Revolt and Reform in Architecture's Academy: Columbia and Yale in the 1960s

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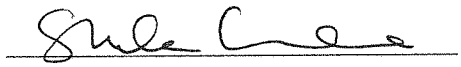
Sheila Crane 

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Abstract

A critical reassessment of the scope and mission of architecture and planning education in the United States occurred between 1950 and 1970. In this period, a small but significant number of students and faculty at Columbia University and Yale University perceived design's dominant pedagogies to be outmoded and inflexible legacies of the Bauhaus and Beaux-Arts institutions. They identified campus expansion, race, and the "urban crisis" as the principle, if unexplored, concerns facing architectural practice by the late-1960s, which pedagogy and practice were loath to address. Through protests and curricular reform, students and faculty members ultimately founded an advocacy model for design practice, which engaged the contemporary and contextual issues that have become central to its academy today. Among urban universities, Columbia and Yale represented compelling cases of how urban history and architectural education intersected. The theory and practice of urban renewal took a specific form that students analyzed—first to replicate and then to critique. As urban violence peaked and riots transformed neighborhoods across the United States, it did not take long for even the most sheltered student to feel the effects. Ultimately, calls for reform in city planning, matched calls for reform in architectural education against social injustice, university "imperialism," and the irrelevance of outmoded ideas about design.

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Introduction

A critical reassessment of the scope and mission of architecture and planning education in the United States occurred between 1950 and 1970. Students and faculty at Columbia University and Yale University perceived design's dominant pedagogies to be outmoded and inflexible legacies of the Bauhaus and Beaux-Arts institutions. They identified campus expansion, race, and the so-called "urban crisis" as the principle, if unexplored, concerns facing architectural practice by the late-1960s, which architecture schools were loath to address. Through protests and curricular reform, students and faculty members ultimately founded an advocacy model for design practice, which engaged the contemporary and contextual issues that have become central to its academy today. This project investigates urban renewal as a redevelopment model and an historical moment through the actions of architecture students at two universities in the 1960s. While it is true that architecture students (and some faculty) across the country were part of the larger social movements of the 1960s, Columbia and Yale represented compelling cases of how urban history and architectural education intersected. The theory and practice of urban renewal took a specific form that students analyzed—first to replicate and then to critique. As urban violence peaked and riots transformed neighborhoods across the United States, it did not take long for even the most sheltered student to feel the effects. Ultimately, calls for reform in city planning matched calls for reform in architectural education against social injustice, urban "imperialism," and the irrelevance of outmoded ideas about design.

As one Columbia architecture student, who had studied as an undergraduate at the École des Beaux-Arts, noted, "We had gone through school, paid huge tuitions, learned

about all kinds of things, except there was one thing: we had spent all these years and we had been led outside of something that was really fundamental, which was social responsibility."[1] By the late-1960s, evidence of social responsibility's loss was a pedagogical problem as much as it was an urban one. Hundreds of students matriculated each year with the hope of learning the profession, craft, and trade of becoming an architect and city planner in this period. It did not take long before many of them discovered that they were at odds with architecture's academy and the contemporary legacy of its practice, urban renewal.

The consequences of urban renewal—the federally funded, local development model employed by cities between 1950 and 1975 to great economic, social, and racial ends—transformed nearly every American city, beginning with the 1949 Federal Housing Act. As agents of urban change, universities in cities such as New York City, New York and New Haven, Connecticut, occupied both privileged and embattled positions. Columbia University, founded in 1794 in New York City, and Yale University, founded in 1701 in New Haven, were particularly powerful and active institutions.[2] Their home cities grew around them and, throughout their shared histories, town and gown patterns of development were often at odds. Unquestionably urban in context, both schools had undertaken massive expansion campaigns between 1950 and 1970 that threatened to erase parts of the historically black neighborhoods that now abutted their borders.

Columbia and Yale officials and planners found it difficult to create a sense of campus cohesion beyond the borders of their historic grounds, as they confronted the

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[1] Salomon, Alain. Interview by author. Toulouse (France), 15 July 2009.
[2] The charter for King's College was granted in 1754 and the school changed its name to Columbia in 1784. Columbia moved to its current location (the fourth) in 1897. Yale's original charter is dated 1701 and opened in Saybrook, Connecticut. Upon moving to New Haven in 1718, Yale assumed its current name.

racial, social and economic difference of the surrounding neighborhoods. Yet, throughout the 1950s and 1960s, Columbia purchased hundreds of properties in the Morningside Heights section of Manhattan surrounding the historic McKim, Mead, and White campus. **[0.1]** Thousands of residents were displaced due to these efforts through attrition, out-pricing, and, as some residents claimed, the sabotage of utilities like water and heat. Yale, 75 miles to the northeast, co-opted parts of New Haven's historic core in close partnership with New Haven administrators and plans to remake the entire city into a model of "urban renewal."[3] **[0.2]** In each case, Columbia and Yale expanded into largely African-American neighborhoods that had not benefited as greatly from the post-war economy as other parts of the city or the suburban towns beyond. The municipal urge to "renew" areas deemed "blighted" was closely aligned with the physical needs of these urban universities that had prospered in the same post-war economy.

