julian Levi, September 11, 1958. Box 231, Folder 4, KAP. UCSC. Julian Levi to Lawrence Kimpton, September 11, 1958. Box 231, Folder 4, KAP. UCSC.

⁶⁶ Max Page, *The Creative Destruction of Manhattan, 1900-1940* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999).

⁶⁷ While numerous scholars have examined federal programs for higher education teaching and research after World War II, this chapter illustrates the campus development funds that became available. Lowen, *Creating the Cold War University*. Geiger, *Research and Relevant Knowledge*.

hundreds of millions of dollars of federal financing with subsidized interest rates so that colleges and universities could house their swollen postwar enrollments.⁶⁸

Administrators and educational leaders had argued the private market was unable to respond to growing demand for housing in university communities around the country.⁶⁹

In response, numerous institutions altered or intensified their housing policies to incorporate dormitories and campus apartments for students so that they could take advantage of this federal program.⁷⁰ In his 1955 “State of the University” address, for example, Lawrence Kimpton stated the university’s intention to increase the proportion of undergraduates living in dormitories significantly.⁷¹

UC leaders began to draw upon the experiences of other local and national institutions to learn what early strategies had proved successful. Michael Reese Hospital in Chicago and Columbia University in New York, for example, had also begun the process of urban redevelopment, and UC administrators sought counsel from leaders at the Illinois Institute of Technology (IIT), located two miles north of the UC campus.⁷² After one such meeting, vice president William Harrell wrote a confidential memo to Kimpton detailing the role of existing housing in controlling the Bronzeville neighborhood around IIT.

“In an effort to maximize income, IIT attempted, with the cooperation of the city authorities, to correct only the most flagrant violations of the city ordinances [*sic*]. This policy was followed because IIT was primarily

⁶⁸ The first loan authorization was \$250M over three years. Subsequent authorizations, the annual disbursements of which were often reserved by the end of January, ranged from \$250-300M over three year periods. Israel Rafkind, *The Federal Government’s College Housing Loan Program: An Appraisal and Critique*. (Washington, DC: American Council on Education, 1966).

⁶⁹ Hearings before the Senate Committee on Banking and Currency. 81st Congress. April, 1949.

⁷⁰ LaDale C. Winling, "City Politics, Student Housing, and the University of Michigan, 1920-1980" (M.U.P. Thesis, University of Michigan, 2007).

⁷¹ *The State of the University: A Report by Lawrence A. Kimpton to the Faculties of the University of Chicago*. 1952. UCSC.

⁷² Julian Levi to Lawrence Kimpton, May 1, 1956. Box 231 Folder 3. KAP. UCSC.

interested in obtaining control of the land and did not have a long term interest in retaining the improvements.”⁷³

Without the burden of maintenance, IIT realized a profitable return to their invested endowment, even in the least desirable housing in areas already considered blighted.

Harrell went on,

“A total of about 90 acres of slum properties have been purchased by IIT. A large part of the properties so acquired have now been cleared and the land is or will be used for expansion of the campus.

“The whole program has worked out very satisfactorily from the standpoint of IIT. [IIT Vice President] Mr. Spaeth expressed regret that they had not undertaken to acquire a larger area.”⁷⁴

Harrell concluded, “IIT did not create the slums, but did take advantage of the situation,” and suggested that Chicago do the same.⁷⁵ The Illinois Institute of Technology had established a set of strategies for neighborhood management, ones that the University of Chicago would implement over more than a decade, in concert with takings by eminent domain, demolition, and redevelopment.⁷⁶ The University of Chicago’s innovation was to use student housing as a means of effecting this community management process.

To coordinate and drive the new vision for the university grounds in concert with slum clearance and urban renewal plans, trustees selected Saarinen & Associates in 1954, one of the most successful architectural firms of the decade. Led by Eero Saarinen, whose portfolio included work at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Vassar College, and the University of Michigan, along with designs underway for Yale University, the architect had also gained international renown for his corporate campuses

⁷³ Memo from W.B. Harrell to Lawrence Kimpton August 10, 1955 “CONFIDENTIAL” Box 36 Folder 12 IIT 1955-65. President’s Papers, 1952-1961. UCSC. The university began implementing this strategy later the same fall. Memo from Lawrence Kimpton to Julian Levi, October 31, 1955. Box 231 Folder 3. KAP. UCSC.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ Hirsch, *Making the Second Ghetto*.

reimagining business and industrial designs, such as the General Motors Tech Center in Warren, Michigan, and IBM headquarters in suburban New York.⁷⁷

Saarinen delivered the master plan to guide development in the spring of 1955, as the SECC was beginning work on the Hyde Park urban renewal plan.⁷⁸ Setting the stage for the next decade of university activity, the campus plan called for demolition and construction of university buildings along E. 55th St. and university expansion on campus land south of the Midway.⁷⁹ At the smaller scale, Saarinen's campus plan for Chicago, like his other university designs, promoted a sympathetic relationship between university buildings, emphasizing circulation and communication between and among the areas of university grounds.⁸⁰ Perhaps the most striking feature in the Chicago plan was his prescription for South Campus, which he planned to wall off from the Woodlawn neighborhood by a proposed South Crosstown Expressway. The east-west highway would remove traffic from the Midway Plaisance, instead providing a limited access connection between Lake Shore Drive to the east and South Parkway to the west (now Martin Luther King, Jr., Drive). Development of such a highway would require demolition of numerous buildings between 60th and 62nd streets, creating an enormous

⁷⁷ See Alan J. Plattus, "Campus Plans," in Eeva-Liisa Pelkonen and Donald Albrecht, *Eero Saarinen: Shaping the Future* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2006). Antonio Roman, *Eero Saarinen: An Architecture of Multiplicity* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2003), Jayne Merkel, *Eero Saarinen* (New York: Phaidon Press, 2005), Scott Knowles and Stuart Leslie, "'Industrial Versailles': Eero Saarinen's Corporate Campuses for GM, IBM, and AT&T," *Isis* 92, no. 1 (March 2001).

⁷⁸ Notes from Committee on Budget meeting, May 16, 1955. Folder 13 Box 59. KAP. UCSC.

⁷⁹ The university trustees had formed a redevelopment corporation in 1954 to pursue redevelopment of the area south of the Midway, which would become a flashpoint in 1960. *Minutes of Committee on Budget, University Trustees*. February 15, 1954. Box 231, Folder 1. KAP. UCSC.

⁸⁰ Eero Saarinen, "Campus Planning: The Unique World of the University," *Architectural Record*, November 1960.

physical barrier between Woodlawn, increasingly populated by African Americans, and the university campus.⁸¹

The planning and design of buildings in Saarinen's plan, the slum clearance projects, and other local developments would dramatically alter the character and physical experience of life in Hyde Park, Woodlawn, and on the university campus. The political alliances and large-scale planning involved in the many renewal and redevelopment projects between city and university officers had established the framework and mechanisms for demolition and construction projects. At the parcel and block levels, a coalition of UC administrators, the SECC, the city of Chicago, and private developers imposed an architecture of control on the landscape in an effort to buttress the political, demographic, and economic reorganization of near-campus neighborhoods. This idiom was characterized by significantly lower density of urban form, prioritization of automobility over pedestrian transportation, emphasis on interior activities, and physical and visual separation within new development and between areas around the campus.

Building Design

Examining two campus residential buildings, one of which was designed by Saarinen, illustrates how the university's development ethos played out on the educational landscape. The Saarinen firm itself designed two buildings for the expanding University of Chicago campus on either side of the increasingly significant Midway, a women's residence hall on the north and a new law school building on the south, consistent with the campus redevelopment plan. In addition, Saarinen served as the

⁸¹ Saarinen & Associates. "Campus Development Plan." Box 230, Folder 11. KAP. UCSC.

university's consulting architect until his death in 1961, a role in which he advised the Chicago trustees and administrators on architecture and planning.

Woodward Court

Saarinen's design for a new women's dormitory helps illustrate the university's gendering of spaces on the Chicago campus, particularly when viewed in contrast with men's dormitories of the same period. Addressing an ongoing fear for the safety of young women, the university selected an interior campus site for the location of the dormitory. Located on the southeast corner of East 58th Street and South Woodlawn, Woodward Court was sited next to Ida Noyes, an existing women's dormitory to the south; across the street from the Rockefeller Memorial Chapel to the west; a residential neighborhood of upscale homes, including Frank Lloyd Wright's Robie House, to the north; and the private Laboratory Schools to the dormitory's east. This location provided a cluster of women's residential space near the middle of campus, where administrators long felt female students would be safer from both the crimes and vices of the surrounding surrounding community.⁸² Amos Alonzo Stagg, the Chicago football legend, had identified Woodward's site near Ida Noyes as appropriate for another women's hall—the coach believed mixing men's and women's halls near each other would create a “grave danger of sissifying the men at the University.”⁸³

The development of Woodward Court was facilitated in no small measure by a \$2 million loan from the College Housing Program of the Housing and Home Finance

⁸² Memo from Margaret Strozier to Ray Brown, October 10, 1963. Folder 7, Box 205. Beadle Administration Papers. UCSC. SEE IMG 9108-9110.

⁸³ John W. Boyer, Annual Report to the Faculty of the College. “The Kind of University That We Desire to Become”: Student Housing and the Educational Mission of the University of Chicago. Address delivered October 28, 2008. (p. 44).

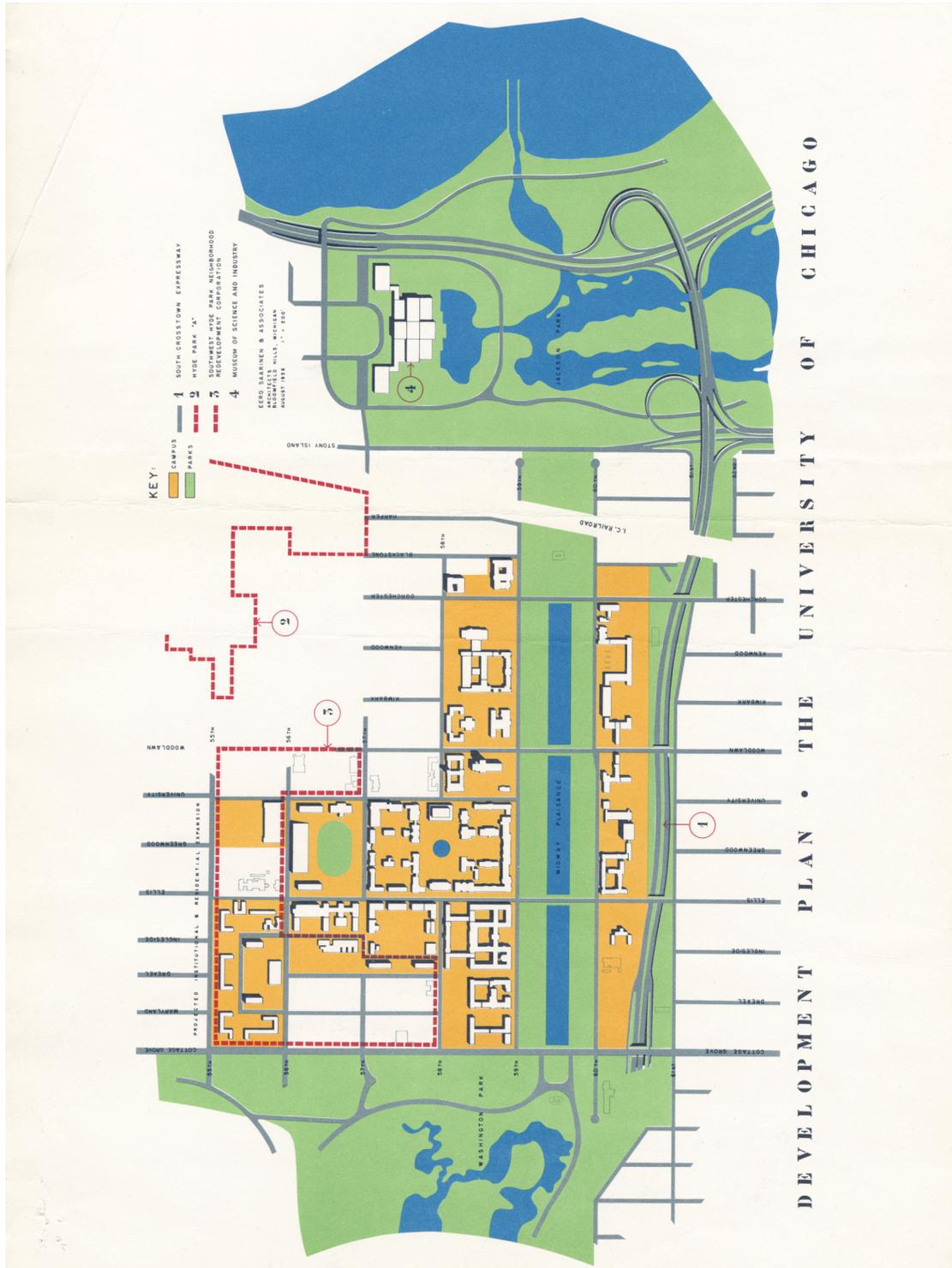


Fig 4.4. Diagram from the Saarinen & Associates campus master plan. The proposed South Crosstown Expressway runs east-west to the south of campus, requiring demolition of numerous buildings not depicted here. (UCSC).

Administration, predecessor to the Department of Housing and Urban Development.⁸⁴ The total cost of the complex was \$3.2 million and it housed over 500 undergraduate women.

The organizing principle of the site plan, designated for an undeveloped parcel, was the courtyard that would function as a quadrangle. The space would open to Ida Noyes to the south, where undergraduate women could easily move on foot between the two buildings. However, the complex would turn its face from the neighborhood to the north, providing no entry to the dormitory from E. 58th Street. The design instead called for entrances from the courtyard and through the central dining building.

Saarinen had long advocated contextually sensitive design and in Woodward Court maintained the scale and materials of surrounding buildings.⁸⁵ Four stories high with a raised basement, the building stood at a height comparable to the nearby Noyes and Rockefeller structures, and was symmetrical in its plan and north and south elevations. For the dormitory's structure Saarinen employed reinforced concrete but clad the façade with limestone panels and narrow vertical columns with fenestration that read like voids in the elevation. The effect was one of enclosure as the building reached out its massive arms to surround the courtyard, sheltering the undergraduates in a stone-armored volume.

The interiors proved to be no less value-driven. The residential part of the complex consisted of three connected five-story halls of repeating, double-loaded corridors. The vast majority of bedroom units were double rooms shared by two

⁸⁴ HHFA memo to WB Harrell, October 5, 1956. Folder 11, Box 17. Kimpton Administration Papers. UCSC.

⁸⁵ "Women's Dormitory, University of Chicago." *Architectural Record*. November, 1960, 136-37.

roommates, with lounges at both ends of the corridors. Multiple floors were equipped with residential units for proctors to oversee the residents' activities. From inside out, Woodward Court expressed a gendered interpretation of female undergraduates' needs and a prescriptive design solution to govern their lives.⁸⁶



Fig 4.5. Aerial view of Woodward Court looking east-northeast towards the lake. E. 58th St. runs east-west to the north of the dormitory. The dining hall creates the fourth side of the quadrangle and helps govern the pedestrian activity of residents and visitors, channeling them directly east to the Laboratory Schools and west to Rockefeller Chapel. (UCSC)

Pierce Hall

As part of the urban renewal plan, the university used the development of a dormitory to architecturally complete the buffer the institution sought from the life of East 55th Street and the area north of it. The university acquired land on the south side of

⁸⁶ See also Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, *Alma Mater: Design and Experience in the Women's Colleges from Their Nineteenth Century Beginnings to the 1930s*. (New York: Knopf, 1984), Alyson King, "Centres of 'Home-Like Influence': Residences for Women at the University of Toronto," *Material History Review* 49 no. Spring 1999 (1999).

E. 55th between Greenwood and Woodlawn from the city. The block had been home to a mix of uses for decades, a mélange of single-story retail shops, six-flat residential buildings, and mixed-use structures up to 4 stories tall.⁸⁷ Spurred by community and university concerns about taverns and vice, the SECC had identified the area in the 1958 urban renewal plan as a candidate for redevelopment.⁸⁸ When the university devised its expansion of student housing and began drawing on the federal College Housing Program, the elements were in place for a dramatic alteration of urban form, while creating a uniformity of use that would both serve UC housing policy and the university's broader urban policy.⁸⁹

University trustees selected Harry Weese & Associates for the design of Pierce Hall, the men's dormitory that, in 1960, would replace the south side of the 1100 block of E. 55th St. Weese was an MIT-educated architect who had studied for a year at the Cranbrook Academy of Art while Eero Saarinen had served on the faculty. The friendship established then and their similar ideas about architecture recommended Weese, who had founded his office in Chicago, to the trustees. In addition, Weese had worked on an early redevelopment plan as a test case for the Hyde Park A & B projects and was not carried out.⁹⁰ Saarinen, who continued to consult with the university after he delivered the master plan, approved of Weese's design for the dormitory, calling the interior organization of space "ingenious."⁹¹ The architect's concept for Pierce Hall centered on the creation of interior social spaces and concentration of students into a 10-

⁸⁷ Sanborn map. University Microfilms International.

⁸⁸ University of Chicago Planning Unit, *Hyde Park-Kenwood Urban Renewal Area*. (Chicago 1955).

⁸⁹ The university received \$1.3 million in financing from HHFA for Pierce Tower. Minutes of the University of Chicago Trustees, Oct 9, 1958. UCSC.

⁹⁰ Levi interview. UCSC.

⁹¹ Memo from Eero Saarinen to Harry Weese, October 7, 1957. Department of Buildings and Grounds Collection, Series 2, Box 16, Folder 10. University Archives. UCSC.

story tower.⁹² The dormitory would be divided into five two-story “houses” in which rooms would ring a two-story common lounge. The tower was made of reinforced concrete with brick facing and limestone window bays, mediating the new structural and spatial organization of residential life through the use of materials common to traditional collegiate architecture. The vertical window bays, in particular, were characteristic of Weese’s deviation from modernist orthodoxy, but the fenestration and premium materials also served to differentiate the housing development from CHA tower projects that housed the impoverished members of Chicago society and whose repetitive and unrelieved facades signaled the economy of design and material deprivation within the buildings.⁹³

In terms of site plan, Pierce Hall altered the former relationship between the block’s buildings and the street. Much as Saarinen did with Woodward Court, Weese’s design for Pierce marked 55th Street as a male gendered space on the edge of the university campus, near the area once populated by numerous taverns and apartment houses. Weese’s design included no entrances to the tower or the connected dining hall that opened onto East 55th, instead designing the building to face Woodlawn, a side street, and channeling pedestrian circulation to the south side of the complex, which opened onto a small courtyard and an open play field on campus. Not only did this redevelopment remove the attraction of diverse uses and services from this block of East

⁹² The original scheme called for 2 nearly identical towers to be constructed in phases at opposite ends of the block, but the second was never built.

⁹³ Henry-Russell Hitchcock and Philip Johnson, *The International Style: Architecture since 1922* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1932). On the architecture of public housing, see Catherine Bauer, "The Dreary Deadlock of Public Housing," *Architectural Forum* (May 1957), pp. 140-42, 219-21.

55th, the new design nearly precluded pedestrian traffic on this section of the thoroughfare, intensifying the isolation of the campus from its northern neighbors.⁹⁴

In addition to executing developments on campus, the university used off-campus housing—both apartments designated for students and buildings for general residency—as an integral part of its neighborhood program. UC leaders and the SECC had become far more aggressive about acquisition and control of properties on the private market. In many cases, the university purchased buildings around Hyde Park and drew revenue from renting the properties, whether in states of disrepair as IIT had done or as apartment buildings for upper level university students. Administrators emphasized the extortionist specter of “threat properties,” in which building owners threatened to sell buildings to black families and white speculators to command a high purchase price from the university.⁹⁵ Far more frequently, however, the university sought and purchased buildings they found searching advertisements in the city newspapers’ real estate pages.⁹⁶ In addition to orchestrating demolition and purchase, Julian Levi pressured local and regional banks and insurance companies to deny loans and investments to undesirable buyers, intervening even in the market transactions of private parties. When Levi thought there was no other way to prevent black immigration, the university paid landlords rent to hold apartments empty in the summer so that African Americans could not lease them in

⁹⁴ Bryan Berry, *The Impact of Urban Renewal on Small Business: The Hyde Park-Kenwood Case* (Chicago: Center for Urban Studies, 1968).

⁹⁵ Beadle, *Where Has All the Ivy Gone?* Despite their frequent invocation in speeches and publications, I have yet to find a single specific parcel or building labeled as a “threat property” in the course of my research in administrative communications.

⁹⁶ The SECC employed a staff member whose responsibilities included searching the real estate advertisements daily. In many cases, the staff member would track the building through the newspapers until, if it were unable to sell, an ad would appear in the *Chicago Defender*, at which point he and Levi would prompt the university to act. Don Blackiston to WB Harrell, September 4, 1956. Box 231, Folder 3 KAP. UCSC. Don Blackiston to WB Harrell, August 28, 1956. Box 231, Folder 3. KAP. UCSC.

months when student demand declined.⁹⁷ Unwilling to abide by the tendencies of the local housing market, the university worked to control the local economic landscape of real estate in addition to the physical development landscape. By the early 1960s, the university owned or controlled more than 120 buildings and controlled nearly 2500 units in the campus area, or nearly 10 percent of the rental units in Hyde Park.⁹⁸ These interventionist real estate actions and application of student housing policy was a significant piece of the university's whole neighborhood strategy. However, it would find strong opposition in the years to come.

Housing Act of 1959

When the Soviet Union launched *Sputnik* in the Autumn of 1957 and Congress responded with the National Defense Education Act, Cold War universities like the University of Chicago were further empowered as agents of the national interest. The institutions that could train the nation's leaders in math, science, and engineering became key members of the alliance between the federal defense apparatus and private defense contractors—what President Eisenhower later called the military-industrial complex.⁹⁹ These universities—Stanford, Texas, Columbia, Chicago, Berkeley, Penn, Harvard, MIT, and more—were too important to the nation's well-being to succumb to the blighted future of the urban crisis. The University of Chicago began advancing a legislative idea that was almost a planning counterpart to the NDEA. As the urban renewal plan passed

⁹⁷ Julian Levi was particularly sensitive to the impact of racial demographics at local schools, arguing that significant minority school populations would provoke white disenrollment. Julian Levi to Gardner Stern, August 15, 1955. Box 231, Folder 13. KAP. UCSC. Levi to Kimpton, Kirkpatrick, Harrell, July 7, 1959. Folder 1, Box 233. KAP. UCSC.

⁹⁸ Alison Dunham, et al. "Report of the Faculty Committee on Rental Policies." Folder 1. Box 272. BAP. UCSC. U.S. Census of Housing data for 1960 from Minnesota Population Center. National Historical Geographic Information System. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota 2004.

⁹⁹ Leslie, *The Cold War and American Science*.

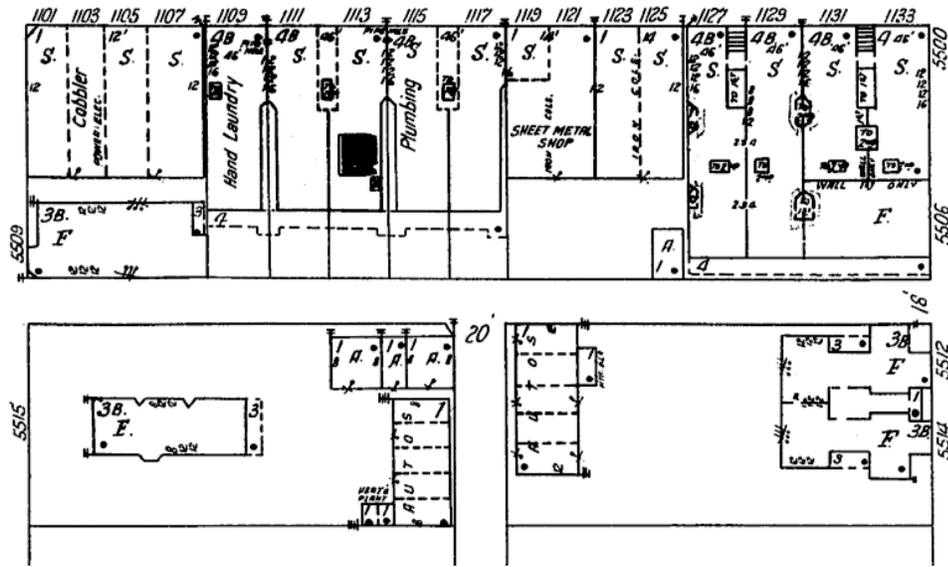


Fig 4.8. 1951 update of 1925 Sanborn map for East 55th Street block redeveloped for Pierce Hall. The north-top map shows mix of uses with shops and apartments sharing the same block, opening onto East 55th Street (at top, running left to right). (University Microfilm International.)



Figure 4.9. Pierce Hall, designed by Harry Weese & Associates, viewed from the south (within the campus). Two-story lounges in the tower have rendered interior the social and leisure space that formerly was distributed throughout the block and accessed by entry on E. 55th St. The density and diversity on the block has been transformed into an unchangeable, uniform set of uses and users. (Buildings and Grounds Photographs. UCSC).

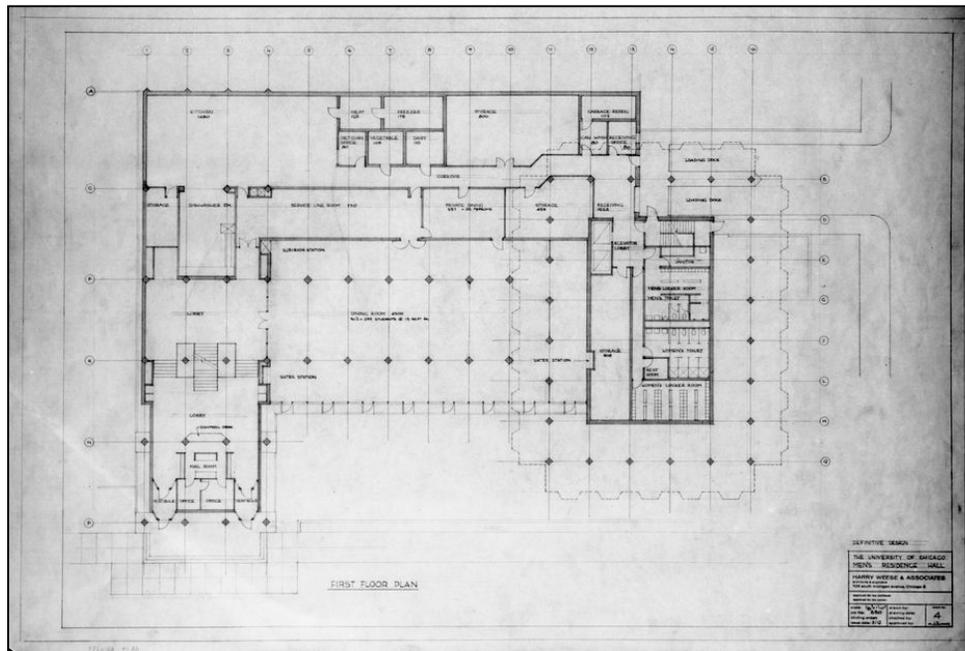


Fig 4.10. First floor plan of Pierce Hall. E. 55th St. runs left to right at the top of the north-top oriented image; the residential tower is in outline on the right. The pedestrian orientation of the block has been dramatically altered compared to Figure 8, as doors opening on the interior courtyard are segregated from the street. (Buildings and Grounds Photographs. UCSC)

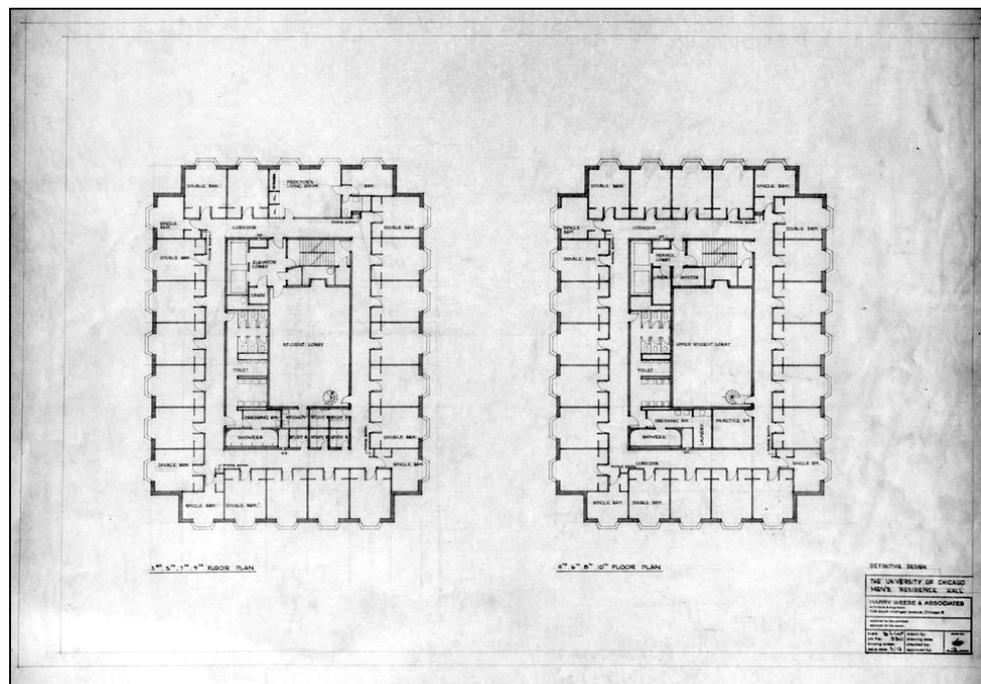


Fig 4.11. Typical floor plan of Pierce Hall. The social life of residents of E. 55th Street has been removed from the street and concentrated in the interior of an institutional building focused on large, resident-only lounges. (Buildings and Grounds Photographs. UCSC)



Fig 4.12. View of Hyde Park prior to land clearance. E. 55th St. looking west from the Illinois Central RR tracks towards the University of Chicago campus. (Buildings and Grounds Photographs. UCSC)



Fig 4.13. Hyde Park viewed from the same spot during redevelopment. East 55th has been widened and routed around the University Park condominium towers, under construction in the photo, designed by I.M. Pei and Associates. Buildings on north side of East 55th have been demolished and redeveloped as part of Hyde Park A Project. (Buildings and Grounds Photographs. UCSC).

city council in 1958, the SECC moved in pursuit of another, even more ambitious set of strategies for redevelopment. Chicago chancellor Lawrence Kimpton served in 1957 and 1958 as the president of the American Council on Education (ACE) and as a board member of the Association of American Universities (AAU), the two most important lobbying alliances for education in the country.¹⁰⁰ In these leadership capacities he was in regular contact with top administrators of other major universities and help set the national agenda for higher education. In 1957 the AAU created a committee to study the problems of urban universities, sharing information among institutions such as Chicago, Columbia University, the University of Pennsylvania, and Washington University in St. Louis. From this effort came a coalition of institutions led by the University of Chicago that created federal legislation to aid universities in urban redevelopment.

