

FOUR CAMPUS SPACES

by

DAVID MICHAEL SIMPSON

(under the direction of Mark Reinberger)

ABSTRACT

This thesis is an examination of spaces on four college and university campuses in northern Georgia: the University of Georgia, Georgia Institute of Technology, Emory University, and Agnes Scott College. There is an historical analysis of the design of each of the campuses, with attention paid to the varying missions of each institution, in addition to a critique of the meanings of the styles and site layout used at each. The changing priorities of the institutions and their leaderships, in particular the relative weight given to undergraduate education and college life, are addressed. The analysis concludes with recommendations for campus design, with a particular emphasis on how the design of liberal arts colleges can improve the campuses and quality of life at larger universities.

INDEX WORDS: Campus Design, Campus Planning, University of Georgia, Georgia Institute of Technology, Emory University, Agnes Scott College, History of Higher Education.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Historian of urban form Spiro Kostof has called college campus planning “one area where America contributes to the discourse of ‘the city as diagram.’”¹ “Diagram” cities, as Kostof describes them, are those that were planned and constructed as the physical embodiments of a certain religious, political, or social ideal, that through their design reflect the cosmology of their designer or designers. Cities intentionally built as capitals, such as Washington, Beijing, or Brasilia, religious centers like Angkor Wat, or utopian settlements like New Harmony, Indiana, are examples. Most diagrammatic cities, however, sooner or later depart from the ideals of their founders as the citizens live out their own lives, with their own cultures and ideals, that are often very different from the ones that inspired the cities at their origin.

Colleges and universities are no different. Although nearly every institution of higher learning that has survived for more than a few decades was born out of the noblest intentions of learning, religion, or public service, the communities that colleges create have cultures and ideals of their own that can take an institution away from the ideals of its origin. Colleges founded as bulwarks of religion become secular, small liberal arts colleges develop into sprawling universities, and schools founded as single-sex institutions become co-educational. Nevertheless, most colleges do maintain some measure of continuity of culture and purpose with their original institutional missions even with historical and cultural change. This continuity connects a present college

¹ Spiro Kostof, *The City Shaped: Urban Patterns and Meanings Through History* (Boston: Bulfinch Press, 1991), 199.

community not only to the history of their own institutions, but also to other colleges and universities throughout the United States and the world.

The history of an institution, as well as its culture, is written in its physical form. The choices that individual campus leaders, architects and planners make are influenced by their own understanding of the missions of their institutions, their own particular theories of education, their own politics, and their own priorities. The following chapters spell out how these politics, priorities and histories have shaped spaces on four campuses in north Georgia, with a particular attention paid to how each college has balanced the academic and extracurricular lives of its students. Although I will make reference to campuses elsewhere, I have sought to focus my attention on a particular region to highlight the diversity of form even within a very restricted geographical scope. None of the campuses I will discuss are particularly renowned for their beauty or influential design, and yet all have spaces that are representative of their histories, are held in fond esteem by students, alumni, and faculty, and further the overall mission of their institutions. The same campuses also have spaces that are ugly, poorly designed, unused by members of the college community, and, in general, work against the fulfillment of the institutions' missions rather than for them. None are so good, however, that they do not have some problems, and none are so bad that an investigation of them cannot be instructive.

My first purpose in investigating them is to explain how and why these four campuses were shaped as they were. At each of the institutions the character of the original parts of the campus has influenced the direction that subsequent development would take. All of the colleges have also diverged from their original missions in ways that have taken their campuses in sometimes unexpected directions. My second purpose is to use their examples to formulate ideas about how the design

of campuses—and the lives of the members of their communities—can be improved.

The result, I hope, will be a greater understanding of how campus form and college life shape each other.

CHAPTER 2

COLLEGE LIFE

Few terms in American cultural life are as evocative as “campus.” Even for people with little personal experience of higher education, the word carries connotations not only of particular arrangements of buildings, lawns, and trees, but also of a certain kind of life, one that is alternately scholarly and dissipated, monkish and libertine. The idyll of the college campus, with its pastoral greenery, its buildings of immemorial age, and its forever-young inhabitants, is so common as to be nearly a cliché. And yet, it’s a cliché that has remarkable staying power in the American imagination, even among those whose own college experiences were far from idyllic. A student may have started his education well past his late teens or early twenties, attended a university with only a few downtown office buildings to its physical plant, and forgone sleep and free weekends so that he could simultaneously work and attend school full-time, but he will probably still have pretty traditional notions about what a “campus” is and should be.

Although in small part influenced by the form and community of the ancient English colleges at Oxford and Cambridge, this particular pastoral conception of the college and university campus is unique to the United States. In colonial America, as well as during the first eighty years or so of the Republic, the village and its attendant green was the most common model for college campuses. Thomas Jefferson’s description of his University of Virginia campus as an “academical village” is perhaps



Fig. 2.1: Aerial view of Oxford, with the completely enclosed quadrangles of its constituent colleges. (photo: Library of Air Photographs¹).

the best-known example of this metaphor. The plan of these campus villages differed markedly from the Oxbridge model of enclosed, monastic quadrangles, however. Although the buildings were typically fronted on a common greensward, they were most often spaced far enough away from each other to give the “village green” a relatively open character when compared with their English predecessors, which lent an air of a park rather than a monastery. This kind of plan was influenced not only from the low density of most American towns, when compared to Europe, but also, as Paul Venable Turner has argued, from more open, democratic, and extroverted

¹ Airphotographs.co.uk (n.d.) *Library of Air Photographs*. Retrieved 11 April 2004 from: <http://www.airphotographs.co.uk/images/oxford.jpg>.

American values and culture. Yale College, founded in 1701, was influential in this trend.²

Remoteness was not always a disadvantage to either a village or a campus. In fact, early American colleges and universities distinguished themselves by their anti-urban convictions. In this, they took their cue from the English universities, which set themselves in monastic seclusion in Oxford and Cambridge, away from the distractions of the metropolis of London. Universities on the European continent, in contrast, with the partial exception of some German universities, were typically located in large towns or cities, like Paris and Bologna.³ American university officials held cities in suspicion as injurious to the moral health of students and as offering too many distractions to schoolwork. A remote spot on the north Georgia piedmont was chosen for Athens and Georgia's state university, for example, in large part because of its distance from the corrupting influence of any sizable nearby towns. Savannah was 200 miles to the southeast and Atlanta as yet did not exist. Early students of what was then also referred to as Franklin College were forbidden to live in Athens itself and strongly discouraged from leaving campus at all.⁴ The isolation was intended to focus attention on higher matters and foster a closely-knit academic community. A pastoral setting continued to be the ideal for campuses in the United States, even as the late nineteenth century brought a closing of the American frontier, increased urbanization, and a broadening of the population who attended college.

² Paul Venable Turner, *Campus: An American Planning Tradition* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1984), 38. A colleague who is a Yale graduate informs me of something that confirms my memory of the Yale campus: although it may have started out with a plan on the village green model, it has since become much more closed and monastic, perhaps partly in response to the perceived dangers of New Haven.

³ Frederick Rudolph, *The American College & University: A History* (Athens, GA: U. of Georgia P., 1962/1990) 91-2.

⁴ E. Merton Coulter, *College Life in the Old South: As Seen at the University of Georgia* (Athens, GA: 1928/1983), 204.

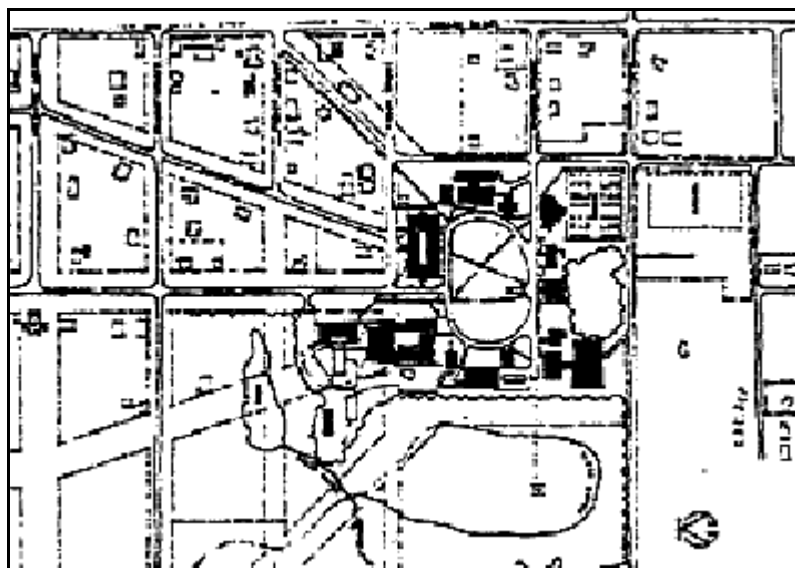


Fig. 2.2: Original plan for Emory College, Oxford, Georgia.
The diagonal streets were not built (photo: Emory University).⁵

The village metaphor worked not only as a description of the physical layout of the campus, as a group of buildings fronting on common green space, but also as a social description. In this, many academic leaders looked again to the English model for their ideal of a community of scholars. A college was intended to be a community that held certain values in common, with the faculty and administration as the community leaders and setters of social tone. Personal engagement of professors not only in their students' intellectual development, but also in their moral and physical health, encouraged (or enforced) by paternal supervision, was part of this closely-knit ideal. That most of the early American colleges were founded and run by religious denominations—and even most state-supported universities had strong religious influence—reinforced this ideal of a community of purpose. This collegiate model of student life held sway even when the continental European university, with its

⁵ Emory University (1997) *Analysis of Place: History*. Retrieved 11 April 2004 from: <http://www.fm.emory.edu/PLAN/history.html>.

emphasis on research and scholarship rather than on the non-academic lives of students, became the predominant academic model of higher education for the new American universities of the late nineteenth century.⁶

Until the end of the nineteenth century, the average student at American colleges was younger than his twentieth and twenty-first-century counterparts. The distinction between high school and college was not as clear, and many students began college courses as early as age thirteen. The young age of many students led to a relationship between faculty and students that was, out of necessity, almost as parental as scholarly. The University of Georgia, for example, operated its own grammar school until 1829 and a “Rock College,” a college preparatory high school to which unprepared students were sent for remedial work, until the end of the nineteenth century.⁷ A term or two at the Rock College was also occasionally ordered as punishment for chronically misbehaving students. The shame of attending courses with children, presumably, encouraged behavioral reform among the delinquent. Faculty policing responsibilities often met with resistance from those faculty members who saw their jobs primarily as scholars and as mentors of the intellect, and, as the nineteenth century went on, many such professors were relieved of these duties as incentives not to take their teaching and research elsewhere. A certain family connotation to college life stayed, however, among those most devoted to colleges’ training of both the mind and the spirit. The family/community/college association was perhaps most explicitly made in the new women’s colleges, such as Vassar and

⁶ Turner, 3.

⁷ F. N. Boney, *A Pictorial History of The University of Georgia* (Athens, GA: U. of Georgia P., 1984), 17, 68. With the closing of the grammar school in 1829, the age of admission to the university rose from thirteen to sixteen.



Fig. 2.3: Jefferson's "academical village," the University of Virginia (photo: Jeffery Howe, Boston College).⁸

Bryn Mawr, founded in the second half of the nineteenth century. Parents, and perhaps the students themselves, were reassured that students would be sheltered in a home-like environment while away from their families. Keeping a domestic atmosphere to the women's colleges also reassured many that their daughters would not be "masculinized" by their educations, as many at the time feared would happen to women whose supposedly limited energies were diverted from motherhood and family to abstract learning.

The small size of nineteenth-century colleges and their close association between faculty and students did not, however, mean that the education offered in them was always particularly personal or required much active and imaginative thinking on the part of their students. Rote learning, memorization, and repetition

⁸ Jeffery Howe, Boston College (1996-8) *A Digital Archive of American Architecture: Thomas Jefferson*. Retrieved 11 April 2004 from: http://www.bc.edu/bc_org/avp/cas/fnart/fa267/jeffersn/uva2.jpg.

were the typical educational methods found in early- and mid-nineteenth-century classrooms. Students at the University of Georgia at the time, in the words of F. N. Boney, “marched through college in lock step with little encouragement of independent thought.”⁹ In fact, meetings of the student literary and debating societies, like the University of Georgia’s Phi Kappa and Demosthenian, probably offered more chance for the display of active intelligence by students than their time in the classroom. The book collections of the societies’ libraries, moreover, were often more extensive than those of the official college libraries.¹⁰

A great number of eighteenth and nineteenth-century students were not particularly motivated by academics anyway and this despite that only a tiny minority enjoyed the advantage of post-secondary schooling in comparison with the present fifty per cent of adults with college educations today. The number and percentage of Americans receiving a college education only started to rise significantly with the founding of land grant universities in the latter decades of the nineteenth century. According to Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, the small number of college students before the late nineteenth century could be broadly grouped into two opposing camps. The first were the sons of the affluent, for whom college was more finishing school and playground than intellectual training ground. The second was made up of young men, often from very modest family backgrounds, who were training to be clergymen. They tended to be older, poorer, and more serious than those in the first group. The balance between these two groups, as well as the conflicts between them, set much of the intellectual (or anti-intellectual) tone of individual colleges. As a public university in a state with several strong denominational colleges by the mid-nineteenth century, the University of Georgia saw much more of the first group than the second. The

⁹ Boney, *Pictorial History*, 21.

¹⁰ Dyer, 59-61.

antebellum student body of Franklin College was made up largely of young men from planters' families, particularly from the coast and the northeast Georgia piedmont. Much of college life, particularly those parts of it that were outside of the standard academic curriculum—such things as fraternities, student government, and athletics—were creations of this less academically focused section of the student body, and were often formed in opposition to the college administration and faculty and their attempted control of all aspects of students' lives.¹¹



Fig. 2.4: The University of Georgia campus from downtown Athens, circa 1910 (photo: Boney, *Pictorial History*, 128).

The growth of the land grant and research university from the late nineteenth century, the explosion of growth in the student populations following World War II and

¹¹ Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, *Campus Life: Undergraduate Cultures from the End of the Eighteenth Century to the Present* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1987), chaps. 2 and 3; Rudolph, chap. 7.

in the 1960s, and the establishment of co-education as the norm for colleges, all transformed the roles of universities. Faculty were relieved of their roles as policemen and allowed to restrict their roles to the classroom and the laboratory, and student life became more *laissez faire*. Administrations allowed students to organize themselves into fraternities, sororities, and student government. Rules governing student behavior on campus were increasingly relaxed, and rules governing student behavior off campus were almost completely done away with. This was done partly in response to the increasing age of students (those younger than eighteen became increasingly rare) and the supposed ability of adults to more closely administer their own behavior, and partly in response to the massive increase in the number of students seeking a college education. There were so many students that they became impossible for college authorities to police in the ways that they had when student bodies numbered in the few hundreds or even scores.¹²

Students also became more autonomous in their academic lives in ways that were both positive and negative. While the intellectual expectations of students in most cases became more stringent—rote learning and repetition gave way to seminars and lectures that students were expected to assimilate rather than reproduce—the removal of close personal attention to the mental and spiritual development of students became typical of most large colleges and universities. Large public universities in particular, often obliged to accept a large number of students of uneven academic preparation, became known for their “sink or swim” attitude toward undergraduates. Faculty often found attending to their own research or to advanced graduate teaching to be much more rewarding than teaching undergraduates the basics of their disciplines.

¹² Horowitz, *Campus Life*, chap. 10.

These significant changes in the size and role of colleges and universities in the United States also transformed campuses. Research universities exploded in size and complexity, and while the older “village” parts of campus were typically maintained and renovated, often as the prestige address for the administration, new additions to campuses, particularly in the rapid growth of the 1960s and 1970s, favored large buildings, surrounded by parking lots, that rarely acknowledged the other parts of the built environment. States built entirely new universities to educate the growing numbers of people who sought advanced degrees, and few of them, particularly new urban universities, possessed any feeling of community in either their design or their campus life. The village was no longer the operating metaphor for campuses, at least not for the largest of them. Sometimes it was the *city*, rather than the village, with its greater range of opportunities, but also its greater anonymity. The term *multiversity* gained currency as a way of looking at the transformed role of higher education. According to this metaphor, no longer could an institution of higher learning aspire to stamp uniformity on an already fairly homogenous student body. *Multiversity* acknowledged a real diversity of backgrounds and purposes among college students and the multiplicity of functions that the mid-twentieth-century university had taken on.

The twentieth century campus became modernist, even if it possessed historical buildings. As a modern city separated its different forms of transportation, communication, and utilities into separate conduits, academic pursuits became separate from each other, as isolated researchers experimented, wrote and taught separately from those in other disciplines. Campuses themselves were designed to facilitate the movement of students, faculty, staff, and visitors into, through, and out

of the university. College life became decentralized as the growing size of the student body made many collegiate traditions irrelevant or unwieldy, and most universities,



Fig. 2.5: The urban *multiversity* of the 1960s: University of Illinois at Chicago, designed by Skidmore, Owings & Merrill (photo: Turner, 274).

like the University of Georgia, abandoned their *in loco parentis* rules in the 1960s.¹³ Big-time athletics, particularly football and men's basketball, often remained as the sole unifying element of college life and the primary way that the general public came to know the institutions.

Nearly as important in changing the tone of college life as the greatly increased size of institutions has been the increasing consumerist mentality of students themselves. Although there has always been a variety of motivations behind those seeking higher education, those seeking it purely as a means of professional or

¹³ Boney, *Pictorial History*, 169.

vocational training, to the exclusion of considerations of personal intellectual and spiritual growth, have become a considerable proportion of the student population, particularly since the late 1970s. Many students go to college with narrow vocational tracks in mind and see their four years as a necessary step toward a lucrative career rather than as a chance to broaden intellectual horizons, sharpen mental skills, cultivate interests and learn about the world around them.¹⁴

In truth, the debate between classical liberal arts education and more “practical,” vocational subjects has been a recurrent one in American higher education since the early nineteenth century. Many people, even as early as the 1820s, argued that the traditional colleges of the time, with their emphasis on Greek and Latin, offered an education that was irrelevant to success in the everyday world of a young, expanding nation. Defenders of liberal arts, however, claimed that the mental discipline instilled by a background in the classical origins of western civilization, accompanied (depending on the college) with mathematics, experimental sciences, and moral philosophy, educated the whole man, as a gentleman and a citizen, and that vocational training offered only a limited and quickly outdated preparation for life in the world. The later decades of the nineteenth century saw both versions of higher education learning to coexist, especially at the new land-grant institutions that emphasized practical education and service to the general public. Even at the older colleges, however, more professionally oriented subjects, such as engineering, started to find a place. The liberal arts themselves changed somewhat, with a diminution of interest in classics and the admission that many of the same habits of mental discipline could be instilled just as well through the study of modern subjects. The

¹⁴ I once had a classroom discussion, at a large state-controlled research university, with a student who asserted that professional preparation was the only legitimate reason to go to college. When I suggested that some students might go to college for intellectual exploration and growth, he responded: “Why do they have to do it *here*?”

University of Georgia, for example, started to include modern languages, calculus, history, political economy, and international law in its curriculum by the mid-nineteenth century, while keeping an emphasis on the classics.¹⁵

The educational pendulum in the past few decades, however, has swung more toward the vocational and professional, particularly among students. Defenders of liberal arts often resort to emphasizing the “transferable skills” that the liberal arts instill as the best possible preparation for the professions. Their fear is that if students cannot see the relevance of a subject for making money they will study something that will give them that advantage. It is not only among public and less-well-known colleges that this attitude has found root. The mania for admission to “prestige” colleges, such as the Ivy League institutions, in the past two decades, has more to do with the perceived advantage that those institutions give to a future career rather than their strength in promoting intellectual or spiritual growth.¹⁶ A college

¹⁵ Thomas G. Dyer, *The University of Georgia: A Bicentennial History, 1785-1985* (Athens, GA: U. of Georgia P., 1985), 74-5; see also: Rudolph, chaps. 6, 10, 11.

¹⁶ See, for example, “CollegeConfidential.com,” an online college information forum. Despite articles on the site that try to persuade young readers (and their parents) that the right fit for a student, rather than perceived prestige, should be the guiding principle in college selection, the discussion boards on the site reveal an obsession with the reputations of various institutions and their rankings compared to other colleges, particularly in the yearly *U.S. News* rankings, rather than an interest in the quality of education at the institutions. Admission to a highly selective college is seen as a credential in itself. A significant minority voice among those posting messages, however, derides those with such obsessions as “prestige whores.” See also Ginger Fay, “Don’t Die for Duke: Putting Joy (and Common Sense) Back into the College Search Process,” Retrieved 6 April 2004 from: http://www.nais.org/pubs/ismag.cfm?file_id=2274&ismag_id=27, and the articles in “The *Atlantic Monthly* College Admissions Survey,” *Atlantic Monthly*, v. 292, no. 4, November 2003, particularly “The New College Chaos,” by James Fallows, 106-114; “What Makes a College Good?,” by Nicholas Confessore, 118-126; and “The Selectivity Illusion,” by Don Peck, 128-130; and also the work of Loren Pope, a college admissions writer who is very critical of the mass education of modern universities and a fan of the small liberal arts college. *Looking Beyond the Ivy League: Finding a College That’s Right for You*, revised edition (New York: Penguin, 1995) and *Colleges That Change Lives: 40 Schools You Should Know About Even if You’re Not a Straight-A Student*, revised edition (New York: Penguin, 2000).

degree often becomes valuable primarily as a credential rather than as evidence of education.

Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz draws a connection between these contemporary students and the serious, but impoverished, seminarians of the nineteenth century, who rarely had the luxury of pursuing subjects not directly related to their professional goals. Along the same lines, the early twentieth century saw an increasing number of ambitious young people from modest backgrounds, often the children of immigrants, enter college as a way to escape the restricted professional horizons of their parents. Like the vocationally minded students of today and the seminarians before them, they often worked hard, sometimes very hard, but also saw their education in very narrow terms, with high grades as the object. In her categorization of student types in the past two centuries, Horowitz refers to these students as “Outsiders” and their modern successors as the “New Outsiders.” She refers to them as “outsiders” to distinguish them from the more affluent, more socially oriented students who dominated the campus life at many colleges, particularly in the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth, whom she refers to as “College Men.” Their female counterparts, “College Women,” came along a bit later, but likewise emphasized the extracurricular, rather than academic, aspects of campus life. Unlike the more confident and well-connected, but less academically motivated, college men and women, the outsiders often followed a “culture of grinding.” The New Outsider, according to Horowitz, carries this culture to a mercenary extreme:

Grades do not reflect innate differences in intelligence; rather they result from figuring out what their professors want, spending long hours of study, and currying favor with their instructors. The terms [i.e., “grinding”] derive from the nineteenth century. The only difference lies in the attitude taken toward them. Whereas college men scorned both the

techniques and the goals of grade-grubbing, the New Outsider turns them into valued strategies and admirable ends.¹⁷

Although not restricted to the largest institutions, this mercenary mindset is most at home at the major research universities, where professors' attention is often focused more on their own careers than on their students' education. It also finds a home at many technically oriented universities, such as Georgia Tech, that have typically lacked a strong socially oriented college life and emphasized academic competition. Of course, it's not true that no New Outsider can ever be found at a liberal arts college, but the lack of immediate name recognition of most of such colleges among the general public probably discourages most academic mercenaries from attending them. From my own experience teaching at liberal arts colleges, it seems to me that students at such schools tend to be a self-selected group who, even if they have decided professional ambitions, are at least open to the idea of intellectual exploration and growth as a primary component of their college educations. The academic community of most liberal arts colleges also tends to discourage grinding for its own sake, even if they can be academically intense.

The increased competition among students for entry into the best-known colleges in the past few decades has also meant competition among the institutions themselves to attract and secure the most capable students. The elite institutions have largely succeeded in becoming more democratic since the late 1960s, not only by admitting women, but also by admitting a student body chosen more for its talents, test scores, and high school records than for its birth or connections. Large endowments allow most brand-name colleges to admit talented students regardless of their ability to pay the typically hefty tuition fees. Nevertheless, the oldest colleges tend to retain a certain social prestige along with their newer meritocratic gloss, which

¹⁷ Horowitz, *Campus Life*, 269.

makes them doubly attractive to ambitious high-school seniors eager for an imprimatur of quality. The greater the college's prestige, the greater the number of applicants; the greater the number of applicants, the smaller percentage of applicants are accepted; the smaller the percentage of accepted applicants, the greater the college's prestige. This circular game of college prestige feeds—and is fed by—this obsession with rankings and selectivity. Administrators are compelled to pay attention to the yearly rankings put out by *U.S. News and World Report*, even if they scorn them as pseudo-scientific and unreliable, because they know that the movement up or down of a few places may mean the difference of hundreds of applicants. Colleges' web sites frequently tout their rankings on the *U.S. News* lists, even when the small print of those rankings makes their placement less impressive than it might at first sound.¹⁸

Various other factors can lead to a college's increase or decrease in popularity over the course of a few years. A national championship in a major revenue sport can increase applications for several years afterward; a particularly inviting location, such as California or Washington, DC, can help even a mediocre university be more selective than those with less favorable geography; even the spotlight of a reality television series can bring increased publicity and applications to a school.¹⁹ When students themselves are asked to name the most important factor in their college selection, however, the greatest number of them say that it was the quality of the

¹⁸ Colleges will often, for example, claim to be “the #1 rated college in the East, according to *U.S. News and World Report*,” without mentioning that the magazine's rankings are split among many different categories, such as national universities, national liberal arts colleges, regional colleges and universities, those that give only bachelor's degrees, those that give master's and bachelor's, etc. The most misleading of these bits of self-promotion was at one time on the University of Hawaii-Hilo web-site that touted its ranking as the #3 public liberal arts college in the west—a category of exactly three schools.

¹⁹ *U.S. News & World Report* (2004) *How Schools Get Hot*. Retrieved 8 April 2004 from: http://www.usnews.com/usnews/edu/college/articles/brief/04hot_brief.php.

school's campus that clinched their choice. College administrators know this as well as anybody, and those schools that seek to raise their profile among potential applicants spend quite a bit of money defining and redefining their school's physical image. George Washington University, for example, located in the not particularly distinctive downtown Washington neighborhood of Foggy Bottom, has spent millions in the past several years trying to lend its urban campus some of the character of the expected pastoral collegiate scene by creating green quads in the middle of its city blocks and improving dormitory and social life on campus. Certain recreational amenities also seem *de rigueur* for any college trying to attract its share of the college applicant pool. For several decades in the twentieth century universities built fully stocked student union buildings, complete with movie theatres, game rooms, a variety of dining options, as well as the expected meeting rooms for student activities, as a way to attract students and improve the quality of extracurricular life. More recently, extravagant intramural athletic facilities, such as the Ramsey Center at the University of Georgia, have been the standard amenity expected by students.

Of course, a concern for students' quality of life by a college's administration is all to the good, and is one of the traditional strengths of the liberal arts college. However, it is also possible in the rush to build large facilities to accommodate extracurricular activities that the balance between the academic and the extracurricular can be skewed. Colleges are, after all, institutions of higher learning and not vacation resorts; it does not do a college much good to have a state-of-the-art athletic facility if the library is under-funded and overcrowded. Most colleges, whether public or private, typically run on very tight budgets and thus often have to make tough choices about where to spend their funds. Public colleges are further dependent in their planning on the whims of state legislatures and the robustness of state tax

receipts. All are subject to the particular politics of academia, obsessions of college presidents, and the distortions of academic priorities brought to universities that field semi-professional sports teams.

CHAPTER 3

THE UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA'S NORTH CAMPUS

A photograph of the University of Georgia campus, taken on the eve of the twentieth century, shows a campus that had changed little in the previous sixty years. Of the eight campus buildings visible in the photograph, only three were constructed after the 1830s, and one of these, Science Hall, the tallest among the group, would burn down in 1903. The rest were constructed from 1806 to 1832 as the University tried to establish itself on thirty-seven acres of wooded ridge in the rolling piedmont of north Georgia. Although chartered as the state's public university in 1785, the earliest of any state-sponsored college in the United States, actual site selection and construction did not begin until the early nineteenth century because of bureaucratic wrangling and shortness of funds, two problems that would dog the university well into the twentieth century.

The 1900 photograph shows almost the entire campus, a campus of a small liberal arts college rather than a university, despite the school's official designation. At the time, Georgia's enrollment was less than 400, and it would not exceed that number for six more years. The university flirted with closure or removal from Athens for its first decades of existence, although it had had a promising start under President Josiah Meigs, who scouted Georgia for talented students. It was shuttered entirely during the Civil War, as were most colleges in the state and the South. In the

years before the Civil War, enrollment varied from a high of 159 to a low of seven,¹ although a small student body was typical of American colleges of the time, including the oldest and best regarded. The number of students exceeded one thousand—still a



Fig. 3.1: The University of Georgia campus, ca. 1900 (photo: Boney, *Pictorial History*, 97).

size modest enough to place it among the smaller colleges today—only in 1919, with the end of the First World War and the coming of coeducation.² A plan to transform Georgia from a college that emphasized undergraduate education and a faculty who emphasized teaching into a true university, with graduate degrees and a devotion to scholarly research, was drawn up in 1859, but was thwarted by the perennial lack of money and the coming of the Civil War.³ In 1890s, however, the university started to attract professors with the Ph.D. degree, still a relatively new possession for scholars

¹ In all of the antebellum period, 900 students graduated from the university with degrees, about one-sixth the number that graduate in a typical year now. Dyer, 46-8.

² Boney, *Pictorial History*, 97, 108; Coulter 14-15; Dyer, 24-5.

³ Boney, *Pictorial History*, 40-1.

in the United States and part of the increasing professionalization of scholarship toward the end of the nineteenth century. This brought little change to the character of the school, however. “This new generation of professor generally had more formal training than their predecessors,” writes F. N. Boney of the new faculty of the 1890s, “but they too served primarily as teachers and generalists.”⁴ “At heart,” Boney continues, “the university was still a liberal arts college.”⁵

In plan, the campus of 1900 bears a close resemblance to similar state institutions in the south, such as the universities of South Carolina and North Carolina, and, in a very loose way, to Jefferson’s University of Virginia campus. The

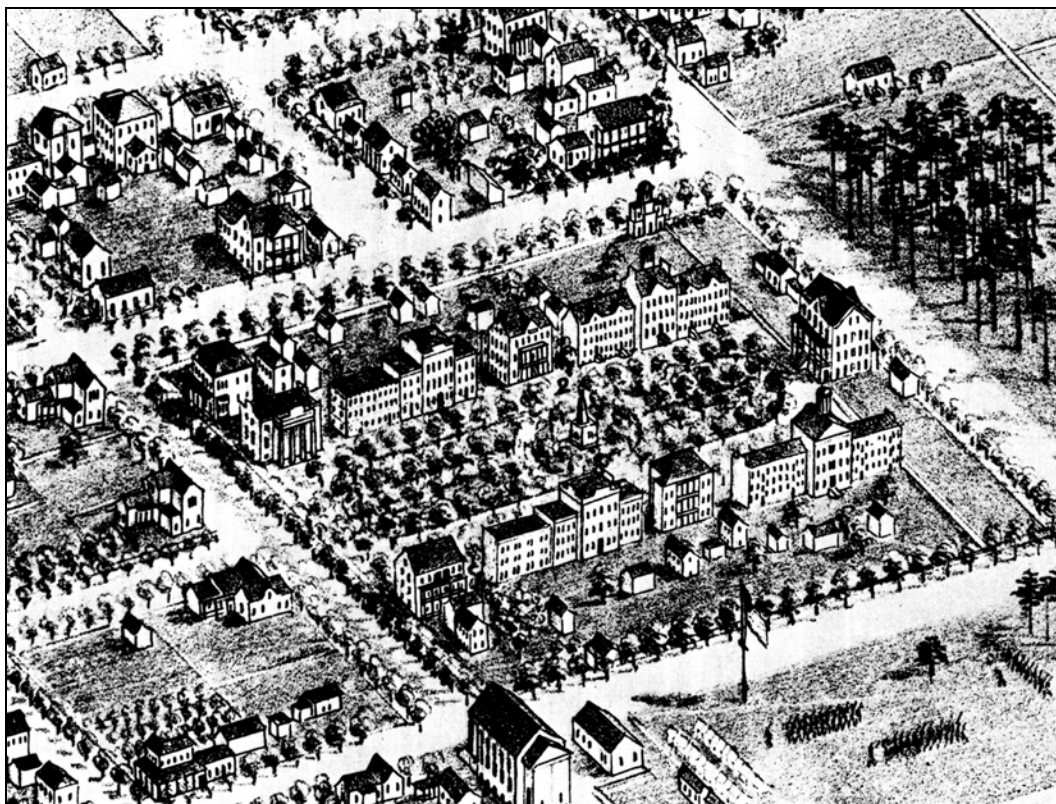


Fig. 3.2: The College of South Carolina (now University of South Carolina) campus in the first half of the nineteenth century (photo: Turner, 58).

⁴ Ibid., 56.

⁵ Ibid., 63.



Fig. 3.3: Connecticut Hall at Yale University (photo: Yale Bulletin and Calendar⁶)

buildings face onto a common green or mall, with the oldest, most prominent structure heading the group and enclosing one end. The end opposite to the landmark building is left open to the adjoining town.⁷ Old College, the building that heads the group at Georgia's campus, is very modest as landmark buildings go, at least for a nineteenth-century campus, certainly nothing as grand as Jefferson's magnificent library that commands Virginia's original ensemble. Old College is a plain brick structure of three stories and an attic, without a prominent architectural feature, such as a central entrance, that would call attention to itself. Its placement alone makes it the most prominent building of the group; it acts as a keystone. Although built during the early years of the republic, Old College was modeled after a colonial structure at a colonial college: Connecticut Hall at Yale, alma mater of several of the University's

⁶ Yale Bulletin and Calendar (2002) *Yale Bulletin and Calendar*. Retrieved 11 April 2004 from: http://www.yale.edu/opa/ycb_alumni/story/10.html.

⁷ Turner, 55-59.

founding fathers.⁸ Also like Yale and several other colonial colleges, the group of buildings that came together in the next few decades on Georgia's campus did not yet form the semi-enclosed mall of later decades, but were arranged in a row with, excepting Old College itself, a straight line of facades facing a common green space. Only in 1836 would a building, Phi Kappa Hall, be placed on the east side of the green facing the older row. It would be several decades again before other buildings joined it to create the U formation associated with this oldest part of the University of Georgia campus.

The connection with Yale went beyond architecture, however. The new university on the Georgia frontier modeled its charter and curriculum on Yale's, although loosely, with its emphasis on the classics and moral philosophy above all subjects. Yale became the central force of academic conservatism in American higher education during the first half of the nineteenth century, eschewing any attempts to dilute its orthodox classical education with modern subjects such as the experimental sciences, modern languages, or any other topic that might be construed as vocational in nature.⁹ Georgia differed from Yale in a measure by an early inclusion of the sciences in the curriculum, a product of the training and interests of President Meigs. Philosophical Hall, now Waddel Hall, just out of view in the above photograph (Fig. 3.1) to the left, southeast of Old College, was the early laboratory for science courses. The emphasis, however, was on literary training, and also like Yale, the University of Georgia gained a reputation as a rich man's college. Although the nineteenth century presidents of the university attempted to maintain a high moral tone among the

⁸ Old College's status as the oldest building on Georgia's campus is now something of a mirage. Its external skin of brick was so badly deteriorated by the first decade of the twentieth century that it had to be replaced in its entirety, and the building's interior was completely renovated when it was converted for use during the Second World War. There is thus very little left of the Old College that was constructed in 1806.

⁹ Rudolph, 130-6.

student body, few students came to the university solely for religious training, and students were taken predominantly from among the landed wealthy of the state. The university's elitist image rankled many in the state, which in the first decades of the



Fig. 3.4: Old College (photo by author).

nineteenth century had a reputation, like most frontier societies, for suspicion or even hostility to the intellect. Many in the state legislature questioned the propriety of subsidizing the education of the sons of the rich in Latin and Greek when the state still had an undeveloped elementary and vocational educational system for the masses. This hostility toward higher education by members of the legislature (and the

opposition to *any* publicly funded education by many of them) would thwart the university's development at several points in its history.¹⁰

Like most colleges of the time, the University of Georgia was a school for the few, rather than the many, and the small numbers led to a narrow scope for student life. A student of 1900 likely would have found almost all of his college life encompassed in the few dozen acres seen in the photograph above. Not only were most of his classes held in these buildings, but he likely would have had a dormitory room in one of them as well. Old College, and the building to its right, New College, rebuilt in 1832 after a fire destroyed the previous decade-old structure, served as dormitories, as well as classroom buildings, for much of the first one hundred years of their existence. The library (which now forms the northern half of the Holmes-Hunter Academic building) on the far right, was built in the 1860s, but the college suffered from inadequate library facilities and a tiny collection. Much of his extracurricular life would have been taken up with one of the two student literary and debating societies—Demosthenian and Phi Kappa—whose meeting halls stared at each other across the green. The dominance of these two societies in the lives of students, however, had waned considerably by 1900. Nearly all students before the Civil War had belonged to one or the other of these groups; not to do so would have removed a student from most of the extracurricular life of the college. After the war, however, Greek letter fraternities began to rival and even surpass the older societies in popularity and in focus of extracurricular activity. Organized athletics also became a diversion from schoolwork following the Civil War, gaining popularity particularly from the 1890s on. Still, the student of 1900 would have participated in any athletics within this small area of ground shown in the photograph. Four tennis courts occupy

¹⁰ Dyer, 29, 36, 40-4.



Fig. 3.5: Demosthenian Hall (Photo by author)

the foreground of the picture, in the northeast corner of the campus along Broad Street. The primary athletic ground, however, was on the west side of the campus, just visible in the photograph between New College and the chapel.

The chapel, in the center of the 1900 picture (Fig. 3.1), served as the center for the campus's religious life. It also, before the construction of the gateway arch at the Broad Street entrance to the university, stood as the school's most recognized symbol. Until 1915 it had a bell that hung in a small structure on its roof, which marred the building's classical lines. The bell rung to mark the change of classes and also to mark important occasions in the life of the university, such as commencement, or remarkable public events, such as Georgia's declaration of secession at the beginning

of the Civil War. When it was removed in 1915, the bell was placed on a freestanding wooden tower behind the chapel, where it continued to be rung on important occasions, such as a victory by the football team. Although the chapel was a centerpiece of the campus, the university was a secular institution, at least nominally, and as such was the focus of denunciations by religious leaders in the state as the embodiment of godless rationalism. The Baptist clergy were the college's most vociferous critics, and though thwarted in an early attempt to get the state to charter a Baptist college, they eventually set up their own more godly institution at Penfield, in Greene County, named Mercer.¹¹

Some of the religious condemnation of the university was simply sectarian squabbling. The college rules certainly promoted a religious atmosphere to the school, whether they were actually followed or not. Students were fined if they missed any of the twice-daily chapel services (the first one beginning at 6:30 am), and drinking, fighting, billiards, cards, consorting with "dissolute persons," and the playing of musical instruments on Sunday were punishable by fines or expulsion. These rules were part of the university's legacy in puritan New England institutions, and the affluent Southern student body, unaccustomed to such restrictions at home, often bridled at these restraints.¹² The occasional rebelliousness of students was sometimes checked, however, by the students themselves. About once a decade, a religious revival or temperance campaign swept the campus, as they did occasionally throughout early nineteenth-century America, and succeeded in calling students to be converted or to make a pledge to forgo spirituous liquors.¹³ For most of Georgia's first

¹¹ Dyer, 19. Mercer eventually relocated to Macon.

¹² Coulter, 60-3.

¹³ Dyer, 54; Coulter, chap. 8.

century, moreover, nearly all of the university's presidents were clergymen, as were many of the faculty, as was common even among state-supported universities at the time. What irked many Baptists, as well as members of other denominations, however, was that Presbyterians dominated the leadership, faculty and student body, even though Baptists were by far the largest denomination among residents of the state. Throughout the early history of the university, it weathered accusations of Presbyterian favoritism.



Fig. 3.6: University chapel (photo by author).

It was not only students who found most of their lives revolving around this closely bounded space. Many of the faculty members lived either in apartments in the dormitories or in houses on campus just south of the area in the photograph. Unmarried professors and tutors were the principal policemen of campus rules and regulations and thus had to stay close at hand at all hours.¹⁴ As if this were not domestic enough, Chancellor Andrew Lipscomb, the university's post-Civil War leader, sought to bring local Athens families to live in the dormitories as a civilizing influence on the sometimes unruly young men of the college.¹⁵ This intimate atmosphere may not always have bred obedience or fine scholarship, but it undoubtedly fostered a familiarity among students and staff that amounted to a community. The formation of this community was aided by the homogeneity of race and sex, and the near homogeneity of age, social background and religion (although the University of Georgia had always welcomed Jewish students as well as Christian), along with the academics, social functions, and athletics of campus life, as well as the relative isolation of Athens from the population centers of the state.

The campus was distinct—although not isolated—from the surrounding city of Athens. The town succeeded, rather than preceded, the college in foundation, and its streets were laid out along the same orientation of the buildings of the campus.¹⁶ Town and campus faced each other across Front (now Broad) Street, separated by a fence to keep wandering livestock off the college grounds. The current iron fence, along with the arch that forms the campus's ceremonial entrance, is a product of the 1850s. The university sold its well-regarded botanical garden in order to pay for it, replacing an inadequate wooden fence that, according to a much reproduced early

¹⁴ Boney, *Pictorial History*, 22.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 13, 50.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 3, 11.