Unwilling or unable to ignore the out-pricing, eviction, and displacement around the Harlem, Morningside Heights, Dixwell, Hill, Wooster Square, and Dwight communities in New York and New Haven that were defined by an erosion of neighborhood boundaries, of city park land, and ultimately of communities, themselves, architecture students at Columbia and Yale struck back. Student-led advocacy groups like Urban Deadline, the Architect's Renewal Committee for Harlem, The Architect's Resistance, and a small but influential group of architecture and planning students

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[3] At the center of urban renewal, New Haven served as an arena in which the full story of this development model played out, from its well-intentioned mandate to improve the city to its deleterious effects, which fueled social unrest and an architectural backlash. New York, on the other hand, witnessed its share of urban renewal projects but, at nearly twelve times the size of its neighbor to the north, the city absorbed changes in its urban fabric in a less concentrated way. As one Columbia architecture student at the time noted, who had attended Yale as an undergraduate , "New York had such a critical mass of what it was that, as a student, I wasn't so reactive to 'urban renewal' as I was before [in New Haven]." Smith, Tyler. Interview by author, Hartford, Conn., 24 July 2009.

connected the lack of community development with deficiencies in their own design educations. Through these advocacy groups, which undertook everything from legal aid and tenants rights issues to park engineering and restoration of historic buildings, the students began to define architecture and urban design in broader social terms than the traditional skill sets of the discipline.

Neighborhood redevelopment affected architecture students at a level even more local than the neighborhood. Yale students sharply critiqued the gulf between design intentions and use patterns in their own Art and Architecture School building, designed by Paul Rudolph. **[0.3]** Columbia students, on the other hand, identified a nearly-built university gymnasium in adjacent Morningside Park as proof of the school's lack of understanding about architectural context and the administration's general lack of skill in community affairs. **[0.4]** It was through education, however, that students at both schools found the most effective means of protest against what they saw as the university's imperialist urban practices. For these students, pedagogical concerns such as inflexible curriculums, turgid design assignments, and a sense of disconnection between architectural practice and education, were merely symptomatic of a larger problem. Campus expansion and urban renewal had become indefensible aspects university life and particularly implicated the relationship between architecture students and the communities around them. Architects, they felt, should be agents of social responsibility within these communities, and architectural education should teach social agency as a guiding principle of design and planning.

Students at other schools were also vocal about reorienting design curricula and calling for the removal of faculty. At the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor, the

University of California at Berkeley, the University of Pennsylvania, and Carnegie Mellon (then Carnegie Tech), architecture students organized to protest the lack of context for their design education.[4] Yet, it was within Columbia and Yale's architecture and planning programs that the otherwise prosaic student complaints about curriculum emerged as a much more sophisticated indictment against American urbanism and race relations. A group of mostly white, mostly male, and mostly middle- to upper-middle class architecture students formed an alliance between 1968 and 1969 to call attention to the problems of architectural education, the willful obliviousness of students and, ultimately, to the profession itself. Urban renewal and campus expansion formed the basis of this alliance and provided a platform that offered a coherent and collective response to the urban crisis outside their doors.

A professional crisis in architecture and city planning mirrored this urban crisis of the 1950s and 1960s, which had broad implications for how architecture was conceived as well as how it was taught.[5] For architecture students, notions of an urban crisis formed around failed urban renewal projects, "white flight" and increasing suburbanization, and the difficulties that certain urban neighborhoods had in curbing violence, poverty, and

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[4] If the latter typifies the activities of a young architect in America, however, it is a case study in "paper protests." Students formed a joint committee there in 1968 with faculty to assess the architecture curriculum. At issue was the selection of jury members for critiques and reviews, who students felt were unresponsive to the kinds of things they were addressing in their projects: housing, poverty, displacement, and "messy vitality," to borrow a phrase. Taking a more diplomatic approach than their colleagues at Columbia or Yale, the committee drafted a manifesto calling for "participation, representation, and communication" as the core mission of their design program. Over time, that manifesto helped the cause gain some ground and Carnegie Tech (along with Michigan, Berkeley, and Penn) became a much different kind of program within a decade. By the end of the 1970s, "context" ruled the design studio (even if it went by other names, as well) and these paper protests succeeded in partially shaping that change. See Jan C. Rowan's editorial in *Progressive Architecture* (May, 1968): 99.