Julian Levi came to lead the group of administrators focusing on urban renewal from the “Group of Seven” universities most concerned with urban conditions. Levi’s experience in working with Illinois and Chicago politicians, as well as UC trustees’ influence with the Eisenhower administration, set Levi and Chicago in a leading role among prominent universities.¹⁰¹ Under his direction, the SECC conducted a planning study of university campuses in the educational coalition and helped draft a program—Section 418 of the 1959 housing bill—that would dramatically shift the balance of power between university administrations and city administrations that were collaborating on urban renewal efforts.¹⁰² Levi hired lobbyist and former HHFA general counsel B.T.

¹⁰⁰ The ACE had developed the proposal for and lobbied for the creation of the College Housing Program in the immediate postwar years. Rafkind, *The Federal Government’s College Housing Loan Program*.

¹⁰¹ Levi interview, 89. UCSC.

¹⁰² Memo from Lawrence Klimpton to Arthur Adams (ACE), December 8, 1959. Folder 5 Box 14. KAP. UCSC.

Fitzpatrick to write the text of the bill's section and the outcome was the creation of Section 112 credits, named for the new provision inserted into the amended Housing Act of 1949.¹⁰³

Universities created the Section 112 program to give them leverage with urban politicians and force a reordering of municipal urban renewal priorities.¹⁰⁴ 1949 urban renewal legislation created a local-federal funding formula that required a municipal contribution of one-quarter to one-third of the overall costs of the project, with the federal government contributing the remainder of costs for approved projects—a two-to-one or three-to-one match. However, cities were not always able to provide the revenue to meet the local contribution requirements, though they desperately sought the windfall of federal urban renewal money. The city of Chicago was in such a quandary in the late 1950s when Levi helped create the Section 112 program, which exhibits provisions tailored for the university and the city of Chicago. The program enabled university expenditures consistent with and proximate to an approved urban renewal plan to count towards the local contribution. In addition, the program created a set of transferable credits for federal urban renewal money in excess of the project cost that could be spent on any municipal urban renewal project, not solely the one the university had contributed

Memo from John I. Kirkpatrick to George Baughman (NYU), John Moore (Penn), Edward Reynolds (Harvard), Stanley Salmen (Columbia), Philip Stoddard (MIT), December 8, 1958. Folder 5 Box 14. KAP, UCSC. Julian Levi Interview, 89. UCSC.

¹⁰³ So named because the new bill amended Section 112 of the 1949 Housing Act. Letter from Kimpton to Carroll Newsom, Clark Kerr, Nathan Pusey, Ethan Sheply. January 7, 1959. Folder 1, Box 233. KAP. UCSC. "Enactment in 1959 of Section 112 of Housing Act." n.d. Folder 1, Box 233. KAP. UCSC. Memo from Levi to J.I. Kirkpatrick, June 4, 1959. Folder 1, Box 233. KAP. UCSC.

¹⁰⁴ Levi interview, 83. UCSC. Where previous scholarship has characterized this program as offering incentives and subsidies for universities to support urban renewal efforts, in fact these provisions were created by university interests to serve their desires for expansion and to create political leverage for their projects. See O'Mara, *Cities of Knowledge*, 78.

to.¹⁰⁵ Finally, university expenditures made up to five years prior to the creation of the Section 112 program could be counted towards the local contribution.¹⁰⁶

With another provision the federal government legalized the “Negro removal” local opponents had bitterly complained was the real intent of urban renewal.¹⁰⁷ Under Section 414 of the 1959 law, urban renewal projects were not required to meet housing requirements when universities were part of the redevelopment. No longer would universities have to replace cleared housing with the construction of new housing—the development of parks, institutional and educational buildings could take the place of residential neighborhoods, removing the specter of future residential conversions and undesirable neighbors.¹⁰⁸ Where prior policy had provided the ideal—if not the practice—that displaced residents would have the opportunity to return to the renewed areas, policymakers no longer maintained this pretense, dropping it to satisfy their educational constituents. Thanks to Levi, universities were given license to barricade themselves off from their neighborhoods through urban renewal.

The justification for these conditions becomes clear when considered as a set of measures created to aid in the University of Chicago’s plans for neighborhood control. Julian Levi fixed on the idea for the Section 112 program when he learned that the Daley administration had overdrawn the city’s urban renewal funds and would have difficulty paying for the projects it hoped to complete in the future.¹⁰⁹ The credit system meant that not only would the city of Chicago not have to contribute any money to attract new

¹⁰⁵ Levi interview, 122. UCSC.

¹⁰⁶ United States Congress, "Housing Act of 1959 Report [to Accompany S. 2539]," ed. House Committee on Banking and Currency (1959), 19.

¹⁰⁷ Seligman, *Block by Block*, 71, Hirsch, *Making the Second Ghetto*.

¹⁰⁸ “Enactment in 1959 of Section 112 of Housing Act.” n.d. Folder 1, Box 233. KAP. UCSC.

¹⁰⁹ Julian Levi interview, 83. UCSC.

federal matching money, but that the city could fund other urban renewal projects by cooperating with the University of Chicago in Hyde Park and Woodlawn. Finally, Levi testified before a Congressional subcommittee that it was essential to allow university expenditures up to five years old qualify for credits because doing otherwise would serve to punish universities such as Chicago that were leaders and innovators in urban revitalization if their early renewal activities were excluded.¹¹⁰ For UC purposes, the five-year backdating would allow expenses even in anticipation of an urban renewal effort to contribute to the creation of Section 112 credits for the city.¹¹¹

Julian Levi and numerous administrators from other universities testified to the importance of the housing act and Section 112 credits in helping create a university community that was walkable, that provided access day and night for research, campus activities and clinical work.¹¹² Suburbanization was deadly to effective operations of a research university, where commuting would prevent the development of faculty community and would preclude continuity of hospital care or scientific experiments.¹¹³ Levi affirmed what supporters of the National Defense Education Act had asserted a year earlier—that universities were essential to the well-being of the nation. Magazine articles Levi distributed to legislators claimed universities had become the economic and cultural

¹¹⁰ *Housing Act of 1959: Hearings before the Committee on Banking and Currency* 1959, 504.

¹¹¹ The university intended expenditures related to the Hyde Park renewal effort to apply, but an HHFA determination ruled that if construction began on a site prior to plan approval, those expenditures would not create credits for the city, helping delay the takings effort for several years. Levi negotiated with HHFA to allow an exception that would apply to the university. Local Public Agency Letter 196. Folder 2, Box 102. KAP. UCSC.

¹¹² George Baughman, a vice president at New York University, noted that the university had had to design buildings to surround holdout property owners, as the Lutheran School of Theology at Chicago would do in conjunction with Chicago (see figure 17). *Housing Act of 1959: Hearings before the Committee on Banking and Currency* 518-19. Committee on Banking and Currency, *Housing Act of 1959. Hearings before the Subcommittee on Housing*, 1959, 237.

¹¹³ This notion stands in diametric opposition to the prevailing interpretation of universities as inherently suburban or anti-urban. O'Mara, *Cities of Knowledge*. Paul V. Turner, *Campus: An American Planning Tradition* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1984).

focal point of cities, while Charles Farnsley, of the University of Louisville, went even further, suggesting “if the universities are required to abandon our urban areas, the universities will survive but our cities will not.”¹¹⁴ Perhaps most noteworthy was the vision Farnsley advanced for the future of cities in Senate testimony, even suggesting an alternate vision based on rehabilitation of historic structures:

“I am convinced...a wonderful job could be done in this country to help fill the vacuum that is created in our cities. American people will keep wanting to move out of the cities and it leaves a vacuum, not only the people, but the industries and retailing...

“Now, it is wonderful to build new buildings, but I am convinced none of us appreciated how much we could save if we could renew old buildings. People will give universities buildings, you can buy them for little or nothing, and I believe they can be fixed up and used, and that will fill the vacuum; and that if the university is the only thing you can work for and it is respectable to live near, and if you have the professors living back down there, that will help bring back the middle class to the city.”¹¹⁵

After a presidential veto in 1958, the legislation passed with section 418 intact in early 1959 and numerous universities, including Pennsylvania, Harvard, Temple, New York University and Columbia, drew upon these urban renewal programs in pursuit of an urban vision for the educated class, creating a robust, post-industrial urbanism in which jobs, housing, and services were clustered around universities instead of factories.¹¹⁶

South Campus

¹¹⁴ *Housing Act of 1959. Hearings before the Subcommittee on Housing*, 245, Russell Bourne, "Building for the Community: New Jobs for Colleges," *Architectural Forum* 1959.

¹¹⁵ U.S. *Housing Act of 1959: Hearings before the Committee on Banking and Currency* 520-21.

¹¹⁶ I explore an early example of this type of planning in chapter 2 on Muncie and Ball State University. "Campus vs. Slums." *New York Times*. October 1, 1961, E7. "Colleges Clear Out Slums to Extend City Campuses." *New York Times*. January 13, 1965. O'Mara, *Cities of Knowledge*. In his new introduction to *The Limits to Capital*, David Harvey locates universities and education within the neoliberal prescriptions for continuing prosperity in the last quarter century, Christopher Newfield documents effort to repeal the democratizing postwar promise of public higher education. David Harvey, *The Limits to Capital* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1982). Christopher Newfield, *Unmaking the Public University: The Forty-Year Assault on the Middle Class* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008).

Even by the passage of the federal housing act, dissenters had begun defecting from the “broad front” of the postwar liberal coalition, and one of the urban focal points of this dissent was urban renewal.¹¹⁷ When policymakers and the urban proletariat realized the promise of postwar growth would not be evenly shared, a new coalition of individual political and cultural critics and grassroots organizations began to realign and mobilize against urban growth and redevelopment policies. Key modern housing advocates like Catherine Bauer Wurster, who had worked to popularize European ideals of social housing in the United States, launched critiques of the public housing and renewal program.¹¹⁸ In the case of South East Chicago, the University of Chicago had so successfully insinuated itself into the municipal vision for economic advancement and the national agenda for technological and capitalist triumph that it became inextricably caught up in the web of political mobilization, public policy and redevelopment finance.

The university’s two avenues of city renewal politics and campus expansion intersected at the Midway Plaisance. The Midway, a strip of land between 59th and 60th Streets separating the university from the Woodlawn neighborhood, had served as a recreational and carnival-type space during the 1893 Columbian Exposition, used since then as a park for passive recreation. The university had expanded onto several parcels across the Midway in the intervening six decades, but was poised for a dramatic expansion that would require all the land in a mile-long strip between 60th and 61st Streets running between Washington Park on the west and Jackson Park on the east.

¹¹⁷ I borrow this term from Zipp, "Manhattan Projects".

¹¹⁸ Bauer had written an influential book on social housing in Europe, directed the U.S. Housing Authority, and served on the faculty at both MIT and Berkeley, where her husband, William Wurster, was the dean. Catherine Bauer, *Modern Housing* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1934). ———, "The Dreary Deadlock of Public Housing " *Architectural Forum*, May 1957, 140-42, 219-21.

Levi and Kimpton had worked for two years to realize Saarinen's plan for a highway to separate the university from Woodlawn, lobbying city, state, and federal authorities, to no avail. The plan called for rerouting traffic from the Midway, where roads sliced the park into long ribbons, to the proposed expressway, two blocks south.¹¹⁹ The SECC worked to ground the Midway into the legacy of Frederick Law Olmsted, Daniel Burnham, and Saarinen, all planners who had envisioned the park as a bourgeois playspace connecting to nearby Jackson Park rather than a functional traffic artery.¹²⁰ The Parks District Commission stubbornly refused and ultimately derailed the effort, the only significant part of Levi's long-term redevelopment vision he failed to achieve.

Unable to bring about the highway solution, Levi and Kimpton sought more direct state action—confiscation of lands—as remedy to its concerns about Woodlawn. Using the new leverage of urban renewal funds created by the 1959 Housing Act they convinced Mayor Daley to employ eminent domain to take the land south of the Midway and sell it to the university at a discount. The overall project was budgeted at \$6.5 million dollars and the university had spent \$6.9 million in eligible contributions. Through the credit system, the city of Chicago stood to reap \$14 million dollars in federal credits, much of which could be devoted to any urban renewal project in Chicago, solving Daley's problem of depleted renewal funds. The Chicago Land Clearance Commission

¹¹⁹ Levi to Kimpton, November 3, 1955. Folder 3, Box 231. KAP. UCSC. "Memorandum." September 23, 1955. Folder 3, Box 231. KAP. UCSC. Al Svoboda to WB Harrell, June 21, 1955. Folder 3, Box 231. KAP. UCSC.

¹²⁰ "Confidential Report" from Lawrence Kimpton. December 19, 1956. Folder 3, Box 231. KAP. UCSC. For accounts of the Midway Plaisance in 1893, see Bachin, *Building the South Side*. Alison Isenberg, *Downtown America: A History of the Place and the People Who Made It* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004).

(CLCC) had no practical alternative but to approve the university proposals, though the CLCC staff and members were ambivalent about the value and priority of the project.¹²¹

The South Campus strip was to be the first application of the Section 112 legislation, a plant expansion that simultaneously buffered the university from Woodlawn and asserted the university's clout with the city administration. Neighborhood groups in Woodlawn feared a massive renewal project south of the Midway and sought aid from Saul Alinsky's Industrial Areas Foundation (IAF) to oppose it.¹²² Alinsky, a Chicago alumnus with a degree in sociology, resided in Hyde Park and had been peripherally involved in community protest of the Hyde Park renewal plan.¹²³ With the aid of the Catholic Archdiocese and the Schwartzhaupt Foundation, the IAF made a multi-year commitment to Woodlawn and began mustering opposition to the university while helping build a black grassroots organization to serve as a countervailing force against the university.¹²⁴

The elite SECC orchestrated the appearance of grassroots activism to facilitate their public-private intervention in South Campus. Julian Levi detested Alinsky's community organizing methods and had worked for years to prevent the IAF from getting a foothold in Woodlawn. The SECC reluctantly supported community organizations with little representation in the neighborhood, such as the United Woodlawn Conference and

¹²¹ Horwitt, *Let Them Call Me Rebel*. Levi, *The Neighborhood Program of the University of Chicago*. The City of Chicago committed to spending \$6 million of the federal match as takings compensation, then selling the land to UC for \$1 million. Address by Lawrence Kimpton. n.d. Folder 2, Box 102. KAP. UCSC. At one point Sears, Roebuck, headquartered in Lawndale on the city's west side, sought to give the University of Chicago \$2 million towards their expenditures in Woodlawn, because it would help create \$6 million in credits for the city, which could be used in Lawndale for renewal programs benefiting Sears. The donation, though never finalized, would have been legal and fully consistent with the intentions of the program. Board of Trustees Committee on Budget notes, October 19, 1959. Folder 1, Box 233. KAP. UCSC.

¹²² Horwitt, *Let Them Call Me Rebel*.

¹²³ Ibid. Rossi and Dentler, *The Politics of Urban Renewal*, 232-34.

¹²⁴ John Hall Fish, *Black Power/White Control: The Struggle of the Woodlawn Organization in Chicago* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1973).

the Woodlawn Community Conference, in order to maintain the appearance that Alinsky's organizing efforts were unnecessary and even intrusive. Levi even went so far as to pay the United Woodlawn Conference's staff salaries when neighborhood contributions could not meet the organization's payroll obligations.¹²⁵ The UWC eventually collapsed and IAF organizers moved into the vacuum. Alinsky thought the university's land grab would be successful eventually, but used the issue to "rub raw the sores of discontent," helping build a neighborhood organization by playing up issues of conflict.¹²⁶ Alinsky and his chief Woodlawn organizer, Nicholas von Hoffman, helped form a coalition of neighborhood institutions under the umbrella of the Temporary Woodlawn Organization (TWO).¹²⁷ When Fifth Ward alderman Leon Despres tipped off von Hoffman to a South Campus construction proposal before the Chicago Plan Commission in December 1960, TWO appeared with nearly forty local residents to question the redevelopment approval.¹²⁸ Though Julian Levi expected a quick agreement the individual proposal took several months to enact while South Campus remained a contentious political issue delayed by politics and process for several years.¹²⁹

TWO, leveraging the South Campus issue, used the community spirit stirred by urban renewal to address other issues facing the South Side community, such as school

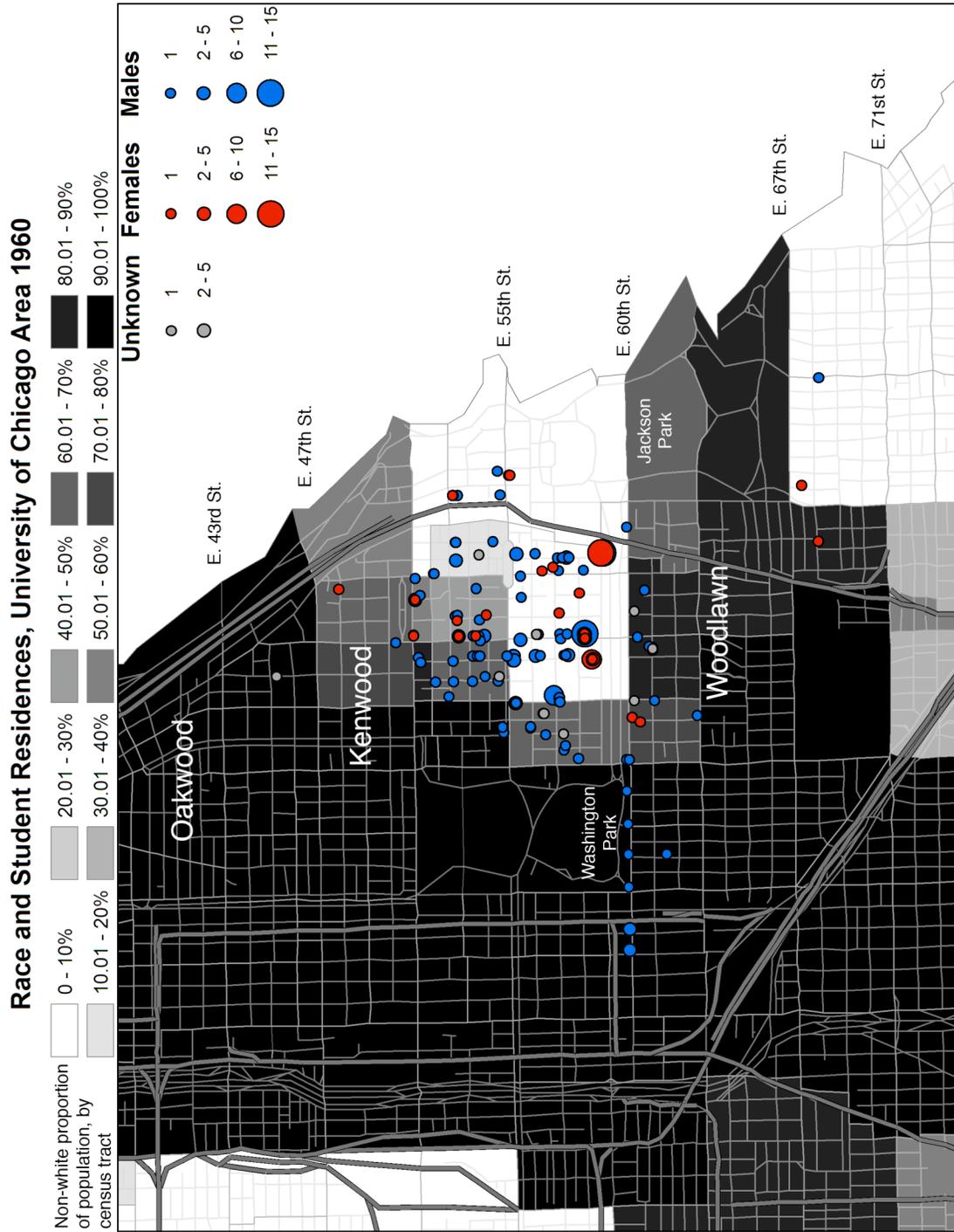
¹²⁵ Levi to Kimpton August 11, 1955. Box 231 Folder 3, KAP. UCSC. Levi to Kimpton November 16, 1955. Box 231 Folder 3, KAP. UCSC. Levi considered members of the UWC "bastards" but preferable to the "sons of bitches" of the IAF, noting "I don't believe...that the 'little people' working at the 'grass and weed' roots are going to grow cabbages and other items of civic virtue." Levi to Kimpton, April 7, 1955. KAP. Box 231, Folder 2. UCSC.

¹²⁶ Horwitt, *Let Them Call Me Rebel*.

¹²⁷ Von Hoffman subsequently became a journalist for the *Chicago Daily News*, *Washington Post*, and *New York Observer*, as well as author of several books.

¹²⁸ Fish, *Black Power/White Control*, 31.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, 18.



Map 4.3. Race and Student Residences, University of Chicago Area 1960. The Black Belt has expanded beyond Cottage Grove and into the Woodlawn and Kenwood neighborhoods, but the university has maintained a white island near campus. Data from U.S. Census and a 5% sample of the UC student directory. (NHGIS and UCSC).

segregation, exploitation by retail institutions, and building connections with southern civil rights efforts. In addition to Alinsky's remote efforts and von Hoffman's work leading the organizing effort, several UC and Hyde Park-area theological students began organizing with TWO, fulfilling their personal and vocational interests in community service.¹³⁰ In a parallel to the work of the HPKCC, The Woodlawn Organization recruited and empowered the women of the community to take on the key issues of the neighborhood and the city. TWO developed "truth squads" of mothers that would investigate majority-white schools and their majority-black counterparts within the Chicago Public Schools system to document empty classrooms and better facilities in white schools and to push for the integration that administrators claimed already existed.¹³¹ The Square Deal campaign identified grocers who used inaccurate scales to cheat their customers; voter registration drives worked to build a black vote independent of William Dawson's South Side political influence; demonstrations illustrated the potential power of the growing organization.¹³² As part of their movement building efforts, leaders of TWO worked to connect their work in Chicago with the Southern civil rights effort. Pushed by the organization's leadership, von Hoffman arranged with the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) for the southern Freedom Riders to travel to Chicago after they gained national headlines, an event where the riders sang "We Shall Overcome" for Woodlawn residents.¹³³ Later, Woodlawn leaders brought Southern Christian Leadership Conference leader and Chicago Freedom Movement participant

¹³⁰ Horwitt, *Let Them Call Me Rebel*, 393-95.

¹³¹ Ibid., 430-31, Ralph Abernathy, *And the Walls Came Tumbling Down* (New York: Harper and Row, 1989), 364-65.

¹³² Horwitt, *Let Them Call Me Rebel*. Wilson, *Negro Politics*, Manning, "The Ties That Bind".

¹³³ Horwitt, *Let Them Call Me Rebel*, 399-401.

Ralph Abernathy, who would live in West Side tenements with Martin Luther King, Jr., in 1966, to an event in Chicago in 1962 where the community founded a permanent organization and Mayor Daley attended and addressed Woodlawn residents.¹³⁴ Finally, TWO responded to poor conditions in slumlord-owned rental buildings, a problem throughout the Black Belt, by protesting the landlords' houses in outlying white neighborhoods and suburbs, a tactic that gained notoriety in 1966 when King was attacked during a Gage Park protest.¹³⁵

The development of a black empowerment movement amassed political power through grassroots organizing and posed a counterweight to the elite WASP university and the largely white ethnic urban political structure. In the midst of the battles over Woodlawn, planning insurgent Jane Jacobs came to South East Chicago shortly after the publication of *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* to profile the community for *Architectural Forum*, giving The Woodlawn Organization the imprimatur of the leading dissenter of urban renewal and invigorating the group's activities with positive press.

"T.W.O. is certainly the most unusual, and perhaps the most significant, exercise in community organization now occurring in the U.S. A district supposedly incapable of any response but apathy or chaos is cultivating hundreds of leaders, insisting on initiative, grasping for responsibility, and rejecting absentee decisions as a solution for its enormous problems."¹³⁶

Led by a group of Woodlawn ministers, TWO mixed religion and the pragmatics of life in the neighborhood to form the basis of community activism. The organization won delays in the South Campus plan by arguing for self-determination and convinced

¹³⁴ Ibid., 414-20.

¹³⁵ While TWO members took part in several activities of the Chicago Freedom Movement, including the 1964 rally at Soldier Field, the organization worked to avoid direct conflict with Daley, instead emphasizing building the organization and selectively applying pressure in battles TWO's leadership thought were winnable. Hirsch, *Making the Second Ghetto*, 264, Fish, *Black Power/White Control*, 59, 110.

¹³⁶ Jane Jacobs, "Chicago's Woodlawn -- Renewal by Whom?," *Architectural Forum*, May 1962, 123.

Levi and the city administration to expand the plan south to 63rd street so that a portion of the Section 112 credits created by the project could be devoted to neighborhood renewal priorities.¹³⁷ TWO bargained for low-income non-profit housing, redrawing of redevelopment boundaries and options for purchase of land cleared south of the Midway, resulting in the creation of Woodlawn Gardens Apartments at E. 63rd St. and Cottage Grove south of campus. Subsequently, the organization worked to develop a Model Cities plan and established itself as a social service organization working in cooperation with the university.¹³⁸ Using anti-university and anti-urban renewal protest, neighborhood organizers had helped develop a politically assertive black community organization able to draw on community resources for self-help.¹³⁹

Social Service Administration Building

The construction of a new building, the School of Social Service Administration Building (SSA) built on the controversial strip of land between 60th and 61st Streets, emphasized the university's new development attitude towards the Woodlawn neighborhood.¹⁴⁰ Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, the former Bauhaus director and former dean of architecture at nearby IIT who had been lured to Chicago after leaving Germany in 1937, designed the building. The pioneering modernist architect had designed the new

¹³⁷ Fish, *Black Power/White Control*, 71-73. A municipal bond proposal that would have helped fund renewal projects such as the South Campus plan and obviated TWO opposition failed in the spring of 1962, partly forcing Daley and Levi to broker the compromise with the Woodlawn community. Levi interview, 88-92. UCSC. Seligman, *Block by Block*, 86. Roger Biles, *Richard J. Daley: Politics, Race, and the Governing of Chicago* (Dekalb, IL: Northern Illinois University, 1995).

¹³⁸ Fish, *Black Power/White Control*.

¹³⁹ For other recent scholarship on community-oriented Black Power and civil rights efforts, see, for example, Matthew Countryman, *Up South: Civil Rights and Black Power in Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), Robert Self, *American Babylon: Race and the Struggle for Postwar Oakland* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2003). Martha Biondi, *To Stand and Fight: The Struggle for Civil Rights in Postwar New York City* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003).

¹⁴⁰ The School of Social Service Administration at Chicago was one of the defining institutions in creating the profession of social work. Founded as an external agency by pioneers of social welfare such as Edith Abbott and Sophonisba Breckenridge, the University of Chicago absorbed the body in 1920 and made it a formal part of the institution.

campus of IIT after his arrival, serving as a major participant in the Bronzeville renewal effort led by the technical school.¹⁴¹ In addition to his buildings and campus plan at IIT, Mies had designed buildings at several other U.S. universities, including Drake University in Iowa and Duquesne University in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. The architect also maintained a robust private practice, often partnering with developer Herbert Greenwald for numerous Chicago-area projects.¹⁴²

Despite the SSA's tradition of community engagement, the design for the school reflected ambivalence. The university, after being forced into compromise with TWO on South Campus renewal, sought to build and redevelop the land it received south of the Midway to advance institutional development. Facing the Plaisance from E. 60th Street, the siting of the SSA building featured a surface parking lot on the structure's south side, separating the students from nearby neighbors.

Mies' design for the low, flat building exhibited a characteristic symmetrical façade, large glass walls, interior open space, and black-enameled steel framing, but the site plan was restricted by UC administrators and trustees to advance their renewal goals, illustrating the interplay between urban planning and architectural design.

Plan of Development

While the university pursued seizure and development of the South Campus strip of land, administrators were encouraged to pre-empt the political battles that could face

¹⁴¹Sarah Whiting, "The Jungle in the Clearing: Space, Form and Democracy in America, 1940-1949" (Ph.D. dissertation, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2001).

¹⁴² Such projects include the renowned Lake Shore Drive Apartment buildings, as well as an unbuilt urban renewal project for Hyde Park (Hyde Park A). Greenwald's project (designed by Mies van der Rohe) was not chosen (in favor of Webb & Knapp's project designed by I. M. Pei) because Julian Levi felt that Greenwald could not provide enough clear equity in his financing to give the "strong hands" managing the project Levi thought it needed. Letter from Levi to Kimpton. February 14, 1956. Folder 1. Box 232. KAP. UCSC.

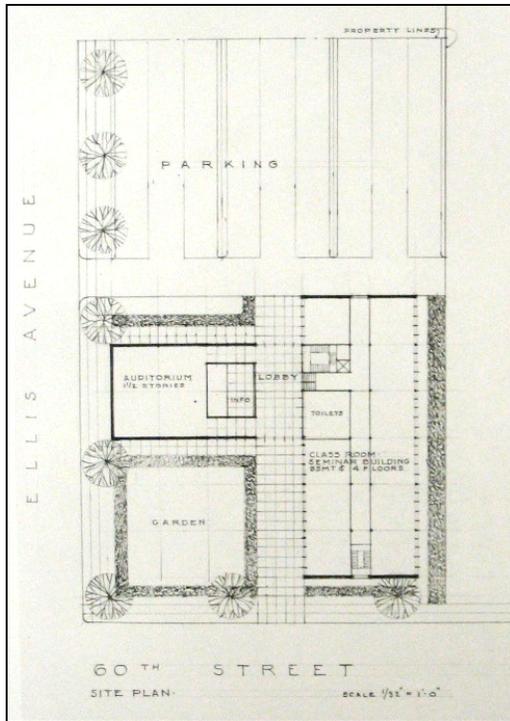


Fig. 4.14. Initial site plan commissioned by UC board of trustees. Plan is oriented south at the top. The parking lot serves as a buffer to the Woodlawn neighborhood beyond 61st St. Grounds and Buildings Photographs. UCSC.