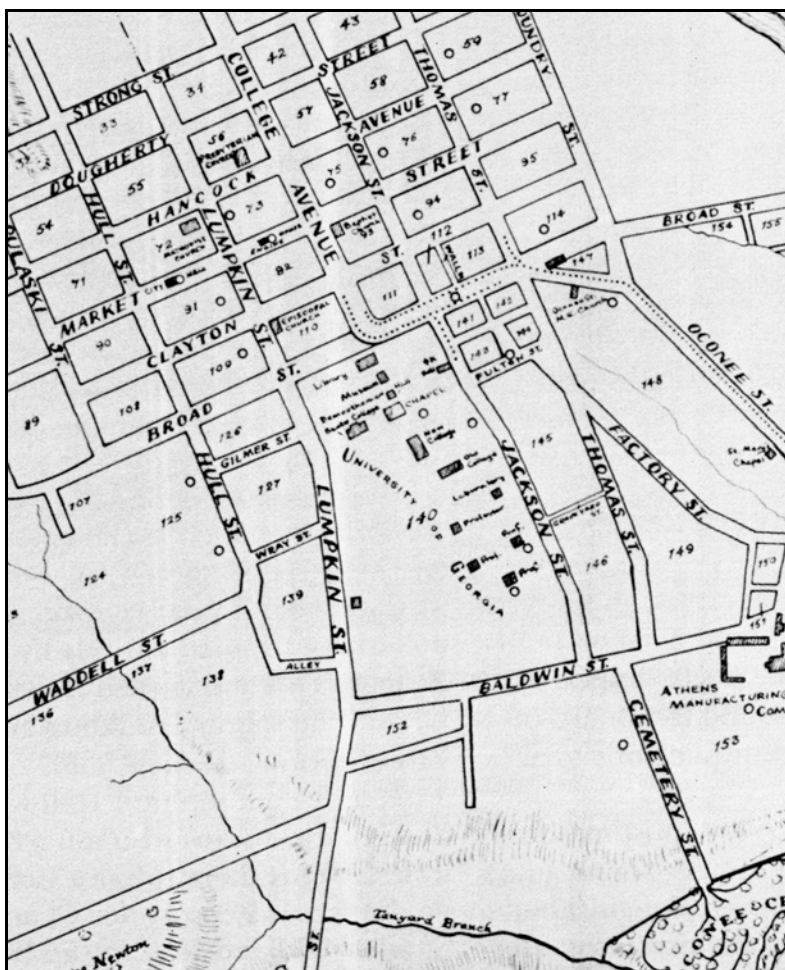


Fig. 3.7: 1874 map of Athens and the University of Georgia. The four southernmost buildings are professors' residences (photo: Boney, *Pictorial History*, 51).

engraving of the campus, required pedestrians to breach it not through gates, but by crossing it on stiles. Despite the fence separating them, Athens and the university were dependent on each other. Nineteenth century Athenians, whether affiliated with the university or not, enjoyed some of the reflected prestige of living alongside Georgia's state university, and university faculty and students were a full part of the Athens social scene. Athens gained a reputation as one of the South's most cultured and sophisticated towns, both because of the university and because of the increasing

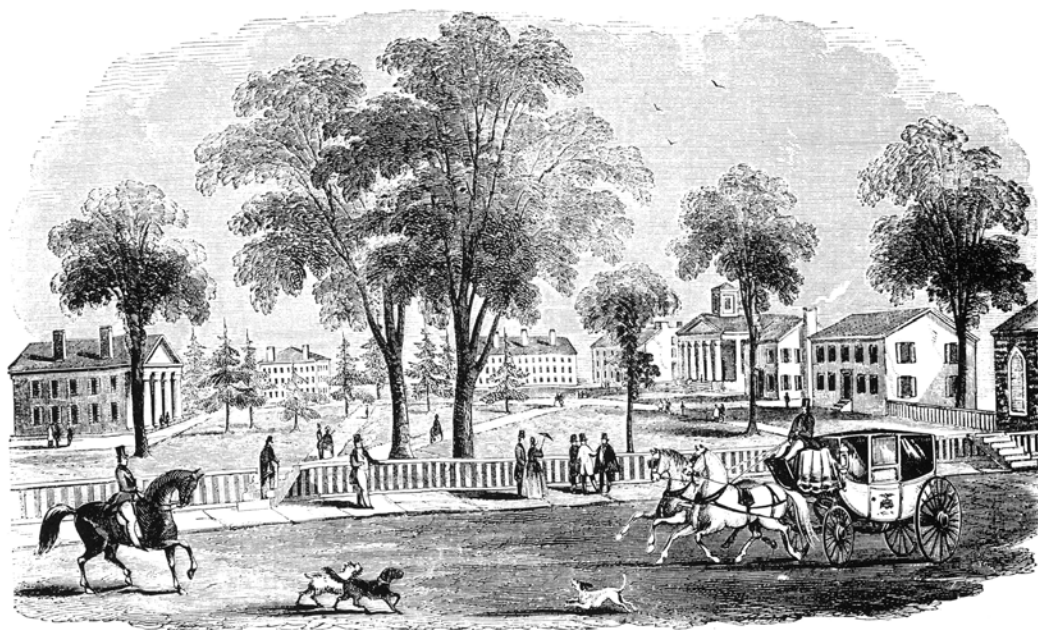


Fig. 3.8: An 1854 engraving of the University of Georgia campus, probably depicting the campus of a decade or so before (photo: Boney, *Pictorial History*, 25).

prosperity brought by cotton, trade and the railroads. Beginning in the 1830s, moreover, wealthy planters from surrounding counties migrated to town where they built the Greek Revival mansions that helped to give Athens its nickname, “the Classic City.” The townspeople of Athens shared in celebrating the university’s biggest event of the year, commencement, when students’ families, as well as politicians and various other dignitaries, flowed into Athens for a few days of speeches, dances, socializing and politicking. Athens, according to E. Merton Coulter, became Georgia’s de facto capital for a few days each summer in the decades before the Civil War.¹⁷

Although early students of the university were discouraged from leaving campus at all, not all students could or desired to be housed on campus. Many students lived in the town itself, although only in places approved of by the university.

¹⁷ Coulter, 138-144.

Students could take lodging with local families of established reputation, or in approved rooming houses, typically run by widows. For much of the mid-nineteenth century, moreover, students had nowhere to dine on campus, even if they lived in one of the dormitories, and had to take their meals either at rooming houses or at a hotel.¹⁸ The existence of rules against students' consorting with disreputable characters or patronizing brothels—and punishments given for their violation—indicate that University of Georgia students were not unknown among Athens's nineteenth century demi-monde.

This meeting and blending of university and town are part of what give both Athens and the University of Georgia much of their appeal even today. The blocks north of Broad Street are filled with shops, bars, clubs and restaurants that serve the university community and visitors. The foot traffic and sidewalk bars and restaurants give the area a bustle and pedestrian friendliness that is rare for cities in Georgia. The town and gown mixture is matched by only a handful of other college towns, such as Chapel Hill, Charlottesville, Madison, Boulder, and Berkeley, and is a stark contrast to the dull suburban surroundings of universities like Duke, Emory, and Stanford. Athens owes its liveliness in large part to the decentralization of extracurricular campus life as the university grew in size. As the student body grew too large for there to be many unified elements to life on campus, many extracurricular activities, such as informal socializing, moved to the private sector off campus.

Of course, there had always been businesses in Athens that depended on the university; the town's very existence depended on it. Downtown Athens is no longer, however, as it was as late as a generation ago, a commercial center for the region. A cursory comparison of the clientele at the restaurants and stores in downtown Athens

¹⁸ Dyer, 50-1.



Fig. 3.9: The landmark gateway arch and downtown Athens (photo by author).

and such establishments along the Atlanta Highway on the west side of town close to the Georgia Square Mall shows that the latter are, on average, older (although there are also more children), less well-dressed, and less athletically built than the former. Whereas peripheral Athens belongs to the native population, downtown Athens is the realm of the university's students, most of whom are not from the immediate region.

The mix is leavened during the day with the university's faculty and staff on lunch or a shopping break, as well as a smattering of homeless people, and football game weekends bring a large influx of alumni. In the evening, however, the street life can make anyone over the age of twenty-five feel a little out of place.



Fig. 3.10: Downtown Athens across Broad Street from the University of Georgia campus, with the Academic building on the center right (photo by author).

Nevertheless, a good deal of any present success that the university's north campus has as a campus space is because of its adjacency—but also its contrast—to downtown Athens. The U-shaped space of the original, northernmost campus green opens to the town, but it is also distinct from it, not only because of the iron fence that separates the two, but also because of the difference in vegetation. Although several blocks in downtown are lined with street trees, they are tiny in comparison with the

giant oaks that cover much of north campus. Walking from downtown into campus on a sunny summer day, one notices a drop in temperature of perhaps five degrees as one leaves the streets and sidewalks of downtown and enters into the shade of north campus. The buildings on this part of campus also have a play of similarity and contrast with the buildings across Broad Street. Although the buildings on campus were large for the time they were built, their scale is far smaller than most of the campus buildings built in the past century. They are, for the most part, two to four stories in height and, since they were built at a time before widespread electrical lighting, are of limited depth to take advantage of sunlight during the day. The scale of the buildings, as well as their age and materials, make a connection between them and the buildings in downtown Athens. As contrast, they tend to be more formal than their counterparts across Broad Street, especially in their frequent neo-classical motifs. The main standout among the buildings facing this space is the Academic Building, which is a composite structure, with a central section and exterior staircase joining two previously unconnected buildings. Its mass is noticeably larger than other buildings on this part of campus and also larger than all but a few of the buildings across from it on Broad Street. Even this building, however, is only three stories tall, not including an attic and basement.

The second quad of north campus, on the other side of Old College, shares much of this character. The 1960s addition to the law school, with its modernist lines, seems a little out of place here, but its scale is not out of proportion to the rest of the space. It may eventually blend in almost completely with the scene after its architectural style no longer looks out-of-date and starts to look historical. Across from the law school is Waddel Hall and Lustrat House, two early buildings with a



Fig. 3.11: Main Library (photo by author).

domestic scale, and Peabody Hall, a 1913 structure that harmonizes well with the scale of the other structures on the quads. The library is the primary building on north campus that violates the similarity of scale that characterizes much of the rest of the area. It is, in reality, two connected structures built twenty years apart. The part that fronts onto the campus green, at the other end of it from the south face of Old College, was constructed in 1953 and replaced the previous library, on the east side of the northern quad across from New College. This building was soon too small for the rapidly growing library collection, so in the 1970s, a seven-story addition was built on its south side. This addition towers awkwardly over the original building, although it has the advantage of being hidden almost completely when one is directly in front of the older structure. The scale of the older part, although large compared to

the buildings to its north, is not out of place. A library is probably the single most important structure for a college campus, and, assuming that a successful campus is a legible one to both members of the college community and to visitors, it *should* be prominently sited and scaled. A visitor to the southern quad of north campus, entering from any of the gaps between buildings, can immediately tell that the large structure heading the space is the library. It could be nothing else.



Fig. 3.12: Waddell Hall and Lustrat House (photo by author).

A distinctive quality of the oldest part of the University of Georgia's campus, and one that distinguishes it from many similar university campuses, is the heterogeneity of its architecture. Although classical motifs decorate several of the buildings, including self-consciously modern pillars fronting the library, only the

chapel and Phi Kappa Hall are thoroughly neo-classical. Yet the quads do not seem to be filled with a jumble of discordant styles because all of the buildings are subordinate to the spaces that they surround. That is, the primary organizing idea of the north campus is not the buildings, but space. This is typical of the oldest and most successful college campuses. Space, not architecture, is what identifies it as a seat of higher learning; the term *campus*, after all, refers to the grounds and not the structures on them. Building style is secondary; any individual building could be replaced and not affect the overall sense of completion of the design. Indeed, too consistent an architectural style around a campus green space can render the scene dull and monotonous, even if the architecture itself is distinguished. Although built over a period of nearly two centuries, the structures on the two primary green spaces of north campus work together as an ensemble. The principle of the predominance of space is the organizing element that ties the centuries together.¹⁹

The two green spaces of north campus are the point of origin and the ceremonial space of the University of Georgia. Although most university-wide ceremonies of the academic year, such as commencement, have moved to locations capable of seating the thousands of people who now attend, north campus, as the point of origin of the college, heads the hierarchy of the campus's spatial and temporal organization. It is architecturally the most formal part of campus, the part of campus most closely associated with the university's public and historical image, and the home of the most prominent members of the university hierarchy. Thus, even if actual ceremonies have moved elsewhere, it merits the term *ceremonial space*, since it is around that space that all the other spaces and buildings on campus organize themselves and relate

¹⁹ See Stephanos Polyzoides, "On Campus Making in America," *Campus and Community: Moore Ruble Yudell, Architecture & Planning*, Oscar Riera Ojeda, James Mary O'Connor, and Wendy Kohn (Rockport, MA: Rockport Press, 1997), 11-16.

historically and hierarchically. That the historical north campus is not actually at the geographical center of campus is unimportant; it is at the heart of the university's being in time. Prominent campus planner Richard Dober refers to such institutionally identifying spaces as "heritage spaces."²⁰ Similarly, architect and campus designer John Ruble believes that such spaces are symbolically important as the sites of institutional founding. Acknowledging the "act of establishment in time and in place," becomes the means by which an institution orients itself spatially and geographically, a kind of institutional omphalos. Ruble and his firm even distinguish such symbolic sites of founding on entirely new campuses that they have designed.²¹

The ceremonial space of a campus should do for the individual member of the university community what it does for the whole: orient the student, faculty member, or administrator to the longer sweep of time and place than is occupied by one person and one lifetime. Such a space connects him not only to others who came before him and who will succeed him at that one institution, but also to the succession of human history, civilization, and learning from past to future. The need for a feeling of continuity of time and of purpose larger than oneself is the main reason that historical styles have long been favored for college campus structures (with the notable exception of the mid-twentieth century), even at times that they have been ignored in other settings. The Collegiate Gothic buildings of Duke, the University of Chicago, or Princeton make no practical sense after all, at least in terms of physical function. They make sense only as an attempt to convince members of the collegiate community of the timelessness of their academic endeavors and the importance of the legacy in which they are being educated.

²⁰ Richard Dober, *Campus Landscape: Functions, Forms, Features* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 2000), 158-185.

²¹ John Ruble, "Communities of Purpose," *Campus and Community*, 136-9.

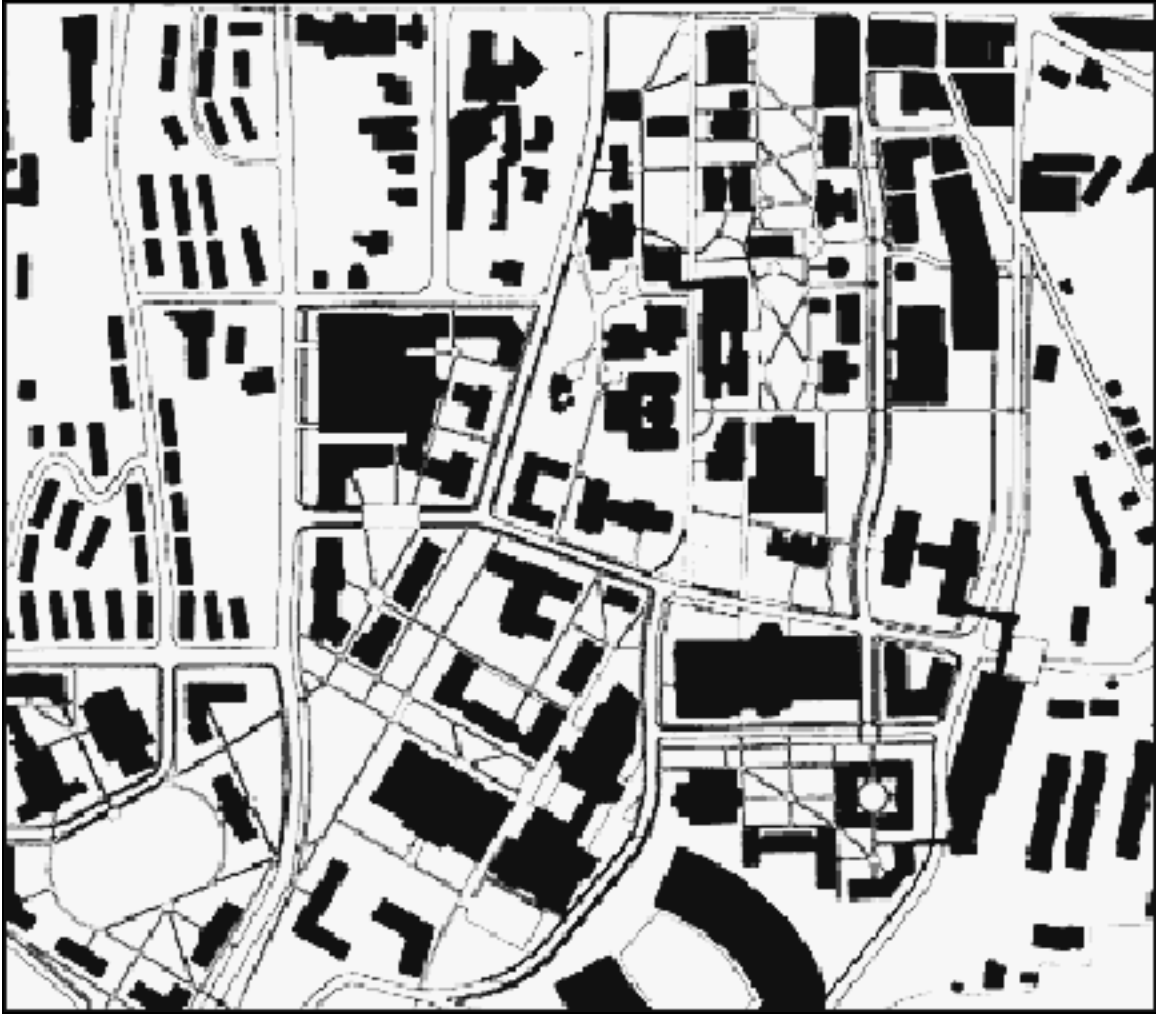


Fig. 3.13: Figure/ground study of north campus. The map is based on a master plan rather than existing conditions, and many of the buildings and spaces on the lower left do not (yet) exist (photo: Ayers/Saint/Gross).²²

No human structure is truly timeless, of course, and Collegiate Gothic architecture, or the neo-classical found scattered on the University of Georgia campus, is at least in part a confidence game about giving the *impression* of age, stability, and permanence whether it truly exists or not. However, any one specific style of architecture is not necessary to establish this impression of stability, permanence,

²²Ayers/Saint/Gross (n.d.) *Comparing Campuses*. Retrieved 14 April 2004 from: http://www.asg-architects.com/fs_comparing.html.

and connection with generations past and future. In fact, a campus may very well be built of a variety of styles, with each building representing the most modern architecture of its time, and still achieve this. In fact, it may have the advantage of being a chronicle of the best architecture of different periods and thus work even better as an illustration of continuity. If the buildings acknowledge a common overall plan, with space as the determinant of order, then they will celebrate a variety within unity.

If there is a problem with the ceremonial space of north campus it is that it is *too staid and formal*. It is, perhaps, not entirely a bad thing for a ceremonial space to have a certain air of repose and quietness, but the main spaces of north campus have become so entirely an administrative ghetto that the student life to be found there now is almost entirely from students passing through from the more vibrant areas of the campus to downtown. There is a reason, of course, why administrators want an address on north campus, particularly in one of the buildings facing the older, northern quad. This is the university's signature space, the one most tied to the institution's history and thus to its formal hierarchy. It would be surprising if the president of the university, for example, would consent to being housed anywhere else. Students, naturally, must sometimes visit the buildings on this space a couple of times a semester, to visit the registrar's office or the student aid office, but the quotidian lives of students do not center on this space any more, as they did even fifty years ago. The university is far too large now, and, like most large universities, separation of function has been inscribed on the space of campus. The administration has its area, student housing has its own, as do the sciences and the liberal arts. The campus has become zoned much like a twentieth century city.



Fig. 3.14: Herty Field (photo by author).

Certain times will see more activity than usual on north campus, however. Home football game weekends, for example, see hundreds of black and red clad fans sitting under crimson G-bedecked canopies noisily getting sloshed before and after the game and littering the lawn with discarded plastic cups. The space thus sees full use on perhaps ten Saturdays a year. Herty Field, a relatively newly designed space on the west side of the chapel and New College, also sees a lot of informal use on mild days, particularly in the spring and fall. This space, formerly the main playing field for the university, was for many years a parking lot. Redesigned as a formal quad (even more formal, strangely enough, than the older quads of north campus), it is a popular spot for relaxing, reading, and socializing between classes. The area directly in front of the Main Library also sees a lot of foot traffic as well as use as a foyer space, with people

waiting, smoking, talking on their cell phones, or reading. Only the space in front of the library, however, sees use throughout the day and into the evening. With the close of the business day, most of the buildings on north campus empty out and are locked up, and the space is quiet, perfect, and empty, like the formal living room of a bourgeois housewife who does not allow any of her children to enter, much less sit. Occasionally, often late at night, a giggling group of students, perhaps stumbling back to their dorms after a binge at one of the downtown bars, will strike out for the bell tower behind the chapel and interrupt the silence of north campus with several minutes of energetic ringing, largely unaware of the traditions in which they are taking part. The peal of the bell is clear and loud late at night, particularly in the winter, but few people live close enough to the sound to be wakened.



Fig. 3.15: Old College on a game day (photo by author).

CHAPTER 4

THE HILL AT GEORGIA INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY

On the oldest part of the Georgia Institute of Technology's campus, on the west side of the Academic (now Administration) Building, with its landmark tower, is the partial foundation of a building demolished nearly forty years ago. It was the second building on the site. The first, one of the two original buildings present when the institute opened on 1888, was destroyed by fire in 1892. When it was rebuilt soon after, it was without the tower that topped the original structure, a tower that was the equal in height to that of the Academic Building to its east, and one that was even more elaborate in its architectural details.