[5] The term "urban crisis" is used to describe an historical phenomenon of the 1950s and 1960s (even if it is still used to describe a contemporary urban condition) in which population growth, rabid and unchecked development, a rise in crime rates, racially-motivated violence, class conflict, and increasing poverty became too severe for a city to maintain physically or socially.

homelessness. Addressing their role, architects focused attention on the disjunction between design's good intentions and its mixed results. Some historians have looked at this conflation of the urban crisis and the professional crisis as a cultural development between modernization and perceptions of what a Modern architect or planner should be.[6] Even the old standards of architectural education—Beaux-Arts and Bauhaus principles that infused every bit of an architect's education—seemed questionable, sometimes to its own instructors. Yet, design curricula were loath to address this crisis and clung to the outmoded myth of the architect-as-artist. University programs in architecture and planning continued, through the 1950s and 1960s, to "graduate an annual horde of Leonardos," even if there was a larger urban reality that was continually being ignored in studios.[7]

One of the paradoxes of urban renewal was how it revealed great human poverty as much as it concealed the evidence of impoverished communities by building over them. In establishing urban renewal's impact on architectural education at Columbia and Yale, this dissertation focuses on the student experience and growing awareness of the urban poor and of minority communities. The publication of Michael Harrington's *The Other America* (1962), among other events, sparked consciousness about poverty in the popular imagination, particularly among students, that had not existed before. Harrington identified the extent of urban poverty in the 1950s and 1960s and its roots in rural

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[6] Architecture and planning's task, so far as its practitioners were concerned, shifted along with industry as production methods became Taylorized. As paradoxical as a more democratic "standardized" process like automobile manufacturing seemed, the logic of efficiency and streamlining appealed to architectural notions of functionalism. One further paradox emerged: that efficiency and "form following function" would actually displace the architect from being an irreplaceable design source to being a stylish anachronism. See Nan Ellin's *Postmodern Urbanism* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1999).
[7] Chermayeff, Serge and Christopher Alexander, *Community and Privacy* (New York: Anchor Books, 1963): 106.

migration, alcoholism, and neglect. Notably, Harrington argued that poverty was a perpetual state and a culture in which the poor will always remain poor, and, therefore, aid must come from outside of that culture in order to improve the position of its members. Accessible prose, which drew on statistical data and moral reasoning in equal measures, appealed to both a general readership and to professionals, as well as radicals and political moderates. Even if critics lamented the quality of the book's statistics (owing, in part, to a dearth of accurate government data), the book gave a voice to those who belonged to the "economic underworld" by telling their stories in a clear and compelling way

Another set of stories that this project considers has to do with the architecture students, themselves. Richard Rosencranz's *Across the Barricades* (1970) reported on the Avery Commune at Columbia firsthand, and provided a way to consider the architecture students' motives. Rosencranz relied on hundreds of hours of tape to recreate the ideas and discourse within Avery Hall and tie it into the biographies of its students, many of which occupied the building during the school-wide protest of April, 1968. In doing so, the former Columbia journalism student privileged the student experience at a time when media coverage of student protests was one-sided or presented with little context. The accomplishment of this book, more so than many other accounts of protest culture, is that it legitimized the so-called Avery Commune as having substantive yet distinct agendas within the larger Columbia student protests.

Oral histories became essential to the development of this project, particularly as they added depth to contemporary reports about the Avery Commune, architectural education, and the campus expansion campaigns undertaken at Columbia and Yale. In

tracking Rosencranz's interview subjects and re-interviewing them four decades later, it became clear that their social ideals for architecture remained unchanged, even if a few of them had reconsidered the value of those ideals. When asked if teaching social responsibility is the task of architecture, one Columbia architecture student and founding member of Urban Deadline replied,

> No, it's not. If you asked me in 1968, having sat and occupied the building, *that* was my answer. But, now, 40 years later, I have somewhat revised my opinion. Social responsibility is a part of your personal equation. We should all, as much as possible, be aware of social issues, but, I'm not exactly sure you can teach them.[8]

What position did architectural education occupy for student activists like Salomon, then? In arguing for more social responsibility as a young architecture student, what were the systemic, pedagogical problems that he and others were arguing against?

How architecture students and faculty perceived these issues at Columbia and Yale had to do with design education's culture and its pedagogy's officialdom. Histories of architectural education have fallen into one of three categories. First, narratives within larger, institutional histories, such as Anthony Alofsin's history of design at Harvard University, *The Struggle for Modernism* (2002), Gwendolyn Wright and Janet Parks' edited volume *The History of History in American Schools of Architecture* (1990), and Richard Oliver's edited volume on Columbia, *The Making of An Architect* (1981) are broad accounts that offer a periodic window into the 1960s at the two schools in question. Second, other accounts and histories of the Beaux-Arts or Bauhaus pedagogies usually attempt to legitimize one school over another. Bosworth and Jones's *A Study of*

[8] Salomon, Alain. Interview by author, Toulouse (France), 15 July 2009.