Fig. 4.15. The School of Social Services Administration Building by Mies van der Rohe. The Burton-Judson dormitory is in the background, east of the SSA Building. Grounds and Buildings Photographs. UCSC.

each new proposed development south of the Midway. Consistent with the campus master plan, SECC staff developed a draft municipal ordinance that would alter campus-area zoning to fit the university's future development plan, allowing spot exception in terms of parking, FAR, access, etc. so long as development over the whole campus area was consistent with the city's zoning principles. The Plan of Development for Zoning Purposes would go before the Plan Commission and City Council once and no zoning changes—each potentially political sticking points—would thereafter be necessary for the university.

The Planned Development ordinance would serve to reconcile conflicts between the state rehabilitation and federal renewal programs that the university drew upon to

effect redevelopment. In the South West Hyde Park redevelopment area, the Neighborhood Redevelopment Corporation Act required passage of a development plan by a Neighborhood Redevelopment Commission, but federal legislation required plan passage by City Council. Finding the council more pliable and expeditious, Julian Levi argued that the city's passage of the Planned Development Document would satisfy the state.¹⁴³

Part of the zoning changes contained within the planned development ordinance were maximum Floor to Area Ratios, or FAR, and maximum land coverage, restrictions on the amount of developed floor space that could be built on a site.¹⁴⁴ These measures, by limiting the developed interior space, also limited the exterior volume of buildings. Considering these features along with the setbacks and parking restrictions contained in the proposal, when the university submitted the zoning ordinance amendments, it created an explicit legal mechanism directly controlling campus-area development. The most intense areas of development (highest FARs) were south of the Midway and directly west of the main part of campus, where the university anticipated hospital expansion—the areas with the highest proportion of black residents near campus. The areas south of the Midway also had low land coverage limits, far below the pattern of development in Woodlawn. If anything were built, it would cover a small share of the parcel and be surrounded by large parking lots. The areas with the lowest FAR were in the main campus area, surrounding the residential area of faculty homes east of campus—known

¹⁴³ Memo from Julian Levi to Walter Leen, September 3, 1963. Box 380 Folder 10. BAP. UCSC.

¹⁴⁴ An FAR of 1.0, for example, could mean up to 10,000 feet of built space on a 10,000 square foot lot in varying configurations such as a 10,000-foot, one-story building or a two story building with floors of 5,000 feet each. However, a 50% land coverage limit would make the first option illegal and would mandate the greater open space of the second.

as the “Golden Square”—on two sides with buildings of comparable scale and coverage.¹⁴⁵

Campus Protest

The fears of neighborhood transition were broadly shared by the university’s leaders, so when Nobel laureate George Beadle was named to succeed Lawrence Kimpton as UC president in 1961, his administration maintained the university’s neighborhood strategy.¹⁴⁶ If anything, Levi’s influence became more entrenched, as his brother, Edward, was promoted from dean of the law school to provost of the university. Kimpton had resigned as chancellor of the university in 1960 to become an executive with Standard Oil of Indiana, where he would continue his affiliation with the Rockefeller family that had long supported the university.¹⁴⁷ Beadle’s wife, Muriel, worked to mitigate the havoc that the university had wreaked on the community by becoming a prominent member of the HPKCC, promoting historic preservation and working to provide retail and artists’ space for people and businesses displaced by urban renewal.¹⁴⁸

Though the Beadle administration maintained the university’s commitment to leading urban renewal, other parts of the southeast Chicago community became disenchanted with the effort. In January of 1962, members of the south Chicago chapter of the Congress on Racial Equality (CORE) had organized sit-ins at the administration building and real estate office to protest segregation in university-owned apartment

¹⁴⁵ All data come from the September 6, 1963 proposed Plan of Development. Folder 1, Box 73. Beadle Administration Papers. UCSC. Rossi and Dentler, *The Politics of Urban Renewal*, 169.

¹⁴⁶ The office was designated chancellor from 1945 to 1961 but returned to being a presidency in 1961.

¹⁴⁷ “Kimpton Resigns.” *Chicago Maroon*. March 30, 1960.

¹⁴⁸ Beadle, *Where Has All the Ivy Gone?*

buildings, bringing new scrutiny to the UC housing program.¹⁴⁹ The CORE protests were an organic, student- and community-led effort to oppose the university's racial and housing strategies. CORE had been founded in 1942 in Chicago by students and recent college graduates, several of them studying at the Chicago Theological Seminary. The South Side Chicago chapter maintained this youth composition as 1962 protest participants comprised a mix of Chicago and Roosevelt University students, city civil rights activists, and other urban race liberals.¹⁵⁰ After area residents made accusations of segregation and unfair real estate development, CORE conducted paired rental applications that confirmed those suspicions.¹⁵¹ When confronted, President Beadle acknowledged that the university engaged in racial segregation on a limited basis in order to "[proceed] as fast as we can to attain integration as soon as we can."¹⁵² On January 23rd, 29 university students, 2 non-university CORE members, and 2 students from the University of Wisconsin occupied the offices of the UC administration building and the office of University Realty Management Office, which handled the university's off-campus residential real estate, to protest the housing policy.¹⁵³ Demonstrators remained in the administration building around the clock, seeking meetings with university administrators, and were arrested several times at the realty office. Debate raged for more than a week as participation waxed and waned and press institutions

¹⁴⁹ "Integration Bid Stirring Chicago." *New York Times*. January 28, 1962. "Students Stage U. of Chicago Sitdown." *Chicago Tribune*. January 24, 1962.

¹⁵⁰ Arrest records, "Diary of the Sit-Ins." Folder 1. Box 272. BAP. UCSC.

¹⁵¹ In paired tests, white applicants interview or apply to rent in a white-occupied building to learn that a unit is available. When black applicants follow, they are steered to black-occupied buildings or told that no units are available in the white-occupied building. *Chicago Maroon*. January 19, 1962.

¹⁵² "UC Admits Housing Segregation." *Chicago Maroon*. January 17, 1962.

¹⁵³ "CORE, UC hassle; Students 'sleep-in.'" *Chicago Maroon*. January 24, 1962. "Realty sit-downers arrested." *Chicago Maroon*. January 25, 1962.



Fig. 4.16. CORE students occupy the University of Chicago Administration Building, January, 1962, to protest housing segregation. Addressing the crowd of students at left is UC undergraduate and future U.S. Senator Bernie Sanders. (UC Special Collections)

turned against protestors.¹⁵⁴ The campus was charged as supporters and detractors launched accusations and defenses of both sides.¹⁵⁵ Even within departments, students could split on support for or opposition to the protest and the broader issue of campus housing policy.¹⁵⁶

The resolution of the protest was peaceful but revealed emerging fractures between students on the left, the technocratic faculty, and university leaders that would continue to grow throughout the 1960s. At the outset, university president Beadle announced a willingness to work with demonstrators but emphasized the need for an incremental approach to integration.¹⁵⁷ After 13 days of protest, Beadle ordered students to leave the premises or face suspension from the university, announcing that administrators would discuss the racial issues with student leaders in the future. CORE

¹⁵⁴ Editorial. *Chicago Tribune*. January 26, 1962. Editorial. *Chicago Maroon*. January 16, 1962.

¹⁵⁵ Editorial. *Chicago Daily Defender*. January 29, 1962.

¹⁵⁶ In the history department, one graduate student and his wife were arrested for participating in the protest, while another graduate student wrote George Beadle a supportive letter describing the university's "limited segregation policy" as "wholly justified." Exhibit U. Letter from Jackson to Beadle January 20, 1962. "Diary of the Sit-Ins." Folder 1. Box 272. BAP. UCSC.

¹⁵⁷ "4 Comment on Segregation." *Chicago Maroon*. January 29, 1962.

ended the sit-in and the university commissioned professors from law, sociology, business programs to write a housing report. Issued a month later, the document exhibited the influence of key members of university faculty who were involved in the HPKCC, such as planning professor Harvey Perloff, anthropology and extension professor Sol Tax and education professor Herbert Thelen. Advocating pursuit of “an interracial community of high standards,” the report committee recommended a more active role by the university, including research on group dynamics and advocacy of open housing.¹⁵⁸ These actions—liberal, technocratic solutions—undermined the position of CORE, who pushed for more engagement with administrators after the report’s release, but found they did not have the support of the faculty, who prioritized research and working within existing organizations like the HPKCC rather than direct action.

University faculty not only advocated against vigorous direct action as a means of opposing segregation, through an emerging rhetoric of the free market particularly prominent among students and faculty at the University of Chicago, scholars argued that segregation was a natural consequence of market forces. Prominent among these were political philosopher Friedrich Hayek, author of *The Road to Serfdom*, which warned that fascism was a likely reaction to socialism; economist Eugene Fama, one of the earliest advocates to articulate the efficient markets theory; and economist Milton Friedman, founder of the monetarist school whose charisma and libertarianism inspired generations of students.¹⁵⁹ In a pioneering book establishing the monocentric model of urban land values, *Cities and Housing*, University of Chicago economist Richard Muth asserted that

¹⁵⁸ “Diary of the Sit-Ins.” Folder 1. Box 272. Alison Dunham, et al. “Report of the Faculty Committee on Rental Policies.” BAP. UCSC.

¹⁵⁹ Kimberly Phillips-Fein, *Invisible Hands: The Making of the Conservative Movement from the New Deal to Reagan* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2009).

the city's patterns of racial segregation were due to simple consumer preference—an incontrovertible market logic—and, despite protests on his own campus, explicitly rejected the (now well-established) notion that realtors or home sellers discriminated against African Americans.¹⁶⁰ Thus, even as UofC administrators actively subverted the functioning of a free market and students interrupted university operations in protest, Chicago economists asserted the exactly opposite conclusion, and in the process directed scholarly literature on urban economics away from consideration of the segregation issue for a generation.

The situation had cooled somewhat when Ely Aaron's request for a non-discrimination pledge arrived in March, 1962, but the university was no closer to releasing their control of the surrounding community. Non-discrimination requests had won approval at other elite universities including Yale and Berkeley, but Beadle resisted appeals for open housing, suggesting that white flight would ensue.¹⁶¹ He pledged that the university was “firmly opposed to any form of discrimination against anyone... [i]n education, in employment, in living conditions and in all other respects.”¹⁶² However, when the president's staff considered the CHR's non-discrimination pledge in housing, the administrators refused to respond and denied any legal responsibility for off-campus housing. Vice president for business William Harrell wrote to a fellow university officer in response, “Certainly, we can ill afford to undertake the responsibility for telling our neighbors that they should not discriminate.”¹⁶³ University administrators, who could

¹⁶⁰ Richard Muth, *Cities and Housing: The Spatial Pattern of Urban Residential Land Use*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 109-112.)

¹⁶¹ “Rules on Housing Widened at Yale.” *New York Times*. October 25, 1959. W. J. Rorabaugh, *Berkeley at War: The 1960s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 56. University Housing and Neighborhood Policy. “Diary of the Sit-Ins.” Folder 1. Box 272. BAP. UCSC.

¹⁶² “Integration Bid Stirring Chicago.” *New York Times*. January 28, 1962.

¹⁶³ Memo from William Harrell to Ray Brown May 18, 1962. Box 22 Folder 8. BAP. UCSC.

seize land, demolish buildings, and force the compliance of the city's powerful mayor in their conservation and redevelopment schemes, were complicit in the ongoing segregation of Hyde Park and Woodlawn by declining to intervene in housing discrimination against university students. In refusing to respond to the Commission on Human Relations, university administrators rejected responsibility for racial integration in their community. In concert with the university's own segregationist housing policy, this denial represented the choice to preserve, facilitate, and advance the function and the ambition of the institution rather than the ideals on which that institution was founded. Though student protest had not brought any specific change, such early efforts in a growing student engagement with civil rights helped mobilize students for participation in the 1964 Freedom Summer effort and, even later, the flowering of student radical groups such as Students for a Democratic Society.

Educational Reorganization

Reaching the limits of their own resources for redevelopment, the university called upon other educational institutions to help continue the renewal process. By mid-1962 the university had developed an urban renewal plan for Hyde Park and commenced demolition and rehabilitation, had two clearance projects passed and executed, were working to force the city into taking a mile-long strip of land south of the Midway, and had replanned its campus to maximize redevelopment, all in an effort to tighten its grip on near-campus areas. Years before, talk of a merger with Northwestern University in Evanston into a metropolitan university had been considered by trustees of both institutions, but had come to naught.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶⁴ The University of Chicago Report of the President to the Board of Trustees The Academic Years 1930-1934. February 1, 1935. UCSC.

A South Side institution came up for consideration in 1956 when the president of the Ford Foundation, Henry Heald, contacted Chicago chancellor Lawrence Kimpton. Heald had been president of the Armour Institute in 1940 and guided its transformation into the Illinois Institute of Technology (IIT), hiring Ludwig Mies van der Rohe as dean of architecture and campus designer. IIT, located at 35th St. and South State, also found itself in the middle of the growing Black Belt during the 1940s and pioneered several of the redevelopment and renewal strategies subsequently employed by the University of Chicago.¹⁶⁵ Heald suggested that if the UC board would agree to absorb the science and engineering college, the Ford Foundation would make a substantial gift to the university to facilitate administrative and physical consolidation.¹⁶⁶ The Chicago trustees declined, but remained in search of other institutional partners.

In October of 1956, Kimpton had approached the leaders of several metropolitan Chicago seminaries about relocating to Hyde Park. The Chicago chancellor proposed that the Illinois Synod of the Lutheran Church, located in the west Chicago suburbs, and the McCormick Theological Seminary, a Presbyterian school then located in Lincoln Park, would benefit from being near the University of Chicago's federated schools of theology. Likewise, Chicago's theology students would benefit from a community of like-minded individuals nearby.¹⁶⁷ McCormick administrators declined the UC offer, but the Lutheran Synod gave it lengthy consideration. The Lutherans also entertained the possibility of a move to Evanston, a northern Chicago suburb, to be nearer Northwestern University.

¹⁶⁵ "Philanthropoid No. 1." *Time*. June 10, 1957. Hirsch, *Making the Second Ghetto*, 116-17.

¹⁶⁶ Letter from Henry Heald to Lawrence Kimpton. Box 237 Folder 10. KAP. UCSC.

¹⁶⁷ Letter from Kimpton to Armin George Weng, President Chicago Lutheran Seminary (Maywood) October 2, 1956. Box 166 Folder 2. KAP. UCSC.

Aside from the academic benefits Chicago both anticipated and offered, the university stood to benefit from the incorporation of another Chicago-area institution into their urban renewal and redevelopment plans. The relocation of a new institution near the UC campus would mean more parcels to be razed and rebuilt in fulfillment of the university's plans and another institution to help shoulder the financial burden of remaking Hyde Park. As a result, UC administrators worked over a number of years to woo the Lutheran organization into creating a new institution on the city's South Side, promising help in assembling parcels and in working with the city administration. The synod accepted the proposal in 1959.¹⁶⁸

The Lutherans' decision to move to Hyde Park sparked controversy from the outset precisely because it entailed dramatic redevelopment of a city block. After discussing a block west of campus that UC leadership declined, the university offered a block at the northeast corner of E. 55th St. and University, which the Synod accepted for the nascent Lutheran School of Theology of Chicago (LSTC).¹⁶⁹ When the university set out to acquire additional property on the block in order to consolidate its ownership, it met significant opposition from renewal-weary residents. Groups of tenants in cooperatively-owned buildings formed a block club in May of 1963 with local resident Arthur Para as the group's chairman, collectively declining offers to sell their buildings to the university. Para orchestrated a campaign against the university, sending letters throughout the UC and LSTC administration asserting solidarity in opposition. These missives were matched by open letters and flyers cajoling and wheedling his neighbors,

¹⁶⁸ "Lutherans Won't Change Site, UC Will Help Students." *Chicago Maroon*. January 22, 1965.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

trying to build and maintain support against the university.¹⁷⁰ Para argued particularly forcefully about the integrated demographics of the block and the affordability of the housing that would be demolished, rallying another citizens' group, the North West Hyde Park Area Council, to opposition for institutional development rather than housing.¹⁷¹ University of Chicago students also offered support for the cause, complaining that rental units already in short supply would become an even more scarce good.¹⁷² UC administrators mollified student objections by promising to create more off-campus student housing through the purchase of apartment buildings. When a cooperative owning a building at 5460 Woodlawn refused to sell the whole structure, the theology school responded by trying to buy individual shares of the cooperatives and taking over the organization, a move the cooperatives' leadership rebuffed.¹⁷³

After a year-long battle with residents, the theology school and the university gave in, deciding to locate the theological campus a block to the west instead, on the northwest corner of the University-East 55th St. intersection where the university had acquired and owned more property.¹⁷⁴ There, too, the two institutions found opposition from residents and, among them, students, as Para continued to organize against Chicago and the LSTC.¹⁷⁵ However, the university had a stronger position on the block, not least because it owned several buildings employed for student housing. While students could

¹⁷⁰ "Resolution of the Fifty-Four Hundred University Woodlawn Block Club," n.d. LSTC Archives.

¹⁷¹ "Open Letter to the People of Hyde Park and Kenwood." July 5, 1963. LSTC Archives. Press Release from Arthur Para, July 12, 1963. LSTC Archives.

¹⁷² "Housing Is Tighter Than Ever Here." *Chicago Maroon*. October 13, 1967.

¹⁷³ Letter from 5460 Woodlawn Corporation to Joseph Cox, October 4, 1963. LSTC Archives. Memo from C.H. Anderson to Robert J. Marshall, February 6, 1964. LSTC Archives.

¹⁷⁴ Letter from Lutheran School of Theology at Chicago to residents, December 11, 1964. LSTC Archives.

¹⁷⁵ Letter from Harold Huston to Lutheran School of Theology, December 11, 1964. LSTC Archives. Letter from Harold Huston to F. K. Zimmerman, December 26, 1964. LSTC Archives. Letter from Jane MacMillan Macurdy, December 21, 1964. LSTC Archives. Memo from C.H. Anderson to F.K. Zimmerman, January 11, 1965.

provide individual and collective opposition, few had attachments to any particular sites. Drawing on the strategy IIT administrators had advocated years before, the university took advantage of the powers of ownership and individual students' annual movements, and their control over students through housing policy to soften opposition to redevelopment.¹⁷⁶

In the middle of the controversy, civil rights activist and entertainer Dick Gregory reached out to students and decried the university's renewal actions in the papers of the *Maroon*, the student newspaper. Arguing that the technocratic process of renewal held moral implications by reinforcing inequality, Gregory made appeals to history and, though his tenure was complete at Chicago, indicted Lawrence Kimpton, the originator of the renewal effort who had worked as an administrator in the creation of nuclear weapons. The university, the comedian stated, had "a duty to do something for the dignity of humanity after its work on the bomb." Finally, he presaged the coming Chicago Freedom Movement when he equated the city's segregation with the Jim Crow legacy of the south, arguing, "When people become aware that there is no 'down south,' they'll be facing the problem more honestly."¹⁷⁷ Gregory's appeal to students charged the university—by its very technocratic, modernizing and progress-oriented operations—with undermining black advancement and being a destructive institution as much as a creative one.

¹⁷⁶ Indeed, the wife of a UC graduate student collaborated with LSTC administrators to undermine the block club's opposition. When the husband graduated, the university gave the couple the refrigerator from their apartment as a gift. Letter from Charlotte Tanner to Frank Zimmerman. December 19, 1964. LSTC Archives. Letter from Warner Wick to George Beadle, et al. April 29, 1963. Folder 7, Box 73. Beadle Administration Papers. UCSC.

¹⁷⁷ "Dick Gregory on Urban Renewal: Will UC Ever Learn?" November 3, 1964. Chicago *Maroon*.

By December of 1964, the University of Chicago had acquired 6 of 7 buildings on the block bounded by E. 55th St., University Ave., 54th Place, and Kenwood Ave., and sold them to the Lutheran institution.¹⁷⁸ The Perkins + Will firm served as the school's master planner and LSTC administrators turned to the firm in 1964 to develop an architectural concept as Chicago and the theology school acquired property. When it became clear one cooperative building's owners were unwilling to sell the project architect devised a novel scheme to deal with the holdouts. In the winter of 1965, LSTC released the site plan for the new campus as the holdout building reaffirmed its unwillingness to sell.¹⁷⁹

The LSTC plan surrounded the remaining residential building with a C-shaped institutional edifice and site plan that isolated the residents from the surrounding neighborhood and promised to dramatically reduce the use and resale values of the cooperative. Faced with such a compromised residential environment, the cooperative agreed to trade their building with another owned by the LSTC a few blocks away.¹⁸⁰ The theological school

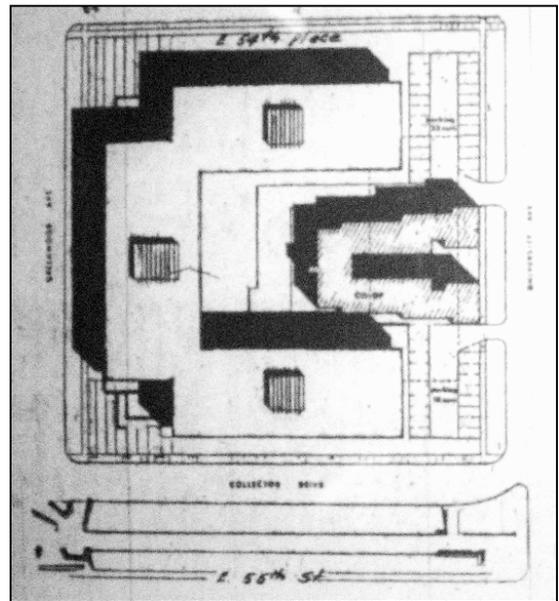


Figure 4.17. Proposed site plan for Lutheran School of Theology in Chicago, with holdout building. East 55th St., south of the site, is at the bottom of the image. The LSTC building design was subsequently rotated 90 degrees counter-clockwise before construction. (Chicago

¹⁷⁸ Memo to Frank Zimmerman September 28, 1964. Box 205, Folder 7. BAP. UCSC. "Purchase Site for Lutheran Theology Unit." *Chicago Tribune*, December 15, 1964.

¹⁷⁹ "Reveal Site Plans for Lutheran Seminary." *Chicago Maroon*, February 25, 1965.

¹⁸⁰ Memo from Winston Kennedy to James Ritterskamp, September 7, 1965. Folder 8 Box 205. BAP. UCSC.

broke ground in late 1965 and was completed the next year. Perkins + Will rotated the plan 90 degrees, calling for demolition of the remaining apartment building, resulting in a completely cleared block and removal of 149 total units.¹⁸¹

The Lutheran synod had not been the first organization the university negotiated with to buffer their campus. Early in Lawrence Kimpton's tenure as chancellor, the UC administration had lured the American Bar Association to build a research and education center at a location on East 60th Street, fronting on the Midway, by selling undeveloped land to the organization, providing a barrier to the residential land to the south to help prevent "local infection," and serving as the university's first postwar development south of the Midway, paving the way for the South Campus land acquisition plan.¹⁸²

The University of Chicago continued to negotiate with local, regional, and national institutions in an effort to facilitate regional educational reorganization and local redevelopment. Julian Levi, for example, arranged for the demolition of a church located at 54th St. and Kimbark. Before the urban renewal plan became public, he urged the church's pastor to develop a grand vision for expanding the congregation and moving to a new site Levi had in mind.¹⁸³ When the congregation balked, eminent domain proceedings began and Levi convinced the church to take the site at Woodlawn and E. 55th, where the church is located at this writing. In 1967, Chicago entered negotiations with Barat College, a Catholic women's college located in Lake Forest, a north Chicago suburb, to relocate near the university. When UC administrators offered land south of the Midway near Washington Park and a consulting firm advised against moving to Hyde

¹⁸¹ "Lutherans Won't Change Site, UC Will Help Students." *Chicago Maroon*. January 22, 1965.

¹⁸² Report of Board of Trustees' Subcommittee on Acquisition of Headquarters Site, February 26, 1952. Box 49, Folder 1. Kimpton Papers. UCSC.

¹⁸³ Memo from Douglas Larson to Lawrence Kimpton 2-20-1958. Box 166 Folder 2. Kimpton Papers. UCSC.

Park and Woodlawn, Barat College administrators balked and subsequently broke off negotiations, choosing to remain in Lake Forest until the institution closed in 2004.¹⁸⁴ In 1975, the McCormick Theological School fulfilled Lawrence Kimpton's ambition and moved its campus to Hyde Park, sharing a site with the LSTC.¹⁸⁵

At roughly the same time as the LSTC controversy, university leadership sought the aid of another major institution to help develop an even more ambitious plan for university expansion. Drawing on contacts at the Ford Foundation, president George Beadle arranged for a \$25 million grant from the philanthropic institution based on a 10-year expansion plan that would nearly double the ranks of university faculty and graduate students.¹⁸⁶ This dramatic expansion would require more space, more buildings, and more redevelopment to create the facilities necessary to teach the additional students and house the faculty that the expansion would bring. Such an ambitious plan carried a hefty price tag requiring multiple sources of aid for its enactment. Administrators developed a scheme drawing on two chief sources of support. First, the university would commence a capital campaign with a goal of \$125 million, with the Ford Foundation grant serving as seed money. Among the priorities of the capital campaign, promoted as the "Campaign for Chicago," were adding faculty, creating new buildings and research facilities, as well as the university's neighborhood program, comprising \$12.5 million of the campaign's

¹⁸⁴ Letter from M. Burke to E Levi, November 1, 1967. Box 56, Folder 13. Beadle Administration Papers. UCSC.

¹⁸⁵ The LSTC also resold one of the apartment buildings on the originally-acquired block to Priory Press, a Dominican publishing house, resulting in a conversion from residential to commercial use. Eve Hochwald. "No Housing Gain from Resale." *Chicago Maroon*. November 19, 1965.

¹⁸⁶ Former chancellor Robert Maynard Hutchins had become an associate director of the foundation, as had former Dean of the College Clarence Faust. "Philanthropoid No. 1." *Time*. June 10, 1957.

goal, which would go to land and building acquisition. Second, the university would double tuition, nearly quadrupling annual revenue after the enrollment increase.¹⁸⁷

The University of Chicago did not benefit a great deal from the educational provisions of the GI Bill. While universities around the country boomed with new enrollment, the UC did not. Later, when such growth was made possible by the Ford Foundation and the Campaign for Chicago, the university instead chose to become a more selective and more elite university, expanding their graduate and professional schools and making the undergraduate college more exclusive rather than larger. However, at the end of the 1960s the university's relationship with the federal government was never stronger and university administrators and faculty had leveraged political and intellectual capital in pursuit of institutional advancement.

Conclusion

In the redevelopment of the University of Chicago campus, Hyde Park, and Woodlawn, the building scheme, conceived by UC leadership and refined by architects and planners, reflected an architecture of control. No specific style, these designs were united by their intent to restrict the movement of individuals; to direct the flows of pedestrians to prevent student and non-student mixing near campus; and to replace mixed-use buildings accessed by the public with single-use structures with limited access. This architecture had public policy as its foundation, a supporting structure laid by political lobbying, a public relations campaign emphasizing the Cold War importance of the university, intervention in financial and real estate markets, and the fear of racial transition. On this foundation the architectural spaces were articulated by men like Eero

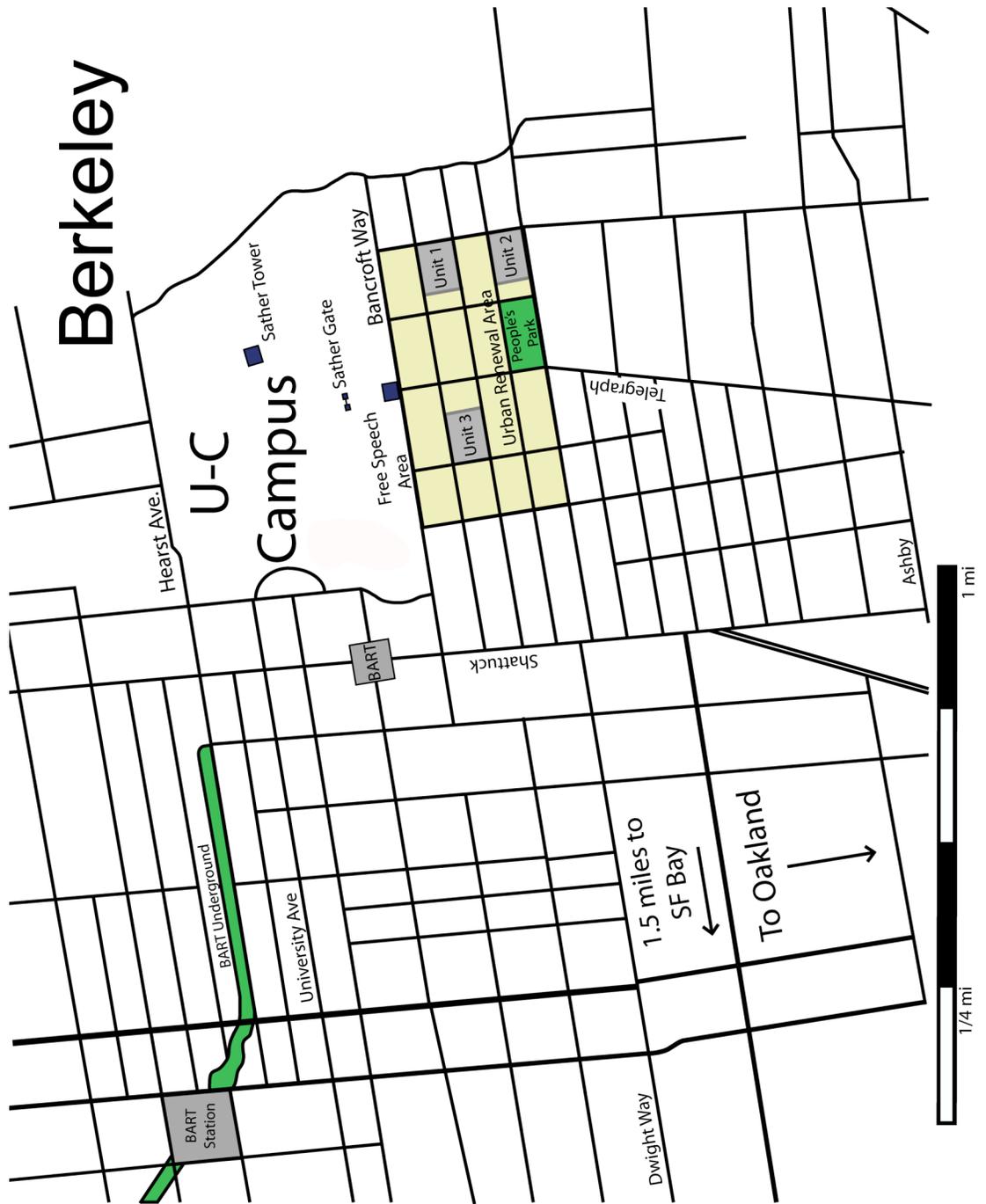
¹⁸⁷ John W. Boyer. Annual Report to the Faculty of the College. *The University of Chicago Record*. Volume 34, Number 1. November 4, 1999.