The foundation is barely noticeable now, and blends in almost completely with the vegetation and walkways that fill the space between Cherry Street and the Academic Building. If it were not for a plaque explaining the half-hidden structure, it is unlikely that many people would notice it as they pass along the shady walkway across this original part of the Tech campus, sometimes referred to as "the Hill," from the library to North Avenue, Bobby Dodd Stadium, or to the Registrar's office. Even so, few people stop to read it. For the few who do, they learn that the foundation is that of the Shops Building, a building that, even more than its sister structure to its east, was a symbol of the kind of education that the early fathers of Georgia Tech hoped would help transform their city, state, and region into a formidable industrial power.

The founding of Georgia Tech in 1885 came at a time of great optimism for



Fig. 4.1: Georgia Tech's two original buildings, the Shops Building on the left and the Academic Building on the right (photo: Griessman, et al., 11).

Atlanta and Georgia. It was, however, a defensive optimism, born of the lingering humiliation that the South had suffered in the conclusion and aftermath of the Civil War. Atlanta, the city's boosters believed, would be the economic and industrial heart of a "New South," a city that would not look back to the disgrace of their recent loss, but forward to a future of technological progress. The South's failure in the war, many of the promoters of the "New South" reasonably believed, had its origins in its industrial backwardness when compared to the powerful manufacturing capacity of the north. Henry W. Grady, the publisher of the *Atlanta Constitution*, and one of the promoters of the "New South" creed, told an audience of a funeral he had attended in rural Georgia:

It was a poor “one gallus” fellow whose breeches struck him under the armpit and hit at the other end about the knee.... They buried him in the midst of a marble quarry; they cut through solid marble to make his grave; and yet a little tombstone which they put above him, was from Vermont. They buried him in the heart of a pine forest, and yet the pine coffin was imported from Cincinnati. They buried him within touch of an iron mine, and yet, the nails in his coffin and the iron in the shovel that dug his grave were imported from Pittsburgh. They buried him by the side of the best sheep-grazing country on earth and yet the wool in the coffin bands and the coffin bands themselves were brought from the North. The South did not furnish a thing on earth for that funeral but the corpse and the hole in the ground. There they buried him in a New York coat and a Boston pair of shoes and a pair of breeches from Chicago, and a shirt from Cincinnati, leaving him nothing to carry into the next world with him to remind him of the country in which he lived, and which he fought for four years, but the chill of blood in his veins and the marrow of his bones.¹

A “New South” strong in industrial power and in the technical capacity of its citizens would never be held in such an economically dependent position again.

A school of technology in Georgia was one way in which boosters of the New South hoped to further their goals. The strength of Atlanta as a post-war manufacturing and transportation center for the region made it the obvious choice for the location of a school intended to supply the industry of the state and the South, although several other cities in the state, including Athens, put themselves forward as the best site for such a school. Before the Georgia School of Technology, as it was called until 1948, opened in 1888, the new school’s leadership visited several similar schools in the northeast, including the Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and Stevens Institute of Technology, and carefully examined their curricula. Their preference, however, was for the program of Worcester Polytechnic Institute in Massachusetts, which emphasized practical, hands-on training in the basics of industrial technology over more theoretical and academic

¹ Quoted in B. Eugene Greissman, Sarah Evelyn Jackson, and Annibel Jenkins, *Images & Memories: Georgia Tech: 1885-1985* (Atlanta: The Georgia Tech Foundation, 1985) 14, 16.



Fig. 4.2: Worcester Polytechnic Institute, with the original shops building, Washburn Shops, on the left (photo: Worcester Polytechnic Institute).²

education in the scientific bases of technology, as was the case at MIT. WPI students, particularly students in the first few years of the program, spent at least a couple of days a week in the institute's foundry, metal shop and wood shop, sometimes making pieces of machinery or furniture that could be sold to businesses locally. Theoretical knowledge was not ignored, but was clearly of secondary importance. Even the more abstract subjects, like mathematics, were taught in the context of, for example, surveying and civil engineering. Of the two approaches to technical education, the "shops culture" and the "schools culture," as they were called, the Georgians found the "shops culture" more pertinent to their state's needs.³

² Worcester Polytechnic Institute (1999) *Two Towers: The Story of Worcester Tech 1865-1965*. Retrieved 11 April 2004 from: <http://www.wpi.edu/Academics/Library/Archives/TwoTowers/>.

³ See Robert C. McMath, Jr., Ronald H. Bayor, James E. Brittain, Lawrence Foster, August W. Giebelhaus, and Germaine M. Reed, *Engineering the New South: Georgia Tech, 1885-1985* (Athens, GA: U. of Georgia P., 1985), particularly chapter one, "The Shop Culture and the New South Creed," 1-35.

This shop emphasis made an immediate mark on the new campus. The new shops building, the school's center of practical training, was the equal in size and importance to its neighbor, the Academic Building, home of the administration and classroom instruction. Even though it was replaced with a more modest structure after its destruction by fire, it was soon joined by other buildings in its vicinity, such as a new textile building, that emphasized the school's practical approach to education. Although a twenty-first century student is likely to find these buildings on



Fig. 4.3: A Tech metal shop from the 1890s (photo: Griessman, et al., 27).

the oldest part of Georgia Tech's campus relatively ornate, even quaint, when compared to the modernist twentieth-century structures nearby, they are unmistakably influenced by industrial architecture of the time. The massive smokestack of the school's former power plant is the most prominent reminder of Tech's industrial beginnings, but all of the buildings on the early campus were

designed with their use in technical and industrial endeavors in mind. What most distinguishes this original section of the Georgia Tech campus from the north campus of the University of Georgia is that it is shaped not by the primacy of space and the buildings surrounding it, but by the primacy of the buildings themselves. It is the buildings that are the monuments; space is what is left over between them. Tech's campus was then, from its very origins, shaped by the program of the school's individual buildings rather than by the enclosure of outdoor space by buildings of flexible program. The campus was thus not a "campus" at all, in the term's original sense.

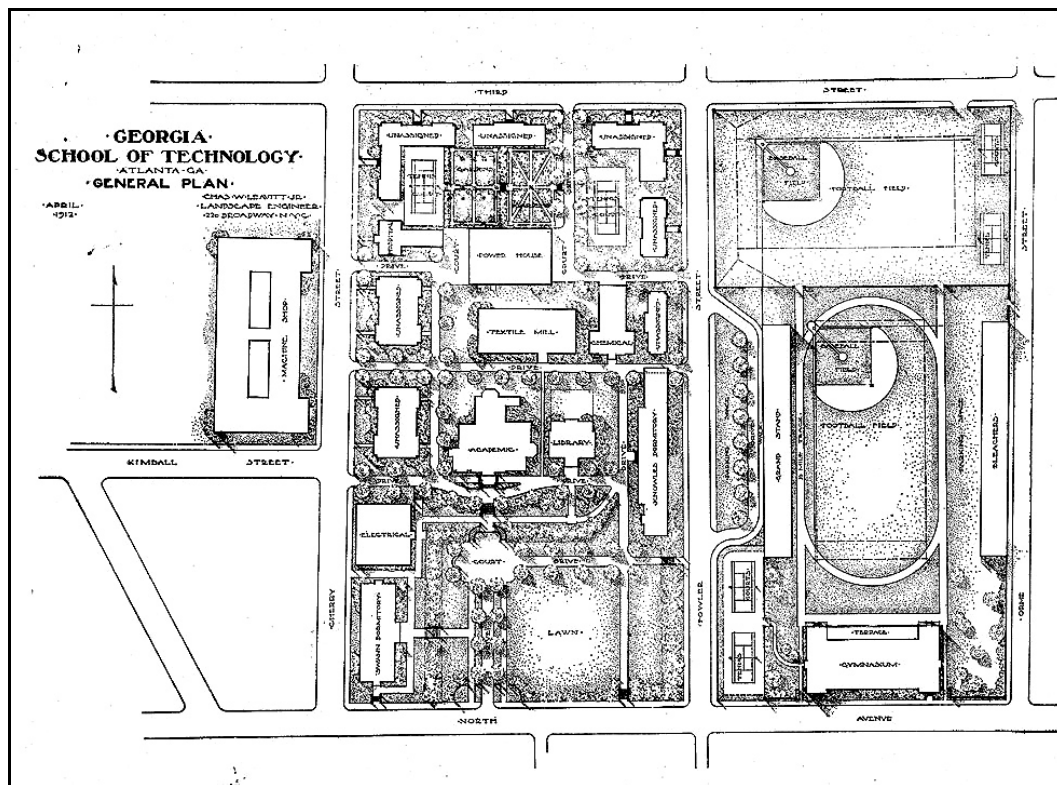


Fig. 4.4: Georgia Tech's 1912 Master Plan showing the two original blocks of the Institute. Little of the plan was actually carried out (photo: Georgia Institute of Technology).⁴

⁴ Georgia Institute of Technology (2003) *Previous Campus Master Plans*. Retrieved 11 April 2004 from: http://www.space.gatech.edu/digital_archive/plan/img/

The lack of a traditional campus may have set Georgia Tech apart from classically based liberal arts institutions such as the University of Georgia, but an inattention to traditional campus aesthetics was typical of not only technical institutions of the period, but also of some schools founded as research, rather than teaching, institutions. Johns Hopkins University was founded in 1867 as a German-style research university and was housed in several non-descript buildings in downtown Baltimore. There were no dormitories or dining hall and the university's administration took no interest in their students' extracurricular life. MIT was similarly housed in Boston, before moving across the river to a somewhat larger space in Cambridge. The attitude was self-consciously utilitarian and anti-collegiate: attention was focused on practical matters and matters of the mind, not on social life.⁵ Technical universities still tend to favor utility over aesthetics when it comes to their campuses. College admissions writer Loren Pope writes:

I have boasted for years that I could be dropped blindfolded onto any engineering campus in the United States, with the possible exceptions of Caltech and Harvey Mudd, and in less than half an hour know it was an engineering school...Once, at Carnegie-Mellon, walking down a hall of the newest and most distinctive building on campus, I asked in five successive faculty offices who the architect was. When the fifth one didn't know and I observed that it was the only new and different building around, his reply was, "We tend not to think in those terms."⁶

The student body of Georgia Tech differed from the University of Georgia's as much as their campuses differed. The "avowed mission" of Georgia Tech, as one historian of the institute has written, was "preparing boys from the working classes for employment in shops and manufacturing industries."⁷ The classical education that purportedly helped shape the young men in Athens into gentlemen was nowhere to be

[plan1912.jpg](#).

⁵ Turner, 163-4.

⁶ Pope, *Looking Beyond the Ivy League*, 57.

⁷ McMath, et al., 69.

found at Tech. Even when Tech students studied the same subjects as their counterparts in Athens, it was with an eye to their practical application rather than their cultural significance. English and modern foreign languages, which were early on required of Tech students, were taught primarily for their usefulness in business and technical communication. The difference in social class between the two student bodies was thus very marked, and if the university in Athens had to live down its reputation as a finishing school for rich boys, the Atlanta institution was for several decades dogged by the image of a trade school for the marginally literate.

The social and extracurricular life of Georgia Tech students was marked by a utilitarian ethos as well. As with the early Johns Hopkins, the school went without a dormitory or dining hall for the first several years of its existence, and students were compelled to lodge and dine in neighboring lodging houses. Even when a dormitory was built in 1896, its very spartan appointments earned it the popular name of “the Shacks.” Discipline was equally spartan, with leave from campus without permission forbidden, and mandatory physical and military training. Mandatory ROTC for male students, in fact, was only done away with in 1965.⁸ Tech did boast a few literary societies during its early years, but most of what little extracurricular life students had time for centered on two places: the YMCA and the athletic field. The YMCA across North Avenue from the Tech campus was the quasi-official center of student extracurricular life, as it was at many universities in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, until a student center was finally completed on campus in 1970. Student orientation, clubs, and government all found a home at the YMCA rather than on campus itself.⁹

⁸ Ibid., 347.

⁹ Ibid., 110-1, 343.

Most of the excitement of campus life, however, centered on inter-collegiate athletics. The founding decade of Georgia Tech coincided with the origins of big-time college sports, particularly football. The athletic field shared the small original campus with the academic and shop buildings, and its modern successor, Grant Field, built in the very same spot on land adjacent to the Hill, quite literally overshadows the neighboring academic buildings. Despite—or perhaps because of—the relative lack of traditional campus life at Tech, intercollegiate sports have been a rallying point for school spirit and identity and its sports rivalries, particularly with the University of Georgia, are taken very seriously.¹⁰ Even at a time that Tech’s football teams have met with a relative lack of success, they still hold the allegiance of many students and alumni.

During the transformation of Georgia Tech from a small technical school into a major state-supported research university in the course of the twentieth century, it has maintained much the same character as it had in its first decades. Although the “shops culture” has given way to something much more akin to the “schools culture” of other technical institutes, with a focus on research and classroom instruction, Tech still maintains a program of co-operative education in which students can receive practical work experience along with their classroom education. Extracurricular campus life also continues to be relatively underdeveloped, when compared to other

¹⁰ As with most rivalries, one partner of this rivalry takes it more seriously than the other. Georgia fans are more likely to see the University of Florida, or even the University of Tennessee, as more important sports rivals than Tech. A commemorative centennial picture book of Georgia Tech history gives nearly as much space to Tech’s intercollegiate athletic history as it does to all of the institute’s other functions combined. See Griessman, et al., *Images and Memories*.



Fig. 4.5: Bobby Dodd Stadium overshadows adjoining buildings on the Hill (photo by author).

large state universities. With its primary focus on engineering and other vocational subjects (although vocational with a high degree of technical sophistication), Tech attracts ambitious students with typically very decided career goals. An individualist and utilitarian attitude toward campus life, with the important exceptions of intercollegiate athletics and a sizable Greek letter fraternity system, continues to hold sway among the student body.

The utilitarian ethos has continued to shape the physical aspects of the campus as well, although it has expanded enormously from the original two blocks of buildings and playing field along North Avenue to a sizable chunk of midtown Atlanta. The



Fig. 4.6: Enthusiasm for intercollegiate athletics has been the most prominent part of extracurricular collegiate life at Tech from the 1890s (Photo: Griessman, et al., 219).

largest part of this growth was during the 1960s, during the presidency of Edwin D. Harrison, who served from 1957 to 1969. For many years, Tech, like many universities, suffered from inadequate facilities to house the growing programs and student body, particularly in the expansion of higher education after the Second World War. Under Harrison, however, Tech's campus more than doubled in acreage and in square feet of building space. The president took advantage of federal money in two areas: a significant increase in the amount of federal funds available for research after the launch of Sputnik by the Soviet Union, and in urban renewal dollars made available in the 1960s.

Early New South boosters of Tech foresaw the development of a fashionable neighborhood in the North Avenue area across from the campus. What actually developed was something very different. As early as 1896 President Lyman Hall asked the Board of Trustees for money to build a fence around the campus to, as he put it

“protect the property against tramps.”¹¹ For years midtown Atlanta was one of the most run-down and crime ridden parts of the city. Techwood Homes, just south of

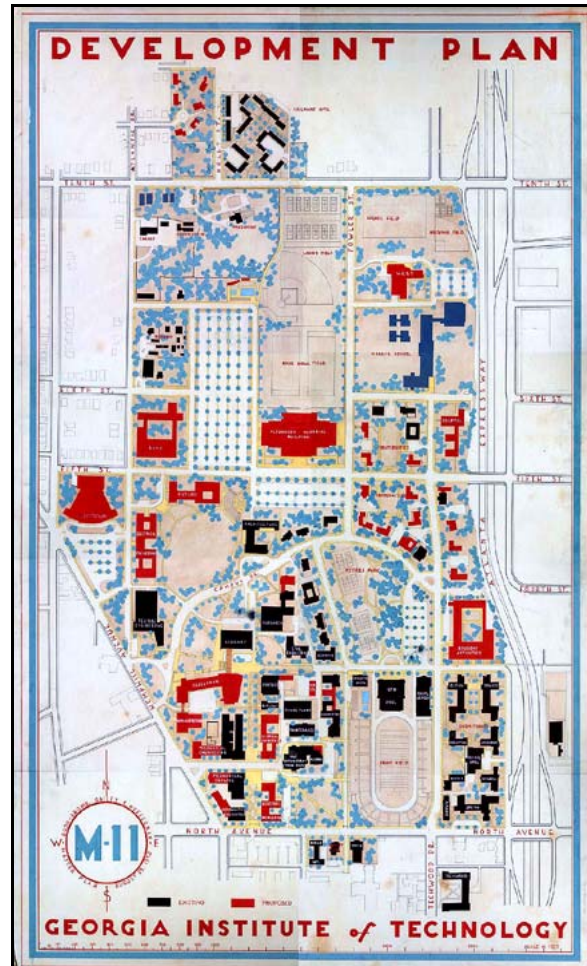


Fig. 4.7: 1952 Master Plan for Georgia Tech (photo: Georgia Institute of Technology).¹²

North Avenue, was the first federal housing project built, in 1939, and it quickly went from model housing project to slum. Federal funds for slum clearance allowed Tech to buy hundreds of acres to the north and west of campus and replace the run-down

¹¹ McMath, et al., 72.

¹² Georgia Institute of Technology (2003) *Previous Campus Master Plans*. Retrieved 12 April 2004 from: http://www.space.gatech.edu/digital_archive/plan/img/plan1952.jpg.

neighborhoods with new academic and athletic facilities.¹³ Although the neighborhoods around Tech have improved significantly in the past decade, the institute still has an indifferent, if not antagonistic, relationship with the surrounding area. Crime is still relatively high, as it is in Atlanta generally, and Tech's relationship with residents of the neighborhood of Home Park, north of campus, is not always smooth.

The campus, moreover, gives little physical acknowledgement to the surrounding area and vice versa. Across North Avenue from the ceremonial spaces of the Hill and the stadium could be just about anywhere in downtown or midtown Atlanta. There are none of the restaurants, bookstores, or bars that enliven Athens and many other college towns. The residential north side of campus is no more influenced by the presence of the institute than is the south side. Major roadways—Tech Parkway on the west and Interstate 75/85 on the east—enclose the other two sides of campus.

Additional money for the growth of the Tech campus came from new funds for primary research, particularly from the federal government, which started to see universities and their research as weapons to be used in the Cold War. Federal funds increased during the two world wars, but received their biggest boost after 1957 when the shock of the Soviet Union's launch of the first artificial earth satellite led the United States government to augment its funds for scientific and technical research to help in the space race. The newly available money and the explosion in facilities construction that came from it fed something that had already started on Tech's campus: the move away from a mission that had its focus on undergraduate education

¹³ Ibid., 337-8.

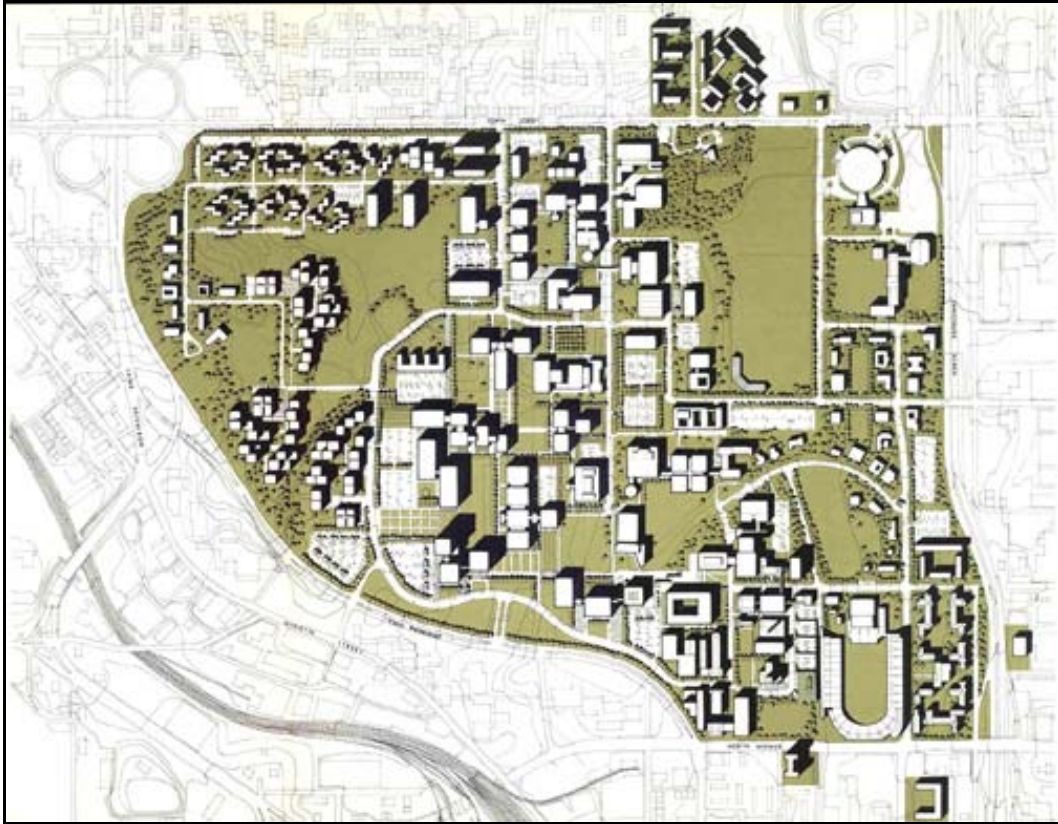


Fig. 4.8: 1965 Master Plan for Georgia Tech (photo: Georgia Institute of Technology).¹⁴

toward one that emphasized primary research in the scientific and technical fields and the winning of federal and private research grants by its faculty. In 1915, then institute president Kenneth G. Matheson stated that Tech's mission was "teaching first, then research, and finally extension work among the people of the state."¹⁵ By the 1960s, research easily trumped the other two.