Architectural Schools (1932) expounds on the Beaux-Arts legacy in light of the growing influence of Bauhaus émigrés while William Jordy's chapter "The Aftermath of the Bauhaus in America," in Fleming and Bailyn's *Perspectives in American History II* (1968) outlines the basic argument, as others do, that the cast-off instructors of the Bauhaus contributed an "intellectual migration" to the United States in the 1930s. Third, works that address, in part or in full, discreet moments have served as case studies in architectural education's other historic shifts, such as Richard Hayes' recent book on *The Yale Building Project* (2007), William Littman's article "Assault on the Ecole: Student Campaigns Against the Beaux-Arts, 1925-1950" (2000) or Roula Geraniotis' article "The University of Illinois and German Architectural Education" (1985). However, the register of these changes usually subsumed the student perspective in favor of administrative goals or institutional legacy building. These histories have been invaluable, however, in connecting several significant influences; three of the most important include the degree to which threats to a dominant pedagogy were perceived, the role of important (if unheralded) figures within architectural education that are known only regionally for their design work, and finally, how schools of architecture chose to frame their legacies, especially on the occasion of a centennial anniversary or building campaign.

An architect's training is nothing if not open to influence—whether stylistic, filial (in the mentor/protégé sense), or through peerage. A social history of American architectural education remains to be written, but this dissertation identifies specific formal, social, and urban influences on two groups of students. Chapter One discusses the legacy architectural education's two, dominant systems of pedagogical thought: the

Beaux-Arts and Bauhaus, which came under increasing scrutiny by students who questioned their efficacy and relevance. On one hand, the French Beaux Arts system of *atelier* students, convening at the École des Beaux Arts for instruction, submitting schemes to *charettes*, and generally learning the practice of architecture within a guild structure, was rooted in nineteenth-century systems of artisans and patronage. Yet, the Modernist, German Bauhaus system, where students learned from a "master of craft" and a "master of form" in a curriculum structured around materials, function and the related elements of building was equally tradition-bound . Both pedagogical approaches were rigid and hierarchical and both treated architecture, ultimately, as a design proposition in unarticulated space, somewhere outside of the everyday.

In both the Bauhaus and the Beaux-Arts systems, a spatial ideal served as the foundation, whether it was an actual historical precedent or a nameless building typology, from which to address the needs of society-at-large. It was this nebulous, unexamined idea of "society" that frustrated architectural students and instigated their calls for reform. Architecture, for them, should be inclusive of specific people, "users," and, at the very broadest, communities, rather than positing a new, more rational or correct order for society as part of the design solution. Yet, as the historian Nan Ellin has noted, "The historically elitist position of the architectural profession made retreat the path of least resistance and the most often treaded, with only a small minority choosing the more rugged route of opposition and resistance."[9]

Indeed, the focus of this dissertation is on that small minority, whose members formed a new set of critical questions about architecture's efficacy in "society" or

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[9] Ellin, Nan, *Postmodern Urbanism* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1999): 246.

anywhere else. For the members of the Avery Commune, these questions resolved in the form of the "Platform System," a proposal that attempted to transform not only a curriculum, but also an entire pedagogy. At Yale, architecture students infiltrated communities as a way of reorienting traditional pedagogies to confront social problems such as rural poverty, rather than spatial problems, and addressing them through architecture. But, the relationship between city, school, and architectural pedagogy also unfolded within the administrative functions of the Department of City Planning, itself. Despite the university's ongoing recruitment campaign to diversity the student body, university president Whitney Griswold was not prepared for an admissions insurrection by the progressive City Planning Department chair Christopher Tunnard, among others, that questioned the use of racial quotas and the right of the university to usurp admissions decisions made by individual schools.

Chapters Two identifies more specific terms of opposition at Columbia and the fundamental disconnect between what its students were supposed to have been learning and what their urban contexts were teaching them. In some ways, the Columbia's official title, "Columbia University in the City of New York" sanitizes the troubled relationship that it has always shared with its hometown as it has never been nestled within the city so much as it stood apart. After the City of New York and the Catholic Church, Columbia was—and remains—the third greatest landholder in Manhattan whose properties include parts of Rockefeller Center (a real estate vestige of its former incarnation as King's College), Lincoln Center, parts of Inwood Park, and, of course, the historic McKim, Mead, and White campus that is the school's administrative center. **[0.5]**