Saarinen, Harry Weese, and Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, who helped shape a landscape in which the University of Chicago visually, politically, and economically dominated, rejecting the physical and demographic conditions around it.

Drawing on the power of industrial capital to bend the will of local and national politicians and bureaucrats, educational elites in Chicago pursued an independent urban agenda that declined engagement with civil rights efforts involving housing and segregation. From the Illinois Neighborhood Redevelopment Act to the Section 112 Program of the 1959 Housing Act, UC leaders developed new programs and political relationships to protect the welfare of their institutions. Administrators invoked a student-centered rhetoric as they worked to safeguard and develop a technocratic educational endeavor that would train students to perform the work of the Cold War state, leading new efforts in pursuit of national advancement through economic development and scientific and medical research. Leaders like Julian Levi proposed an ideal of post-industrial urbanism like that of many postwar liberals, in which universities did more than contribute to the life of the working city.¹⁸⁸ Instead, universities would come to replace industry as the basis of the urban economy within democratic capitalism while the educational class would shape and animate a denser, more connected, and more productive local community to both draw on and support the institution. Doing so in Chicago required a controlled landscape to prevent racial transition and to isolate campus life from the surrounding community where possible. Remaking this landscape involved the development of public policy, guidance of the strong hand of capital, the physical and financial marshalling of students and other educational institutions, and the employment

¹⁸⁸ Daniel Bell, *The Coming of Post-Industrial Society: A Venture in Social Forecasting* (New York: Basic Books, 1973).

of architects and planners who would use their talents to develop the vision of UC trustees and administrators. This process gave physical form to a broad set of university values, rebuilding a landscape of knowledge and power with an architecture of control.



Map 5.1. Central Berkeley and the University of California campus area. By the author.

Chapter 5

Contesting Postwar Ideology

The Friday afternoon before Thanksgiving in 1947 was an auspicious day in southwest Los Angeles. A massive, new Broadway department store opened at Santa Barbara and Crenshaw, two miles west of the University of Southern California and six miles from downtown. At 12:30 p.m. on November 21st, Pasadena businessman Edward Carter swung open the front doors and within a few hours, an estimated 40,000 customers had flooded into the new five-floor, 220,000 square foot, air-conditioned store with a clean, modern façade looking out onto Crenshaw Boulevard and anchoring a shopping center. The Crenshaw Center was the nation's first regional shopping center, with enough parking to accommodate 7,000 cars a day and more than 500,000 square feet of developed floor space. It would soon claim the world's largest supermarket and represented a \$6 million investment by The Broadway Company, a retail and real estate development company led by Edward Carter.¹ The Broadway president had led the effort to create a regional mall that drew from a customer base in nearby communities that were home to booming defense contractors, including Culver City next door, home to the Hughes Aircraft empire, and Santa Monica to the west, where the operations of Douglas Aircraft were headquartered.² These suburbs were populated with engineers, mechanics, sales reps, and industrial laborers—all potential customers of the new Crenshaw shopping

¹ "Broadway's New Crenshaw Store to Open Today," *Los Angeles Times*. November 21, 1947, p. A1. "Von's Crenshaw Rated World's Largest Grocery," *Los Angeles Times*. August 24, 1950, p. C16. Equivalent to a \$57.9 million investment in 2008 dollars. CPI inflation calculator.

² "Broadway-Crenshaw Visited by Thousands," *Los Angeles Times*. November 22, 1947, p. A1.

center and part of a postwar wave of arrivals to California and the Los Angeles metropolitan region.³ This demographic wave and postwar federal support of the aviation industry helped stimulate regional employment, ballooned the cost of housing, and helped realize real estate gambits such as the Crenshaw Center across the state. From 1945 to 1960, the total value of California land and tangible property grew more than 300%, due to both appreciation and new investments, from \$8.54 billion to \$29.6 billion.⁴

The massive increase in the value of California land held significant consequences for the ability of the state to provide services like education to California residents. Financed by property taxes and sales taxes, the state treasury ballooned from a \$550 million budget in 1940 to \$1.4 billion in 1955.⁵ Real estate developers were some of the most important political forces in the state, including the Huntington and Chandler families. Indeed, throughout the 1950s, several businessmen with economic interests in real estate and the culture of suburban California sat on the Board of Regents, including Edward Carter, oil barons Edwin Pauley and Samuel Mosher, Orange County developer Arthur McFadden, and Palm Springs developer Philip Boyd.⁶ The military-industrial economy was key to statewide prosperity, but the growth of defense industries and bedroom communities for workers was especially focused in metropolitan areas like Los Angeles, the Bay Area, and San Diego.⁷ Both state government and the University of

³ Richard Longstreth, *City Center to Regional Mall: Architecture, the Automobile, and Retailing in Los Angeles, 1920-1950* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1997), 227-38.

⁴ Dept. of Finance, Economic Development Agency of the State of California. *California Statistical Abstract, 1962*. Table Q-14, p. 187. Corrected for inflation, \$8.54bn inflates to \$13.98bn in 1960, meaning a 112% real increase in value from 1945 to 1960.

⁵ Los Angeles Times Articles. Could use discussion on revenues. Corrected for inflation, \$553m inflates to \$1.06bn in 1955, meaning a 32% real increase in the budget. CPI budget calculator.

⁶ On Arthur McFadden see William Piggot, "The Irvine New Town, Orange County, and the Transformation of Suburban Political Culture" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Washington, 2009).

⁷ Roger Lotchin has pointed out the local roots of these networks of defense contractors, suggesting "metropolitan-military complex" rather than "military-industrial complex." Roger Lotchin, *Fortress*

California depended upon this economic growth and the resulting tax revenue to fund their operations, linking the health of the state and higher education to suburban growth and defense contracting.

California's system of higher education was both a beneficiary and a victim of the state's phenomenal postwar growth. The responsibility to serve the population of the growing state created pressure for the university's leadership to accommodate growing enrollment while maintaining academic prestige. By 1950, approximately 100,000 of California's 10.6 million residents were attending college within the state; the number was projected to grow to 250,000 in the next decade and leap to 600,000 by 1975.⁸ Around the state, metropolitan elites pressed state political leaders and the Regents to establish and expand its campuses throughout California. But with this postwar growth, students, faculty, and administrators at the University of California began to confront a new challenge as yet unseen in American higher education: the tension inherent in a system predicated upon mass education and high-level research at an elite institution—and what this would mean for the campus at Berkeley. Once the lone campus of the University of California, Berkeley had long held a position as one of the top universities on the West Coast, if not the country. Growing enrollment and research activity threatened to overwhelm the intimate atmosphere that had characterized Cal before the

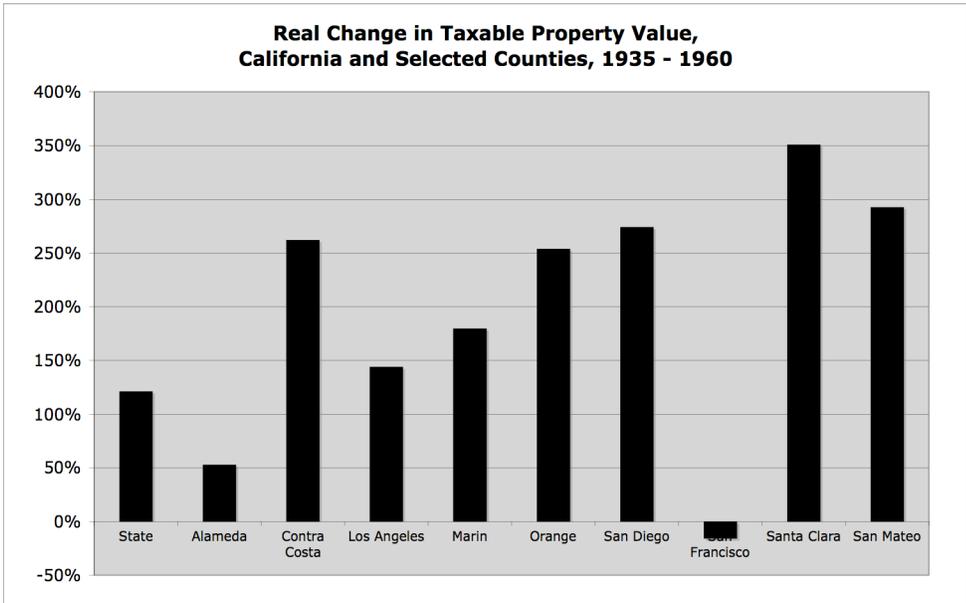
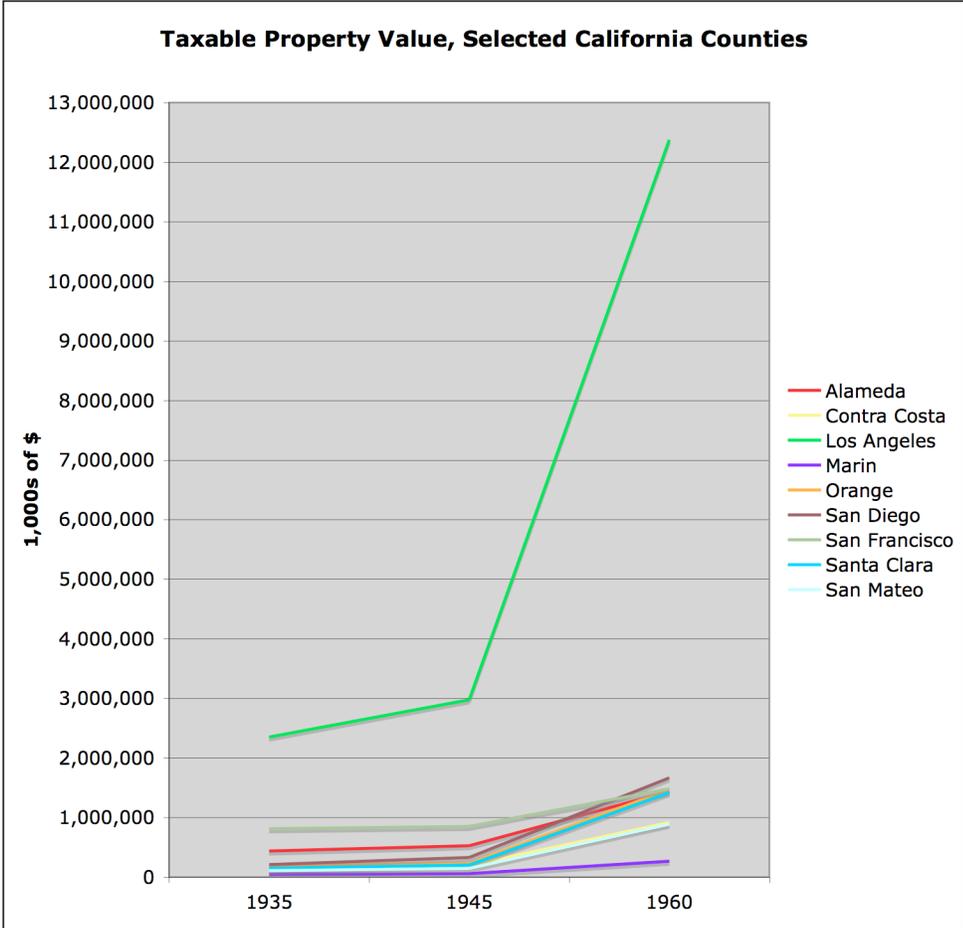
California, 1910-1961: From Warfare to Welfare (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 16. While Los Angeles, San Diego, and the Bay Area were the three areas of most robust development, Alameda and San Francisco counties experienced the most modest growth in the value of taxable property, 231% and 81%, respectively, from 1935 to 1960, while statewide growth ran to 378%. *California Statistical Abstract 1962*. Table Q-14, p. 187.

⁸ John Aubrey Douglass, *The California Idea and American Higher Education, 1850 to the 1960 Master Plan* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2000), 195, 317. In 1960, California's population reached 15.7 million, meaning not only was the state growing at a significant rate, but an increasing proportion of its population was pursuing higher education. "Resident Population and Reapportionment of the U.S. House of Representatives." www.census.gov/dmd/www/resapport/states/california.pdf (Accessed January 17, 2010).

war, creating a system of education that seemed to serve the Cold War interests of the nation at the expense of the student or community. As the flagship campus of the statewide university, Berkeley drew a steady annual stream of promising undergraduate students, thousands of professional and graduate students each year, and an ever-increasing number of faculty and staff throughout the twentieth century, growing rapidly from an enrollment of less than 8,000 in 1943 to nearly 22,000 by 1960.⁹ Those students constituted nearly a quarter of the city of Berkeley's population and represented a significant economic, cultural, and political force, even serving as its own urban community within the city of Berkeley with their own social, cultural, religious, and economic institutions.

Even as state leaders stood in solid support of higher education and the university, they did so within an American political framework bounded by McCarthyism and segregation and fueled by military Keynesianism. Thus, patrons, supporters, alumni, and fans of the university could both be staunch supporters of Berkeley as an institution and be disapproving of the faculty and student body, which experienced a liberal and radical resurgence in this period of growth in the 1950s that, as at Texas, conflicted with statewide political elites. At the university, the development of the campus resulting from this growth reflected the ambivalent relationship that the university had with the Berkeley community and with the state at large. In an attempt to remain economically accessible and culturally progressive, university leaders pursued a development regime and modern design aesthetic that ruptured the relationship that students had had with the

⁹ Clark Kerr, *The Gold and the Blue: Academic Triumphs*, vol. 1 (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2001), 73. Table 5.



Figs. 5.1 and 5.2. Growth rates of tangible property valuation in selected California counties, 1935-1960. (From *California Statistical Abstract*, 1962).

campus and community for decades, a reconfiguration of social and political space that provoked strident responses from the student body. Campus development was a catalyst for an insurgent student movement, a physical instantiation of a broader set of political values that clashed with many students' ambitions and beliefs.¹⁰

Battles over the landscape of education were part and parcel of the renowned student radicalism of Berkeley in the 1960s and 1970s, but the politics of the built environment bridged the campus and the city in a number of different ways.¹¹ University leaders participated in a burgeoning environmental movement by opposing alteration of the San Francisco Bay shoreline. Faculty and city political leaders united in contentious negotiations over the development of the Bay Area Rapid Transit District lines in Berkeley. Cal alumni and former student activists led efforts against capitalist real estate development in Berkeley, joining rent control to neighborhood preservation ordinances in the city in order to pre-empt the urban development that had precipitated campus crises. Finally, prominent members of the architecture faculty began to reject mid-century design and development practices, creating community design initiatives and analytical systems for neo-traditional development not only as a rebuke to university real estate practices but as part of a fundamental re-thinking of urban development.

¹⁰ The key framework for mid-century political history has been one of liberal decline, but one in which radicals may have had some impact, represented in Steve Fraser and Gary Gerstle, eds., *The Rise and Fall of the New Deal Order, 1930-1980* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1989). Rebecca Klatsch, *A Generation Divided: The New Left, the New Right, and the 1960s* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999). W. J. Rorabaugh, *Berkeley at War: The 1960s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989). Pierre Clavel, *The Progressive City: Planning and Participation, 1969-1984* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1986). Van Gosse, *Rethinking the New Left: An Interpretative History* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2005).

¹¹ Scholars have recently begun to look beyond the anti-war activism of students and leftists, in which educational communities remained sites for experimentation and, increasingly, policy development involving the built environment. Amy Scott, "Remaking Urban in the American West: Lifestyle Politics, Micropolitan Urbanism, and Hip Capitalism in Boulder, Colorado, 1958-1978" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of New Mexico, 2007). Blake Gumprecht, *The American College Town* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2008).

In this period, the University of California metamorphosed from a university that embodied the mid-century liberal consensus—a state-supported institution of mass education training students for roles as scientists, businessmen, and bureaucrats in the system of democratic capitalism—to a center of multi-faceted student protest against that very institution and system. The built environment of the campus, Berkeley and the Bay Area was key to this protest, both as a catalyst for protest, as a symbolic site of opposition, and as the means for developing alternative economic and political frameworks for community building. As the prototype for postwar higher education, the “multiversity,” examination of the University of California helps illuminate numerous strains of protest and political contention at universities around the country, where institutions navigated new global responsibilities and enduring local identities and where a handful of events in a relatively small community held consequences for the state and even the nation.

Early Growth

Founded as the site of a new state university in the years after the Civil War, the city of Berkeley had long been riven between a working class settlement to the west along the flatlands and industrial waterfront and a middle class development near campus to the east, below the Berkeley Hills.¹² This geography was reinforced by transportation lines running north from Oakland including state highways and rail lines, connecting to the Bay Area’s industrial juggernaut in the first part of the 20th century. The College of California, predecessor to the university, had moved from Oakland in the 1850s, relocating on open land at the eastern fringe of development nestled at the foot of the

¹² Rorabaugh, *Berkeley at War*, 7.

hills.¹³ Like Texas, California's economy had followed a trajectory from an extractive economy based on natural resources to a postwar system shaped by the federal government, and the state university benefited from this transformation. The University of California's chief patron at the turn of the century was Phoebe Apperson Hearst, matriarch of a family that first made its wealth in mining, through her husband, then its name in publishing, through her son, William Randolph Hearst. Phoebe Hearst funded an international campus planning competition in 1899, paid for a building for the college of mines, and contributed an anthropology museum and a women's gymnasium from the proceeds of her late husband's mining enterprises.¹⁴

The results of the Hearst competition imposed a Beaux-Arts discipline upon the young university campus, guiding growth for decades to come. Frenchman Emile Benard, a *Beaux-Arts* trained architect, won the competition with a plan for integrating the campus into the city, but John Galen Howard took over the role of campus architect when conflict arose and Benard refused to move to California. Howard maintained the *Beaux-Arts* orientation of Benard's plan, but altered the design and position of buildings in his revision. Howard remained as campus architect for more than 20 years, designing features such as the Greek Theater in the foothills, the limestone-clad Sather Tower, and Sather Gate, the southern entrance to campus.¹⁵

Support from California elites created pressure for the university to expand. Before 1919, the Berkeley campus alone had constituted the University of California.

¹³ Verne Stadtman, *The University of California 1868-1968* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1970).

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 117, 91.

¹⁵ Sally Woodbridge, *John Galen Howard and the University of California* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2002).

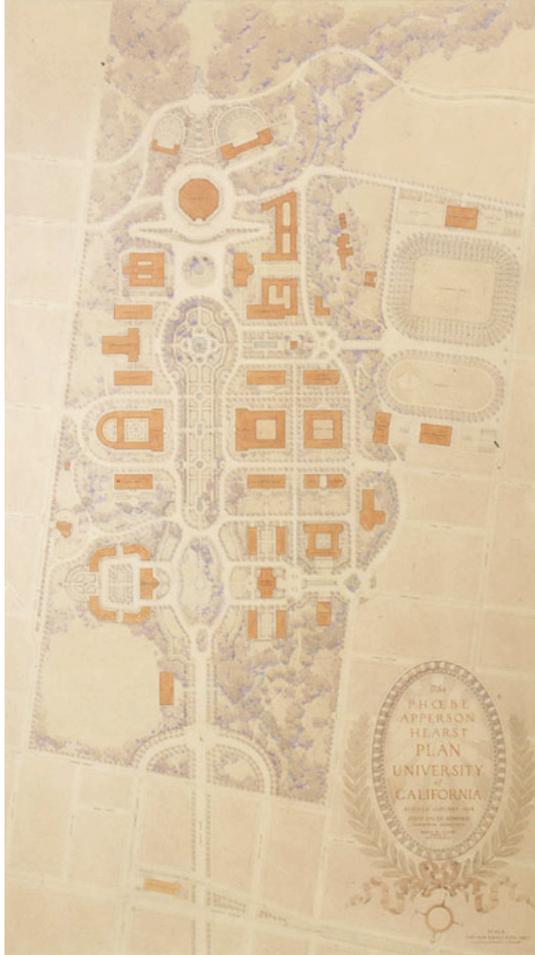


Fig 5.3. Axial plan devised by John Galen Howard after 1899 Hearst campus planning competition. The campus is aligned with the Golden Gate at the entrance to the San Francisco Bay. Rightmost (southmost) street is Bancroft Way. (University of California)

Fig. 5.4. Sather Tower. Designed by John Galen Howard. Photo by the author.



However, the growth of Los Angeles since the turn of the century and Southern California's patronage of the Los Angeles Normal School created a political movement for the incorporation of an L.A. branch into the University of California. After a year of negotiations, the legislature and Regents accepted the L.A. campus into the university, creating a precedent and process for growth. Undergraduate campuses at Davis and Santa Barbara followed in the 1920s and 1940s, respectively, creating a statewide university with campuses in multiple regions.¹⁶

During the Depression and World War II, Cal's enrollment and expansion program suffered alongside institutions around the country, stagnating for much of the fifteen years between the stock market crash and victory in Europe. However, because of a robust building program in the late 1910s and 1920s, Cal did not construct a single building with PWA funds, leaving them especially vulnerable to the tidal waves of new students at the war's end.¹⁷

The tension of rapid postwar growth was expressed on the physical landscape of the city of Berkeley and the San Francisco Bay region. The East Bay had become a location of the arsenal of democracy during World War II and attracted thousands of new residents seeking employment as defense workers in cities such as Richmond, Oakland,

¹⁶ The campuses at Davis, Riverside, and San Diego all began as small, single-purpose acquisitions, which gradually began expanding their offerings. The campus at Santa Barbara was originally a Marine Corps base acquired by the university at the conclusion of WWII from the federal War Assets Administration, the agency Lyndon Johnson negotiated with for the transfer of the magnesium plant to the University of Texas in Austin. Stadtman, *The University of California 1868-1968*, 219-23, 348.

¹⁷ Berkeley enrollment reached its mid-century nadir in 1944-45, with a total enrollment of 11,028 – roughly its level in 1928. Only 8 buildings were completed on the Berkeley campus from 1931 to 1940, down from 17 buildings completed 1920-29. Verne Stadtman, ed. *The Centennial Record of the University of California* (Berkeley, CA: University of California, 1967).

and Albany, which were closely linked to shipbuilding and naval procurement.¹⁸ Berkeley, predominantly a residential city, received a large proportion of those workers. At war's end, additional thousands of servicemen and women returned to the Bay Area, contributing to a metropolitan population increase of 900,000 from 1940 to 1950, with Berkeley gaining 28,258 residents in the decade, the largest increase in the city's history.¹⁹ The neighborhoods they returned to, however, suffered unequal fortunes after the war, continuing to be structured by racial segregation and seeing disparate levels of investment. Restrictive covenants covering 80% of the city prohibited black Berkeleyans from living in most white areas, creating corridors of racial concentration—African American in the southwest, Caucasian in the north.²⁰ The housing stock of Berkeley and nearby communities was unable to accommodate such rapid development, leading to deteriorated housing conditions and shortages within the region. Areas in Berkeley suffered from crowding as houses were cut into kitchenettes and apartments and landlords withheld capital investments and maintenance. Similarly, blight became a problem throughout the East Bay; in Oakland, investment shifted from the central city to suburbs and outlying developments, prompting civic leaders to pursue massive physical interventions such as slum clearance, urban renewal, and highway construction through the heart of the city.²¹

¹⁸ Marilynn Johnson, *The Second Gold Rush: Oakland and the East Bay in World War II* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), Robert Self, *American Babylon: Race and the Struggle for Postwar Oakland* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2003).

¹⁹ In 1940 Berkeley had 85,547 residents and in 1950 113,805 residents, a 33% increase. Sixteenth Census of the United States. (Washington, DC: G.P.O., 1942). Seventeenth Census of the United States (Washington, DC: G.P.O., 1952).

²⁰ Patricia Hampson, "Covert Urban Planning: Gender and Berkeley's World War II Housing Crunch." Society for American City and Regional Planning History Biennial Conference, 2009. Oakland, CA. Cited with permission of the author.

²¹ Robert Self, *American Babylon: Race and the Struggle for Postwar Oakland* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2003).

In the midst of this growing urban crisis, universities and the federal government strengthened their prewar alliance during and after World War II.²² The Manhattan Project, which saw the first controlled nuclear chain reaction at the University of Chicago, also brought federal nuclear research to Berkeley, where Cal physicists and Nobel Laureates Ernest O. Lawrence and Glenn Seaborg led teams conducting uranium experiments. The University of California system became the leading academic recipient of funding for defense research after the war, including the Department of Defense and the Atomic Energy Commission as clients.²³ The research and defense economy became so essential to the wellbeing of California that postwar governor and Cal alumnus Governor Earl Warren claimed that the university

“was the basic source of the scientific and technological skills that brought so much war and postwar industry to our economy—without which we probably would have experienced a calamitous unemployment situation in the postwar era.”²⁴

Even by the late 1940s the Bay Area was in the midst of transition from an urban industrial economy to a knowledge and service economy with the University of California and the Palo Alto-based Stanford University at its foundation.

Rapid increases in enrollment and research activity stressed the Berkeley campus, as well, crowding the intellectual space on campus. John Galen Howard’s verdant Beaux-Arts campus plan revision of 1903 had offered 245 acres of space but the university constructed an ambitious series of new buildings through the late 1910s and

²² Research comparing the leaders of public and private institutions indicates private institutions generally developed ties to the federal government in support of national defense efforts before public institutions, in some cases as early as World War I. Kenneth Heineman, *Campus Wars: The Peace Movement at American State Universities in the Vietnam Era* (New York: New York University Press, 1993), 14-16. Roger Geiger, *To Advance Knowledge: The Growth of American Research Universities, 1900-1940* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986). ———, *Research and Relevant Knowledge: American Research Universities since World War II* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 3-6.

²³ Heineman, *Campus Wars*, 13.

²⁴ Earl Warren, *The Memoirs of Earl Warren* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Co., 1977).

1920s, reaching to Hearst Avenue on the north and Allston and Bancroft Way on the south, where private development sprang up to serve the student population. By 1945 this had proved insufficient for the teaching and research demands of the growing institution, especially as returning veterans began to swell enrollments and teens no longer had to defer college plans, leading to a one-year jump at Berkeley from 11,000 in 1944 to over 18,000 in 1945.²⁵

Cal had long relied upon the private housing market rather than providing university dormitories and failed to exploit the PWA building boom of the 1930s that helped universities around the country expand their campuses. By the late 1940s Cal housed fewer than 5 percent of its students in university facilities and had scarcely constructed any buildings since the onset of the Great Depression.²⁶ This lack of on-campus housing exacerbated the housing shortage throughout the city as veterans who returned home to the East Bay competed for living space with veterans who relocated to Berkeley for schooling, along with the thousands of students who had not been affiliated with the armed forces.²⁷ The university inspected and approved a number of boarding houses, a paternalistic policy intended to guarantee minimum housing conditions, but inspectors could not keep up and thousands of students were forced to take lodging

²⁵ Stadtman, ed. *Centennial Record*, 212-25. Veteran enrollment in higher education peaked in the 1947-48 school year at 1.1 million, but continued at a level above 500,000 through the 1950-51 school year. Nationwide, all enrollment rose from 1.7 million in the fall of 1945 to more than 2.4 million in fall 1949 before a moderate decline to 2.1 million in 1951, beginning to rise again in 1952. Keith Olson, *The G. I. Bill, the Veterans and the Colleges* (Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 1974), 44.

²⁶ James Harvey, "The University and the City," (Berkeley: Bureau of Public Administration, 1958). However, the university thoroughly exploited funds from the National Youth Administration and the Works Progress Administration, drawing hundreds of thousands of dollars per year from the programs. Box 3, Folder 3. Collection CU-5.46 WPA Collections. University Archives. Bancroft Library. (hereafter UA and BL).

²⁷ The subgroup of veterans who attended Berkeley but were not originally from the city and had only moved there for education were not reflected in the 1950 census, as students were not counted as residents of the city where they attended until the 1960 census. Thus, the 1940 to 1950 population increase could have been even more severe than the published numbers indicate.

wherever they could find it. Shortages were particularly acute for married students with small families who sought larger housing units in areas with other families. This shortage created an impetus to build, both on campus and within the Berkeley community, but postwar materials shortages precluded rapid action by the private market. Units were so scarce even business boosters like the city's Chamber of Commerce advocated the construction of on-campus housing to ease the city's housing distress.²⁸

Anti-Communism

University administrators also confronted the changed political landscape of postwar California, where anti-Communism ran rampant.²⁹ Public outcry followed the invitation of leftist speakers to UC campuses, the House Committee on un-American Activities investigated communist influence at Cal, and rising politicians like Richard Nixon made their careers on anti-communist rhetoric and action.³⁰ Worries about the university's reputation with lawmakers and the California electorate prompted the Regents to consider a measure insulating the university from criticism as a left-wing or radical breeding ground for communist sympathizers – a loyalty oath.

When the Regents prepared and approved a resolution ordering a loyalty oath among faculty, they considered this act simply continuation of a tradition of fidelity to democratic capitalism stretching back to the origins of the state. Since 1934 the

²⁸ Berkeley Chamber of Commerce, "A Report to Berkeleyans," (1945). Quoted in Harvey, "The University and the City," 17.

²⁹ Anti-communism became a particularly popular cudgel among post-war developers, who sought to promote an unregulated housing and real estate market to exploit. Kevin Starr, *Embattled Dreams: California in War and Peace, 1940-1950* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 281-307.