Unlike much urban sprawl, the growth of the Tech campus in the 1960s was not without a plan. In fact, the master plans of the 1960s and 1970s were pretty closely adhered to in construction. What can make much of the campus look not

¹⁴ Georgia Institute of Technology (2003) *Previous Campus Master Plans*. Retrieved 12 April 2004 from: http://www.space.gatech.edu/digital_archive/plan/img/plan1965.jpg.

¹⁵ McMath, et al., 109.

much different from an office park, however, was that the emphasis in its design was, as it had been from the beginning, on the program of individual buildings rather than on the campus as a whole or on the spaces that the individual buildings created among them. Although Tech has its share of banal, modernist blocks like most campuses, it does have several architecturally distinctive buildings, many of them built in the past ten years or so. Few of these buildings, however, acknowledge the others in either design or placement; like the Academic Building and the Shops Building, they are individual monuments set in their own space, not parts of an ensemble. Roads and parking lots, moreover, fill much of the area between them rather than the lawns and trees characteristic of the traditional campus.

In this non-campus design, however, Georgia Tech is little different from most of the additions made to large state-controlled research universities in the 1960s. The southern two-thirds of the University of Georgia campus, for example, also sprawls with large program-driven buildings, streets, and parking lots, the product, as at Georgia Tech, of the growth of universities as the nation's most important centers of primary research. These modern campus additions seem more engineered than designed. The design emphasis is placed on the efficient circulation of students, faculty, and visitors into parking lots and buildings, through their business in buildings specific to their purposes, and out of those buildings and parking lots back out of campus. This emphasis on efficient circulation applies to the non-human aspects of land use as well. The run-off of stormwater, for example, was dealt with as it was in most twentieth-century American urban growth. The increase in water run-off from the increase in pavement and other impermeable surfaces necessitated ever-larger storm drain systems, systems that in Atlanta fed into a general municipal sewer



Fig. 4.9: The Atlanta skyline makes for a dramatic backdrop for the Georgia Tech campus, but much of the campus itself looks more like suburban sprawl (photo by author).

system. Water that in an unpaved piece of land would have soaked into the soil and fed groundwater and perennial streams was diverted into channels that moved it quickly off site and into the sewers, taking urban pollutants along with it. Water was thus a problem to be removed as efficiently as possible rather than the basic source of life for the landscape.¹⁶

The modernist preference for separation of functions—that each element in a system should flow in its own conduits¹⁷--matched the modern academic model that

¹⁶ Current plans call for mitigating the effects of this run-off by restoring some of the stream corridors through the campus. This is partly in response to the City of Atlanta's move to separate its storm drain system from its sewer system.

¹⁷ In modernist urban planning this can most easily be seen in the preference for separation of transportation modes into separate systems or levels; pedestrians, vehicles, and mass transit should all have their own realms. Efficiency of circulation, rather than the quality of the experience of the individual driver or pedestrian, is the

held that academic subjects are most effectively investigated by separating them from each other and understanding them in isolation from their larger environment. If positive campus space was an expression of nineteenth-century college life and collegiate values, the non-space of 1960s sprawl was an expression of the separation of academic pursuits into discrete, hermetically sealed boxes. The separation of functions serves one of the missions of colleges and universities reasonably well: the creation of new knowledge, particularly in the sciences and technology. Indeed, this has become Georgia Tech's main *raison d'être*. What it largely ignores, however, are the other primary missions of higher education: the preservation of knowledge and the socialization of young men and women into the society of educated adults. It may preserve historical knowledge, but only accidentally. Scientific and technological researchers are understandably present- and future-minded; historical consciousness among them typically amounts to a naïve faith in "the march of progress."¹⁸ It may educate, but at the cost of narrowness of vision and of human experience.¹⁹

The cost is born most heavily by undergraduate students. For faculty and graduate students an opportunity to focus primarily on their own research is probably energizing. For many undergraduates, particularly at a technological university like Georgia Tech, it may be as well, but it is also at the cost of a certain isolation and anomie among the student body. Dissatisfaction with the quality of undergraduate instruction and campus life is notoriously common among students at tech schools. One unscientific indication is the yearly survey of students at over 300 colleges and

goal. See, for example, Edmund N. Bacon, *Design of Cities*, revised edition (New York: Penguin, 1974).

¹⁸ There are many notable exceptions to this, such as Stephen J. Gould. See Gould's *The Hedgehog, the Fox, and the Magister's Pox: Mending the Gap Between Science and the Humanities* (New York: Harmony Books, 2003).

¹⁹ For a discussion of the various missions of universities, see Hanna Holborn Gray, *The Higher Learning and the New Consumerism*, Washington: American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, 1983.

universities in the United States by the *Princeton Review* for inclusion in their annual college guide. In rankings based on student satisfaction with the quality of various aspects of their collegiate experience, tech schools are significantly over-represented at the bottom of nearly all indicators. In the ranking of student satisfaction with the attractiveness of their campuses, tech schools make up seven of the bottom ten, and nine of the bottom twenty. Georgia Tech is sixteenth from the bottom. Georgia Tech is also eleventh from the bottom in satisfaction with campus housing. Tech schools also score poorly for campus dining (seven of the bottom twenty). Even more telling is the dissatisfaction of tech college students with the quality of their professors. Of the bottom twenty in quality of professorial instruction, ten are tech schools, as are all of the bottom five. Six of the bottom twenty for both accessibility of professors outside of the classroom and of frequency of class discussions are tech schools. Georgia Tech is second from the bottom for class discussions, and in last year's list was fourth from the bottom in quality of professors' teaching and second from the bottom in overall student happiness and satisfaction. Large public universities, where large classes and research-oriented professors are common, also score poorly on satisfaction with academic life. The *Princeton Review* lists are probably not based on a large enough survey of students at each institution to be a completely reliable guide to student attitudes at individual colleges, but the trend of dissatisfaction with student life at tech schools, as well as many large state universities, is clear.²⁰

The Georgia Tech administration is as aware of these rankings as anybody, and addressed them in an Office of Assessment Report called, tellingly, not *Poor Instruction of Undergraduates at Georgia Tech*, but *Just The Facts: Negative Publicity Perception at*

²⁰ The Princeton Review, Inc. (2003) *Best 351 College Rankings*. Retrieved 6 April 2004 from: <http://www.princetonreview.com/college/research/rankings/rankings.asp>.

Georgia Tech.²¹ The problem for the administration, it seems, is not bad teaching but bad publicity. The report acknowledges the poor rankings of Tech in the Princeton Review and supports them with similar data from more methodical surveys, such as

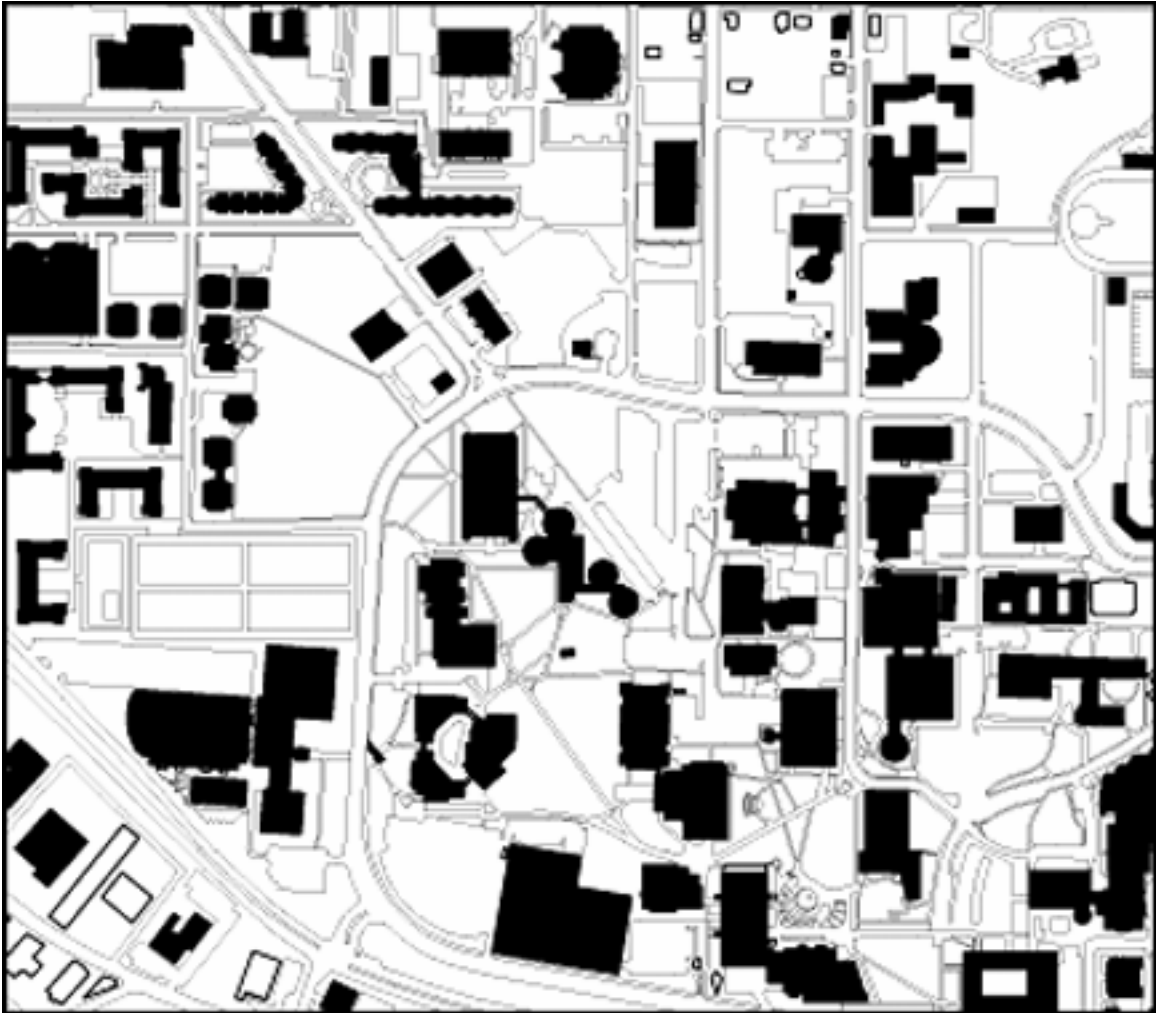


Fig.4.10: Figure/ground study of part of the Georgia Tech campus northwest of the Hill (photo: Ayers/Saint/Gross).²²

²¹ Georgia Institute of Technology, Office of Assessment (2003) *Just the Facts: Negative Publicity Perception at Georgia Tech*. Retrieved 6 April 2004 from: <http://www.assessment.gatech.edu/eReports/Negative%20Publicity%20at%20Georgia%20Techfinal4.pdf>.

²² Ayers/Saint/Gross (n.d.) *Comparing Campuses*. Retrieved 14 April 2004 from: http://www.asg-architects.com/fs_comparing.html.

the National Survey of Student Engagement. The report offers no solutions for the improvement of undergraduate instruction and campus life but counters the negative rankings with areas in which Tech students have expressed satisfaction with their undergraduate experience. Tech students rank the institute relatively highly for academic facilities, fostering critical thinking, and professional preparation.

Discussion of Tech by students and alumni on various on-line forums for college students and those applying to college bear this out, although anecdotally. The most satisfied students at Tech seem to be those who arrive knowing that they are sacrificing traditional college life for excellent training in a technical or scientific field. The least satisfied seem to be those who yearn for more intimate intellectual contact with their instructors and more intimate social contact with their peers.²³

There may be no necessary connection between this dissatisfaction among undergraduates at Georgia Tech and the design of the campus, although there does seem to be an overlap between the types of institutions that have a high level of overall dissatisfaction with undergraduate life and those with a high dissatisfaction with the quality of their campuses. If there is a connection, it probably lies in the relative importance that a college's administration and faculty place on undergraduate education and extra-academic quality of life among undergraduate students compared to research and graduate education. Those colleges with a commitment to undergraduate college life also ensure that there are spaces within which students can interact, intellectually and socially, both with each other and with faculty. Those institutions with the primary mission of research focus primarily on providing state-of-the-art facilities to attract and keep big-name scholars and the grant money that they

²³ See, for example, Students Review, Inc. (2000-4) *StudentsReview: Georgia Institute of Technology*. Retrieved 7 April 2004 from: http://www.studentsreview.com/GA/GT_c.html#comments.

pull in.²⁴ These two missions are not necessarily mutually exclusive, given enough money and space. Few colleges have enough of either, however, and the resulting priorities given to one over the other becomes legible on the faces of campuses themselves.

Even Georgia Tech, however, has spots that are lovely and historically important, the Hill, with its relatively old buildings and tall oaks, foremost among them. Students generally regard it, according to Tech's master planner, as their favorite spot on campus. As the point of origin of Georgia Tech, it has ceremonial



Fig. 4.11: Oaks shade the area around the Administration building on the Hill (photo by author).

²⁴ Political considerations can also work into this, particularly at state research universities, not only in terms of funding but also because of particular economic development goals of state governments. Universities are increasingly promoted as engines of economic development, especially those with technological missions like Georgia Tech.

significance, and yet it has little of the formality that one expects of the heritage spaces of a college, such as those at the University of Georgia and Emory University. There are no axes that frame views and guide approach, and not nearly enough open space for large meetings or events. The front square of lawn between the Administration Building and North Avenue has the potential for the creation of such a formal space, but the design of the square seems to keep North Avenue at arm's length. The space works as an edge for the campus rather than as a ceremonial center or focus of interaction between school and town. The slope between the Administration Building and the lawn further isolates it from easy use. The slope could be used to advantage, however, if there were a grand, ceremonial stairway between the building and the lawn. There is, however, only a modest system of



Fig. 4.12: North Avenue across from Georgia Tech (photo by author).

walkways and stairs that gets pedestrians from one place to the other well enough, but without any sense of drama or anticipation. Furthermore, a parking lot, presumably for top institute administrators, lines one of the sides of the square, adding a note of banality to what could be a signature space.

The mature trees of the area, however, do lend an aura of age and permanence, as they do on the University of Georgia's north campus, and there are a few spots with benches that invite contemplative, if not social, use. There are also several markers in the spaces around the Academic Building that memorialize various worthy members of



Fig. 4.13: Administration building with site of Shops building in foreground (photo by author).

the Georgia Tech community, famous visitors, and even a beloved dog.²⁵ There is also a large piece of antiquated machinery, unexplained by any notice or plaque, along Cherry Street, that is painted in the school colors of gold, white, and black, a monument to the institute's technological mission. These items help make up for some of the lack of design formality on the Hill and give the area what success it has in tying together Tech's past, present and future.

Just a few steps away from these monuments and memorials, on the north side of the Administration Building, is an area that receives considerably more daily foot traffic than these quiet areas beneath the oaks. Indeed, it seems to be one end of a long, informal diagonal route from the Administration Building to the northwest that operates as the pedestrian spine of the campus. This recently redesigned area between a mid-twentieth-century addition to the Academic Building housing an eatery and the A. French Building has something of the character of an urban street. There are outdoor benches and tables for those who wish to take their meals outside and sit in the sun and perhaps watch people as they move along the walkway.

This kind of pedestrian-oriented quasi-urban space may be an example of a way in which Georgia Tech, relatively poor in traditional campus spaces, can create a campus environment that invites more social use. It has the advantage of taking a site design form that the campus already has—a simple linear space between two buildings—and re-imagining it as something new. The A. French Building itself has been re-imagined in a similar way. Named after an early benefactor of Georgia Tech, the building originally housed the school's textile science program. Textiles, of course,

²⁵ A dog named Sideways, after her peculiar gait, was a campus mascot for a few years in the 1940s. She was adopted by Tech students and wandered into classes and labs until hit by a car in 1947. Her memorial is on the west side of the Administration Building. See Griessman, et al., 191.

were an integral part of the industrialization of the South in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and were a central part of Tech's original industrial training program. It is an industry, however, that has largely left American shores for locations with cheaper labor. Tech maintains a department of textile and fiber engineering elsewhere on campus, although its relative importance in the school is much diminished when compared with, say, mechanical, chemical, or nuclear engineering.



Fig. 4.14: Walkway between Administration Building, on right, and the A. French Building, on left (photo by author).

Its former building on the Hill is now a computer aided design laboratory. In this case, the program of the original building was not an insurmountable hurdle in converting it to a modern use. In fact, there is an aesthetic appeal in the juxtaposition of contemporary uses and historical architectural features. With much of the

program-driven campus of Georgia Tech, however, it is unclear whether the ever more specialized structures built in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries will ever be able to accommodate future uses that cannot yet even be imagined.

CHAPTER 5

EMORY UNIVERSITY'S ACADEMIC QUAD

Had architect Henry Hornbostel had his way, the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus would have dominated the Emory University campus. Suburban Atlanta may seem like an odd location for a replica of one of the wonders of the ancient world, but, then, Nashville has its own Parthenon. Hornbostel allowed, however, for several significant changes that would make his Mausoleum more appropriate for its context than it might have been otherwise. Since Hornbostel, somewhat fancifully, believed the climate and flora of Georgia's piedmont to be similar to the Piedmont region of northern Italy, his mausoleum had Italianate touches, such as a terra cotta tiled roof. It also, most crucially, housed the books of the new university library rather than a decaying royal corpse. Hornbostel's grand vision, however, ran up against Methodist bishop and university chancellor Warren Candler's sense of propriety, as well as his sense of fiscal restraint, and the mausoleum library remained only a fantasy of the architect.

Hornbostel produced his plan for Emory after the college was transformed into a university in 1914. This transformation was the result of a conflict between the trustees of Vanderbilt University and the General Conference of the United Methodist Church, South, which resulted in the freeing of the university from the church's control. Without a flagship university, the church decided to finance two universities to bear the banner of the southern Methodists, one west of the Mississippi and one east of it. Southern Methodist University in Dallas was chosen as the western

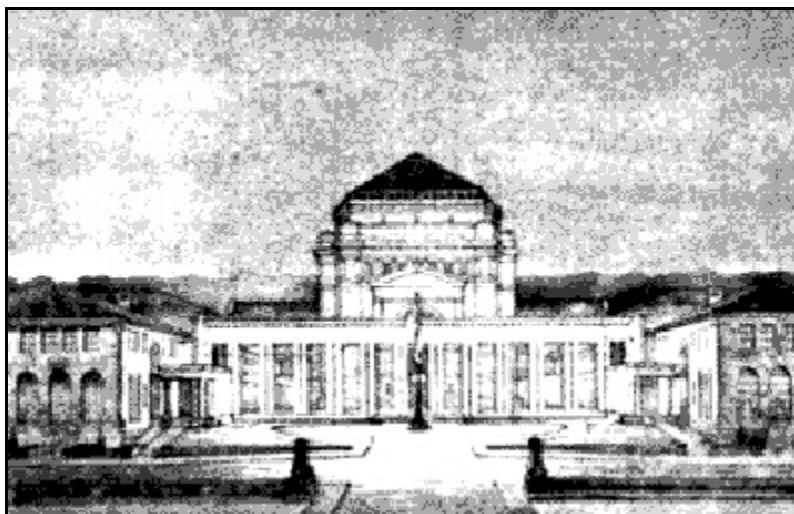


Fig. 5.1: Rendering of original Hornbostel design for the Emory University Library (photo: Emory University).¹

institution; the church settled on either Birmingham, Alabama, or Atlanta, Georgia for the eastern. When Asa Candler of Atlanta, Coca-Cola magnate and brother of Bishop Warren Candler, donated one million dollars for the establishment of the university in his city, the matter was resolved.²

By 1914, Emory had already been in existence for eighty years, first as the Georgia Conference Manual Labor School, and then as Emory College, one of the many denominational liberal arts colleges that sprang up in states across the country, including Georgia, in the first half of the nineteenth century. The original campus of the college was thirty miles to the southeast of the new campus, in the small town of Oxford, which had been founded, following the practice of the time, as an academic haven isolated from the temptations and diversions of a large city. The college was founded as part of the manual labor school movement, which during the first decades of the nineteenth century sought to build schools that would combine liberal study

¹ Emory University (1997) *Analysis of Place: History*. Retrieved 11 April 2004 from: <http://www.fm.emory.edu/PLAN/refounding2.html>.