Yet, Columbia has always had trouble growing its physical plant, as the exigencies of the real estate market ensured that it could occupy disconnected properties around the city. To satisfy some of its needs, including athletic facilities, Columbia entered into two lease-back arrangements with the New York City Parks Department for baseball fields in the 1950s and, in 1960, a lease-back arrangement for a new gymnasium complex that would be located in Morningside Park. **[0.6]** The gymnasium project was never realized, but its proposal and its groundbreaking symbolized what many considered to be the school's blatant imperialism. It was only after the gym advanced to the penultimate stage before construction that the community—both academic and residential—had a hook on which they could hang their grievances. Harlem residents (long out-priced or evicted by land-hungry Columbia), members of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and student demonstrators and, importantly, architecture students, used the gymnasium project as both the object and subject of protest during one particular week in April of 1968, which is still considered a touchstone of the student movement, today.

Chapter Three identifies the terms of student and faculty opposition at Yale and the school's position within urban renewal's so-called "model city." Working with New Haven's self-proclaimed "human renewal" mayor, Richard C. Lee, Yale officials guided redevelopment around the city's nine-square grid. But, it was the French planner and Yale instructor Maurice Rotival, under the New Haven Redevelopment Agency, who drove a more comprehensive "renewal" program. Rotival's proposed ring-road, which would have circumnavigated the city's historic green, its central business district, and much of Yale's historic campus, sought to consolidate and redefine the city in order to

establish it as a regional commercial magnet for the Quinnipiac Valley Economic Area. **[0.7]** The highway would have also excluded historically African-American neighborhoods from ready access to the city. Rotival's scheme never materialized completely (the present-day Oak Street Connector defines what would have been part of the southern perimeter), but remnants of the ring-road development scheme are still evident in the school's physical footprint.[10]

Downtown New Haven and its surrounding neighborhoods such as Hill and Dixwell were sites of important urban and social change during the tenures of Mayor Lee, New Haven Development Agency head Edward Logue, and Rotival. **[0.8]** Yale University, for its part, worked closely with the city of New Haven during its urban renewal years and the growth of one cannot be defined without defining the growth of the other. Its president, A. Whitney Griswold (1951-1963), in turn, worked closely with the Departments of Architecture and City Planning during the school's expansion into greater New Haven. The faculty and visiting critics between the two departments included a who's-who of Modern architecture between 1959 and 1969: Rotival, Paul Rudolph, Louis Kahn, Christopher Tunnard, Frei Otto, Josef Albers, Edward Larabee Barnes, Serge Chermayeff, Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, John Hejduk, Oskar Stonorov, Alexander Tzonis, and others.[11] In some cases, faculty contributed significantly to Yale's urban

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[10] Although he had completed studies of New Haven as early as 1941, Rotival was formally hired in 1955 by the city to consolidate New Haven's existing master-planning initiatives into a formal urban renewal program: harbor and port development, the redevelopment of Oak Street (later, the Oak Street Connector to interstates 95 and 91), housing redevelopment in the Hill and Fair Haven neighborhoods, development of a central business district, and studies that addressed a new Quinnipiac Valley regional plan, in which New Haven would be the economic locus. See Maurice E.H. Rotival Papers (MS 1380), Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University.

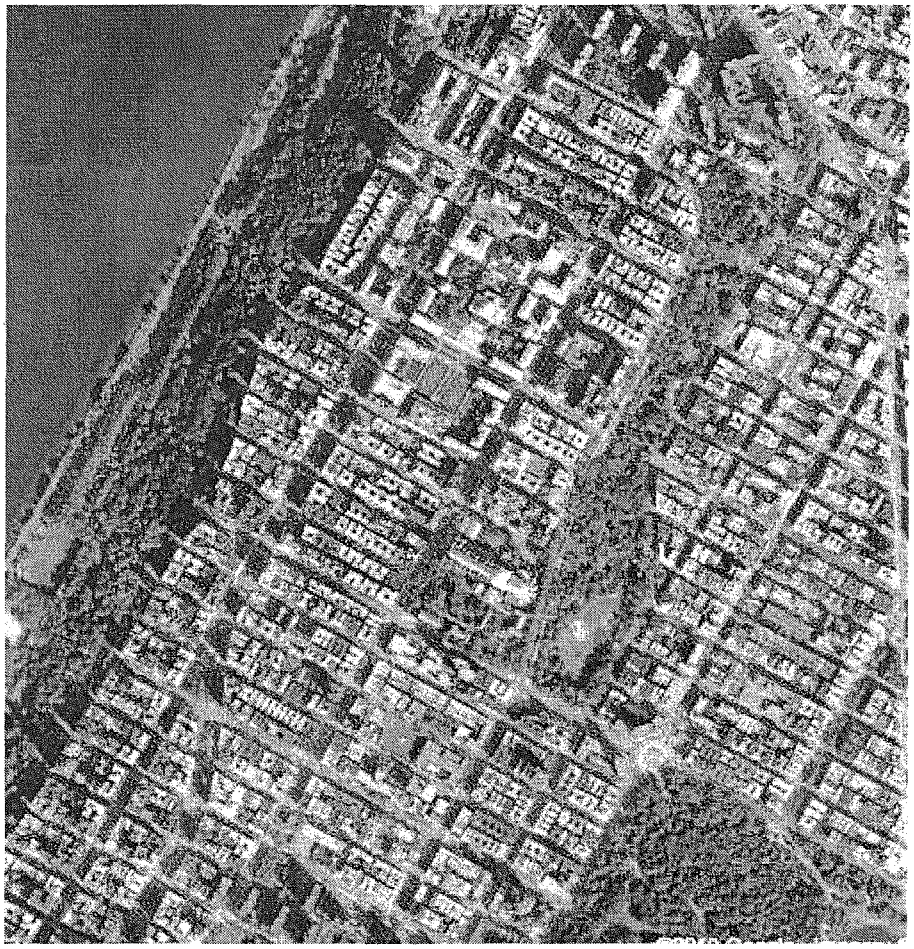
[11] Yale University, *Bulletin of Yale University, School of Art and Architecture* 55-64 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1959-1968).