³⁰ The UCLA Graduate Students Association held a discussion between historian Herbert Phillips, who had been dismissed from the University of Washington for being a member of the Communist Party, and UW journalism professor Merritt Benson on the possibility of objectivity by Communists. David Gardner, *The California Oath Controversy* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1967), 14. On HUAC, see Gardner, 32, and John Gladchuk, *Hollywood and Anticommunism: Huac and the Evolution of the Red Menace, 1935-1950* (New York: Routledge, 2006). On Nixon and California politicians see Starr, *Embattled Dreams*, 285-86. Rick Perlstein, *Nixonland: The Rise of a President and the Fracturing of America* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2008), 29-36.

university had been governed by Rule 17, an order preventing all forms of explicitly political activity on university grounds.³¹ As a result, students who sought social reform or advocated controversial ideas were forced to move their efforts off campus.³² Like Rule 17, the loyalty oath was created to shield the university from accusations of communism or partisanship, endangering its statewide political support. At that time the university charged no tuition and raised most of its budget through state appropriation; Cal's liaison to Sacramento, vice president of business James Corley, thought that affirming the institution's loyalty would maintain the good graces of California politicians, hoping to head off any controversies like those that arose at the University of Texas.

In implementing the oath the Regents were fulfilling a postwar vision of ideological consensus in the academy as a training ground for technocrats, scientific researchers, and educators who eschewed political discourse and engagement while they served the broader goals of American society. Scholars, politicians, and cultural critics in the late 1940s and 1950s began advancing the idea of a western ideological consensus bounded by opposition to communism and woven together by economic growth and the New Deal welfare state, resulting in a decline of class conflict and stability wrought by industrial corporatism.³³ Universities were expected to take their places in the postwar order, developing cogs for the wheels of democratic capitalism and directing scientific

³¹ Gardner, *The California Oath Controversy*, 15.

³² Rule 17 did allow for academic discussion of such topics, so long as two sides were present for any such debate.

³³ See, for example, David Brown, *Richard Hofstadter: An Intellectual Biography* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., *The Vital Center: The Politics of Freedom* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1949). Daniel Bell, *The End of Ideology: On the Exhaustion of Political Ideas in the Fifties* (Glencoe, IL: The Free Press, 1960). See also Howard Brick, *Daniel Bell and the Decline of Intellectual Radicalism: Social Theory and Political Reconciliation in the 1940s* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1986).

knowledge for Cold War opposition. At many universities administrators, faculty, and students collaborated in this task, providing and pursuing education in an increasingly bureaucratized fashion, bounded by the constraints of political paranoia and opportunism in the period. Faculty, however, needed protection from their rightmost critics—the only effective assailants of postwar liberal intellectuals—in the realm of academic freedom.³⁴

At the University of California, however, faculty members took exception to the oath and offered their own interpretations of the mid-century consensus. The prewar and wartime battles of academic freedom had not been waged with the goal of confining the faculty to the campus.³⁵ Many academics in the humanities and social sciences pursued a course of research based on the idea of objectivity, a mode of inquiry drawing upon scientific models of investigation, ostensibly free from the imposition of the researchers' values.³⁶ While this ideal fit squarely within the framework of the postwar consensus, numerous academics—at Berkeley and elsewhere—were unwilling to subject themselves to loyalty oaths, a degradation of faculty autonomy that endangered their livelihoods and implicitly called their loyalties into question.³⁷

Faculty at Cal opposed the oath and the controversy created an active group of professors dedicated to intellectual autonomy and who opposed political interference.

Clark Kerr, an economist and labor negotiator, emerged as a leading spokesman for the

³⁴ Ellen Schrecker, *No Ivory Tower: Mccarthyism and the Universities* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986).

³⁵ Timothy Cain, "Academic Freedom in an Age of Organization, 1913-1941" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Michigan, 2005).

³⁶ Julie Reuben, *The Making of the Modern University: Intellectual Transformation and the Marginalization of Morality* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996). Robert Lynd, *Knowledge for What? The Place of Social Science in American Culture* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1939). Mark C. Smith, *Social Science in the Crucible: The American Debate over Objectivity and Purpose, 1918-1941*. (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1994).

³⁷ Historians Richard Hofstadter and Walter Metzger called academic freedom "one of the central issues of our time" in a response to mid-century attacks on academic autonomy. Richard Hofstadter and Walter Metzger, *The Development of Academic Freedom in the United States* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1955), ix.

faculty in the course of the dispute that resulted in the firing of 31 faculty members.³⁸

The faculty position won out and court challenges led to the reinstatement of the professors who were fired for refusing to sign the oath, but the specter of anti-communism threatened Berkeley's reputation as an institution of world-leading research.³⁹ The energized faculty continued to promote and expand its role in university governance despite the expansion of the bureaucracy. On the strength of his support among faculty, Kerr was later elevated to the newly-created position of chancellor, the executive officer of the Berkeley campus.

In the wake of the oath controversy, university leaders became even more emphatic that the university be insulated from outside pressures, politically and spatially, and Cal faculty and students alike turned to the off-campus community for intellectual and political space. Following another controversy at UCLA involving leftist political speakers, students in both Westwood and Berkeley were banned from holding political demonstrations on campus—even academic discussions of political issues were forbidden on campus grounds.⁴⁰ University leadership attempted to isolate the whole intellectual sphere from engagement with policy and politics as professors testifying before the state legislature as experts on policy issues were chastised for identifying themselves as Cal faculty, for fear that it would appear that university representatives took political positions on legislation.⁴¹ As a result, campus groups began collaborating with local

³⁸ Douglass, *The California Idea*, 210. For a personal account, see Clark Kerr, *The Gold and the Blue: Political Turmoil*, vol. 2 (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2003).

³⁹ The institution was later sanctioned by the American Association of University Professors, a black mark on the university's reputation, though one that held few functional consequences. Douglass, *The California Idea*, 208-11.

⁴⁰ Gardner, *The California Oath Controversy*, 18-22.

⁴¹ See several exchanges between University of California administrators and faculty including memo from Kerr to LeRoy Charles Merritt, March 26, 1957. CU-5 Series 2 1957:341. University of California, Office of the President records. CU-5, Series 2, UABL.

institutions to host political activities and discussions in an area immediately off campus. Stiles Hall, a branch of the YMCA on Bancroft Way, was a key forum for these activities and events. Located a block south of Sather Gate, where students entered the university grounds each day, Stiles Hall was part of the private development that arose in the university district of retail shops, apartment houses, and restaurants across Bancroft that came to be known as the Telegraph Avenue district.⁴² Stiles Hall became a key site of interaction between town and gown at Berkeley—a safe haven for the expression of political speech and discussion.⁴³

In attempting to create an academic space unpolluted by political considerations, the university created a mismatch of political engagement that would be used against the university by critics who rejected the idea of a postwar consensus. The university had contributed to the nuclear war-making effort in World War II and continued to receive millions of dollars in grants and contracts conducting defense and nuclear research.⁴⁴ The Regents were distinguished men and women from around the state—many of them business leaders with political and ideological affiliations to one party or another. James Corley, the university lobbyist who devised the faculty oath with the Regents, was a Republican serving on the Berkeley City Council, and Cal faculty had a long tradition of

⁴² Carl E. Schorske, “Intellectual Life, Civil Libertarian Issues, and the Student Movement at the University of California, Berkeley, 1960-1969,” an oral history conducted in 1996 and 1997 by Ann Lage, Regional Oral History Office, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, 2000, p. 32. (hereafter ROHO).

⁴³ For description of the development of another such campus district, see Gumprecht, *The American College Town*, 108-44. Austin’s campus district, The Drag on Guadalupe, was the site of development of the Austin counterculture and radical movement, for some of the same reasons. Douglas Rossinow, *The Politics of Authenticity: Liberalism, Christianity, and the New Left in America*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998). I argue that the design and development of these areas at the intersection of public and private investment, densely populated by commercial, religious, cultural, and political institutions, is essential to the emergence of vibrant social scene and political culture.

⁴⁴ Geiger, *Research and Relevant Knowledge*, 73-82.

serving in city government.⁴⁵ Yet students could not invite leftist speakers to campus and students could not organize against racial segregation under the umbrella of a student organization.

This was the essence of the “ivory tower” trope as it emerged at mid-century. Universities were deeply implicated in local, state, national, and global politics in all of their operations, from teaching to research to cultivation of political favor. However, faculty and students were denied the ability to do the same—to act as autonomous political individuals and deviate from the agenda corporately established by the university leadership. However campus spaces which had, in so many cases, been built to invoke the highest ideals of western society—Greek democracy, Christian faithfulness and asceticism, Renaissance inquiry—seemed endangered and students and faculty were forbidden from turning the campus into a place for debate and advocacy of anything but seemingly value-neutral topics. Thus ambitious plans like Benard and Howard’s *Beaux-Arts* campus and aspirational structures like the Sather Tower were transformed from cities upon a hill—where the institutions stood as examples to the rest of society, and the inhabitants held a responsibility to make society anew—to ivory towers, remote and isolated from society, where inhabitants seemed to have no responsibility, no engagement, and not even interest in the larger circumstances and conditions of humanity.

Planning for Growth

After assuming the role of chancellor, Clark Kerr began an effort to envision and manage the growth of the state’s flagship enterprise in higher education. Following a

⁴⁵ “Serving the University in Sacramento.” James Corley interview with Verne Stadtman, 1969, xv. ROHO.

year-long survey of Cal's areas of potential growth in research, teaching, and service, Kerr directed a two-part plan developed in tandem linking the physical expansion of the campus to the institution's growing intellectual needs. In 1956 Kerr issued the Long Range Development Plan for Berkeley, an update of an effort earlier in the decade, and in 1957 its academic counterpart, the Statement of Educational Policy and Programs for the Berkeley Campus of the University of California.⁴⁶ Kerr was a diligent planner and education advocate characteristic of the postwar liberal order. Bald and bespectacled, he bore a striking resemblance to Milton Muffley, the managerial U.S. President in Stanley Kubrick's 1964 film *Dr. Strangelove*.⁴⁷ Emphasizing careful assessment at every step, he marshaled the plans through a process that called for doubling developed campus space over 10 years while meeting the seemingly contradictory goal of limiting ground coverage to 25% of the main campus.⁴⁸ The university would have to expand beyond its traditional borders established by John Galen Howard's campus plan into the city. This goal of orderly growth and reform served as a precedent for the statewide 1960 Master Plan for Higher Education in California, which envisioned Berkeley at the head of a multi-campus university system leading an integrated, multi-tier system for vocational, liberal, professional, and research education that would establish a solid foundation for intellectual and economic growth and make California the envy of the nation.⁴⁹

⁴⁶ The previous effort was the 1951 document "Planning the Physical Development of the Berkeley Campus," which contains an early version of Berkeley's growth policy.

⁴⁷ One history of the 1960s suggests another Cold War figure for comparison, calling Kerr "the Robert McNamara of higher education, a skillful manager of complex systems." William O'Neill, *Coming Apart: An Informal History of the 1960's* (New York: Times Books, 1971).

⁴⁸ The Regents subsequently delineated the boundaries of the traditional campus, but dramatically exceeded the 25% coverage ratio on university land outside this tightly defined area. Long Range Development Plan. University of California, Berkeley, June 1962, p. 25.

⁴⁹ See John Douglass, *The California Idea and American Higher Education, 1850 to the 1960 Master Plan*. (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2000).

The Long Range Development Plan (LRDP) guided university expansion, giving physical expression to the values and priorities stated in the Statement of Education Policy and several earlier postwar planning documents. These included the 1955 Restudy of Higher Education Needs in California, which described the university's chief responsibilities as "basic research, graduate and undergraduate instruction, high-level professional training, and expert public service."⁵⁰ The LRDP acknowledged the interaction between the Berkeley community and the UC Berkeley campus, promising an orderly process of growth. Through the document, administrators illustrated a land acquisition plan with a several-year horizon, offering state legislators a sense of priority for appropriations and giving local land owners the ability to make economic decisions around the efforts of the university.

The predictable and inexorable nature of this growth plan was facilitated in no small part by the university's powers of eminent domain. A 1918 amendment to the state constitution gave the Regents the power to acquire land, later construed as power to condemn property. This power of condemnation was granted to the university explicitly by legislation in 1957. The university's own legal counsel wrote a new bill affirming these powers and sent it to the chairman of the state assembly's education committee, who managed its passage.⁵¹ Landowners in Berkeley or across the state who were unwilling to sell their property to the university found themselves powerless to stop the institution's expansion plans and could barely prolong negotiations. Even a matter of

⁵⁰ "Proposed Statement of Educational Policy and Program for the Berkeley Campus of the University of California." 1957. UABL.

⁵¹ Hegland successfully ushered it through the legislature to passage. Illustrating his commitment to higher education, Hegland later arranged for the establishment of the San Diego campus of the University of California (UCSD), located in La Jolla within his own district. "1957 Legislative Measures List," March 8, 1957. See also note from June 17, 1957 memo: "Regents requested legislation." CU-5 Series 2 1957:341.

haggling over a few thousand dollars could prompt the swift exercise of powers of condemnation.⁵²

The physical changes wrought by intellectual expansion created political controversy over the built environment. As chancellor, Kerr made a special appearance before the City of Berkeley's Planning Commission in March of 1957 to explain the development plan and how it would help the city and the region. With an audience of 250 concerned city residents in a jam-packed session, the chancellor made an argument signaling the themes that he would advance throughout his whole life, calling the university a new industry that was pollution-free, "the largest single employing unit in Northern California," and was "depression-proof."⁵³ Kerr promised that the university would abide by the City of Berkeley's master plan, but grounded his justification for expansion in broader terms than urban or regional development.

"Some individuals will have to be disturbed. But could we in good conscience not go ahead with a reasonable expansion program?...The University has a responsibility to mankind...The last ten elements on the chemical table were discovered here on the Berkeley campus."⁵⁴

After the launch of *Sputnik* in the autumn of 1957, discourse on education would emphasize the importance of science to national pride and global leadership, but even facing Berkeley residents and planning commissioners early in 1957, Kerr asserted scientific discovery and a broader goal of human progress as overriding concerns about local homeownership or urban character. Like Julian Levi in Chicago, Kerr asserted an

⁵² See, for example, the oral history of UC property manager Robert Underhill, "University Lands, Finances, and Investments," ROHO. The Board of Regents records from this period are littered with condemnation actions. See, for example, Board of Regents Committee on Finance meeting, August 24, 1956; November 16, 1956 Committee on Finance meeting March 13, 1959.

⁵³ Ed Salzman. "City Gains Seen in UC Expansion Plan." *Berkeley Daily Gazette*. March 8, 1957. P. 1. This statement of the economic relationship is supported by a report sponsored by the Bureau of Public Administration (predecessor to the Institute for Government Studies), Harvey, "The University and the City."

⁵⁴ Salzman. "City Gains Seen," *Gazette*. March 8, 1957.

interplay existed between urban space and intellectual productivity, arguing that there was a moral and intellectual responsibility to reshape urban space to serve the goals and process of creating knowledge. In their rhetoric, the global importance of universities like Chicago and Berkeley justified major interventions in the local landscape. City planning commissioners expressed hoped that the city plan and the campus plan could be brought into agreement but, as one commissioner pointed out, the city was a powerless player since the university had special status that eliminated the need to seek local approval for construction and demolition.⁵⁵

By this point in the late 1950s, the local flows of capital that had been essential to the development of universities in their early days and that had been transformed into national political power at mid-century were beginning to be surpassed by waves of state, national, and international investments. The fiscal capacity of the public sector at the state and especially federal level seemed to far outstrip the ability of local elites and business leaders to make meaningful economic and philanthropic investments. However, the post-New Deal growth of the federal state coincided with the decline of locally-rooted entrepreneurs and industrialists as changes in investment and production processes and networks yielded an increasingly global basis of economic growth in which corporations became less committed and responsive to local communities, as well. These changes seemed to leave cities such as Berkeley looking like parasites on the university or merely staging grounds for innovation, rather than the sources of knowledge creation and the foundation for intellectual capital formation. This asymmetry of power between the local and the national and global would have significant political implications within the City of Berkeley in coming years.

⁵⁵ Salzman. "City Gains Seen," *Berkeley Daily Gazette*. March 8, 1957.

Creating a System of Mass Education

In 1958, Clark Kerr replaced Robert Sproul as president of the University of California, enabling him to carry forward the liberal impetus for rational growth and expansion on a statewide basis. The new president inherited a roiling controversy in the state legislature where lawmakers sought new campuses of the state college or university for their districts and state officials battled over jurisdiction.⁵⁶ Business leaders from the state's key metropolitan areas argued that the existing system was unable to train enough students in areas like engineering to satisfy the needs of the labor market. The postwar system of military Keynesianism required a supply of educated labor for research, design, and manufacturing of armaments and the Cold War science machine found California's system of public education, conceived in the Progressive Era, wanting. San Diego, Los Angeles, and the Bay Area, in particular, were growth areas of the state in part because of the local business and civic community's recruitment and creation of defense-related industries to their metropolitan regions. The university was implicated in this cycle of economic growth because of the need for a skilled workforce to staff the ever-growing military-industrial complex. However, leaders of the state college system were also eager to expand their capacity and ambition to conduct and support research and teaching for the state population, potentially competing with the University of California for students, faculty, funds, and prestige. Thus, the university faced a number of challenges from the legislature, from business, and from the state colleges and helped begin an even more ambitious planning effort unifying the goals of all publicly funded higher education institutions in California—junior college, state college, and university.

⁵⁶ For a thorough account of the state politics of educational expansion, see John Douglass' *The California Idea*. However, this work ignores student reactions to the resulting plan and simply characterizes postwar expansion as "massive" but "orderly." Douglass, *The California Idea*, 316.

The 1960 Plan for Higher Education and its legislative consequences, the Donohoe Act and an amendment to the California State Constitution, represented both a pragmatic political bargain and an idealistic vision of the promise of the liberal state. By 1950 California was already the best-educated state in the country, but maintaining a robust network of growing metropolitan regions, a nation-leading state economy, and contributing significant knowledge and cultural leadership to the nation at large would require additional investment from the state for new campuses and expansion of existing campuses.⁵⁷ However, making additional resources available for education was only viable if system leaders could manage expansion efficiently, provide cost savings, and minimize the political infighting between the college and university tiers, satisfy the political powers of the state's rapidly urbanizing areas. The University Regents and the State Board of Education established a joint committee to study the state's educational needs and develop a proposal for the legislature to enact. A year-long process of posturing, maneuvering, public relations work, and politicking resulted in a compromise maintaining the university's control over high-level research, while the state college system would be governed by its own board of trustees (rather than the state board of education).

The education opportunities provided and challenges created by the state's Master Plan were unprecedented. California would provide a tuition-free college education of two to four years to every qualified state resident through the three-tiered higher education system; the junior college system provided every resident a path to attending a

⁵⁷ More than 6% of the population had some college experience and, by 1960, 50% of the state's college-age population attended some institution of higher education, well above the national rate. IPUMS-USA. 1950 1% Sample. Ibid., 255-56. <http://usa.ipums.org> (Accessed January 12, 2010).

university campus.⁵⁸ However, these opportunities would not come without risks. University campus enrollments might balloon to upwards of 30,000 students, while planners anticipated that the whole system of higher education in California would mushroom to more than half a million students by 1975—a number that, in fact, underestimated the actual enrollment by *half*.⁵⁹ The issue seemed to be that the state had the capacity and the willingness to provide a higher education to every qualified citizen of California, but what remained unclear in the midst of this expansion was, what would it be worth?

Clark Kerr attempted to answer this question in a series of lectures he delivered in the spring of 1963 at Harvard University. Later published in a popular book, *The Uses of the University*, Kerr explained that universities like California no longer provided the kind of intimate, collegiate experience that they had offered before World War II.⁶⁰ Collectively, their mission had shifted to the new industry of “knowledge production,” which contributed a significant share of the American economy through scientific research, engineering improvements, professional career training, and other knowledge-based means of adding value to products and services.⁶¹ Kerr’s contemporaries such as University of Pennsylvania president Gaylord Harnwell echoed his rhetoric, asserting an

⁵⁸ Under the plan, the top 12.5% of the graduating population would be able to enter the university while the top 33% could attend the college system. Every resident could enroll in the junior college system and transfer to either the college or the university with minimum qualifications. *Ibid.*, 284.

⁵⁹ California Postsecondary Education Commission, quoted in *Ibid.*, 316-17.

⁶⁰ For a close, thorough reading of Kerr’s thinking, see Ethan Schrum, “Administering American Modernity: The Instrumental University in the Postwar United States” (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 2009), 188-261. For a key work illuminating a transitional point in his thinking about industrialism, see Paddy Riley, “Clark Kerr: From the Industrial to the Knowledge Economy,” in *American Capitalism: Social Thought and Political Economy in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Nelson Lichtenstein (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003), 71-87.

⁶¹ Clark Kerr, *The Uses of the University*, Fourth ed. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963; reprint, 1995).

intellectual economy in which universities were “exporter[s] of American knowledge.”⁶² However, this change in mission and the shifting demographic profile of the United States meant that the university was subject to other circumstances that students and alumni might not find so amenable, where white mice seemed as much a subject of note as undergraduates and where students might receive their course lectures via closed-circuit television screens rather than in person from professors.⁶³ In a telling irony, in 1956 the Berkeley campus created the Center for Studies in Higher Education to promote research on student experience, along with systems, institutions, and processes in higher education—fairly acknowledging that in an impersonal university, only institutional, scholarly inquiry could allow faculty and administrators to understand students and the university experience.⁶⁴ In essence, Kerr affirmed that making higher education accessible to an unprecedented and continually growing share of the American population involved significant trade-offs in the college experience—an exercise in mass education.

The experience of mass higher education in the nation’s leading public university seemed to leave this postwar promise unfulfilled. At this time, sociologists and cultural critics such as David Riesman, C. Wright Mills, and William Whyte depicted the American populace—and especially the middle class—as becoming more conformist

⁶² Schrum, "Administering American Modernity", 145.

⁶³ For a brief period in the late 1950s, the technological spectacle of being taught through closed circuit television seemed to offer a wonderful new type of promise in higher education. However, by the mid-1960s, watching professors on monitors had come to be interpreted as another symptom in the pathology of mass education. Kerr, *The Uses of the University*, 6. Glenn Seaborg and Ray Colvig, *Chancellor at Berkeley* (Berkeley, CA: Institute for Government Studies Press, 1994).

⁶⁴ UC sociologists Burton Clark and Martin Trow became disciplinary leaders studying the sociology and organizational behavior of students and higher education. See Burton Clark, *Educating the Expert Society* (San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Co., 1962). Burton Clark and Martin Trow, "Determinants of College Student Subculture," in *College Peer Groups: Problems and Prospects for Research*, ed. Theodore Newcomb and Everett Wilson (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1960).

within a broad corporate culture and less community-oriented, finding themselves isolated and unfulfilled in increasingly suburban settings without the traditional roots of religion and ethnicity to give them meaning.⁶⁵ At Berkeley, students' response to this system of mass education was aligned with the broader public discourse on American society. An increasing number of students grew alienated from the education system and—still burdened with the traditions and expectations of a more intimate prewar higher education but not yet adapted to the changing character of postwar education—found the multiversity lacking architecturally, socially, and politically.

The alienating aspects of mass education permeated daily campus life. The University of California adopted an important technological innovation in 1956 to help track, coordinate, and analyze the activities of nearly 20,000 students on the Berkeley campus alone—the IBM punch card. As an instrument of bureaucratic management, the punch card and its computer counterpart, the mainframe, were amazing time-saving, tabulating innovations. Where students had once waited in long lines to fill out registration papers by hand with all of their identifying information, the punch card allowed for fast, standardized processing and recording of this information with high accuracy. The university could then rapidly assemble detailed data on enrollment, student housing, registration, financial aid—virtually every aspect of academic administration was made easier by use of the IBM punch card. All that was required was each student to keep their paper punch card in good condition for inserting into a computer—the card itself carried a printed command instructing students of its

⁶⁵ C. Wright Mills, *White Collar: The American Middle Classes* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1951), William Whyte, *The Organization Man* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1956), David Riesman, *The Lonely Crowd* (1950).

appropriate care: “Do not fold, spindle, or mutilate.”⁶⁶ Resenting the intrusion of such impersonal technological devices into the relationship between students and the educational institution, students made the IBM cards the symbol of mass education at the multiversity.⁶⁷

Developing Campus Activism

Despite the newly modern and technological aspects of the university, the city of Berkeley was a congenial location for the new population of students who followed the World War II veterans into higher education. The city offered a low-rise, one- and two-story form of urbanism that still enabled high levels of density in the mid-1950s. Students largely lived within walking distance of the campus and the area south of campus was the most popular neighborhood for student residence.⁶⁸ The intellectual resources of the university were attractive not only to students, but to the emerging literary community of the Beat Generation congregating in the Bay Area in the 1950s. The bohemian environment of the Bay Area was created, in part, by the intervention of the federal government, as the wartime investments had not only brought jobs, but in the postwar years made San Francisco and the Bay Area an attractive area for alternative lifestyles around the naval bases and shipyards. Aspiring poets, playwrights, and poseurs congregated first in San Francisco, then spread throughout the region, including Berkeley. In the Beat novel *Dharma Bums*, Jack Kerouac describes the informal housing

⁶⁶ Stanley Glick, "The People's Park" (State University of New York at Stony Brook, 1984), 21. Mario Savio specifically took up the mechanization issue in his most famous speech representing the dehumanizing machinery of education. Robert Cohen, *Freedom's Orator: Mario Savio and the Radical Legacy of the 1960s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 178-79. Carl Schorske, "Intellectual Life," p. 102.

⁶⁷ Rorabaugh, *Berkeley at War*, 50-51.

⁶⁸ Part of this preference may be explained by a [1923] fire resulting in total loss of buildings in the neighborhood north of campus, a discontinuity in the built environment that pushed students to other areas around campus.

around the Berkeley campus, where small, cheap cottages in the city's backyards provided writers, poets, and translators low-cost housing and the freedom to pursue their craft while allowing access to the professors, libraries, and other intellectual resources at the university.⁶⁹ This setting also served the university's purpose, according to Clark Kerr, who suggested universities could exploit both inner city neighborhood deterioration *and* suburban expansion because

“an almost ideal location for a modern university is to be sandwiched between a middle-class district on its way to becoming a slum and an ultramodern industrial park—so that the students may live in the one and the faculty consult in the other.”⁷⁰

The Bay Area contained both of these types of communities, though the university itself was not able to develop a proximate research park for lack of open space.⁷¹

Featured among the development plans at Berkeley was a new dormitory system that would install a university-run housing regime, intended to create collegiality among students, which had long eluded the university. In 1945 The Regents had established a goal of providing university housing to 25% of the student population in dense clusters, augmented with services for dining and physical recreation.⁷² The first postwar development plan, created by the statewide university's Architects & Engineers Office, called for 5 high-rises, each a block in size comprising 4 residential wings each.

⁶⁹ Jack Kerouac, *The Dharma Bums* (New York: Viking Press, 1956).

⁷⁰ Kerr suggested MIT in Cambridge, MA, as an ideal example of a university thus situated. Kerr, *The Uses of the University*, 89.

⁷¹ This interest in developing a research park was shared among a number of major universities in the 1950s, as my chapters on Texas and Chicago illustrate, along with Margaret Pugh O'Mara, *Cities of Knowledge: Cold War Science and the Search for the Next Silicon Valley* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2005).

⁷² Office of the Architects and Engineers, University of California. “Planning the Physical Development of the Berkeley Campus.” December, 1951. Environmental Design Library, University of California.

The targeted area south of the UC campus was a densely populated low-rise area meaning, as at Chicago, the architectural accretions and disorder of many decades of small-scale development would be cleared and replaced with the unified vision of a modern architect. The urban landscape would be rationalized in a Corbusian vision that gave university administrators the social and architectural mechanisms for their visions of higher education.⁷³

Players in the private real estate market proved uncooperative with the university's hope for an orderly expansion of the campus. No property owner could hold out against the university's powers of eminent domain, but real estate investors in the south campus area responded to Cal's expansion plans by allowing their apartment buildings to deteriorate, increasing their profit margins by reducing maintenance and

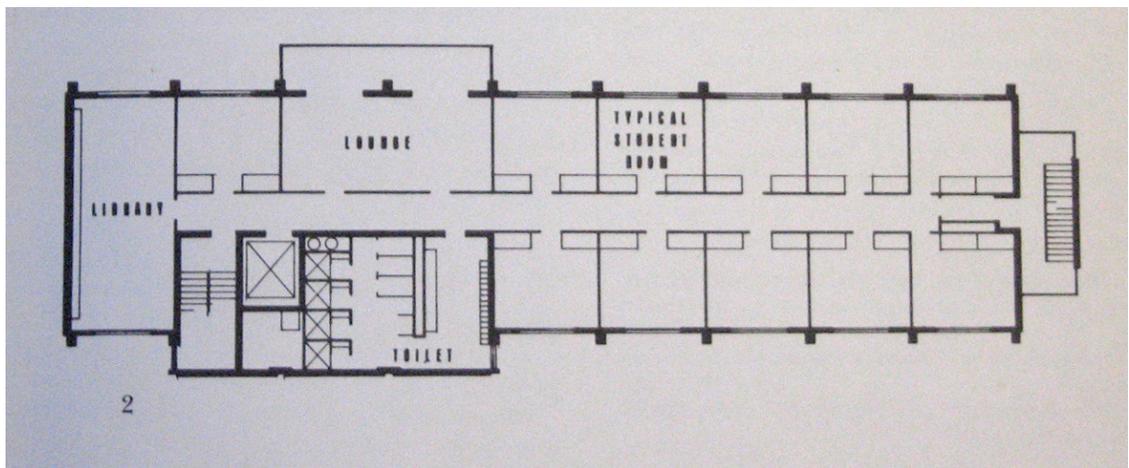


Fig. 5.5 Standard floor plan of dormitories. (University of California)

⁷³ Ibid. Le Corbusier, *Towards a New Architecture*, trans. Fredrick Etchells (London: J. Rodker, 1931). See especially Le Corbusier's *Ville Contemporaine* from 1922 and *Plan Voisin* from 1925.

renovation costs. In addition, the growth in university enrollment meant that there was increasing demand for housing and landlords had to make far fewer structural or aesthetic investments to attract tenants. Finally, the increasing intensity of residential density and land use increased the deterioration of the housing stock because of wear and tear—the rational functioning of the private market was of no help to Cal students.⁷⁴

The new student dormitories were a means of accommodating growth at the university that was at once efficient and conflicted, both serving student needs while subverting their demand for campus housing. As with the expansion of the university, revenue from the federal government was essential to the creation of the first three dormitory groups in the expansion of the university's housing program.