² See Henry Morton Bullock, *A History of Emory University* (Nashville, TN: Parthenon Press, 1936) 283-9.

with agricultural and mechanical labor.³ This campus still stands, and is run by the university as a two-year undergraduate college. Freshman applicants to the school are given the option of spending their first two years in Oxford rather than Atlanta,



Fig. 5.2: Central green and main buildings at Emory's college at Oxford, Georgia (photo by author).

after which they transfer to the university at its main campus to the northwest. The Oxford campus is typical of an early nineteenth century college, comprised of a handful of buildings surrounding a common green, with little attempt in the construction to match each other's architecture. Victorian brick stands next to neo-classical, and the halls of two competing literary societies face each other across the

³ See Bullock, chaps. 1 and 2.

green square. Even the largest buildings, however, are modest in scale, when compared to the buildings at the Atlanta campus, and in their placement defer to their common space.

With the church's decision to accept Candler's million, the small liberal arts college gained a school of theology as well as a law school and a medical school that had been independent proprietary schools in Atlanta before being bought and moved to Emory's new campus. The undergraduate college moved to Atlanta in 1919, the same year that Emory established a business school on the campus. This transformation from college to university was only a quicker version of what happened to many liberal arts colleges in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Although a few institutions, such as Johns Hopkins, were founded primarily as graduate and research oriented universities, most of the new universities of the period were additions to previously existing undergraduate colleges. At some schools, such as Harvard and Yale, this change started to occur before the Civil War. At others, such as Duke, Princeton and the University of Georgia, it was not until the second or third decade of the twentieth century that graduate and professional programs attached themselves to their colleges to a significant degree.⁴

Although the German universities, which inspired much of the shape of the developing research universities in the turn of the century United States, paid scant attention to the extra-curricular lives of its students, the collegiate culture of undergraduate students was too much part of the tradition of higher education in the United States to be dispensed with. Entirely new universities of the period, such as the University of Chicago and Stanford University, combined traditionally collegiate undergraduate schools with a German style attention to research in their graduate

⁴ See Rudolph, chap. 16.

schools from their foundation. Even Johns Hopkins relented to American expectations by adding an undergraduate college and building a traditional university campus on the outskirts of Baltimore in the first decade of the twentieth century. The result were universities that were a combination of German, English, and indigenous American educational influences. The undergraduate colleges held the attention of the public imagination and provided the core of student and alumni loyalty to the institutions, while the graduate and professional schools performed the work of specialized intellectual training and research.⁵

This “marriage of collegiate and university ideals,” as historian Frederick Rudolph has called it,⁶ took a physical form different from the traditional nineteenth century liberal arts college. The need for buildings in both greater number and size to accommodate additional academic programs and their students and faculty meant that the village of the liberal arts college was no longer adequate to house an increasingly complicated academic organization. The *city*, rather than the village, became the operative metaphor for the university campus, particularly among newly founded universities of the period. These new institutions, such as Stanford, Chicago, and the University of California, had the challenge (or luxury) of building entirely new campuses out of whole cloth. Many also had the advantage of wealthy benefactors, such as Andrew Carnegie or John D. Rockefeller, who were willing to provide immediate funds for the construction of ambitious new academic cities to house

⁵ Roger Geiger argues that the loyalty of undergraduate alumni, in the form of donations to their alma maters and the resulting university endowments, were a necessary part of the funding of graduate research. Roger Geiger, “Research, Graduate Education, and the Ecology of American Universities: an Interpretive History,” in *The European and American University since 1800: Historical and Sociological Essays*, Sheldon Rothblatt and Björn Wittrock, eds. (New York: Cambridge U.P., 1993), 234-259.

⁶ Rudolph, 465.

ambitious new institutions.⁷ The new campuses were thus often designed and built within a relatively brief span of time, which allowed them to present a unity of architecture and design unlike the sometimes quaint but hodgepodge colleges of the past.

Campus design at the turn of the twentieth century was dominated by the Beaux-Arts ideals of the “City Beautiful” movement that informed much urban and landscape design in the United States following the 1893 Columbian Exhibition in Chicago. The influential design of the exhibition grounds, or “White City” as it was popularly known, was actually more applicable to university campuses than to the remaking of cities. The political, legal, and financial difficulties that prevented most Beaux-Arts urban plans from being executed restricted the creation of new campuses (with their unified centers of control) much less. The Beaux-Arts principles were also appropriate for the design of complex institutions. As Paul Venable Turner has described it, Beaux-Arts “principles of monumental organization facilitated orderly

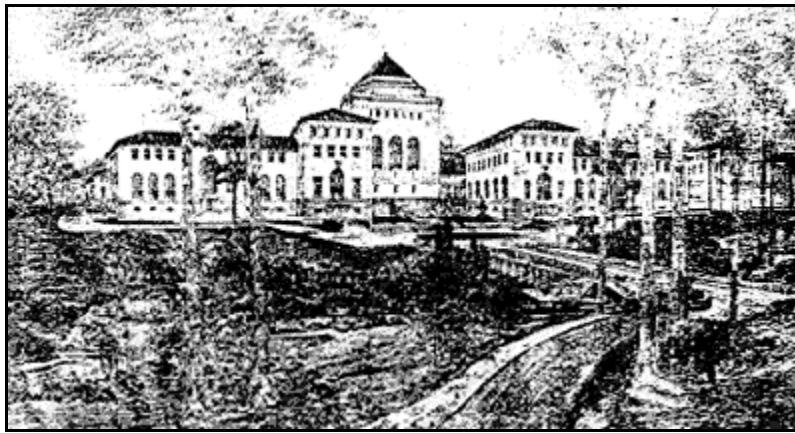


Fig. 5.3: East elevation of the original Horbostel plan, showing the approach bridge over the ravine (photo: Emory University).⁸

⁷ Turner, 167-9.

⁸ Emory University (1997) *The American Architect: Emory University, Atlanta, Georgia*. Retrieved 11 April 2004 from: <http://www.fm.emory.edu/PLAN/architect.html>.

planning on a grand scale and were capable of including many disparate buildings or parts within a unified overall pattern.”⁹ These “Cities of Learning,” as some universities promoted their new campuses, were much more amenable to Beaux-Arts fantasy than messy, fractious and crowded real cities ever would be.

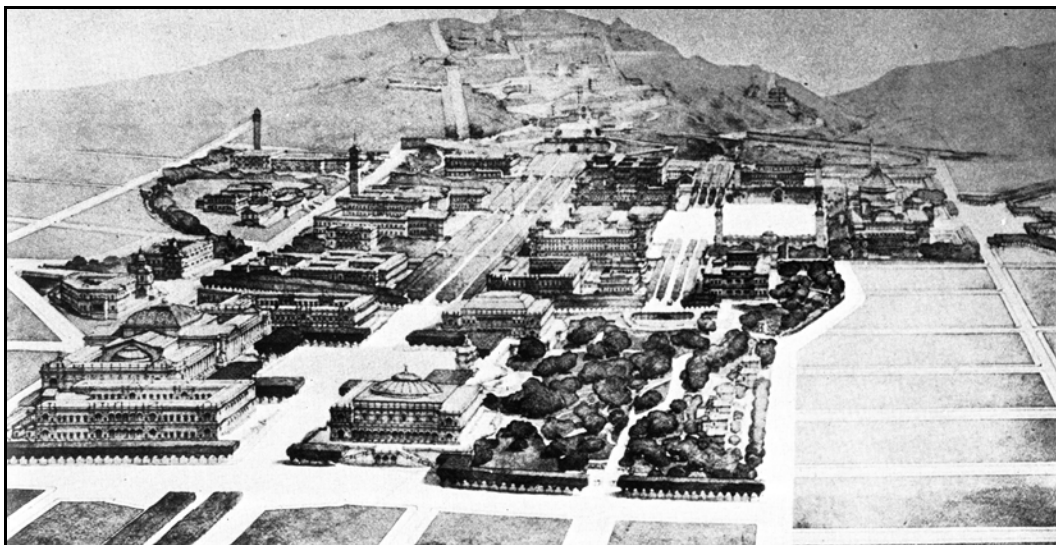


Fig. 5.4: The winning entry in the 1899 Hearst competition for the design of the University of California by Emile Bénard. None of the plan was actually built (photo: Turner, 183).

They were more amenable, but still not entirely so. Although many Beaux-Arts campus designs were built in their entirety or nearly so, such as Columbia University’s new campus in uptown Manhattan, many others were only partially constructed. The grandiose design for the University of California by Emile Bénard, awarded first prize in a competition funded by Phoebe Hearst, was never even started. Hornbostel himself had seen only parts of his designs for the Carnegie Technical Schools (now Carnegie-Mellon University) and the Western University of Pennsylvania (the University of Pittsburgh) fulfilled.

⁹ Ibid., 167.

Hornbostel, who had himself studied at the École des Beaux-Arts in Paris, produced a plan for Emory that followed many of the typical rules for Beaux-Arts campuses. The three most important of these rules were symmetry, axuality, and hierarchy of parts. Following his Italian inspiration, Hornbostel created a *parti* for the campus inspired by the complexes of Renaissance Italian villas. The monumental library, like the main structure of a villa, stood at the symbolic center of the

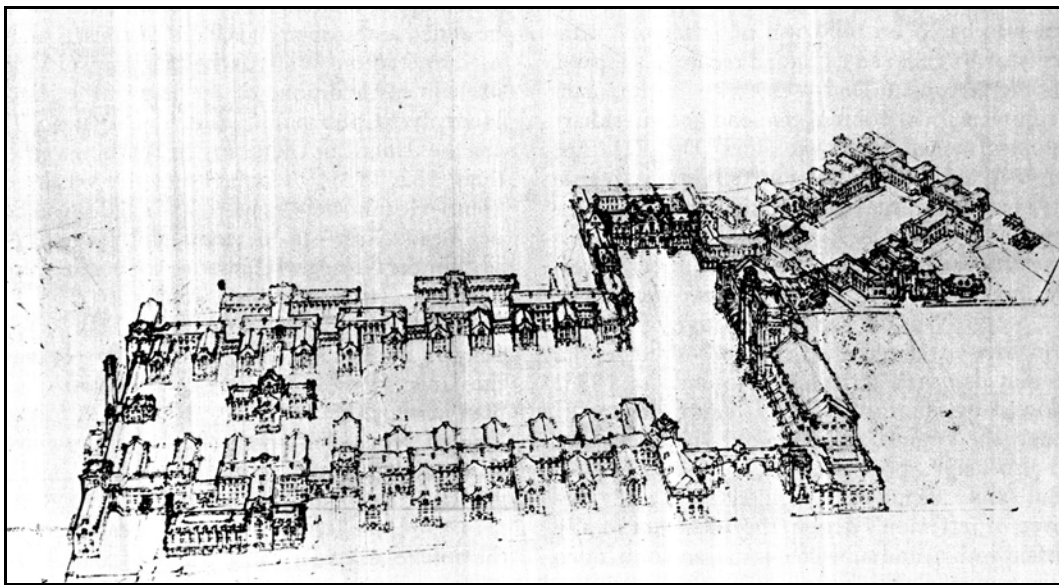


Fig. 5.5: Hornbostel's plan for the Carnegie Technical Schools (now part of Carnegie-Mellon University). The buildings around the courtyard on the upper right were not constructed (photo: Turner, 192).

composition and all of the buildings of the central part of the campus served to frame it. Colonnades connected the library symmetrically with its subordinate structures. One axis, from northeast to southwest, formed the center of the academic quad, with three-story academic buildings arranged symmetrically around it. The cross axis to this, through the library from northwest to southeast, brought the road approach to the campus over a bridge across a ravine to an entrance court in front of the library.

Although many Beaux-Arts campus plans seem to prefer a level site, even if they have to manufacture it, others take advantage of falling topography or a river view. Emory's site in suburban Druid Hills northeast of downtown Atlanta featured wooded, rolling terrain crossed by two ravines. Hornbostel used the plateau between the ravines as the ground for the main campus quad, and kept the ravines as

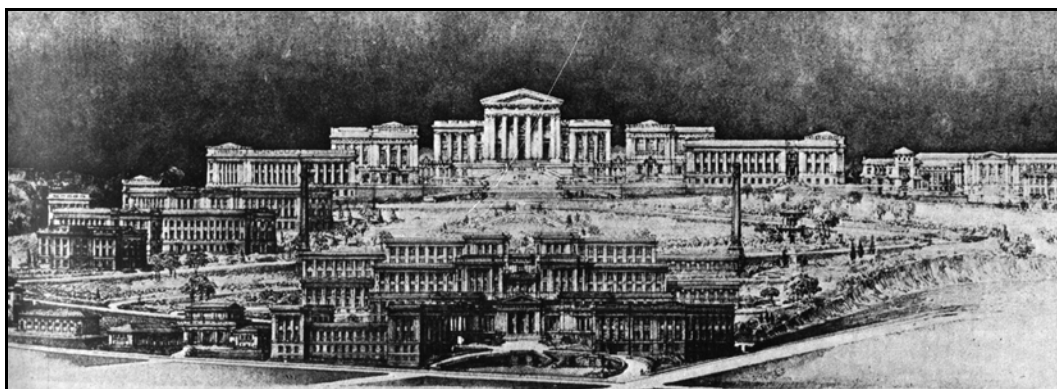


Fig. 5.6: Rendering of Hornbostel's design for the Western University of Pennsylvania (now the University of Pittsburgh) (photo: Turner, 196).

dramatic physical buffers for the campus. Crossing a bridge to get to the campus introduced a note of anticipation and ceremony to one's arrival. Student housing and a gymnasium surrounded a second major space on a plateau across another ravine to the academic quad's northwest. We can see in this division the beginnings of the separation of functions that would characterize twentieth century campuses. Here, as at many other campuses of the time, the separation is indicative both of Beaux-Arts design principles (here the principle of hierarchical arrangement of space to indicate a hierarchy of uses) and of the separation of academic disciplines, which, by Emory's re-founding in 1914, was already well under way.

The Druid Hills site was notable not only for its adjacency to one of the late urban designs of Frederick Law Olmsted (although the neighborhood closest to the

new university was not of Olmsted's design), but also for its contrast to the setting for the original Emory College. Whereas the founders of most nineteenth century liberal arts colleges, as we have seen, believed an urban location a distinct disadvantage, the new universities of the turn of the twentieth century preferred sites that were, if not entirely urban, at least on the outskirts of large cities. If intellectuals and academics of the Progressive Era still maintained some suspicions of the crowding, filth, and



Fig 5.7: Birdseye rendering of the original Hornbostel plan for Emory University (photo: Turner, 200).

immorality of large cities, many of them also saw those aspects of urban life to be problems to be solved rather than shunned. The intellectual optimism of the period was born of the growing belief that all social problems, like engineering tasks, required only the sustained application of systematic scholarly investigation by experts in various fields to be understood and thus alleviated.

This growing trust in the ability of experts helped to feed the growth of university-based scholarship. It also helped to legitimize professional fields as intellectually respectable pursuits for inclusion in university curricula. Law and medicine during the nineteenth century had typically been seen as disciplines apart from the real scholarship of colleges. Even those law and medical schools that had been attached to universities (such as the law school at the University of Georgia) had separate, and usually less exacting, requirements for their entrants and graduates when compared to the liberal arts divisions. In the early twentieth century more professional fields, such as business and social work, gained status as topics worthy



Fig. 5.8: 1949 Aerial photograph of the Emory Campus (photo: Emory University).¹⁰

of university study. These professional fields, moreover, were typically urban pursuits that gained by their study in places close to the centers of legal and financial power.

¹⁰ Emory University (1997) Analysis of Place: History. Retrieved 11 April 2004 from: <http://www.fm.emory.edu/PLAN/refounding3.html>.

Even scholars of the liberal arts often found the intellectual vibrancy of cities more stimulating than the quietness of bucolic college towns.¹¹

The new Emory University was, as historian David O. Levine has described it, “a prototype of the urban school,” one that took advantage of an urban location to enhance its professional education and attract city-dwelling students, even if it risked lessening religious influence on the school.¹² Emory differed from urban universities in the northeast and Midwest, however, in the same way that Atlanta differed from northern cities. Whereas urban institutions in the North attracted an ethnically diverse student body, particularly the vocationally-minded children of recent immigrants, the student body at a college in Atlanta, like the college population of the South in general, could only be relatively ethnically homogenous.¹³ Emory was also becoming a university in a region that had few first rate universities; only Vanderbilt was widely known outside the South. Despite the efforts of the boosters of the “New South,” Georgia and the rest of the South still lagged far behind the rest of the nation both economically and educationally.¹⁴ With Emory, though, not only did the region’s most important city (economically speaking) have a university of its own, but it was financed by the fortune of a southern millionaire. Even in the South up to that time, northern millionaires had given most of the large donations made to educational institutions.

¹¹ See David O. Levine, *The American College and the Culture of Aspiration, 1915-1940* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell U. P., 1986) chap. 4.

¹² *Ibid.*, 78.

¹³ Emory had an all-white student body until 1963. It admitted women to its undergraduate school on an equal basis with men in 1953, although several dozen women had enrolled before that in the various schools of the university, including its undergraduate school, as early as the 1880s. Its graduate school was co-educational from its founding in 1919.

¹⁴ Levine writes that the time of the founding of Emory University in Atlanta “the total annual income of all higher educational institutions in eight southern states *combined* was less than that of Harvard University alone” (his emphasis) 78-9.

Hornbostel's original plan, although grand, was no more so than other university plans of the time, and was certainly in keeping with a school that would be one of the richest educational institutions of the region. Because of Bishop Candler's financial restraint, however, the university not only had to do without its central library, but found its subsequent structures forced to be completed on the cheap as well. After cost overruns of thirty-seven and forty per cent on the first two buildings, Candler ordered Hornbostel and contractor Arthur Tufts to reduce costs on the subsequent structures. "I regard strong men as more important to an institution than costly buildings," he wrote the architect. Hornbostel and Tufts argued that the war in Europe had made materials more expensive, but even so, their buildings were being



Fig. 5.9: Emory's Pitts Theology Library, one of the four original buildings designed by Hornbostel (photo by author).

completed more cheaply per square foot than other, comparable college buildings elsewhere. Hornbostel managed to further depress construction costs on new buildings by using the waste ends of cut blocks of marble that he had seen discarded at the Georgia marble quarries that he visited. Although the blocks were of varying thickness, one side of these cast offs typically had a plane face where they had been cut from the block that had been used. He had the sides of the blocks squared and then set up in a frame for use as a veneer for structures of poured concrete. The marble pieces were of a variety of colors and were placed in the facades randomly.¹⁵ The result is that the marble skins of the buildings on Emory's quad seem to have a different color cast at different times of the day or in different qualities of light, sometimes pink, sometimes gray, other times beige or ochre.

Only four buildings on the central quad were finished according to Hornbostel's plan, yet his design set the orientation for all future buildings around the space. Without its central library, the core of Emory's academic campus became a simple quadrangle, formed by buildings of the same marble and red tile that Hornbostel had planned for the signature structure. The space, however, took several decades to fully form. The Asa Candler Library enclosed the northeastern end in 1927, but the southwestern end remained open until the Administration Building was erected in the mid-1950s. In a 1990s renovation and addition to Carlos Hall, one of the original Hornbostel buildings, architect Michael Graves filled in the gap on the southeastern side that had been the original cross-axis from the entrance bridge through the unbuilt library. The resulting space has a continuity of materials and scale that gives

¹⁵A. W. M. Beierle (1987) *Unbuilt Emory: Emory Magazine* (March 1987). Retrieved 6 April 2004 from: <http://www.fm.emory.edu/PLAN/unbuilt.html>, and Arthur T. North (1920) *Emory University, Atlanta, Georgia: The American Architect* 117, no.2337 (6 Oct. 1920). Retrieved 6 April 2004 from: <http://www.fm.emory.edu/PLAN/architect.html>.

a unity to the architecture, despite some variation in style from Hornbostel's Italian Renaissance. The Candler Library added more explicit neo-classical motifs, and Graves's adds post-modern elements.¹⁶ If there is a fault with the use of materials, it



Fig. 5.10: The Michael Graves designed Carlos Museum, along the axis from the entrance bridge (photo by author).

¹⁶ Beaux-Arts campus designers tended to favor neo-classical styles as most appropriate for the new universities of the turn of the twentieth century, as they did with other forms of urban design. This was only a tendency, though, rather than a dogma, and many campuses of the time were completed with other architectural styles. Johns Hopkins's new campus, for example, was built in a Georgian style supposedly appropriate to Maryland. Duke, the University of Chicago, and Washington University in St. Louis were all created with Beaux-Arts *partis* that emphasized symmetry, axuality, and hierarchy of parts, but were neo-Gothic, or "Collegiate Gothic" as it is sometimes called, in architecture. Ralph Adams Cram created a pastiche of Mediterranean styles for his design of Rice University's buildings. See Turner, 196-203.

is that the marble walls of the buildings, and thus the space, are too obviously a veneer. There is no pretense that the marble is a structural material rather than decoration; there is no mortar between the blocks and the structures' surfaces are thus smooth and polished. This glossiness lends a feeling of newness to even the oldest of the quad's buildings. Campus structures of the Beaux-Arts period typically took pains to look much older than they actually were in order to give an impression of



Fig. 5.11: Figure/ground study of Emory campus, with the academic quad in the lower left (photo: Ayers/Saint/Gross).¹⁷

¹⁷ Ayers/Saint/Gross (n.d.) *Comparing Campuses*. Retrieved 14 April 2004 from: http://www.asg-architects.com/fs_comparing.html.

permanence and to emphasize each institution's connection with history. This is not a trivial function of campus architecture. As I have argued, one of the functions of liberal education is to lead students to an understanding of themselves as part of the continuity of culture and civilization and the campus itself can aid in that, although perhaps in a somewhat passive way.