fabric—Rudolph and Kahn, most notably—as did their contemporaries like Roche and Dinkeloo and Eero Saarinen.

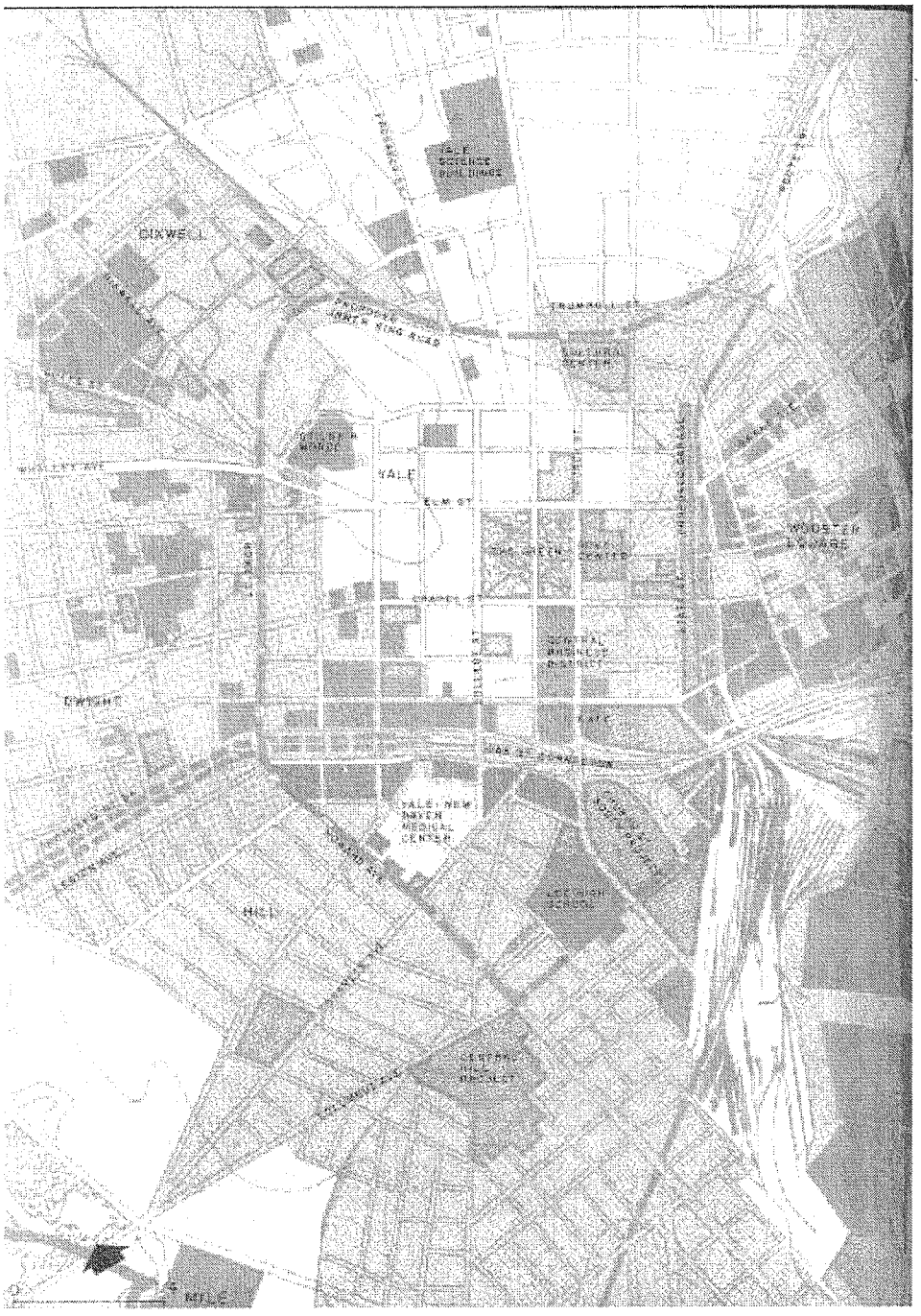
But, the normative beliefs about urban renewal's promise and its uneven outcomes must be considered within a discussion about race. "Renewal" is considered in light of the term "blight," itself a contested word that continues in urban development parlance today. Commonly seen as an entropic phenomenon, blight remains a diagnosis by government agencies that carries a great deal of weight and signals the penultimate stage before urban redevelopment. Blight is also a consequence of racial politics in which mass-relocation and displacement is often the final chapter in a much longer story about dubious practices by landlords and developers, out-pricing, and local economic conditions.