The first of two key streams of funds was a loan of \$1.6 million from the College Housing Program (CHP) of the Housing and Home Finance Agency (HHFA), a loan fund created by a provision in the 1950 Housing Act to aid in the construction of dormitories—part of an \$18 million application for dormitories across all university campuses. While the CHP was a popular program enabling scores of projects around the country each year, the university also had access to a unique federal revenue stream unavailable to the rest of the nation's colleges and universities. Cal was the recipient of federal contracts for the maintenance and operation of several federal nuclear research laboratories, including facilities in Los Alamos, NM; nearby Livermore, CA; and the Radiation Laboratory on the Berkeley campus. These contracts from the Atomic Energy Commission paid the university millions of dollars each year, about half of which was

⁷⁴ This charge was most notably made by Henry Garber, Berkeley's Deputy Director of Finance, who claimed there was a housing monopoly in the area south of campus. Mike Culbert. "Protests Lodged at First Urban Renewal Hearing. Landlords Accused, Defended." *Berkeley Gazette*. March 15, 1966.



Fig 5.6. 1951 development plan (north at the top) devised by the university architects and engineers office. The Howard core remains, running left to right, but expansion proceeds both south and west of campus, including the proposed high-rise towers at bottom.

captured as overhead costs—the percentage of each grant that universities withheld for general funds on the logic that externally-funded research projects also required campus space, staff time, and other generally-available university resources. Since the university’s housing goals were given such a high priority, when the development of the new dormitories seemed as though they might be delayed by parsimonious state legislators, the Regents allocated the specially-held overhead funds from the nuclear

research contracts to financing the dormitory complexes.⁷⁵ Owing to these federal research relationships, the importance of defense spending to the state's growth, and the Byzantine budgeting of the mammoth university, Cal students lived a college experience that was imbued with the tensions of the Cold War right down to their desks and the walls of their dorm rooms.

The buildings' economical designs were key to both their production and their eventual rejection by students. The late modernist aesthetic was consistent with the federal enabling legislation, which mandated economy, and prevailing architectural aesthetics of the late 1950s. While the architectural discourse of modernism advanced by leading lights such as Le Corbusier emphasized the aesthetic rationality of modern architecture, the efficiency of production was an equally important factor in its cultural ascendance and its adoption by corporate and educational clients.⁷⁶ Indeed, the need for efficiency so thoroughly pervaded the dormitory designs that the buildings were later characterized as little more than housing boxes made to provide square and cubic footage to undergraduate residents. The new designs were the product of Warnecke & Warnecke, a longtime Bay Area firm that won a competition for the initial dormitory project, then awarded other dormitory commissions, in part, because they could re-use the winning design on additional sites.

⁷⁵ Excerpt of meeting of Board of Regents Committee on Finance July 19, 1957. Folder 27 "Residence Halls at UC – Need, Financing...etc. 1957." The Regents advanced \$4.4 million from overhead from federal contracts during dormitory construction, then loaned \$1.8 million from the same overhead fund, with repayment amortized over 40 years. Notes from Regents Committee on Finance March 17, 1961 "FINANCING OF RESIDENCE HALL PROGRAM." Folder "Financing of Residence Halls 1961" Box 29 Chancellor Records CU-149. UABL. The university diverted overhead funds, which were split with the state, for capital projects on other occasions, as well, such as the Lawrence Hall of Science. See Seaborg and Colvig, *Chancellor at Berkeley*, 25-26.

⁷⁶ Mauro Guillen, *The Taylorized Beauty of the Mechanical: Scientific Management and the Rise of Modern Architecture* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2006).

A far cry from the informality and accretions of the apartment houses of the surrounding area, students soon rejected the buildings in favor of the older housing around campus, referring to the towers as “the projects,” reminiscent of the high-rise public housing being built in cities around the country. This shift in the housing market created a financial crisis at Berkeley and other University of California campuses when high vacancy rates impaired the ability of the housing projects to cover their budget projections and debt payments.

The university commissioned a study on students’ housing preferences and found a profound mismatch between the housing program and design process on one hand and students’ desires and living patterns on the other. Conducted by Berkeley architecture professor Sim van der Ryn, the study was later published as *Dorms at Berkeley*, in which van der Ryn advocated post-occupancy evaluation as a means of assessing the ultimate effectiveness of architectural designs. Students indicated that the rigid designs of rooms precluded the possibility of creating personal or personalized space. Further, studying was difficult within the room designs because desks were placed facing each other and were immovable, making concentration difficult. Finally, van der Ryn found that even the dormitories’ social spaces suffered from the effects of standardization and were barren, cavernous rooms that students did not want to socialize in.⁷⁷ Van der Ryn assessed the problem of the dorms simply, saying

“The program behind the Berkeley dormitories did not reflect an accurate assessment of existing facilities in terms of student use, preference or complaints. Lacking such information, the program fell back on an idealized stereotype of what student living is like.”

⁷⁷ Sim Van der Ryn, *Dorms at Berkeley: An Environmental Analysis* (Berkeley, CA: Center for Planning and Development Research, 1967). Stewart Brand, *How Buildings Learn* (New York: Penguin Press, 1993).

The architect also offered a more basic comment in critique of the architectural profession and the modern aesthetic, suggesting, “In general, the separation of real user needs from the design process has become acute in this century.”⁷⁸

This new type of inquiry was made possible by an effort by the dean of the architecture school, William Wurster, to create a synthetic, interdisciplinary school examining and treating the built environment. Wurster was a San Franciscan who had sought to combine multiple disciplines including architecture, urban planning, and landscape architecture—which had been spatially and [ideologically] separate at Berkeley and other universities—into a single college that treated the built environment with a holistic, collaborative approach to development at multiple scales, from the individual parcel to the metropolitan region.⁷⁹ Wurster said at the dedication of a new building to house the CED,

“As the scale of building projects increases, in terms of residential tracts, redevelopment schemes, civic groups, and the like, the design responsibilities of architects, landscape architects, and city planners need more and more careful coordination, and training for teamwork is required. Thus at the highest level we find [all three] converging in an area of growing concern: urban design... [I]t is possible and appropriate to bring [these three professions] together into a common college... an administrative unit which will acknowledge the variances among the three professions and at the same time hold them jointly responsible for the orderly and beautiful development of our State.”⁸⁰

⁷⁸ Van der Ryn, *Dorms at Berkeley*, 10. Van der Ryn described his own post-war college dormitory at the University of Michigan as “cell-like.” Sim van der Ryn, *Design for Life: The Architecture of Sim Van Der Ryn* (Gibbs Smith, 2005), 15.

⁷⁹ Catherine Bauer Wurster, “The Metropolitan Region.”

⁸⁰ “College of Environmental Design, University of California, Campus Planning, and Architectural Practice,” William Wurster interview by Suzanne Riess, 1964, v. ROHO.

These administrative and curricular changes would be fortified by faculty like van der Ryn, who broke from the elitist mold of architects as creative geniuses and master builders to examine popular attitudes of toward architecture and the built environment.⁸¹

Thus, the University of California channeled the proceeds of Cold War science research directly into the development of mass housing as part of a plan for mass education, facilitated by the modern designs for postwar living, prompting a political response to this tension in the ethos of postwar design, policy, and education. As the first two dormitory units went up, a group of students formed SLATE, a campus group organized to overturn the existing social and political order at the university, which had been dominated by Greek letter organizations throughout the 1950s.⁸² Student housing was prominent among the issues motivating SLATE, comprising part of their annual political platform—including demands for local land use re-zoning to facilitate the creation of student housing; rent control; anti-discrimination measures in housing; and increased code enforcement—and serving as a key point of criticism of the Cal administration.⁸³ A key early effort was organizing on behalf of “Fair Bear” standards for housing rental rates and campus-area minimum wages, continuing a tradition of political and consumer organizing from when the Fair Bear system was established in the

⁸¹ See, for example, Peter Blake, *The Master Builders: Le Corbusier, Mies van der Rohe, Frank Lloyd Wright*. (New York: Knopf, 1960).

⁸² “SLATE” is not an acronym and is often rendered as “Slate,” particularly by critics. Among the key issues prompting the formation of SLATE was outlawing discrimination among fraternities and sororities. SLATE began to distribute the *Cal Reporter* on campus as an alternative to the main student newspaper, the administration-friendly *Daily Cal*, in order to politicize the student body and begin engaging off-campus issues. Rorabaugh, *Berkeley at War*, 15. In the 1960s, the *Daily Cal* staff became more critical of the administration but in the 1950s the editorial leadership was on friendly terms with Cal administrators, and both were critical of SLATE and the *Cal Reporter*.

⁸³ “Are \$175 apartments for students?” *Cal Reporter* Vol 1, No. 5. April 8, 1958. SLATE 1959 platform, quoted in “Three views of SLATE” in “About SLATE” Fall 1959, p. 7. Box 23 Folder 5 Cal Reporters. RG CU-149 Chancellor’s Papers. UABL.

1930s.⁸⁴ In an early issue of the *Cal Reporter*, when construction delays prevented the opening of Units I and II for September 1959 arrivals, one member of SLATE wrote,

This Fall, since half the scheduled new residence halls are not completed, the plight of students in procuring housing has reached crisis proportions. Psychological effects of the crisis, as well as the actual displacement of 840 students, has brought about an increase in rents and a scarcity of housing throughout the university area. Results of this situation may directly affect over half of the student body. Conditions of this nature, better than any other, point out the need for unified student action on issues of student welfare.⁸⁵

Another member wrote that “the decision to build dormitories and decisions concerning the nature of such dorms” had “a widespread effect in the university” and, as political decisions, required political responses.⁸⁶

Around the country, the expansion of college campuses and development of cities of knowledge replacing older, smaller, and familiar buildings with larger, Modernist high-rises and laboratories had similar effects upon students. In his counter-culture novel, *Been Down So Long It Looks Like Up to Me*, set in Athené, a loosely disguised Ithaca, New York, home of Cornell University, Richard Fariña describes changes to the familiar local landscape, now afflicted by—

“Tinted aluminum plates, long sheets of weatherproofed glass, dymaxion torsions: the synthetic contents of a collective architectural grab bag. Clean, well lighted, cheap to heat, functional, can be torn down and replaced over a long weekend or transported to Las Vegas by helicopter, demolition incorporated in the structural design.”⁸⁷

Tom Hayden, one of the leading figures in the emerging New Left movement, was first politicized by housing at the University of Michigan and described his enormous

⁸⁴ Max Heirich and Sam Kaplan, “Yesterday’s Discord,” in Seymour Martin Lipset and Sheldon Woldin, eds., *The Berkeley Student Revolt: Facts and Interpretations* (Garden City, NY: Anchor Books, 1965), 18-19. Robert Cohen, *When the Old Left Was Young* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993). PAGES.

⁸⁵ Marv Sternberg, “student welfare.” “About SLATE” Fall 1959. Folder 5 *Cal Reporters*. Box 23. CU-149 Chancellor’s Records. UABL. Seaborg and Colvig, *Chancellor at Berkeley*, 193-95.

⁸⁶ Phil Roos “the student and his education.” Sternberg, “student welfare.”

⁸⁷ Richard Fariña, *Been Down So Long It Looks Like up to Me* (New York: Penguin Books, 1966), 17.

dormitory, built after World War II and containing more than 1200 students, as suffering from “a barracks culture, with its twin lacks of privacy and community and its sink-or-swim message.”⁸⁸ Indeed, the Port Huron Statement, which became the clarion call for a generation of student activists and was largely written by Hayden, opens, “We are people of this generation, bred in at least modest comfort, housed now in universities, looking uncomfortably to the world we inherit.”⁸⁹

For Cal students, the metropolitan setting of the university and the roiling political tumult of the Bay Area (particularly the East Bay) was an important catalyst in sparking the tinderbox of social and political tension among students at the university.

Conservative regional elites, like *Oakland Tribune* publisher William Knowland, held influence with the campus administration and shaped policy debates around the Bay region. However, liberal political fortunes were waxing in the Bay Area in the late 1950s, with even signs of a reinvigorated radical movement.⁹⁰ Within a short period of time, the organization had earned a national reputation as a leader in a new student movement, providing collegians around the country with an example of politically-oriented student action, inspiring undergraduates and grad students at other universities to form their own political groups such as chapters of Students for a Democratic Society.⁹¹

Free Speech and Free Space

⁸⁸ Hayden lived in South Quadrangle his first year at Michigan. Tom Hayden, *Reunion: A Memoir* (New York: Random House, 1988), 27.

⁸⁹ James Miller, *Democracy Is in the Streets: From Port Huron to the Siege of Chicago* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1994).

⁹⁰ In 1958, city housing activists created a ballot proposition to outlaw racial housing discrimination in Berkeley. SLATE sought to organize a rally in support of the effort in 1958, but they were refused the opportunity to rally on campus, a controversy that served as an opening salvo in a multi-year struggle for expression of a student political voice on campus. Say what happened to the ordinance. Max Heirich and Sam Kaplan, “Yesterday’s Discord,” in Lipset and Woldin, eds., *The Berkeley Student Revolt*, 26. Seaborg and Colvig, *Chancellor at Berkeley*, 160-63.

⁹¹ Hayden, *Reunion: A Memoir*.

Student dormitories were not the only examples of campus growth with political ramifications. In 1957, the effort to build a new student union on the south edge of campus led to the expansion of university grounds by a full block.⁹² The traditionally recognized southern entrance to the Cal campus was Sather Gate, a formal portal at Allston Way and Telegraph Road. Students and community members often gathered here, just off the edge of campus, to give speeches, advocate for a cause, or criticize the administration as students streamed through Sather Gate on their way to classes.⁹³ However, in 1941 the university bought up a block of buildings south of the portal and replaced them with the university's Administration Building (now Sproul Hall). During the 1940s and 1950s students on their way to campus still funneled from the south campus residential neighborhood onto Telegraph Road, where restaurants, shops, barbers, and other retail services were concentrated, guided by the city plan.⁹⁴ When the university demolished another block of buildings across from the Administration Building and extended the edge of campus from Allston Way to Bancroft to build the student union, the City of Berkeley vacated their rights to all the land between the two streets. Without the freer, general public access rights to the land, students were no longer able to give speeches at Sather Gate because of the university rules forbidding political activity on campus. A wide array of students including SLATE complained to the campus and university administration in the fall of 1958, who made a tentative arrangement to return a small portion of land to the City of Berkeley at the edge of

⁹² The student union was financed in part by a federal loan from the same HHFA program that financed the residence halls after the legislation was expanded to include other types of student facilities. November 1960 Report. Office of Vice President for Business "Summary of Federal Loans." Folder "Financing of Residence Halls" Box 29. CU-149 Chancellor's Records. UABL.

⁹³ Seaborg and Colvig, *Chancellor at Berkeley*, 171-80.

⁹⁴ Initially the city plan merely reinforced the city's traditional land use choices, but after the 1940s zoning largely restricted the spread of commercial land use from Telegraph.

campus at Bancroft and Telegraph. However, officials never formalized the planned transaction and dropped the issue in 1960 before reaching a resolution when Chancellor Glenn Seaborg left the university to become the chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission.⁹⁵ Students began using the land as if it were owned by the city and free from university regulations—pamphleteering, canvassing, and setting up tables to recruit for political causes. It was this land and this practice, heated by the friction of political change and campus expansion, that ignited the Free Speech Movement in 1964.

The concentration of beatniks, hippies, and other counterculture hangers-on around the campus proved anathema to the City of Berkeley, which sought a solution in the built environment through the planning process. In January, 1957, a panel of city departments commenced a preliminary inquiry and recommendations into the viability of attacking the causes of urban blight and “the deterioration of many of the city’s neighborhoods,” as well as attracting urban renewal funds to the city. In this effort city departments were aided by a citizens group calling themselves the American Council To Improve Our Neighborhoods, or ACTION, which made public presentations and advocated for renewal.⁹⁶ The report included visual surveys of a handful of neighborhoods throughout Berkeley to illustrate examples of blight and, though the neighborhoods with the most dilapidated housing were in the western industrial areas of the city, the writers picked out several buildings in the south campus student neighborhood and specifically identified properties as student housing in contrast to any other housing type. In one example, the authors implied that student housing was especially—if not inherently—susceptible to the spread of blight, commenting of a house

⁹⁵ Seaborg and Colvig, *Chancellor at Berkeley*, 172-79.

⁹⁶ “Joint Report on Urban Renewal.” College of Environmental Design Library. Berkeley, California. (Hereafter CEDL).

on College Street, “Student Housing – Why paint the place? Why replace the missing handrail? Only students live there anyway!”⁹⁷ A more thorough neighborhood analysis later showed, based on 1950 Census data, that the student areas north and south of campus were hardly blighted by the definitions the city used, and the central business district and industrial areas near the bay were far more problematic and urgent priorities.⁹⁸

The operations of the real estate market, exacerbated by university intervention, reversed this trend and made the fears of the LWV a reality. Subsequent analysis of the student neighborhood based on 1960 Census data asserted that fully one fifth of the city’s dilapidated structures were located in the south campus area, which included only 4.7% of the city’s housing units.⁹⁹ Local opponents of renewal assigned blame to the university, claiming that the administration’s slow land acquisition process prompted landlords to cease reinvestments and maintenance in their properties, and later even members of the administration like Chancellor Roger Heyns acknowledged the university’s culpability.¹⁰⁰ The area’s high residential density and the disinvestment in property prompted the city to develop an urban renewal proposal attacking the blight of the south campus area. However, this plodding effort, which exhibited none of the speed of the South Campus proposal created by the University of Chicago, was delayed further by increasing activism on the part of the student body.

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ “The Problem of Blight in Berkeley.” CEDL.

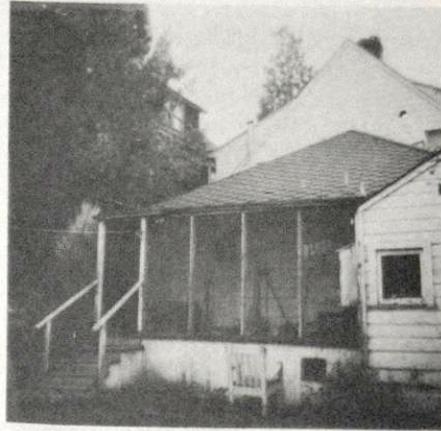
⁹⁹ Riches Research, Inc. Economic Analysis South Campus Area. January, 1964. Institute for Governmental Studies. University of California, Berkeley.

¹⁰⁰ “Berkeley Chancellor, 1965-1971: The University in a Turbulent Society.” Roger Heyns oral history by Harriet Nathan, 1986. p. 82. ROHO. Memo August 29, 1969 Folder 5 “Rent Strike 1969-1972” Box 6. CU-2. President’s Papers. UABL.

BLIGHT THROUGHOUT BERKELEY



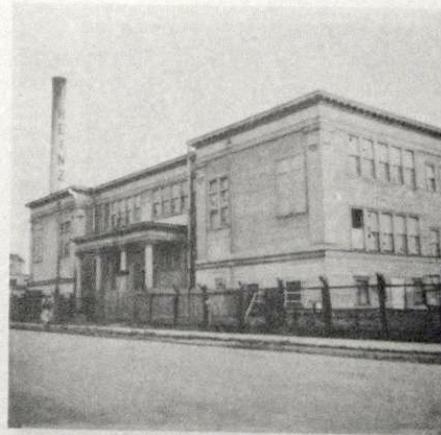
2434 COLLEGE
STUDENT HOUSING - WHY PAINT THE PLACE? WHY REPLACE THE MISSING HANDRAIL? ONLY STUDENTS LIVE THERE ANYWAY!



2631 CHANNING
THE STAIRS ARE COLLAPSING & ROT IS CREEPING UP THE PORCH. SMALL WONDER THE UNIVERSITY IS ENTERING THE STUDENT HOUSING FIELD.



2635 CHANNING
THE REAR A CLAPTRAP OF SUB-STANDARD ADDITIONS. THE WHOLE A SERIOUS FIRETRAP. ANOTHER EXAMPLE OF STUDENT HOUSING IN BERKELEY.



HEINZ STREET
STRUCTURALLY SOUND, THEREFORE NOT A BLIGHT? HOW CAN YOU GET PEOPLE TO FIX UP THEIR HOMES WHEN AN UGLY DILAPIDATED SIGHT SUCH AS THIS IS RIGHT OUTSIDE THE FRONT DOOR?

Fig. 5.7. City report advocating urban renewal in blighted areas around Berkeley.

At Berkeley, many students participated in the 1964 Freedom Summer in Mississippi and returned to incorporate civil rights activism into their studies, bringing action to their routine of academic development through organizations such as CORE.¹⁰¹ In previous years students had staged sit-ins at Bay Area car dealerships, restaurants and hotels to protest the exclusion of African American workers.¹⁰² A number of student groups canvassed and recruited for such efforts by setting up tables at the entrance to campus, between Bancroft Way and Sather Gate, which had been established as a “Hyde Park,” or free speech zone, in the late 1950s, used by liberals and conservatives alike.¹⁰³ That specific locale was particularly opportune because of the large proportion of undergraduate students living to the immediate south of campus in their dense quarters of dormitories and apartment houses. Walking up Telegraph to Sather Gate on their way to classes or the library each day, they streamed past the tables of student organizations. One student who helped set up the tables remembered the variety of organizations represented in the neutral space,

“Students coming on campus each day passed the political groups and could stop to browse but were not stopped by them. Nestled between the campus was 1,000 square feet of political space which nourished the student marketplace of ideas.”¹⁰⁴

However, at the beginning of fall, 1964, activity was particularly robust owing not only to the Freedom Summer experiences but to the upcoming U.S. presidential election,

¹⁰¹ Doug McAdam, *Freedom Summer* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988). Cohen, *Freedom's Orator*, 49-74.

¹⁰² Max Heirich and Sam Kaplan, “Yesterday’s Discord,” in Lipset and Woldin, eds., *The Berkeley Student Revolt*, 26.

¹⁰³ The original “Hyde Park” speakers’ corner is in London’s Hyde Park.

¹⁰⁴ Jo Freeman, *At Berkeley in the Sixties: The Education of an Activist, 1961-1965* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2002), 11. In March of 1962 the Cal administration suggested moving the Hyde Park location to a sunken plaza behind the student union and about 200 meters from the intersection of Bancroft and Telegraph. However, students rejected this option because it was a low-traffic area outside the popular path between Telegraph and Sather Gate. Max Heirich and Sam Kaplan, “Yesterday’s Discord,” in Lipset and Woldin, eds., *The Berkeley Student Revolt*, 26.

energized by controversial primary seasons and conventions from both Republicans and Democrats. Vice chancellor Alex Sherriffs announced that this land was not officially owned by the city and, as university land, was subject to rules forbidding political activity on campus.¹⁰⁵ Students and their tables had to go.

This dispute at the intersection of politics and land quickly moved from a technical dispute over the latter to a forceful confrontation over the former, with significant implications for higher education across the country. Students responded to the removal of their tables from the contested political site by building a broad coalition to oppose the restrictions, from Students for Goldwater to the Ad Hoc Committee to End Discrimination. The university had long upheld the convenient ideal of the ivory tower—that, when student politics were involved, the Berkeley campus should have nothing to do with Berkeley city community—and student and city organizations allied to challenge this idea.¹⁰⁶ Together, organizations in a self-described “United Front” decided to move to a location deeper within the campus, challenging the administration at a location in front of Sproul Hall, the administration building. Indeed, the October 1-2 event that triggered the agglomeration of political groups into the Free Speech Movement was sparked by a non-student, Jack Weinberg, a Cal alumnus who remained in Berkeley after graduation and was a member of the Berkeley chapter of CORE.¹⁰⁷ After Weinberg refused to identify himself to campus officials, he began rallying the students around him and, when a policeman in a cruiser arrived to arrest him, students surrounded the car and refused to let Weinberg be taken away, making speeches from atop the car and using their

¹⁰⁵ Edward Strong “Philosopher, Professor, and Berkeley Chancellor, 1961-1965.” ROHO.

¹⁰⁶ Sherriffs oral history, 25.

¹⁰⁷ Weinberg had briefly pursued graduate studies at Cal but was not affiliated with the university any longer. Rorabaugh, *Berkeley at War*.

bodies as shields in a clash over the university's rules on politics. This 32-hour protest that resulted in the suspension of several students began a semester of organizing, protesting, negotiating, and demonstrating, with one participant describing the differing motivations of the university backers and those of the student coalition in retrospect, "the Free Speech Movement was not a battle in the Civil Rights Movement, as we had thought at the time, but a skirmish in the Cold War."¹⁰⁸

Spatial issues unquestionably were factors in the organization and force of the Free Speech Movement, but scholars have overlooked them in favor of explanations purely concerned with student rights or culture.¹⁰⁹ When Mario Savio emerged as the public face of the FSM, his apartment at 2536 College in the south campus area became the movement's headquarters. This location was both figuratively and literally central to establishing and sustaining a coalition of interested students, ground zero for an experiment in participatory democracy that built consensus among member groups. Serving as the place for steering committee meetings, located within walking distance of both Sproul Plaza and the meeting places or group headquarters of the wide array of on- and off-campus groups represented in the Free Speech Movement, Savio's apartment in the south of campus area was, like the disputed area at Sather Gate, key to the development of this episode in an enduring political activism and the feeling of community it represented.¹¹⁰ Indeed, the neighborhood was central to campus dissent even before the creation of the FSM as the location of student-centered religious

¹⁰⁸ Freeman, *At Berkeley in the Sixties*, xxiii.

¹⁰⁹ Irving Horowitz, *The Knowledge Factory: Student Power and Academic Politics in America*. (Chicago: Aldine, 1970).

¹¹⁰ Freeman, *At Berkeley in the Sixties*, 187.

institutions where liberal politics and liberal theology were practiced and preached, while giving homes to organizations and activities rejected by the university's political rules.¹¹¹

Surveys of participants in the October demonstration indicate that an overwhelming majority of students who blocked the police car for more than a day were apartment dwellers in far greater proportion than the general student population, and eschewed the dormitories, fraternities, and sororities in favor of independent, off-campus living, largely in the south campus area.¹¹² However, these were not groups of long-time demonstrators and protestors who self-selected for Berkeley's Left Bank and for campus sit-ins—about half of the participants had never taken part in a protest or demonstration before and more than two-thirds had no prior affiliation with campus activist groups.¹¹³ A large portion of students found fault with the physical campus environment and educational ethos and took action with their fellow students.

The support of the faculty, still stinging from their own conflicts with the administration in the previous decade, invigorated the efforts of the FSM.¹¹⁴ In contrast to the faculty at Chicago, which counseled against direct action and recommended research and incremental, process-oriented reform when students obstructed the operations of the university, Cal faculty supported and even, at times, colluded with members of the FSM. Philosopher John Searle channeled his frustration borne of friction with the Kerr directives into support and speechmaking for the Free Speech Movement,

¹¹¹ Robert Self frames the area's importance more broadly, as part of a political reaction to racial and economic reorganization in the East Bay. Self, *American Babylon*.

¹¹² Ann Metzelaar. "FSM'ers Are More Intellectual, Study Says." *Daily Californian*. March 9, 1966. Ann Metzelaar, "Above Average Students Joined FSM." March 10, 1966.

¹¹³ Glen Lyonns, "The Police Car Demonstration: A Survey of Participants," in Lipset and Woldin, eds., *The Berkeley Student Revolt*, 521-22.

¹¹⁴ Vice Chancellor Alex Sherriffs made much of the support of professors like philosopher John Searle, claiming that most of the FSM's most effective rhetoric came from the faculty. Sherriffs oral history, 85.

to the point that Alex Sherriffs later claimed that Mario Savio's most effective rhetoric came from Searle.¹¹⁵ Historian Carl Schorske recalled the importance of faculty support,

“[I]t belongs somewhere in the center of the story—long before the students were activists in these matters, the faculty was activated; but it was the civil libertarians in the faculty that were activated” and had even supported SLATE's efforts to reform campus politics and student power.¹¹⁶

In addition, the attention of the mass media, along with the faculty's efforts to promote and write about the series of events helped make the Free Speech Movement a more prominent effort and gave it a more lasting effect.¹¹⁷ From the outset, political action at Berkeley was taken to define the life and meaning of a generation, now ingrained in the collective memory of postwar youth, while preceding efforts became historical footnotes in the story of the 1960s. Even at the University of Chicago, the FSM's activities in support of political organizing seemed to carry more historical weight than did Chicago

¹¹⁵ Sherriffs claimed “Savio would come in to see a philosopher, John [R.] Searle, and he would say, ‘What do I say now, John?’” Alex C. Sherriffs, “The University of California and the Free Speech Movement: Perspectives from a Faculty Member and an Administrator” an oral history conducted in 1978 by James H. Rowland, p. 85. ROHO.

¹¹⁶ Both Searle and Schorske distanced themselves from the post-FSM student movement and counterculture in Berkeley, which Searle called “dreadful vulgarizations of culture,” led by “all sorts of mediocre people... who really hadn't paid their dues” in a broader social reform movement. Schorske described the aftermath as “a cultural sickness,” infecting people “who began to saturate the whole surround of the university with a presence of decaying life ... [where] it was no longer informed engagement or anything like that.” John Searle, “Philosophy and the Habits of Critical Thinking,” oral history conducted September 22, 1999 in Berkeley, California, by Harry Kreisler, Institute for International Studies. <http://globetrotter.berkeley.edu/people/Searle/searle-con0.html> (Accessed October 8, 2009). Carl Schorske, oral history, pp. 27-28, 107.

¹¹⁷ The series of demonstrations at Cal earned far more attention than the 1962 sit-in at Chicago had gotten, as national newspaper, radio, and television media descended upon Sproul Plaza and Sather Gate to report on the radicals who challenged the administration of the nation's top university. “A Rebel on Campus: Mario Savio,” *New York Times*. December 9, 1964, p. 32. Gilbert Harrison, “Berkeley: Does That Banner Still Wave?” *The New Republic* 151, December 19, 1964, pp. 7-8. Many of these features emphasized Savio, fitting what New Left activist and media critic Todd Gitlin asserted was a mass media search for “flamboyance,” often found “in the presence of a media-certified celebrity-leader,” whose celebrity was created in part by media organizations. Todd Gitlin, *The Whole World Is Watching: Mass Media in the Making and Unmaking of the New Left* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1980), 3-4. Berkeley sociologists such as Martin Trow, Nathan Glazer, and Seymour Martin Lipset led the academic effort to define the origins and methods of protestors and the educational sub-cultures that spawned them, while young scholars like Richard Flacks and Todd Gitlin directed their research toward their activist cohort, leveraging their access to and concerns with the emergent New Left into long-term positions within the academy. Lipset and Woldin, eds., *The Berkeley Student Revolt*, Seymour Martin Lipset, *Student Politics* (New Yorks: Basic Books, 1967).

students' own direct action in combating segregation from two years earlier, as students and faculty convened numerous panels on student activism and the impact of the FSM.