It is unfortunate that Hornbostel was unable to erect his library. Although it might have been constructed using the same materials as the structures that were actually built, the size and centrality of the building would have lent the whole ensemble a *gravitas* and focus that the present space lacks. Most Beaux-Arts campus designs featured a central focal point structure, usually a library or administration building, that headed the hierarchy of buildings and spaces. That Emory's central quad lacks this is not a debilitating flaw to the space; other primary campus spaces, such as the University of Georgia's north campus, do without a prominent central structure. For a Beaux-Arts plan that emphasized a hierarchy of parts, however, Emory's quad seems like an arch without a keystone, or a villa complex without the villa. One college guide, with justification, describes Emory's campus as "uninspiring,"¹⁸ and the disappointment is greatest here where the impression should be the greatest.

Emory's quad, thus, seems strangely superficial and unfocussed for a ceremonial or heritage space for a major university. This lack of focus, according to some observers of the university, is not restricted to its physical design. A panel of consultants from other universities reported to the administration that Emory lacked a specific institutional identity that set it apart from other, similar schools. It had focused too much on being "as good as" its peer institutions rather than developing an

¹⁸ Edward Fiske, *The Fiske Guide to Colleges* 2004 (Naperville, IL: Sourcebooks, 2003), 287.

intellectual profile that set it apart as something unique. In other words, Emory itself is not sure what Emory's particular mission is as a university.¹⁹ Warren Candler had hoped to establish Emory as a solidly Christian institution that would emphasize a particularly religious outlook on scholarship, although without the narrow denominational focus that hindered scholarship at some other religiously affiliated institutions.²⁰ With the declining influence of the Methodist church on the daily life of Emory outside of its theology school—which was well under way even while Candler was still alive—that mission has been lost without much to replace it.

Despite this deficiency of focus, the university does possess a rich history and has a primary campus space adequate, at least, as a stage for the university's formal life. The undergraduate college is still small enough, and the space large enough, that commencement exercises can be held in the quad. The surrounding structures enclose the space well enough that they provide effective backdrops for university ceremonies. They also offer vantage points for viewing both these ceremonies and the more casual, quotidian use of the space, which is heaviest during the middle of the day on weekdays. Although in the evenings and on weekends the space can be as quiet and empty as the University of Georgia's north campus—there seems to be much more activity at these times along Asbury Circle, the street to the north of the quad that links the library, the university hospital and the student center—weekdays make the space come alive with students and staff on breaks between classes, conversing in groups, eating lunch, studying, or simply walking through on the way elsewhere.

¹⁹ Emory University (2003) *Final Report: SACS Consulting Team*. Retrieved 7 April 2004 from: <http://www.emory.edu/PRESIDENT/StrategicDevelopment/ResearchAtEmory/SACSConsultingTeamReport.pdf>. See also: Emory University (1996) *Issues in Progress: Faculty Council*. Retrieved 6 April 2004 from: http://www.emory.edu/EMORY_REPORT/erarchive/1996/October/Eroct.21/10_21_96issues_in.html.

²⁰ Bullock, 290.

One of the strengths of the space is that it is not quite regular. Although photographs and maps can make the quad seem like it is surrounded by nearly solid walls of structures, there are, in fact, many smaller, subordinate spaces that lead off of the main space in the center. These spaces were not part of Hornbostel's original plan; instead, they were compiled piecemeal over the past ninety years with the addition of buildings slightly outside the quadrangle itself. The unfortunate aspect of these buildings, besides their sometimes uninspired architecture—the 1960s addition to the library, a tower block that looms over the quad, is particularly hideous—is that several of them were constructed to plug up and pave over the two ravines that appealed to Hornbostel as boundaries and served to bring the native landscape close



Fig. 5.12: Additions to the library fill in one of the site's original ravines (photo by author).

to the heart of the campus. Nevertheless, these buildings just on the outside of the quad help to create plazas that are smaller and more intimate than the large central quad.

This kind of secondary space was an important aspect of most Beaux-Arts plans, although a Beaux-Arts designer would have made them much more regular than the ones that have developed at Emory. Nevertheless, these spaces do fulfill some of the Beaux-Arts affection for a hierarchy of spaces, from the largest and most public to the smallest and most intimate. This is an aspect of the typical Beaux-Arts *parti* that works very well for college campuses. There is a range of activities on a campus, from the most public, such as commencement ceremonies, to the semi-public arena of a classroom, to the quiet of a private study. A range of spaces, from most public to most private, or from the most extroverted to the most introverted, are necessary to fulfill all these needs. The difference between an extroverted and introverted space may have more to do with use than design, however; a party in an enclosed courtyard may be extroverted in use, but introverted in space. Conversely, a small group in a large open space such as Emory's quad may close itself off for intimate conversation, or a person may find a quiet corner in which to read. In general, however, larger, more open spaces tend to invite extroverted uses and smaller, more closed ones tend to invite introverted uses. The key is for a campus to have the full range of spaces, from most extroverted and public to most introverted and private.

Whatever its aesthetic shortcomings, Emory's academic quad is still indisputably the heart of the university, even though after ninety years of development it is now in the southwest corner of the campus. It is a kind of village green that acknowledges the debt of the university to its history as a liberal arts college. The

university's current master plan aims to extend the quality of the space to the rest of campus by eliminating car traffic from the center of campus and emphasizing pedestrian use. Crucially, the master plan seeks to do more than improve Emory's physical plant, but also aims to improve the university as a community of scholars. It extends the hope that the form of the university will be able to encourage dialogue among disciplines and help to break down some of the barriers to education that have



Fig. 5.13: One of the secondary spaces off of the main academic quad (photo by author).

been put up by the separation of scholars into narrow fields of specialization. This may demand more of design than it can deliver by itself. As I have tried to show, the forms that colleges and universities take tend to follow the outlines of their social structures and their broader understanding of education rather than lead them.

Design may, however, start helping to break down disciplinary barriers by emphasizing common spaces and enhancing a shared institutional identity, but it will only fully succeed if the institutional commitment to interdisciplinary scholarship is borne out in real organizational. Create, or re-create, a community of scholars first and the path toward its physical form will become more obvious.

CHAPTER 6

WOODRUFF QUAD AT AGNES SCOTT COLLEGE

Students still live in Old Main, the first structure built on the campus of Agnes Scott College in Decatur, Georgia. The building, officially named Agnes Scott Hall, was built in 1890-1 to house what was then called Decatur Female Seminary, a school for girls and young women started by local Presbyterians in 1889. Under the one roof were not just bedrooms for all of the ninety-eight boarding students, but apartments for faculty members, faculty and administrative offices, classrooms, music rooms, an art studio, a dining hall, a room that doubled as a parlor and a chapel, the school's library, and a gymnasium. George Washington Scott, one of the school's five founders, gave \$112, 250 for the construction of the building and the land it was to sit on, a small portion of the fortune he had made from a fertilizer business that he founded and ran. Scott's generosity allowed the furnishing of the hall with the latest in domestic amenities: electric lights, steam heat, and plumbing with hot and cold water. For ten years it was the entire campus, serving not only the intellectual needs of the students and faculty, but also hosting their social, athletic, and spiritual lives. More than 110 years later, the building still serves a number of functions, including a dormitory on its upper floors.¹

That students still live in a college's oldest and most prominent building is

¹ Walter Edward McNair, *Lest We Forget: An Account of Agnes Scott College* (Atlanta: Tucker-Castleberry Printing, 1983), 13-14, 21; M. Lee Sayrs and Christine S. Cozzens, *A Full and Rich Measure: 100 Years of Educating Women at Agnes Scott College, 1889-1989* (Decatur, GA: Agnes Scott College, 1990), 1-5.



Fig. 6.1: Agnes Scott Hall, or Old Main (photo by author).

unusual for the colleges under discussion in this work, but it is not unusual for liberal arts colleges, particularly women's liberal arts colleges. Whereas the typical men's college of the nineteenth century, like Emory College or the University of Georgia, was a grouping of relatively modestly-scaled buildings—although many of them serving a combination of functions, as we have seen—women's liberal arts colleges more often started with one large, all-inclusive structure. This architectural form was a legacy of what, by some reckonings, was the first women's college: Mount Holyoke. Whether or not it was actually the first is a matter of some dispute. Georgia Methodists founded the Georgia Female Seminary, later Wesleyan College, to provide baccalaureate degrees to women in 1836, a year before Mount Holyoke, although there is some

disagreement about whether the education it offered can truly be considered college-level.²

Mount Holyoke College, originally Mount Holyoke Female Seminary, was created by Mary Lyon in 1837 to offer a liberal arts education to women. Although there were already many academies and seminaries in the United States that educated girls and young women, few offered curricula that demanded more of their students than mastery of the outward signs of gentility or of skills appropriate for the mistress of a household. Even the more demanding seminaries did not offer the classical curriculum of the male liberal arts college, but a few, such as the Ipswich Seminary in Massachusetts, Mary Lyon's alma mater, did offer a basic "modern" or "English" liberal arts curriculum that included religion, philosophy, mathematics, and the sciences. Mount Holyoke differed from these not only in its inclusion of the elementary levels of the classical curriculum—particularly Latin—but in expectations for its graduates. Whereas previous schools for girls educated largely with the expectation that they were making their students better wives and mothers, Mary Lyon, with evangelical seriousness, expected graduates of her school to use their newly honed reason to take their Christian witness out into the world.³

The use of the term *seminary* for a women's school was new in the nineteenth century. The term when used for an institution for men usually signified a school for

² Salem College, in Winston-Salem, North Carolina, traces its origins to its foundation as a girls' academy by the Moravian sect in 1772, although it attained college status only in 1890.

³ Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, *Alma Mater: Design and Experience in the Women's Colleges from Their Nineteenth-Century Beginnings to the 1930s*, second edition (Amherst, MA: U. of Massachusetts P., 1993), 9-19; Elizabeth Seymour Eschbach, *The Higher Education of Women in England and America, 1865-1920* (New York: Garland, 1993), 34-36, 60. See also: Lynn D. Gordon, *A Gender and Higher Education in the Progressive Era* (New Haven, CT: Yale U. P., 1990), and Christie Anne Farnham, *The Education of the Southern Belle: Higher Education and Student Socialization in the Antebellum South* (New York: New York U. P., 1995).

the preparation of clergymen. While women's seminaries lacked this particular role, they did borrow something of the seriousness of purpose and strictness of discipline



Fig. 6.2: The original Seminary building at Mt. Holyoke (photo: Mount Holyoke College).⁴

that the men's schools had. Although women could not become clergy members, they could learn to live good Christian lives and aid others in doing so through motherhood, teaching, or missionary work. Mary Lyon devised a strict schedule for students, which included early rising, twice-daily religious devotions, required study periods, and daily labor for the maintenance of the school. Her expectation was that through such discipline her students' minds and characters would be molded in the noblest manner.

Lyon modeled the society of the seminary explicitly on the relationship of the family. The lady principal, the (male) president, and teachers were to guide their students in a strict but benevolent parental manner. This familial atmosphere was strengthened by the design of the seminary. Like the school in Decatur decades later, Mount Holyoke was for many years housed in a single building that served all the

⁴ Mount Holyoke College (2001) *About Mount Holyoke College: History of Mount Holyoke College*. Retrieved 14 April 2004 from: <http://www.mtholyoke.edu/cic/about/history.shtml>.

needs of students and faculty. Although simple, the structure was large and comfortable, and was meant to be homelike. It also helped in maintaining discipline among the students. The residence of faculty members in the building alongside students meant that disciplinary oversight exceeded that of most men's colleges. Although, as we have seen, men's colleges often had elaborate codes of conduct for their students, enforcement of rules could be haphazard. At Mount Holyoke, a student's time was so thoroughly planned and surveillance of her activities so close that there was little chance for mischief or even the development of much of a student culture outside of what was officially programmed.

Oddly enough, it was not only the home that was a model for Mary Lyon's seminary and its building, but also the asylum. Contemporary theories of insanity in the early nineteenth century emphasized the regulation of inmates' schedules and activities to foster clarity of mind and purpose. Ordering the environment of the insane, and focusing their attention on work and devotional exercises, could bring their minds and characters under control. The architecture (as well as the discipline) of early women's seminaries and contemporary asylums was remarkably similar in their typical use of one large structure with multiple uses and domestic touches.⁵

Other women's colleges followed Mount Holyoke's design even if they did not always follow its strict discipline. Vassar College, the first college founded to give women a classical education of the same caliber as the men's colleges, also started with a single, large, multi-purpose building, as did Wellesley College. Not all women's colleges followed the same model, though; the founders of Smith College rebelled against it and housed their students in several individual "cottages." What was consistent, however, was the emphasis on homey comfort and a family atmosphere.

⁵ Horowitz, *Alma Mater*, 14-15; 18-20.

Although many of the founders and administrators of nineteenth-century women's colleges took a broad view of women's roles in society, there was still a feeling, among women as well as men, that women were particularly suited to the domestic sphere

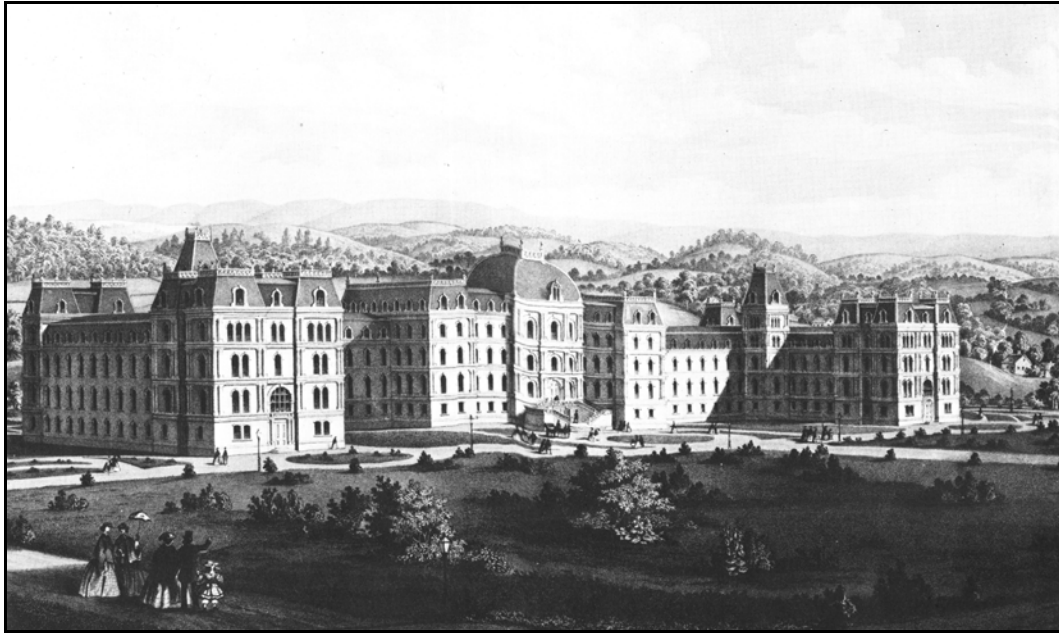


Fig. 6.3: Main building at Vassar College in the 1860s. The building, modeled on the Tuileries Palace, was designed by James Renwick, Jr. (photo: Turner, 137).

even if they found themselves with occasional public roles. There was also a fear among many that a rigorous collegiate education threatened to take away the particular qualities of gentleness and subservience that many admired in women. Providing a domestic atmosphere to a college was one way of forestalling any such creation of hardheaded and strong-willed “masculine” students.⁶

⁶ Turner, 133, 140. Many state normal schools, or teachers colleges, of the late nineteenth century also followed this model of a single multi-purpose building to house the entire college.

Although the South claimed dozens of academies and seminaries for girls and young women by the time of the Civil War, it could boast of no liberal arts colleges like Mount Holyoke or Vassar. The war set back the development of women's higher education even further, as it did education for men. By the 1890s, many large towns in Georgia and the rest of the South lacked any public or private schools for either sex.



Fig. 6.4: A domestic scene from Wellesley College, from *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* of Aug. 1876 (photo: Turner, 139).

Indeed, when the Decatur Female Seminary started classes in 1889, there were several male students in attendance because of the lack of sufficient educational opportunities for boys in the town. Like many other such seminaries in all sections of the country, the Decatur seminary was more of an academy than a college, with younger girls attending grammar school classes alongside the more advanced studies of their older sisters. In 1906, however, Agnes Scott Institute, as it had been renamed in honor of George Washington Scott's Irish-born mother, spun its pre-college

academy off into a separate institution and organized a college curriculum for its older students. So successful was this rapid transformation into a college that in 1907, only a year after the collegiate curriculum was established, Agnes Scott was accredited as a college, the first institution in Georgia to gain that status. The school would be instrumental in the development of college-level curricula at women's colleges throughout Georgia and the South, including Wesleyan and Spelman Colleges.⁷

Agnes Scott shared with the better-known women's colleges to the north its concentration in one large, home-like structure and its emphasis on a familial relationship between faculty and students. Most of the female faculty were unmarried and lived on campus, either in the main hall or in cottages close by. Low pay for the faculty encouraged them to take advantage of the board and furnished apartments on campus. With the institution of the college curriculum some of the stricter aspects of school discipline were relaxed. Student government developed between 1906 and 1912, and the students themselves were charged with enforcing the school's honor code and carrying out domestic duties in the dormitory. Still, the faculty were expected to act as surrogate parents and role models to their students and most continued to live on campus.

Although its northern counterparts like Vassar and Wellesley inspired the curriculum of Agnes Scott, the Georgia school could not match the Seven Sisters in resources. Agnes Scott had fewer female faculty members with advanced degrees, a smaller endowment, lower faculty salaries, and a much smaller library than the northeastern schools. The educational and social tone also differed. Whereas the strict religious atmosphere of Mount Holyoke and the other Seven Sisters had waned

⁷ Florence Fleming Corley, *Higher Education for Southern Women: Four Church-Related Women's College in Georgia, Agnes Scott, Shorter, Spelman, and Wesleyan 1900-1920* (Unpubl. Ph.D. diss., Georgia State U., 1985), 172-207; Sayrs and Cozzens, 1-5.

considerably by the twentieth century, Agnes Scott, as well as other women's schools in the South, maintained a powerful religious influence on both curricular and extra-curricular life. According to one historian of Georgia women's colleges, despite its collegiate curriculum, Agnes Scott—not to mention the other women's colleges in the South—could not match the high academic standards of the northern schools.⁸

Between 1920 and the 1940s, however, Agnes Scott expanded its campus to include a respectable library, as well as additional classroom and laboratory buildings, and was able to hire more female professors with advanced academic degrees. A glance at the faculty roster for 1920 shows a significant percentage of the instructors



Fig 6.5: View across quad to Old Main and Rebekah Scott Hall (photo by author).

⁸ Corley, 113-4; 464.

with B.A. degrees alone. Twenty years later, most of the faculty, male and female, had earned at least master's degrees and a significant percentage had attained Ph.D.s. The growth of the campus from one large hall had started around the time the seminary became a college, with the construction of additional buildings in the same architectural style as Old Main. Rebekah Scott (named for George Washington Scott's wife) and Inman Halls featured the same red brick exterior as their older neighbor and had similar generous porches along their fronts facing onto a front lawn to their north and west. The primary growth during the 1920s and 1930s, however, was on the south side of Old Main and Rebekah Scott. Buttrick Hall, the largest classroom and academic building of the college, and the McCain Library were designed as Collegiate Gothic structures, a significant departure from the homey Victorian red-brick of the previous buildings. These buildings also started to form a traditional academic quadrangle on the campus, a form that, while common to the older men's liberal arts colleges, was rare on women's campuses.

The change from domesticity to a neo-traditional campus matched the growing academic seriousness of the college. Other women's colleges, such as Wellesley and Bryn Mawr, were similarly inspired by the Collegiate Gothic trend in campus architecture that was at the height of its influence in the 1920s and early 1930s. In one sense, this architectural trend was the physical manifestation of a conservative academic reaction against the growth of research universities and the scholarly specialization and denigration of the traditional collegiate culture that came in its train. It was in this period that the enclosed academic quadrangle, in the style of the Oxford and Cambridge colleges (which had never been widespread in the United States) gained favor as the most authentic architectural expression of a closely-knit

college community.⁹ While at men's colleges and universities neo-Gothic architecture and a traditional quadrangle may have symbolized a conservative, even elitist, renewal of academic traditions, their increased use on women's college campuses may have instead signaled their intention to appropriate that collegiate tradition for women as well as men. No longer did women's colleges seek to model themselves on an extension of the home; instead they sought to portray themselves as serious academic communities with the same scholarly standards and traditions as the men's schools.

Many of the attempts to recreate the community of college life through neo-traditional design of the '20s and '30s were damaged by the massive growth in the size



Fig. 6.6: Buttrick Hall and McCain Library (photo by author).

⁹ See Turner, chap. 6.