Ultimately, it was racial politics that directed campus activism in the 1960s, led by Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and dozens of smaller advocacy groups on campus and off. Student critiques of their universities grew broader during the 1960s to encompass political complicity with the American military's presence in Vietnam as well as the inability among faculty to address basic issues like better student representation in administrative affairs. Campus expansion campaigns all over the United States were linked to Defense Department money allocated for scientific research that, for some schools by the end of the 1960s, meant more than $20 million each in funds. What were thought of as purely "social" issues, too, remained along the periphery of academic officialdom to the chagrin of many students. The pervasiveness of poverty, particularly in neighborhoods surrounding urban universities, stood apart from the obvious comfort of university life.

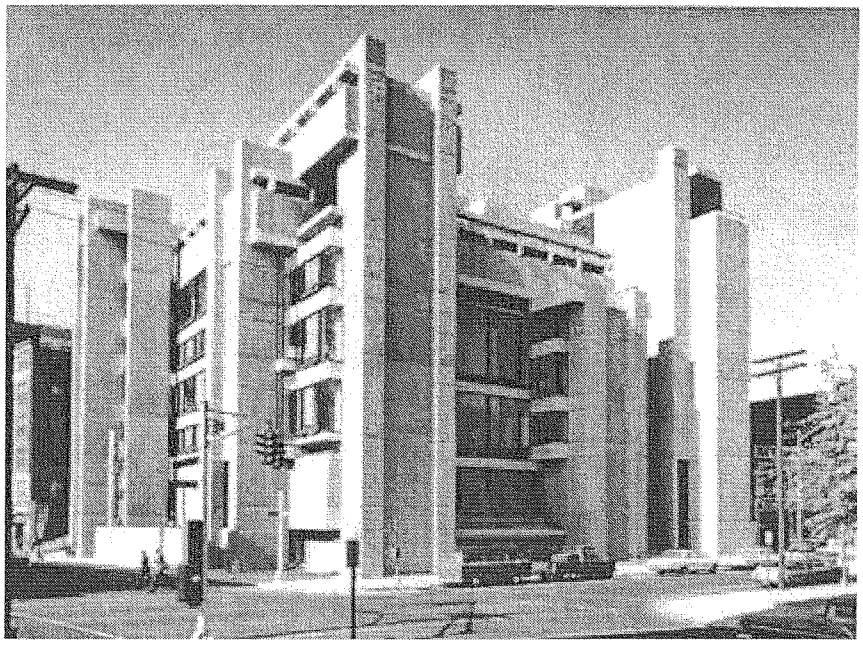
These issues contributed to the larger paradoxes of American urban and political life that students felt were not addressed adequately in the classroom; poverty in the face of productivity, implicit racism in the North through what the urban historian Thomas Sugrue has called "informal Jim Crow," shifting political identities during the Vietnam War, and the dubiousness of concepts like "renewal." Ultimately, terms like *upheaval* and *unrest* did not signify a cultural revolution, as popular histories of the 1960s maintain. Instead, they signified a less defined landscape of sustained racism and uncertainty that, for architecture students, motivated them to re-imagine the role of the architect in society—not as standard-bearer for architecture-as-art, but as an advocate for community-minded design. The technical issue of what architecture students were learning can be addressed by looking at syllabi or course curricula, but it is their lived experiences that influenced their relationship to architectural practice and, in a more meaningful way, the unprecedented way that they took control of their own educations.