Rejecting the Landscape of Modernity

As the issues surrounding political organizing subsided in favor of growing protest against the Vietnam War, a new set of planning issues arose to trouble the relationship between the campus, the city, and the Bay Area. Berkeley was in the midst of a regional reorganization and modernization that threatened the comfortable, low-rise character of the city and provoked sharp rhetoric from politicians and citizens alike. The advent of urban renewal and the development of the Bay Area Rapid Transit system in Berkeley kept the political situation at a boil. In late 1965, the city of Berkeley's urban renewal staff had developed an \$11 million plan that needed only the political imprimatur of the city council before enactment. The proposed plan would facilitate and set standards for property rehabilitation, demolish buildings for the construction of a new street parallel to Telegraph to alleviate traffic, and create new parking lots.¹¹⁸ University administrators were sympathetic to urban renewal efforts throughout the university system and Cal administrators cooperated with Berkeley renewal advocates in order to maintain their coordinated efforts to shape the city's built environment. University expenditures of \$3.87 million for land acquisition would constitute the lion's share of the \$4.02 million local contribution, triggering a 2-to-1 federal match of \$7.05 million under the Section 112 program of the Housing Act of 1959 created by the University of

¹¹⁸ City of Berkeley. *South Campus Urban Renewal Plan and Related Documents*. March 3, 1966. CEDL. University of California-Berkeley. Clark Kerr, first as chancellor, then as president, had been involved in the University of Chicago-led coalition to develop urban renewal strategies and legislation, but had never been a [forceful advocate] in the effort. When the City of Berkeley developed the city's first urban renewal plan, set for the south campus neighborhood, the university remained publicly aloof from the effort, even while members of the faculty provided research, planning, and design expertise to the initiative.

Chicago-led coalition of urban universities.¹¹⁹ Under the city's initial estimate, the municipality would end up with more than \$300,000 of credits that could be devoted to other renewal projects around the city of Berkeley.¹²⁰

By the mid-1960s, opposition to urban renewal had gained a foothold in political and architectural discourse and in cities around the country. Architectural critics like Jane Jacobs and anti-statist business scholars such as Martin Anderson objected to the heavy hand of government in real estate, while social scientists like Herbert Gans exposed the vibrant culture and community amid neighborhoods deemed slums. Within the architectural profession, Robert Venturi offered an influential critique of modern architecture, complaining of the simplicity of forms, "less is a bore."¹²¹

The emerging discourse of "postmodernism" sought alternative modes of human development and questioned fundamental notions of progress that had seemed settled within the postwar consensus.¹²² Citizens began to revolt against massive interventions in the urban landscape such as interstate highways and renewal projects in cities from San Francisco to New York and riot against the destruction and segregation they wrought in their wake.¹²³ These citizen insurgencies had both constructive and destructive

¹¹⁹ See Chapter 4.

¹²⁰ However, additional university expenditures for land acquisition were anticipated to increase the federal match and the amount of transferable credits, raising them from \$330,000 into the millions. Mike Culbert. "Figures Called 'Phony.'" *Berkeley Gazette*. March 22, 1966.

¹²¹ Jane Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (New York: Vintage, 1961). Martin Anderson, *The Federal Bulldozer: A Critical Appraisal of Urban Renewal, 1942-1962* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1964). Herbert Gans, *The Urban Villagers: Group and Class in the Life of Italian-Americans* (New York: The Free Press, 1962). Robert Venturi, *Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture* (New York: Museum of Modern Art Press, 1966).

¹²² David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change* (Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1989).

¹²³ I somewhat loosely group freeway revolts and urban riots here, but categorize them both as forms of opposition to the physical reorganization of the metropolitan built environment led by the state. Raymond Mohl, "Planned Destruction: The Interstates and Central City Housing," in *From Tenements to the Taylor Homes: In Search of a Housing Policy in Twentieth-Century America*, ed. Jack Bauman, Roger Biles, and Kristin Szylvian (State College, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000). Robert Caro, *The Power*

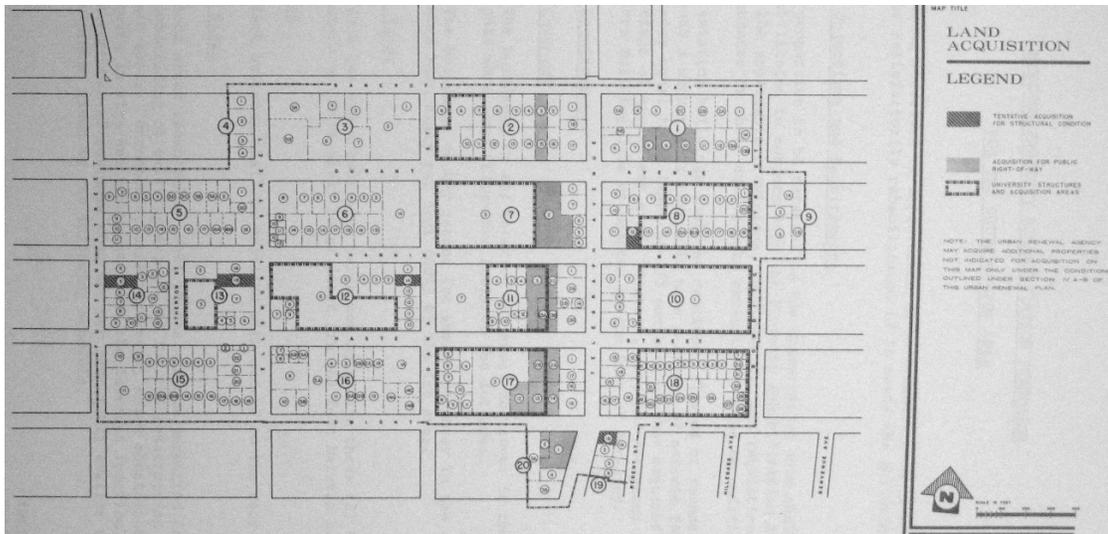


Fig. 5.8 South Campus Urban Renewal Plan. Dark outlined areas owned or to be acquired by university. Gray shaded areas acquired to create new street. Area is immediately south of campus.

political consequences, reflecting the larger tensions within liberalism. While opposition to centralized planning with decentralizing effects contributed to the fracture of the New Deal coalition that Lyndon Johnson was heir to, it also helped to invigorate the nascent historic preservation movement, viewed as a means of promoting reinvestment in central cities and a key feature of Johnson's Great Society.¹²⁴

The countercultural distaste for modernization along with traditional laissez-faire attitudes of small business interests formed an effective phalanx against the urban renewal plan.¹²⁵ Local business owners, including realtors and the prominent Sather Gate Merchants Association, were fearful of relocation, worried about the costs of seismic

Broker: Robert Moses and the Fall of New York (New York: Knopf, 1974). Thomas Sugrue, *The Origins of the Urban Crisis: Race and Inequality in Postwar Detroit*, 2nd ed. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003). Zipp, *Manhattan Projects*.

¹²⁴ Both architecture scholars and American historians have largely dismissed or failed to consider the historic preservation movement in the broader context of their work. However, the creation of the National Historic Preservation Act was a key feature of Lyndon Johnson's Great Society and the preservation movement served as one of the few centripetal counterforces to the overwhelming process of suburbanization in the 20th century. Daniel Bluestone, "Academics in Tennis Shoes: Historic Preservation and the Academy," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 58, no. 3 (1999): 300-07.

¹²⁵ On countercultural opposition to centralized management, see Theodore Roszak, *The Making of a Counter Culture: On the Technocratic Society and Its Youthful Opposition* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1969).

retrofitting and, concerned over the parking prescriptions of the renewal plan, turning out strongly against the project and lobbying their councilmen to defeat urban renewal.¹²⁶ Meanwhile, a new constituency of local students, recent graduates, and bohemians in what was popularly known as Berkeley's Left Bank, having collectively rejected the new high-rise dormitories, likewise spoke up to oppose the renewal plan that they claimed would destroy the "casualness" and "variety" of the South Campus neighborhood.¹²⁷ The city's daily newspaper, the conservative *Berkeley Gazette*, whipped up a furor during hearings on the urban renewal plan, featuring critics of the plan in their coverage and giving heavy exposure to their claims. The paper lashed out at both urban renewal and the counterculture, characterizing the city's population as "aghast at the intrusion of the nationwide Beatnik element in their part of town," while businessmen, the newspaper claimed, generally felt "urban renewal is good in principle but we resent having it forced on us."¹²⁸ One vehement critic, a landowner in the affected area, fixed upon the Section 112 credits program to explain and contest why the city targeted the south campus area, alleging that the federal credits created by university land acquisition would be devoted to the real object of urban renewal in Oceanview, an industrial area in West Berkeley that was under consideration for its own renewal plan.¹²⁹ The city administration robustly argued in favor of the renewal plan, citing a growing drug trade south of campus and

¹²⁶ Mike Culbert. "2nd Hearing Set for Tonight on Urban Renewal." *Berkeley Gazette*. March 21, 1966.

¹²⁷ Mike Culbert. "New Fury Unleashed on Renewal." *Berkeley Gazette*. March 22, 1966. Mike Culbert. "South Campus Urban Renewal Project – How the People Affected Feel About It." *Berkeley Gazette*. March 23, 1966. "SOUTH CAMPUS URBAN RENEWAL PROJECT. Why it failed." Memo to University of California Regents. n.d. Folder 37 Urban Renewal. Box 88. Office of Chancellor. CU-149. UABL.

¹²⁸ Mike Culbert. "South Campus Urban Renewal Plan – A Thorn in Berkeley's Rosy Future?" *Berkeley Gazette*. March 10, 1966. "Merchants 'Favor But Oppose' Plan." March 11, 1966. *Berkeley Gazette*.

¹²⁹ Mike Culbert. "Renewal Official Denies 'Phony Figure' Charge." *Berkeley Gazette*. March 28, 1966. This claim was subsequently confirmed by UC internal documents. There was, in fact, another plan for Oceanview, that several years later went down to defeat.

increasing crime statistics as justification for government-facilitated reinvestment, supported heartily by the local League of Women Voters.¹³⁰

When the key proposal made its way before the Berkeley City Council for a vote amid a wave of negative press and public accusations in July of 1966, the plan was defeated in a surprise vote as council members noted that their constituencies strongly opposed the plan, led by conservative councilman John DeBonis.¹³¹ As members of the Free Speech Movement had articulated an individualist critique of mass education and processing by the machine of corporate capitalism, so, too, libertarian small business-owners and the emerging counterculture combined forces to oppose and defeat the enactment of a signature program of postwar growth liberalism that would unmake the anarchical, chaotic world of commerce and recreation they had built.¹³²

The final decision took university leaders by surprise. Despite a strong statement of support early on in the process and cooperation throughout, university policymakers failed to lobby on behalf of the plan and Regents were dumbfounded at the “vehement,” “violent,” and “vociferous” public response in opposition to the plan.¹³³ Attempting to salvage a south campus development plan in the aftermath of the failure of urban renewal, the Regents considered several options including trying to restart the renewal process, helping the neighborhood develop its own plan, or assisting a private developer.

¹³⁰ “Telegraph Avenue in Spotlight,” *Berkeley Gazette*. March 15, 1966.

¹³¹ DeBonis was a staunch conservative and long-time opponent of regulation and liberal-led government action. The Berkeley City Council was a 9-member body, with 8 councilmembers elected on a citywide, at-large basis for four-year terms, half in one set of odd years, half and the four-year mayor in the next odd year; however, this geographic diffusion did not preclude the development of particular constituencies and bases of support. Mayor Wallace Johnson later claimed to have been leading a common-sense effort against the plan for several years. Wallace Johnson, *Responsible Individualism: Perspectives on a Political Philosophy for Our Time* (New York: Devin-Adair Co., 1967).

¹³² Klatsch, *A Generation Divided*, 153-58.

¹³³ The university officially supported renewal with a policy statement in 1962. Memo from R. Heyns to Urban Renewal Agency, March 3, 1966. Folder 37 Box 88 CU-149 Office of the Chancellor. UABL.

After the failure, from their perspective, of the democratic process, in which benefits accruing to all of Berkeley were vetoed by a vocal minority, the Regents settled upon the least democratic but most straightforward option: “Redevelop the area unilaterally through greatly increased land acquisition.” In a written response to the suggestion, Berkeley chancellor Roger Heyns affirmed simply, but ominously, “This we must do.”¹³⁴

As the urban renewal debate raged over the south campus area, Berkeley participated in a parallel discussion over the Bay Area Rapid Transit District, a development with the potential to radically transform west Berkeley and the development of the broader region.¹³⁵ First proposed in 1951, after several years of preliminary planning, three Bay Area counties—San Francisco, Alameda, and Contra Costa—voted in 1962 to fund and construct the extensive regional rail network through San Francisco, Oakland, Berkeley, and several Contra Costa suburbs.¹³⁶ The city was to be well-served by the approved BART plan, including two stops on a line that would link Berkeley to suburbs in the north and northeast, as well as Oakland to the south and San Francisco across the bay. Recognizing the difficulties and neighborhood interruption that would result from construction of an overhead BART line, city councilmembers insisted that the rail system be run underground within the city’s borders to preserve the integrity of the city’s neighborhoods, leave the city’s views of the Bay and Golden Gate uninterrupted, and prevent the underdevelopment that occurred around such overhead rail structures.¹³⁷

¹³⁴ “SOUTH CAMPUS URBAN RENEWAL PROJECT. What can the University do now?” (n.d.) Folder 37 Urban Renewal. Box 88. Office of Chancellor. CU-149. UABL.

¹³⁵ During planning and construction, the initiative was referred to as the BARTD; the system is now commonly known as BART.

¹³⁶ City of Berkeley Planning Department, “Regional Rapid Transit: Berkeley and the Bay Area,” (1957). Institute for Governmental Studies Library. University of California Berkeley.

¹³⁷ “Council Hurls Angry Blast at BARTD on Subway Issue.” *Berkeley Gazette*. March 1, 1966. Robert Self’s study of the East Bay illustrates the effect of BART development on west Oakland, where the overhead rail line was detrimental to black neighborhoods and did not connect African American

Berkeley's city council, including Cal planning professor T.J. Kent, Jr., contested and negotiated with BART administrators over system engineering, bid estimates and procedures and overall cost in order to minimize physical disruption to their city and preserve the rights of private property owners and the values of their assets.¹³⁸

Metropolitan leaders initially intended the system to help maintain San Francisco's leadership in finance and white-collar employment amid an expanding metropolitan region, but Berkeley leaders pursued their own agenda for the system. As a center of intellectual capital, the city supplied a significant share of the region's high-wage knowledge workers in addition to educating the future leaders of the region and state.¹³⁹ Property values were high and Berkeley's reputation as a desirable suburb grew with new development in the hills and an increasing cultural appreciation of historic architecture and moderately dense development patterns. Thus, Berkeley city leaders pursued a vision for rapid transit that matched its position within the region and the centerpiece to a University of California education—a post-industrial aesthetic emphasizing residence and consumption rather than production—and put a bond plan to underground the BART line from the city's southern boundary to the north to a popular vote. The Berkeley electorate assessed itself a tax to pay for up to \$20 million in additional costs rather than accept the transit district's recommendations and plans.¹⁴⁰

The city's intellectual capital and high-income population enabled Berkeley to demand

neighborhoods to the changing distribution of jobs in the region, in fact reinforcing racial segregation. Self, *American Babylon*, 158-59.

¹³⁸ Wallace Johnson, "Twelve Years as the Nation in Microcosm, 1962-1974," in Harriet Nathan and Stanley Scott, eds., *Experiment and Change in Berkeley: Essays on City Politics, 1950-1975* (Berkeley: Institute of Governmental Studies, 1978), 193-200.

¹³⁹ Berkeley Department of City Planning, "Regional Rapid Transit: Berkeley and the Bay Area." Berkeley, CA 1956.

¹⁴⁰ The eventual costs only came to \$12 million. Wallace Johnson, "Twelve Years," in Nathan and Scott, eds., *Experiment and Change in Berkeley*, 199.

its own vision for rail transportation and avoided the dislocations and disinvestment that plagued neighborhoods in Oakland following BART construction.

State Politics

State and national politics soon caught up with and turned against the new, robust student political and countercultural movement. Though these two forces were by no means identical, an increasing volley of liberal and conservative criticisms treated them as such and often attributed perceived and exaggerated excesses to an imaginary, fusion student culture, with “Berkeley” frequently serving as a shorthand means of conjuring up all the images of unruly behavior and violations of decorum.

After the crescendo of student activism and campus controversy at Berkeley and other California institutions politicians began to question the decades-old state compact providing affordable higher education at the university and state colleges. Chief among these was Ronald Reagan, a Hollywood actor who had transformed from a New Deal Democrat to a hero of the New Right, and who challenged two-term Democratic governor Edmund G. “Pat” Brown for re-election in 1966.¹⁴¹ Building on the law-and-order ethos of the 1964 Barry Goldwater campaign for president, Reagan seized upon the civil disobedience employed by Berkeley students and made much of the Bay Area

¹⁴¹ The actor had once been a student political activist at Eureka College in Illinois, but had since rejected leftist and liberal politics after confronting members of the Communist Party as president of the Screen Actors Guild in the 1940s and stumping for General Electric throughout the 1950s. By 1962, Reagan had embraced the emerging western, conservative wing of the Republican Party and then served as the California co-chair of Barry Goldwater’s 1964 presidential campaign. Lou Cannon, *Governor Reagan: His Rise to Power* (New York: Public Affairs, 2003). Numerous scholars have worked to interpret the rise of conservatism, crediting suburban housewives, liberal inability to provide law and order, and the efforts of business elites. Lisa McGirr, *Suburban Warriors: The Origins of the New American Right* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001). Michael Flamm, *Law and Order: Street Crime, Civil Unrest, and the Crisis of Liberalism in the 1960s* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005). Kimberly Phillips-Fein, *Invisible Hands: The Making of the Conservative Movement from the New Deal to Reagan* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2009).



Fig. 5.9. November 1964 march by members of the Free Speech Movement through Sather Gate.

counterculture to illustrate his conservative *bona fides* in contrast. Local media institutions decried the university leadership's "weakness in handling the 1964 disorders" and subsequent events of student rebellion, which threatened the prestige of the university.¹⁴² Railing against a "spirit of permissiveness" in education, Reagan advised students to "observe the rules or get out."¹⁴³

Reagan's critique of Berkeley activism and license proved remarkably effective with voters. The Republican candidate combined complaints about civil disobedience and urban disorder like that seen in the 1965 conflagration seen in Watts, California, to paint the incumbent governor as soft on students, minorities, and radicals. Reagan swept

¹⁴² Editorial by Robert P. Sutton. "The Results of Folly," VP of CBS Radio and General Manager of KNX. January 14, 1966. Text from Folder "Strike (1966) Faculty & Student Comments" Box 61. CU-149.2 Chancellor's Papers.

¹⁴³ Cannon, *Governor Reagan*, 271-72.

to power and soon began to pursue punitive measures against the University of California. Early in his administration, Reagan moved to fire Clark Kerr, who was a national symbol of the university and had been battered by leftists and conservatives alike. The governor subsequently appointed Edwin Meese his legal affairs secretary and Alex Sherriffs his education advisor, two figures who first made their names as antagonists to the Free Speech Movement in 1964, Meese as an assistant DA in Alameda County and Sherriffs as Berkeley Vice Chancellor.¹⁴⁴ In one of the clearest and boldest actions to illustrate his effort to tame Cal specifically and higher education in California more broadly, while reinforcing his conservative fiscal credentials, Reagan forced a Regents vote and proposed a budget establishing student tuition rates for California residents, an unprecedented move combining the governor's fiscally hawkish credentials and his desire to appear tough against political foes.¹⁴⁵

The imposition of tuition and administrative change was not enough to stanch the flow of political activity coming from university students in the late 1960s, whether Berkeley or elsewhere. As the United States escalated the Vietnam War, students reciprocated with increasingly bombastic and populous demonstrations in protest, culminating in the weeklong controversies during the Democratic National Convention in August of 1968.

Making a People's Park

The threat of university expansion again sparked protest in 1969 when the university demolished apartment buildings on a block in the south campus area in

¹⁴⁴ Sherriffs was a strong proponent of the "permissive society" line of thinking and counseled Reagan on the tuition increase at the university.

¹⁴⁵ The idea for establishment of tuition originated with the state Chamber of Commerce, which first proposed the idea in 1965 to close a state budget deficit under Pat Brown. UPI. "Tuition at UC Backed." *Berkeley Gazette*. March 9, 1966.

anticipation of a new student housing complex. Writing about the need for university-led development south of campus, chancellor Roger Heyns had simply asserted a responsibility. Chancellor Heyns had swerved from Kerr's initial creation of the LRDP and housing redevelopment in the south campus area as a necessary form of support for the university's academic goals. For Heyns, demolition and redevelopment led by the university would fulfill much the same goals as urban renewal had for Lawrence Kimpton and Julian Levi at Chicago, reducing crime and alleviating the social problems in the student neighborhoods.¹⁴⁶ Continuing its plan for creation of more residence halls, the university assembled a block of parcels south of Haste Street, intending to construct another unit of high rises and replace the low-rise buildings already standing there. However, the Regents had no money for the new dormitory, as the booming economy and flush budgets of the late 1950s and early 1960s had come to an end. The campus designated the block as the site of recreational facilities until the university could secure construction funds. The demolition of the houses and apartment buildings in the area took over a year from November of 1967 to December of 1968 and, in the midst of a campus housing crisis, the seemingly slow pace of development attracted the ire of campus critics.¹⁴⁷

In the dense and creative neighborhood near campus, the vacuum of activity at Haste and Telegraph could not last. Local residents and students began to use the vacant lot as a park in early 1969 and, in April, a group of residents began organizing work

¹⁴⁶ Glick, "The People's Park", 32-33.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid.

parties on weekends, promoted by the *Berkeley Barb*, to improve the grounds.¹⁴⁸ With the first notice, hundreds of volunteers turned out to plant trees and grass, and furnish benches and play equipment. Frank Bardacke, a former Cal graduate student in political science, advocated the doctrine of users' rights to the leaders of the park improvement group and university leaders realized they would soon be faced with another contest over the use of campus property.¹⁴⁹ Chancellor Roger Heyns ordered a fence erected around the block, which community members began calling "a people's park," and the loose groups who had been using and working on the park came together into an opposition coalition set on maintaining control of the landscape they had labored over.

The park controversy was by no means a staged issue or one solely confined to activists bent on violent confrontation. Sim van der Ryn, the architecture professor, offered to mediate between the university administration and the park advocates. He developed a plan in which the university's College of Environmental Design would lead a community design project simultaneously empowering the park advocates and offering an orderly and less confrontational development process for the university land. Van der Ryn asserted that the park issue had to be understood in the context of the overall development and education landscape at Cal and in the Bay Area, writing,

"For the first time, hundreds of young people felt the sense of performing meaningful work towards creating a place of their own. Many students told me that the park represented their first real involvement in learning at Berkeley, a sense of participating in something significant and important. Many felt the joy of creating beauty in a city increasingly dedicated to tacky-tacky and asphalt."¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁸ The *Berkeley Barb* was an underground newspaper published by Max Scherr, part of an alternative media sphere in the Bay Area that included *Ramparts* magazine and City Lights Publishers, among a host of other leading publications.

¹⁴⁹ Rorabaugh, *Berkeley at War*, 156-57.

¹⁵⁰ Sim van der Ryn, "Building a People's Park," 59-60, quoted in Glick, "The People's Park", 54.

Van der Ryn, whose study illuminated student disaffection with the dormitory complexes south of campus, again found politics in the built environment and assessed the scale of development, the learning process at Cal, and the built environment of the campus area as lacking. His use of the phrase “ticky-tacky” illustrates the fusion of culture and politics that New Left activists in the Bay Area developed in their movement and coalition activities in the period. The term is an allusion to the 1962 song “Little Boxes” by Malvina Reynolds about stucco-covered suburban houses in the Bay Area hills. By the late 1960s, the song and phrase were employed regularly to decry various types of change in the built environment, from suburban greenfield construction to downtown redevelopment to almost any building or landscape that used synthetic materials and non-traditional design.¹⁵¹ University leadership rejected the community design proposal on logistical grounds and, in so doing, rejected an emerging ideal of distributive problem-solving and participatory democracy in favor of centralized institutional authority.

The May 15 confrontation over People’s Park was the culmination of an increasingly violent political conflict between student radicals and the state’s political establishment, with the university leadership serving as the instrument of the Reagan administration. Students had organized sit-ins, teach-ins, demonstrations on Telegraph Avenue and continued to occupy buildings at Cal after the conclusion of the Free Speech Movement, while the responses from state political leaders—which initially had been quite restrained—more and more frequently involved deployment of the California

¹⁵¹ See also Ilona Hancock, “‘New Politics’ in Berkeley: A Personal View,” in Nathan and Scott, eds., *Experiment and Change in Berkeley*, 390. “Neighborhood Preservation Ordinance: Documenting A Community in Action,” 1. Berkeley Public Library. On the issue of culture and politics more broadly, see Douglas Rossinow, “‘The Revolution Is About Our Lives’: The New Left’s Counterculture,” in *Imagine Nation: The American Counterculture of the 1960s and ’70s*, ed. Peter Braunstein and Michael William Doyle (New York: Routledge, 2002).

National Guard, which used tear gas on campus in some instances. One activist leader of the People's Park effort described how confrontation over the park had the potential to "suck Reagan into a fight."¹⁵² However, interest in the park was too broadbased, with hundreds of participants and support from many community institutions, including local religious leaders and elected student leaders, to be led by one or two individuals with specific political agendas. Mario Savio, who had returned to Berkeley after a stint in graduate school in the U.K., asserted a fundamental motivation for the park effort,

"The great hope implicit in the People's Park is that in our leisure time, so to speak, we will make the social revolution. Property is not a thing to keep men apart and at war, but rather a medium by which men can come together to play—a people's park."¹⁵³

On the 15th, nearly a month after the first work party on university land, People's Park organizers held a rally at Sproul Plaza and marched to the park site to protest the fence and the unilateralism and exclusion it represented and were confronted by armed National Guardsmen, with one bystander killed and many others wounded. The California National Guard occupied the city for three weeks and national media coverage portrayed Cal as an institution that was out of control, subdued only by violence.¹⁵⁴ A year prior to the shootings at Kent State, Berkeley saw its own episode of gunfire turned on unarmed citizens in the name of law and order.

Campus to City Politics

Subsequent to the park battle, participants in the People's Park effort began organizing a tenants' union in the fall of 1969 seeking to capitalize on the momentum of the People's Park clashes. Michael Delacour, an industrial worker who served as one of

¹⁵² Rorabaugh, *Berkeley at War*, 156.

¹⁵³ Berkeley in the Sixties.

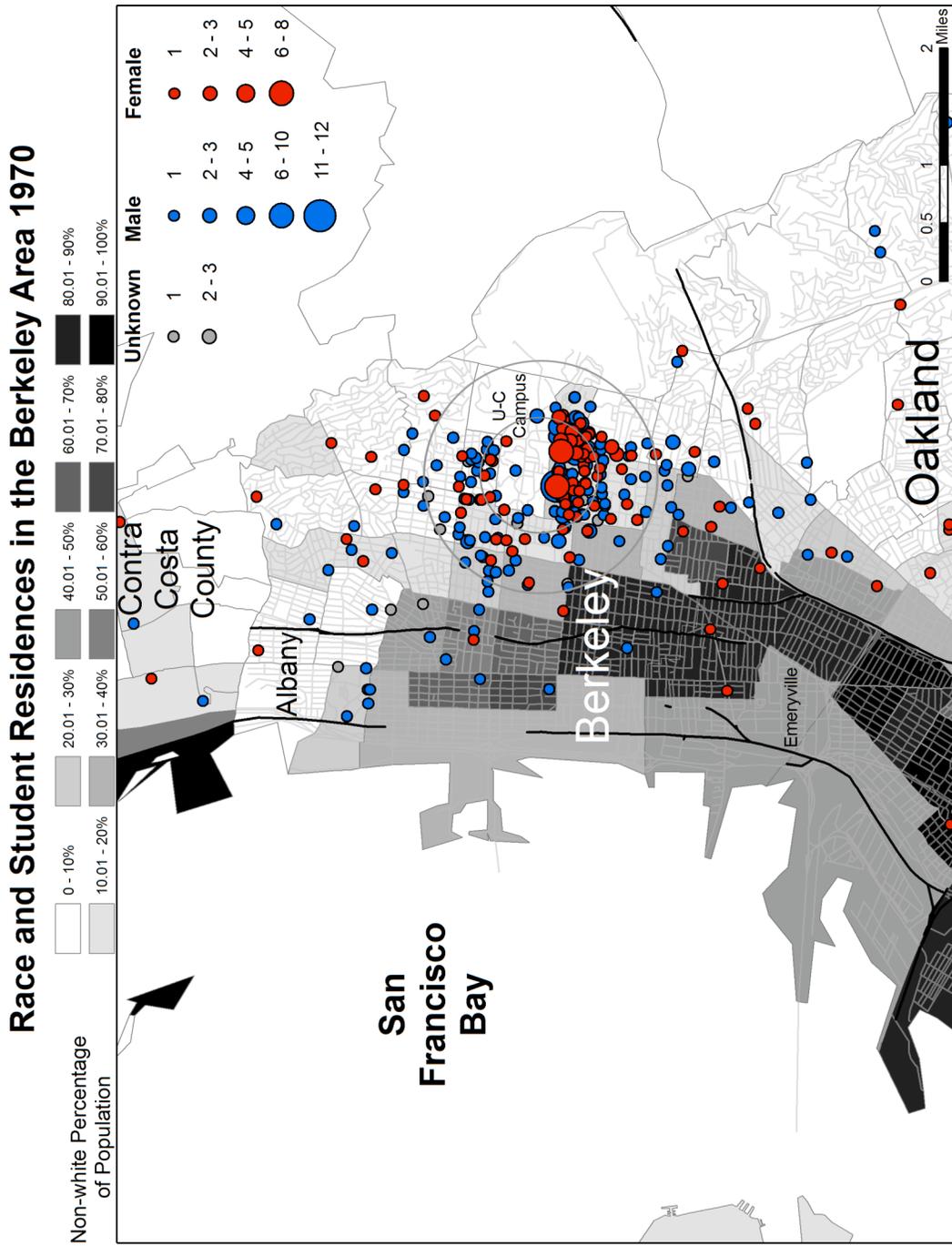
¹⁵⁴ "Protest: The Street People." *TIME*, May 23, 1969.

the strike organizers and park movement leaders, asserted that the two efforts were part of the same mission, “taking us one step further toward controlling the institutions that dominate our lives.”¹⁵⁵ The Berkeley Tenants Union (BTU) aimed to build a coalition of radical organizations and directly oppose private developers and investors, providing an organized front to negotiate with and promote housing code compliance by the city’s landlords.¹⁵⁶ BTU organizers canvassed amid mixed support and won modest gains, forcing landlords who had long neglected their property into upkeep of their rentals, and asserted itself as part of a broader Bay Area coalition of housing activism.¹⁵⁷ The Berkeley rent strike’s direct effects were short-lived, but held enduring consequences for the city. Out of the crucible of these dramatic events—civil rights organizing and the FSM, Vietnam protests, urban renewal, the People’s Park, and the rent strike—was forged a new left-liberal political coalition based on dissatisfaction with long-time pro-

¹⁵⁵ Steven Roberts. “Berkeley Students and ‘Street People’ Form Tenants Union to Withhold Rents.” *New York Times*, October 26, 1969, pg. 72.