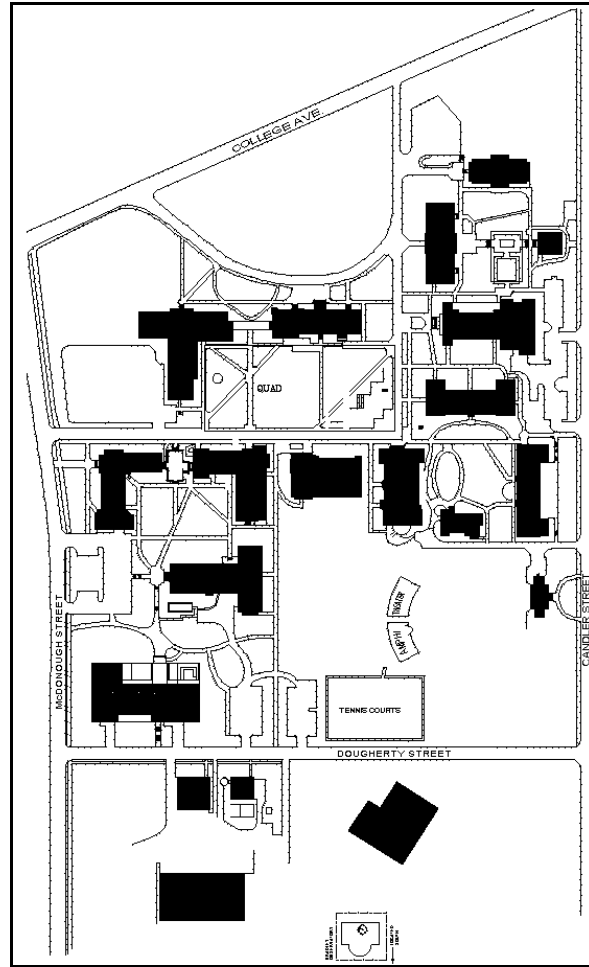


Fig. 6.7: Figure/ground study of the Agnes Scott College campus (photo: Questathensacadmy.com).¹⁰

of universities after the Second World War.¹¹ One of the period's surviving legacies, however, is the residential college system in place at a few of the Ivy League colleges, which creates separate living and learning communities of students and faculty within

¹⁰ Questathensacademy.com (n.d.) Agnes Scott map. Retrieved 13 April 2004 from: <http://www.questathensacademy.com/agnescot.htm>.

¹¹ Most of the construction of Collegiate Gothic structures and quadrangles were at private, rather than public, universities, however. The private universities, although much larger than liberal arts colleges, also stayed much smaller than flagship state universities, some of which have ballooned to 50,000 students or more.

a larger university.¹² Many women's liberal arts colleges have also continued their emphasis on creating closely-knit academic communities inspired both by the men's collegiate tradition and the domestic metaphor traditional to the original women's schools. Many women's liberal arts colleges add to this a particular attention to the college's physical surroundings. In the *Princeton Review's* annual survey of student satisfaction with various aspects of college life, women's colleges are conspicuous in their number among the top schools for campus beauty and for quality of dormitories. Agnes Scott was recently ranked fifth in quality of campus living accommodations and consistently ranks highly on overall quality of life.¹³

Taking a walk on Agnes Scott's campus it is apparent why its students express such satisfaction. Students socialize or read in rocking chairs on the broad porches of the buildings that face the front space of the campus,¹⁴ all of which are at least partly dormitories. The quad on the south side of these buildings, now named after George W. and Irene Woodruff, is not entirely closed; the western end is open to a parking lot and there are gaps between the buildings as at the University of Georgia's north campus. Neither is the space completely level, as a quadrangle in the Oxbridge manner would be. The quad nevertheless has the character of an outdoor room; the

¹² Several of the individual residential colleges at Yale and Princeton in particular were built in the Collegiate Gothic manner and have completely enclosed quadrangles. Princeton is currently building an entirely new residential college in collegiate gothic designed by architect Demetri Porphyrios. Catesby Leigh, "Double Vision in New Jersey," *Financial Times* (20/21 December 2003), W7.

¹³ The Princeton Review, Inc. (2003) *Best 351 College Rankings*. Retrieved 6 April 2004 from: <http://www.princetonreview.com/college/research/rankings/rankings.asp>.

¹⁴ Georgia College and State University in Milledgeville has a front quadrangle with a very similar character. The buildings that line it have verandahs that run the length of the facades and students socialize or study in rocking chairs overlooking the principal space of the college. One of the buildings fronting on to the space is a dormitory. The college began as a state women's college, although it has been co-educational for over thirty years. Although the University System of Georgia designated Georgia College as the state's "public liberal arts university," in 1992, it retains a largely vocational student body and curriculum.

lawn of the quad to the south is manicured, but still inviting to those who would like to walk on it or lounge. There are even lawn chairs scattered about to encourage such use.

Although the quad took shape a few decades after the founding of the college, it is easy to see that it is Agnes Scott's heritage, or ceremonial space. It is a ceremonial space, however, that also sees informal use as part of the daily life of the college as well as being the stage for events in the formal life of the institution. The main dormitories, the dining hall, the library, the largest classroom building and the student center all face onto the space, ensuring that it is the crossroads of the lives, both curricular and extra-curricular, of all members of the college community.



Fig. 6.8: View of Woodruff quad to the east, with Old Main on the left (photo by author).

CHAPTER 7

DESIGN IMPLICATIONS FOR CAMPUSES

Because they promote active learning in small classes, emphasize personal contact between faculty and students, and typically have a small enough student body to encourage identification with the campus community, liberal arts colleges offer an educational experience superior to research universities or technical institutes, at least for undergraduates, and represent the closest approximation to Jefferson's academical community in the contemporary higher education system.¹ Not all institutions of higher learning can or should be liberal arts colleges, however. Advanced technical education, the training of researchers, and the production of sophisticated specialized scholarship are all worthy functions of colleges and universities that are not the main foci of academic life at liberal arts colleges. Nevertheless, liberal arts colleges, as well as some of the smaller universities, can offer models for larger institutions seeking to improve the quality of life for members of their academic communities. Below are four main lessons that I believe institutions can

¹ The National Survey of Student Engagement consistently shows a greater engagement by students at liberal arts colleges in their educations than students at large universities, in terms of classroom participation, writing expectations, contact with professors and feelings of community. The *Princeton Review* rankings of student satisfaction, based on student responses to questionnaires, are perhaps less methodical and reliable, but still show a consistent superiority of liberal arts colleges when it comes to student satisfaction. Of the top twenty colleges in student satisfaction with their overall quality of life, fourteen are liberal arts colleges (Agnes Scott was number thirteen in the latest tally), as are thirteen out of twenty for satisfaction with the quality of their campus, fifteen out of twenty for good dorms, thirteen out of twenty for campus dining, thirteen out of twenty for overall levels of student happiness, eighteen out of twenty for quality of instruction, sixteen out of twenty for accessibility of professors, and twenty out of twenty for quality and frequency of classroom discussion.

learn from the design and organization of their smaller counterparts as well as from the mistakes made by the three larger universities covered in this study. Not all of the suggestions are explicitly related to the design of the college campus, but, as I have tried to show in the preceding chapters, campus design and the culture and organization of an institution are inextricably intertwined.

Clarity of Mission

As we have seen with Emory University, the clarity or lack of clarity of an institution's mission can have effects on both the educational and physical environments of a college. A college or university needs to spell out what its particular role is in the system of higher education, and understand how its history and aspirations for the future mold its overall purpose. In this, they should determine what is unique about their particular institution, what makes it the most suitable institution for a particular student or faculty member rather than on what makes it the "best" according to general public perception or an abstract ranking. Once that mission has taken hold among members of the academic community, then understanding how that community can take shape in physical form becomes easier. The design implications of Emory's goal of breaking down barriers among academic disciplines and fostering a more vibrant intellectual community would become clearer if they decided, for example, that one of the means of attaining that goal will be encouraging more informal interaction among faculty members of different departments. This more concrete goal could perhaps be accomplished through a greater inter-departmental integration of faculty offices, creation of more intimate shared informal spaces near departmental offices, or providing on-campus apartments for faculty members and assuring that faculty of different disciplines are housed near

each other. Likewise, deciding what is important about an institution's history can point to spaces or buildings that should be highlighted by design.

Focus on space rather than on program

Buildings and the spaces they enclose last longer than any individual use that the building or space may contain. Architecture and site planning should thus stress flexibility of function as part of their design. This is particularly important for the campuses of technical universities like Georgia Tech that have heretofore been primarily program driven. While it is true that the programmatic demands of such schools are often very specific—a chemistry lab needs especially effective venting that a history department does not, for example—those technically oriented programs are also likely to change more rapidly than those in the liberal arts. Buildings and spaces should thus be designed to accommodate renovation every few decades without having to destroy the external character. Campus design should facilitate change while maintaining a continuity of form.

The designer should also remember that it is the common areas of a campus that foster an academic community. Although private spaces are also important for individual work and contemplation, it is the common areas that help give an institution its identity. It is also important to provide a variety of spaces for the formation of campus community. Foremost among these is a recognizable center, particularly one that is the ceremonial or heritage space of the institution. Like the quad on Georgia's north campus, this space is the location most closely connected with the origin and identity of the school. It should have a certain formality to it that provides an appropriate backdrop for the ceremonial life of the institution (and it should actually be *used* for significant ceremonies), but also be comfortable and

inviting enough for everyday use by members of the college community, as is the case with the quad at Agnes Scott. Keeping this space a pedestrian zone free of vehicle traffic (as most, but not all, colleges have done) is important. Not only does it set the space off as something different from the everyday space of the outside world, but it assures a tranquility that improves the quality of life for those using the space and the buildings surrounding it.

Beyond the ceremonial space should be a variety of subordinate spaces that invite different uses, from active and extroverted to quiet and introspective. These can include plazas, courtyards, or traditional quads with lawns and may be formal or informal. An important type of secondary space is foyer space around the entrances to buildings. People like to wait, relax, talk, smoke, and mingle in front of campus buildings in which they have class or work. This is apparently a commonplace observation unless you are a campus designer, as so few campus buildings have spaces in front of them sufficient for such use. It is important for any space, however, to be a natural extension of the indoor spaces enclosing it. A space with people in it or passing through it on their way to or from a building is more inviting, even for introverted, contemplative use, than one that rarely sees any foot traffic, as long as there are places to station oneself outside of the main current of pedestrians. A student probably wants to feel connected to the campus community even when alone reading quietly. Porches, as at Agnes Scott, broad steps that invite sitting, and seating alcoves can all fulfill this function.

Design for multiple uses, including living

One of the major strengths of the typical liberal arts college campus is the diversity of uses that can be found within a small area. Student dormitories are

usually close to or part of the main campus spaces, and classrooms, student center, faculty offices, and dining halls are all a short walk away. This design has two major advantages: first, there are likely to be people at the center of campus at all hours of the day and evening, even on the weekends. This helps to make the campus feel more like a residential neighborhood than an office park that empties out after five p.m. As Jane Jacobs has argued about city neighborhoods,² such full-day and evening use not



Fig. 7.1: Kresge College at the University of California Santa Cruz
(photo: Mary Ann Sullivan).³

only makes for more interesting living experiences, but also makes daily life safer, since there are more witnesses to passing events, and fosters more of a feeling of

² Jane Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, reissue edition (New York: Vintage, 1992).

³ Mary Ann Sullivan (2000) *Santa Cruz, California: Kresge College, U. C. Santa Cruz*. Retrieved 11 April 2004 from: <http://www.bluffton.edu/~sullivanm/moorekresge/kresge.html>.

responsibility and involvement among members of the community. The separation of uses that started with the Beaux-Arts campus designers and developed much further during the twentieth century has given us campuses with large sections that are lifeless and banal, particularly when classes are not in session. Even the ceremonial spaces of many universities have become dominated by administrative functions rather than serving as arenas for all members of the campus community.

If Emory and other universities are serious about breaking down the barriers between disciplines that have been part of the university scene for the past century, then they should think about breaking down the barriers between the various single-use sections of their campuses. It is easier, however, for a college of one-thousand students to plan for multiple uses than it is for a large, complex university that may be thirty or forty times the size. One possibility is to design, or redesign, large university campuses as a collection of neighborhoods or precincts, each with its own center and identity, and each with a varied roster of inhabitants and basic services. Although there would be an identifiable center to the campus, just as cities with many vibrant neighborhoods also have downtowns, each campus neighborhood would in some measure be its own community, with its own identity, and its own dining hall, dormitories, classrooms, and perhaps even libraries and shops. The ceremonial center should also have students living in it. Perhaps, as at the University of Virginia, it could be an honor reserved for the highest achieving students, or the spaces could be appropriated by lottery. By breaking down large university populations into communities of much smaller size, it could ease the transition of students into university (and adult) life. It could also give faculty members associated with the neighborhoods a more intimate connection to members of the academic community outside of their particular disciplines.



Fig. 7.2: Whitman College, a new Collegiate Gothic residential college at Princeton University (photo: Denise Applewhite).⁴

One method of organizing universities is to create a system of residential colleges, as at a few of the Ivy League universities and University of California campuses. The residential colleges at Princeton, Yale, and Harvard, as mentioned above, were primarily products of the 1920s and 1930s resurgence of interest in pre-research university collegiate traditions, a resurgence that was sometimes explicitly reactionary and elitist. The residential colleges at the University of California campuses at Santa Cruz and San Diego, on the other hand, arose from the completely different cultural milieu of the 1960s.⁵ The founders, designers, and early students at

⁴ Denise Applewhite (2002) *Whitman College, Princeton University*. Retrieved 11 April 2004 from: http://www.princeton.edu/pr/pictures/other/whitman_college/gallery.htm.

⁵ U.C.S.C. is one of the few campuses built in the 1960s that paid attention to campus aesthetics and quality of life. Each of the constituent colleges has a discrete campus, including the well regarded design for Kresge College by Charles W. Moore and William

these campuses were more interested in their communities as bases for progressive social action rather than conservative reaction. The residential college form, then, can be useful in a variety of educational settings, at universities with varied missions and institutional cultures. In the past few years residential colleges have indeed begun to spring up in universities in many parts of the country.⁶

The honors programs and colleges of many state universities go part of the way toward this kind of system, but many lack campuses and dormitory facilities separate from the rest of the university. The University of Georgia, however, has established its first residential college, Franklin Residential College, in a south campus dormitory, Rutherford Hall. It is designed explicitly to renew the community character of a liberal arts college that the University has lost with its expansion to 30,000 students. It offers regular college dinners, a resident dean, faculty fellows, and student self-government. With only 150 students, however, the scale of the project is still small, but it does help point a way that even large state universities may take toward a recreation of academic community.⁷

The University of Georgia's master plan, moreover, seeks to extend the character of north campus, with its pedestrian orientation and positive spaces, to the entire campus. A recent renovation of Brooks Drive, previously a street for vehicles through the middle of south campus, into a wide pedestrian walkway, is the first major project in this plan. The recent developments on the east campus of the

Turnbull, which was loosely patterned on an Italian hill town. All of the colleges are linked to a central core with the major university facilities. The Italian hill town model for an academic village seems to be particularly appropriate for California, given its Mediterranean climate. See also the new Soka University campus in Aliso Viejo, California.

⁶ For a current academic advocate of residential colleges, see Robert J. O'Hara (2004) *The Collegiate Way: Residential Colleges and Higher Education Reform*. Retrieved 6 April 2004 from: <http://www.collegiateway.org>.

⁷ University of Georgia (n.d.) *Franklin Residential College*. Retrieved 13 April 2004 from: <http://www.uga.edu/frc>.

university also seek to develop areas of mixed use, with the close proximity of the arts campus, the student physical fitness and athletic center, and a new student village. The large scale of most buildings on Georgia's south and east campus, however, makes a replication of the character of the more historic parts of campus difficult. On the north campus, only the library is of a scale similar to a majority of the buildings south of Sanford Stadium. The giganticism of much recent campus architecture, such as the Student Learning Center, does not hold much promise that the more human scale of the older sections of campus will be replicated on the newer. The master plans at the University of Georgia, Georgia Tech, and Emory, however, all call for the building of infill buildings to accommodate future needs of their campuses rather than expanding the boundaries of the campuses. Part of the reason behind this, of course, is economic and practical—it's simply much cheaper to build on land that the university already owns. Infill buildings will nevertheless help to create more density of use in areas that sprawled during the 1960s and 1970s, and may also, if carried out judiciously, help to create more positive spaces than the non-space that currently

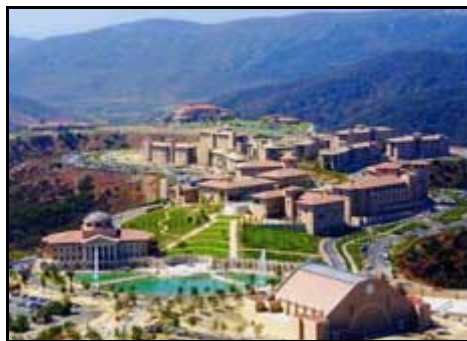


Fig. 7.3: A new vision of an academic village: a campus inspired by a Tuscan village, the new campus of Soka University in Aliso Viejo, California (photo: Soka Gakkai International).⁸

⁸ Soka Gakkai International (2004) *Soka Gakkai International*. Retrieved 14 April 2004 from: <http://www.sgi.org/english/News/nb/0306/nb030606.htm>.

exists on these parts of the campuses. All of the universities, moreover, call for maintaining and increasing the pedestrian orientation of their campuses by removing most parking and vehicular streets from their campus cores.

Connect with the surroundings

Finally, colleges and universities should interact with their larger communities, both in terms of their human relationships and their design. The complex political, economic, and cultural relationships between colleges and the towns they are part of is too large a topic to be discussed here, but in terms of design there is much a college can do to improve the connection between their campuses and their surrounding communities. Each of the four campuses under discussion here have portions of their campuses that meet with their surrounding cities in a way that encourages a lively street life that both feeds and is fed by the university community.

Interestingly, three of these have this crucial connection across from their front gates. Downtown Athens, as has been discussed, is as much of the university scene as anything on campus and grew up along with the university. Downtown Decatur is only a short walk away from Agnes Scott College, although one has to walk underneath railroad tracks to get there. The renovations in downtown Decatur in the past decade or so may very well have occurred even without the presence of the college (there's only so much economic power that can be wielded by a school with an enrollment of slightly more than 800 students), but Agnes Scott students and faculty nevertheless benefit from the restaurants, stores, coffee shops and MARTA station that has made Decatur one of the most vibrant spots in the Atlanta metropolitan area. An area of shops and restaurants even exists outside the gates of Emory in suburban Druid Hills, only a short stroll from the main academic quad along Oxford and North

Decatur Roads. Only Georgia Tech's central historical campus has an antagonistic, or, at best, indifferent relationship to its urban neighbor.

Even at Georgia Tech, however, there is hope that this relationship can improve, as it has started to at the Fifth Street extension of the campus over Interstate 75/85. The recently built Technology Square is a three-block area that encompasses a hotel, the institute's school of management, a research center, and a parking garage. Most of the buildings along Fifth Street have street level shops and restaurants, including a large bookstore. This area has the potential to become Tech's most successful space of interaction with the surrounding city and promises to add a bit of interest to Tech students' non-academic activities. The only drawback is the necessity of crossing the interstate by the Fifth Street bridge.⁹ Other universities, such as the University of Arizona, have helped to promote commercial areas adjacent to their campuses, both to offer services to the university community and to enliven the urban life close to campus.

If a campus is surrounded by unsafe and run-down neighborhoods, however, there may be little a college can do except buy up property and renovate the area itself, as Johns Hopkins University has done around its medical campus.¹⁰ Most universities don't have the economic resources to do that, but most also are not quite so unlucky in their locations. Even on the smallest campuses, however, the intersection of main gate and adjoining commercial area will only be a small portion of the overall circumference of the campus. Much of the rest may touch upon residential neighborhoods, as at Agnes Scott, or parts of the west side of the University of Georgia

⁹ See: Georgia Institute of Technology (2003) Technology Square. Retrieved 14 April 2004 from: <http://www.gatech.edu/technology-square/overview.php>.

¹⁰ East Baltimore Development, Inc. (2003-4) *East Baltimore Development: Building on our Strengths, Creating Opportunity*. Retrieved 9 April 2004 from: http://www.ebdi.org/dal_attributes.html.

campus. It is at these intersections that the scale of university and the neighborhood buildings may be the most disparate and may benefit from a park-like buffer. A campus may be able to respect the character of a surrounding neighborhood by matching the building density of the area even if they do not match the size of the neighboring buildings. The key for any part of the campus/city meeting is to be open to the adjoining town but to mark the campus off as distinct. This can be seen in the way that Georgia's north campus meets downtown Athens. The scale and orientation of the buildings on the two sides of Broad Street match, but an iron fence, as well as its pedestrian oriented character, separate the campus from downtown. Other parts of campus may be distinguished from their surroundings by distinguishing signs. These should also help to orient visitors to the different parts of campus.

Distinguishing the character of a campus may be the thread that connects all of these recommendations. Each institution has its own history, culture, and mission, and its campus should be a physical expression of them while also tying the individual college into the larger stream of urban and educational history of which it is a part. My preference, as should be apparent, is for the smaller campuses of liberal arts colleges; it is at these that an academic community may most easily and successfully be formed. Yet even universities can strengthen the character of their institutions, both physical and otherwise, and improve the quality of life for all of the inhabitants of their academical villages.

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