¹⁵⁶ Joel Rubenzahl, “Berkeley Politics, 1968-1974: A Left Perspective,” in Nathan and Scott, eds., *Experiment and Change in Berkeley*, 333-35.

¹⁵⁷ Lawrence Davies. “Berkeley Eyes Tenants’ Strike,” *New York Times*. February 8, 1970, p. 54. Philip Hager. “Berkeley Tenants Form Union, Plan Rent Strike.” *Los Angeles Times*. October 12, 1969, pg. AA. 500 households withheld rent, a small but notable share of the city’s [23,000+ rental units].-Rubenzahl, “Berkeley Politics,” 334-335. Local activists organized the Palo Alto Tenants Union (PATU) and made a legal strike against the city’s zoning regime, which privileged families over mixed households and detached single family residences over density. Their legal challenges reached federal courts before their final loss, part of a spate of tenant-initiated court actions in university communities. *Palo Alto Tenants Union v. Morgan*. 487 F.2d 883 (1973).



Student data from sample of UC-Berkeley Student Directories; 384 of 461 elements shown. See Appendices for Details. Copyright LaDale Winling 2009

Map 5.2. Race and Student Residences in the Berkeley Area, 1970.

growth conservative rule in Berkeley, the energy of the student population, the radicalization of previously marginal groups and the catalyzing effect of economic exploitation based in the built environment.¹⁵⁸

The class and race segregation and disinvestment in the western flatlands of Berkeley and Oakland made the East Bay corridor fertile ground for alternative politics, ironically strengthening community ties within the area.¹⁵⁹ The growth of the graduate student population and older students at Cal augmented an active and left-leaning segment of voters in Berkeley, particularly an increasingly organized African American community.¹⁶⁰ This “new politics” coalition began bearing fruit with the rise of Ronald Dellums, who won a Berkeley City Council seat in 1967 and felled liberal Jeffrey Cohelan in the 1970 Democratic U.S. congressional primary by running on an anti-war platform, supporting the People’s Park movement and the rent strike, and taking up a Black Panther proposal for community control of police, whose excesses and brutality in preceding years shocked Berkeley and Oakland residents.¹⁶¹ Berkeley’s coalition of leftist organizations captured three seats on the city council in the 1971 municipal elections and helped liberal Warren Widener win a four-year term as the city’s first black

¹⁵⁸ Throughout the postwar period, liberal Democrats had built a political organization incorporating the black East Bay Democratic organization, white working class flatlanders, and foothills professionals, until liberals took majority control of city council during the 1960s. The coalition’s greatest triumph was the housing non-discrimination ordinance passed through Berkeley’s city council in 1963, repealed by citywide ballot initiative. Subsequently, Berkeley and Oakland state assemblyman Byron Rumford, head of the black East Bay Democratic organization, passed a statewide non-discrimination bill through the legislature. “Legislator for Fair Employment, Fair Housing, and Public Health: William Byron Rumford,” 115

¹⁵⁹ Robert Self discusses these alliances and the political culture of the East Bay in Self, *American Babylon*, 223.

¹⁶⁰ The franchise was restricted to those 21 years of age and older in federal elections until ratification of the 26th Amendment in 1971. In California, state and local elections were restricted to those 21 and older. Donald Hopkins, “Development of Black Political Organization in Berkeley Since 1960,” Nathan and Scott, eds., *Experiment and Change in Berkeley*, 105-36.

¹⁶¹ Dellums was also an alumnus of Cal, having earned a masters degree there in 1962. Earl Caldwell, “Black Insurgent Who Won Berkeley Race Is an Outspoken Radical.” *New York Times*, June 14, 1970, p. 46. Self, *American Babylon*, 295-97. Ilona Hancock, “‘New Politics’ in Berkeley: A Personal View,” in Nathan and Scott, eds., *Experiment and Change in Berkeley*, 390.

mayor. After five years of organizing, the city's radicals had become the mainstream rather than a political insurgency and the Berkeley left of electoral politics came to be known as the April Coalition.¹⁶²

Segments of this newly ascendant left-liberal coalition returned to economic issues as they asserted power in the early 1970s.¹⁶³ Since the early 1960s, concerns about rising property values and gentrification had worried working and middle class constituencies in Berkeley's western flatlands.¹⁶⁴ With the decline of Berkeley's traditional political power centers and the rise of alternative political ideologies, several resident groups advanced visions for the East Bay that questioned long-held precepts of land economics and urban growth. Neighborhoods in west and north Berkeley formed associations to lobby their city council and counteract the clout of large property owners and the region's pro-growth coalition. These flatland residents feared that they were under attack by housing economics, public policy, and architectural design: either they would be forced out of their neighborhoods by rising rents, taxes, and housing prices; or their neighborhoods would no longer be worth living in as speculators and developers demolished human scale shingle-style homes and built multi-story apartment buildings in

¹⁶² Ibid., 390. All of these elections up to 1971 were conducted without 18-21 year olds, with the exception of the 1970 Ron Dellums general election for U.S. Congress, pursuant to 1970 amendments to the Voting Rights Act (later overturned). After ratification of the 26th amendment in May, 1971, 18 year olds could vote in state and local elections, invigorating radicals in local politics nationwide. However, in Berkeley, undergraduates were a small part of the population in 1970, and graduate students had already been showing a significant presence in local politics.

¹⁶³ An alternative strain of urban planning surfaced in the 1970s, emerging from both public policy professionals and, in this case, from grassroots political coalitions. Norman Krumholz, working in Cleveland, termed one version "equity planning," in which cities, dealing with scarce and shrinking resources, devoted those resources to "expand choices for those who had few" and to "serve populations most in need." Pierre Clavel developed the framework of "progressive politics," including planning, which he characterized as promoting public ownership of resources; working in opposition to concentrated power; and being methodologically oriented. Norman Krumholz, *Making Equity Planning Work: Leadership in Public Policy* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1990), xvii. Clavel, *The Progressive City*, 188-90.

¹⁶⁴ The Baby Boom's increased demand for student housing was amplified by the inflationary pressure on rents created by the student loan program in the 1965 Higher Education Act.

their place. In this they were joined by students and counterculture types who had long favored the traditional built form and urban design of old Berkeley.

While conventional rules of housing economics mandated that increased demand should be matched by increased supply or increased prices, the radical solution to this problem was to alter the rules of the housing marketplace. Protecting the interests of the residents who already lived in Berkeley against the profit motive of the growth coalition was a key part of the left's agenda in the early 1970s. To do so meant controlling the built environment through downzoning and a preservation ordinance limiting development, while establishing rent control to keep housing affordable for the counterculture and working class. Berkeley's left pursued a forceful alternative to the creative destruction of real estate investment that, without a strong guiding regulatory hand, promised to replace the city's craftsmen bungalows and Victorian mansions with modern boxes and machine-age facades in service of profitable returns. Tenant advocates were reinvigorated by the Nixon price freeze of August 1971 and wrote a proposed rent control charter amendment for the July 1972 municipal election. The ballot measure passed, 52% to 48%, rolling rents back to August 1971 levels and enabling the creation of an elected rent control board to manage rent increases.¹⁶⁵

Having established a beachhead against capitalist property development, neighborhood activists and members of the April Coalition made another assault on the East Bay development regime with a neighborhood preservation ordinance. Martha Nicoloff, a veteran of Berkeley neighborhood politics, and Ken Hughes, a recent Berkeley graduate in economics, formed the Berkeley Housing Council, a group of historic preservationists, tenants rights advocates, and rent control promoters pursuing

¹⁶⁵ "History of Rent Control," Local History Room, Berkeley Public Library.

user-oriented public policy. Downzoning in affluent North Berkeley neighborhoods and an increasing impetus for growth control in Berkeley placed limits on new development and provided leftists with policy precedents and the intellectual foundation for their neighborhood preservation agenda. The preservation coalition held “People’s Housing Conferences” to incorporate public input and lobbied to build broad-based support for an ordinance. Nicoloff included students in their agenda, calling them “an integral force” in North Berkeley, a place where “there are very few student neighborhood problems” because of the policy controls on capitalist development.¹⁶⁶

The preservation position proved overwhelmingly popular as 77% of the Berkeley electorate voted in 1973 for the second half of the control-preservation policy pair over the objections of the Chamber of Commerce and city council moderates. The Neighborhood Protection Ordinance established a moratorium on new development and demolition while the city re-wrote its master plan to incorporate neighborhood goals and environmental mandates for new development. However, radical transformation of Berkeley politics was left incomplete as Democratic moderates maintained the council majority with the help of Berkeley Republicans, but this ambitious intervention into the city landscape represented the most forceful and enduring policy achievement of the leftist April coalition.¹⁶⁷

Conclusion

¹⁶⁶ In the fall of 1972 council members introduced competing but weaker proposals, which coalition members felt would undercut their efforts. Martha Nicoloff, “Comments on Housing in Berkeley.” December 1971. *Berkeley Neighborhood Preservation Ordinance: Documenting a Community in Action*. P. 41. Local History Room. Berkeley Public Library.

¹⁶⁷ Berkeley Republicans, whose numbers and influence had been on the wane, ran no candidates in the 1973 municipal election and instead supported moderate Democrats in opposition to the leftist coalition. T. J. Kent in Nathan and Scott, eds., *Experiment and Change in Berkeley*, 102-03.

Following the passage of the preservation ordinance, the city's Master Plan Revision Committee contracted with the Center for Environmental Structure (CES), a design and consulting firm co-founded by Berkeley architecture professor Christopher Alexander. Along with CES colleagues, Alexander was in the process of developing the theory, work, and prose that would form the basis for the three-volume series on architecture that asserted the wisdom of community design, including *The Timeless Way of Building* and *A Pattern Language*. In this work and these collaborations, Alexander advanced a populist discourse of design knowledge and urban planning, affirming that design knowledge was innate and implying a far more modest role—if not irrelevance—for architects in meaningful design.¹⁶⁸ The pattern language movement proved a popular counterweight to the enduring elite model of architect-as-design-genius and began to be incorporated into architecture and planning curricula around the country.¹⁶⁹ Thus, the City of Berkeley, impelled by preservation activists, carried forward the logic of Sim van der Ryn's community design program, a possibility foregone in the People's Park battle.¹⁷⁰ Alexander's work on the community design movement and neo-traditional design, along with Van der Ryn's work in ecological design, served as a fulfillment and professional internalization of Jane Jacobs' critique against centralized planning and Robert Venturi's rejection of modern architecture, and a key development in architecture and planning education, a transformation of postmodernity.¹⁷¹

¹⁶⁸ Christopher Alexander, *The Timeless Way of Building* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), 14. ———, *A Pattern Language* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975).

¹⁶⁹ Mahyar Arefi and Menelaos Triantafyllou, "Reflections on the Pedagogy of Place in Planning and Urban Design," *Journal of Planning Education and Research* 25 (2005).

¹⁷⁰ Murray Silverstein, a co-author of Alexander's books and co-founder of the CES, had been a longtime collaborator with Van der Ryn and worked on the research and publication of *Dorms at Berkeley* as a student.

¹⁷¹ Consequences of this environmental and political nexus include contributions to the environmental advocacy movement, foundation of the Congress for the New Urbanism, and even the popularization of the

Although the postwar political and intellectual changes of the Bay Area and Berkeley, California, are often cited as exceptional but emblematic of the radical politics of the 1960s, the political changes were often rooted in debates over the built environment. The changing patterns of urbanization in the Bay Area and in Berkeley in combination with the growing size and importance of the University of California-Berkeley prompted friction and contests over the landscape of education, contributing to student political activity such as the growth of SLATE and the protests of the Free Speech Movement, and prompting specific battles over development such as the urban renewal proposal, the clash over People's Park, and the development of radical public policy, including neighborhood preservation and rent control.

Thus, the transformation of the built environment was both a consequence of state-sponsored development and a catalyst of reactive and creative populist political and design responses that represented a larger cultural and political shift led by student groups and members of university communities. The period after passage of the preservation ordinance in 1973 represented a brief moment of political realization and possibility. After battles for civil rights, efforts to assert student political power, and organizing against a capitalist development regime, activists in Berkeley had much to regard with pride—a left political coalition and local power base, an energizing set of issues and significant policy victories. However, this moment served as the brief high-water mark of leftist efficacy in Berkeley as the state began unraveling the fabric of the

slow food movement by Berkeley alumna Alice Waters. However, as if to prove William Levitt's assertion, "No man who owns his own house and lot can be a communist," Berkeleyans who remained throughout the 1970s and 1980s and did purchase property amidst the politically-imposed scarcity of neighborhood preservation and rent control came to substitute the economic self-interest of homeowner politics for the radical agenda of leftist politics. Eric Larrabee. "The Six Thousand Homes that Levitt Built." *Harper's* September 1948. See discussion of this phenomenon in Davis, CA, in Gumprecht, *The American College Town*, 145-88.

social contract embedded in the Higher Education Plan of 1960 and the Donohoe Act. In the coming years, political conservatism experienced a resurgence and measures like rent control came under attack, while the statewide fiscal structure suffered from Proposition 13 in 1978; and eventually the state economy suffered from boom and bust cycles of real estate and technological speculation and the national degradation of the industrial economy, which made maintaining the nation's leading public university unsustainable.

Chapter 6

Conclusion

On February 5th, 1998, headlines in the *Star-Press*, Muncie's afternoon newspaper, screamed the bad news—the Ball Corporation would be moving its headquarters to Broomfield, Colorado. For days afterwards, Muncie media outlets were full of corporate explanation and political commentary on the decision, along with more aftershocks as civic institutions and government figures reckoned with the departure of the Ball Corporation. This corporate divestment would sever the company's last ties to Muncie, leaving the city for the first time in more than a hundred years without its leading institution. The Ball Corporation had begun a process of expanding its holdings outside Indiana in the 1930s and began closing Muncie plants in the 1940s. In 1996 the company spun off the last of its glass and can manufacturing enterprises to concentrate its investments in the technology sector, such as the aerospace materials division in Colorado, acquired in 1950.

Muncie, once the bellwether for American industrial cities, again displayed contradictions of the Rustbelt and American cities, as it had in the *Middletown* years. The city had lost thousands of manufacturing jobs and the burden of deindustrialization disproportionately fell on the shoulders of African Americans and the least educated among the city's adult population.

Fig 6.1. Muncie *Star Press*,
February 5, 1998.



Numerous American cities—especially those throughout the Midwest and Northeast, like Muncie—seemed to hold the tentative promise of economic rebirth based on development of the knowledge and service sectors. Public intellectuals and urban scholars preached a gospel of creativity and urban renaissance, pointing to places like Boston, Massachusetts, Austin, Texas, Washington, DC, and the San Francisco Bay Area as evidence for their ideas that education was the key to growth.¹ Examples like Muncie indicated that even cities with educated populations were as likely to be teetering on an economic precipice as much as they seemed in the midst of an economic transformation.

Efforts to identify the university-affiliated computer lab or the medical research facility as the newly-found keys to economic, political and urban transformation in the twenty-first century overlooked the fact that universities had already been playing a prominent role in these arenas throughout the twentieth century. By the end of the

¹ Richard Florida, *The Rise of the Creative Class: And How It's Transforming Work, Leisure, Community and Everyday Life* (New York: Basic Books, 2002). ———, *Cities and the Creative Class* (New York: Routledge, 2004), Edward Glaeser and Albert Saiz, "The Rise of the Skilled City," *Brookings-Wharton Papers on Urban Affairs* 5 (2004).

century, America's most dynamic and best-educated cities looked far different than they had a hundred, even fifty years earlier, and institutions of higher education had been instrumental in the process of recreating the physical, economic, and political landscape of American cities.

In this work I have used the landscape of higher education—the built environment of education institutions—to examine this process of urban development and multifaceted transformation. These physical and cultural products—campus plans, instructional buildings, and neighborhood housing, among others—were created and redefined at the confluence of several key movements in American history. This examination not only illuminates new historical material for our consideration, but prompts a broad reconsideration of the role of universities in American society and the relationship between universities and cities, helping scholars understand salient historical concerns in new ways.

I have emphasized three major issues in these pages: political economy, urbanism, and architectural and planning education and theory. In the realm of American political economy and the uneven development of the welfare state, the dominant paradigm for understanding the broad political developments of the twentieth century emphasizes the rise and fall of liberalism, which led to the rise of conservatism.² From the dramatic expansion of federal capacity in the New Deal to the postwar fragmentation of liberals over race and taxation, scholars in the 1980s emphasized the postwar decline of a robust welfare program. More recent work has problematized this narrow discussion of federal welfare efforts, illustrating the endurance and even growth of lines of aid, such as the

² Steve Fraser and Gary Gerstle, eds., *The Rise and Fall of the New Deal Order, 1930-1980* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1989).

home mortgage deduction, with implications for urbanism.³ Another of these growing areas of federal aid is education. Throughout the twentieth century, education has maintained a position at the heart of liberalism—providing individuals opportunity for personal fulfillment and individual advancement within a growing labor market. Higher education, especially, has seemed to enable the development of human capital within a free market of white collar labor. In Muncie, Indiana, prospective school teachers wrote excitedly about individuals' responsibility to live up to their potential and make the most of their career opportunities, promoting an entrepreneurial attitude even to an occupational sector constrained by states and deeply implicated in the stability of the American political system. This broadly shared commitment to higher education and its expansion held consequences for class relations, labor relations, and even the foundations of the American economy.

Rather than serving as a short-lived period of reform before the end of a Progressive reform impetus, the federal investments in higher education, especially programs for the expansion of the physical plant of universities beginning in the New Deal, were a set of durable, reform-minded investments in a nationally transformative enterprise. Investments in brick-and-mortar construction projects provide the most enduring form of change in American society. While the Public Works Administration wound down in 1942—only seven years after its creation—the dormitories, administration buildings, instructional edifices, and research laboratories that it helped create have lasted more than seven decades and continue to serve generations of students, faculty, and staff at universities across the country. Indirectly owing to these projects,

³ Robert Self, *American Babylon: Race and the Struggle for Postwar Oakland* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2003).

tens and hundreds of thousands of students and faculty have been able to attend college, launch professional careers, and perform higher-level research than was possible before the federal programs, providing an expanded path to a middle class livelihood.

When mid-century federal efforts to expand access to and the capacity of higher education institutions—such as the PWA, the GI Bill, the College Housing Program, the NDEA, and the HEA—were coupled with the prohibitions on unionizing supervisory workers in the Taft-Hartley Act, however, white collar and blue collar workers seemed to be committed to differing ends, if not adversarial positions. The ranks of individualistic white collar workers swelled as the collectivist labor movement was weakened by structural limitations on its ability to organize after the passage of Taft-Hartley in 1947. The post-1970s emergence of the Washington Consensus prevented the labor movement from regrouping and responding to a changing policy framework and global competitive conditions.⁴ Thus, liberalism seems to have been a victim of its own successes, in that its emphasis on enabling individual opportunity through a system of structural supports such as education has actually impeded the development of overt collective actions that are essential to maintaining such support for social advancement. This has allowed individuals to ignore the benefits they have derived from welfare programs while decrying their contributions to aid others.⁵

Aid to education was unequally shared in this system, however, serving to increase white privilege through segregated institutions even as education promised to a font of opportunity and a great social leveling agent among classes. As federal aid for

⁴ Frank Levy and Peter Temin, "Inequality and Institutions in 20th Century America," in *Massachusetts Institute of Technology Working Paper Series* (Cambridge, MA2007).

⁵ Jefferson Cowie and Nick Salvatore, "The Long Exception: Rethinking the Place of the New Deal in American History," *International Labor and Working-Class History* 74 (2008).

education grew, political leaders were reluctant to challenge the implicit and explicit system of segregation being reinforced by the New Deal state. Thus, when civil rights activists sought to chip away at the state-supported system of segregation, they first took aim at institutions of higher education, which supported segregation at many levels—in the American social structure, within national regions, and even in urban areas. In Austin, where Heman Sweatt contested the admissions policies of the University of Texas Law School, African Americans were not only precluded from attending the university, but were largely shunted into a small, neglected part of the city. This system reinforced an impoverished landscape for the neighborhoods of Austin black communities and an impoverished way of life for black Austinites.

The second concern is American urbanism in the twentieth century. Much of American urban history in the last few decades has emphasized peripheral suburbanization and central city urban crisis.⁶ Recent scholarship has sought to link developments in cities and suburbs within a metropolitan framework, but has yet to address an essential question of post-war urban history—why some U.S. cities saw dramatic gains and even revitalization at the same time that many of the most prominent central cities suffered from disinvestment, deterioration, and discrimination.⁷ Quite apart from the boosterism of new economy enthusiasts, growth and revitalization of American cities, especially that of educated cities, followed enduring principles of capitalist development, enabled by a combination of state and ultimately federal financial support and policy, often channeled through and addressing institutions of higher education.

⁶ Kenneth Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985). Thomas Sugrue, *The Origins of the Urban Crisis: Race and Inequality in Postwar Detroit*, 2nd ed. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003).

⁷ Kevin M. Kruse and Thomas J. Sugrue, eds., *The New Suburban History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006).

These outcomes were spatial just as they were social. Just as FHA mortgage guarantees supported peripheral development at mid-century, so federal programs such as Section 112 credits and Section 220a mortgage subsidies, among other urban renewal efforts, promoted central city investment. Later, the enactment of community development block grants, preservation and rehabilitation tax credits, and low-income housing tax credits in the 1970s and 1980s—sometimes combined in single projects—provided incentives and equity for central city revitalization. However, federal policy alone does not explain what gets built or why one city block may be teeming with shops and residences and social life while another is a depopulated mix of atomized developments. To understand the logic of urban settings it is necessary to connect the broader cultural, economic and political structures to the actions of individuals and institutions who acted upon these ideas and mechanisms and translated them into action, individual developers and designers who created buildings and landscapes within a framework of federal policy, local zoning regimes, and regional economic forces.

As mid-century theorists asserted an end of ideology in the midst of a managerial revolution, universities became essential instruments in development of postwar American life and particularly urbanism, both as training grounds for the city-building professions and administrators of the urban realm in their own right. At institutions like the University of Chicago, postwar administrators took advantage of the enlarged emphasis and esteem of higher education in American life to expand their role in development of the urban sphere. From a fairly limited role as a client, the University of Chicago became not only a major South Side developer and landlord, but a shaper of state and federal policy, as well. In leading a coalition of urban universities, they created

a set of ideas and tools that allowed colleges, universities, and eventually hospitals across the country to create their own urban redevelopment projects. In many cases these redevelopment efforts tore through lengths of urban fabric and remade the economic and cultural foundations of cities in their own image. However, just as capitalism creates wealth in some areas and extracts or destroys it in others, so mid-century redevelopment in service of capitalism, implicated in global geopolitics, also produced uneven results. Thus in Hyde Park, mixed-use boundary areas were acquired by purchase or takings and were redeveloped through state and federal programs into pedestrian wastelands. Interior residential areas where faculty and professionals lived were rehabilitated or largely left untouched in fulfillment of Julian Levi's urban vision of a community of scholars.

This new urban vision for the South Side and other education communities, along with the accompanying spatial and racial inequities, stood in stark contrast to an emerging set of social and urban ideals held by dissenters of the postwar consensus. As writers examined and criticized the developments of postwar cities and suburbia, they also helped provoke student and community outcry, prompting community members to question whether the benefits of the liberal vision of higher education and individual development were worth the social cost. The student left and the counter culture soon made their own mark on the urban landscape, both idealistic and improvised, through protest, community works, and public policy. Within this history of twentieth century urbanism, universities have played a distinctive—if largely undemocratic—role in urban development, insisting on their exceptional status as agents of modernization and global import.

The third point made in this study concerns the relationship between education institutions, architecture, and urban planning. Scholars have long asserted that technological advancement and cultural-political liberalism underpin the foundations of modernism.⁸ However, scholarship on modern architecture and design has largely failed to investigate the relationship between higher education—one of the prime movers of modernization in the United States—and modern design.⁹ While campus design trends broadly paralleled those of the architectural profession as a whole, university campuses often gave planners and architects the opportunity to experiment more freely with design or to develop a series of related but evolving works over a period of years. Thus, Paul Cret explored the challenge of balancing traditional *Beaux-Arts* principles and forms with the new values and operations of higher education at the University of Texas. Later, the University of Chicago hired Eero Saarinen to create a master plan and oversee campus development both because modern design offered cost effectiveness and because Saarinen's work, admired by the university's corporate trustees, gave both spatial and formal expression to the new design, production, and transportation systems that were remaking American life.

Institutions of higher education strengthened their bonds with the modern design movement by providing intellectual and pedagogical homes for its leaders, much as they

⁸ Carl Condit, *The Chicago School of Architecture: A History of Commercial and Public Building in the Chicago Area, 1875-1925* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1973). Carl Schorske, *Fin-De-Siècle Vienna: Politics and Culture* (New York: Knopf, 1979).

⁹ However, scholars have established the architecture-education link in such works as Mary Woods, *From Craft to Profession: The Practice of Architecture in Nineteenth-Century America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999). The main exception is an acknowledgment of Mies van der Rohe's work as both a campus designer and an educator at the Armour Institute/Illinois Institute of Technology. Phyllis Lambert, "Mies in America," ed. Canadian Centre Architecture, Whitney Museum of American Art, and Museum of Contemporary Art (New York: H.N. Abrams, 2001). Sarah Whiting, "The Jungle in the Clearing: Space, Form and Democracy in America, 1940-1949" (Ph.D. dissertation, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2001). Another recent example is Anthony Alofsin, *The Struggle for Modernism* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 2002).

had the *Beaux-Arts* tradition before it. At mid-century, a number of architecture and planning schools hired Bauhaus and CIAM leaders such as Mies van der Rohe at the Armour Institute and Walter Gropius at Harvard, respectively, while other design schools hired CIAM members or established similar groups to promote this discourse and teaching.¹⁰ As the key American institution devoted to reproduction of knowledge and to professional training, the academy was a likely means for reforming the study and practice of architecture.

After campus design developed its closest affinity with modernism, in housing schemes and urban renewal, this bond between higher education institutions and modern design in pedagogy and in practice were frayed amid the political change of the 1960s and 1970s. The liberal project, in which education played a foundational role, found itself in a moment of crisis. By the same token, the discipline of architecture split in a fissure between the ideology of modern architectural style and the political consequences of its uses. In Hyde Park, community members embraced historic preservation and rehabilitation as an alternative and even a counterpart to urban renewal. In Berkeley, architectural educators and grassroots activists rejected the aesthetics and the political implications of centralized, large-scale, and corporate planning and design processes. In these efforts they were not merely rejecting forms. In the case of Berkeley, activists explicitly objected to the modernist development of the postwar campus and city and took to the streets, the city council chamber, and the ballot box in opposition. To replace the urban redevelopment they saw and the modern design curriculum they were taught,

¹⁰ Eric Mumford, *The CIAM Discourse on Modernism, 1928-1960* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2000), 246-47. For the transformation of the architecture curriculum at Berkeley, see William Littmann, "Assault on the Ecole: Student Campaigns against the Beaux Arts, 1925-1950," *Journal of Architectural Education* 53, no. 3 (1999).

students and Berkeley residents developed, campaigned for, and passed preservation policies. Faculty developed community-oriented design processes and promoted systems of traditional architectural aesthetics, form, and small-scale urbanism, as if to confirm Charles Jencks' epitaph for the passage of modernism in 1972.¹¹

At this moment at the conclusion of our story, after upheaval on campus, violence on the streets, and clashes at the ballot box, there seemed to be an uneasy tension imbued with some promise for the future, in Berkeley and around the country. In the early 1970s, income inequality in the United States had reached new lows, while higher education enrollment crested all-time highs.¹² Federal legislation created grants for low income students (now called Pell Grants), enabling poorer students to attend college. However, these victories were not enduring and this promise remained, in many ways, unrealized. The growth of the American economy stagnated in the mid-1970s and the process of de-industrialization intensified, crippling the labor movement and continuing a slow decline in organized labor's political and economic earning power. In a handful of cases, university students were able to build or maintain the networks of solidarity between middle class and working class activists, but increasingly the labor movement was at odds with the student population over cultural and political issues, as the "Hard Hat Riot" in New York City first indicated. These fractures were part of a larger crisis of liberalism and the rise of conservatism, which weakened federal and state commitments to public services such as higher education, even as business and policy elites continued to

¹¹ Charles Jencks, *The Language of Post-Modern Architecture*, 127, quoted in David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change* (Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1989).

¹² Emmanuel Saez and Thomas Piketty, "Income Inequality in the United States, 1913-2002," in *Top Incomes over the Twentieth Century: A Contrast between Continental European and English-Speaking Countries*, ed. Anthony Atkinson and Thomas Piketty (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003).

promote the importance of higher education for individuals and the economy. Thus, at the federal level, initiatives for building projects like the College Housing Program were wound down, college enrollment stagnated through the late 1970s, and Pell Grant funds diminished through inflation.¹³ Meanwhile, neoliberalism reached higher education with the 1980 Bayh-Dole Act, allowing universities to patent or license inventions made through federally funded research. As the growth of federal and state appropriations for higher education slowed and the Washington Consensus of trade liberalization emerged, universities geared up to exploit their new property rights, generating their own income while becoming more responsive to their funding agencies and their corporate partners. The decline of the industrial basis for urban economies throughout the country helped “meds and eds” complete the replacement of industrial production, as in Muncie, among the driving forces in urban development.

¹³ Jacqueline King, “2003 Status on the Pell Grant.” American Council on Education Center for Policy Analysis. Washington, DC.

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