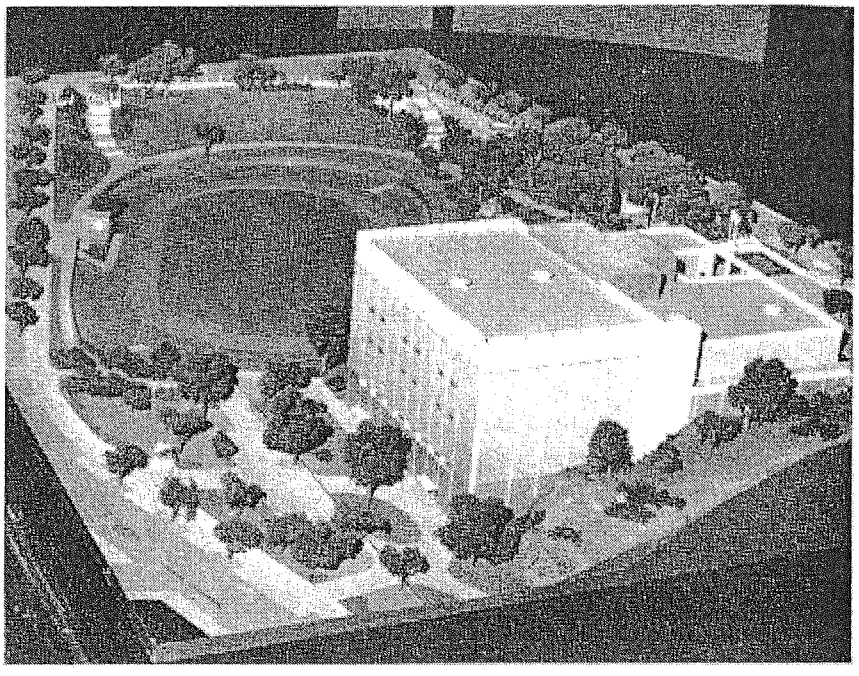
0.1: Morningside Heights, 2008, including Columbia University and Morningside Park. Source: GoogleMaps, captured March 2009.



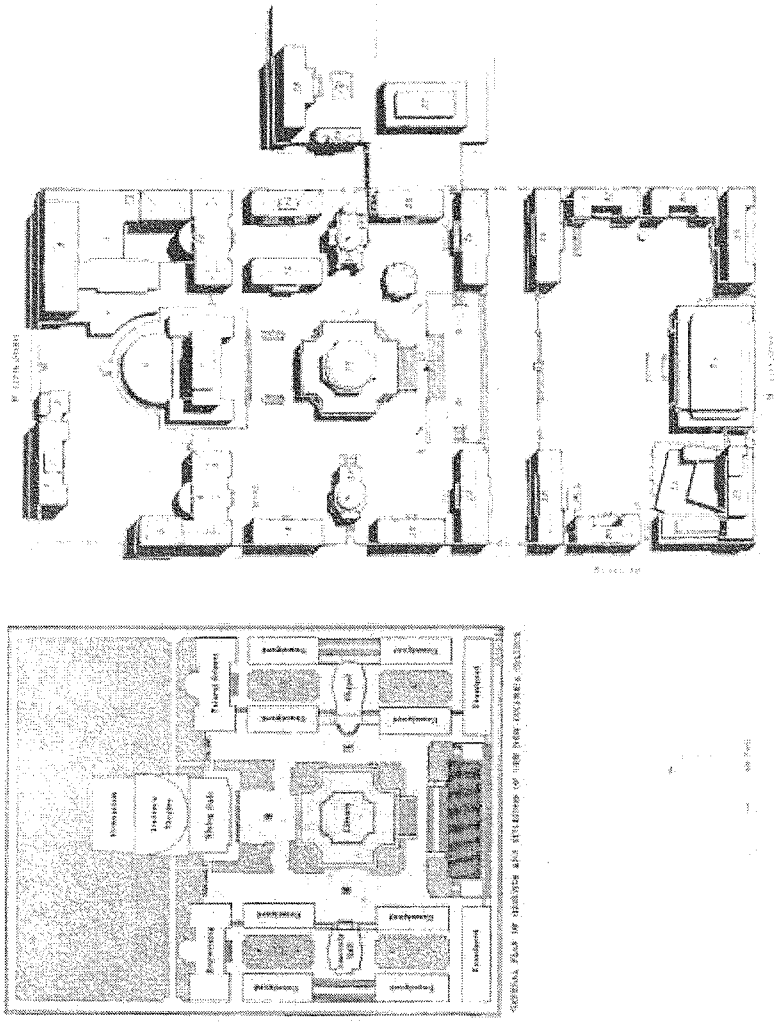
0.2: Maurice Rotival and the New Haven Redevelopment Agency, proposed plan for New Haven (c. 1967), including a ring road (dotted line). Source: *Progressive Architecture* (January, 1968), p. 142.



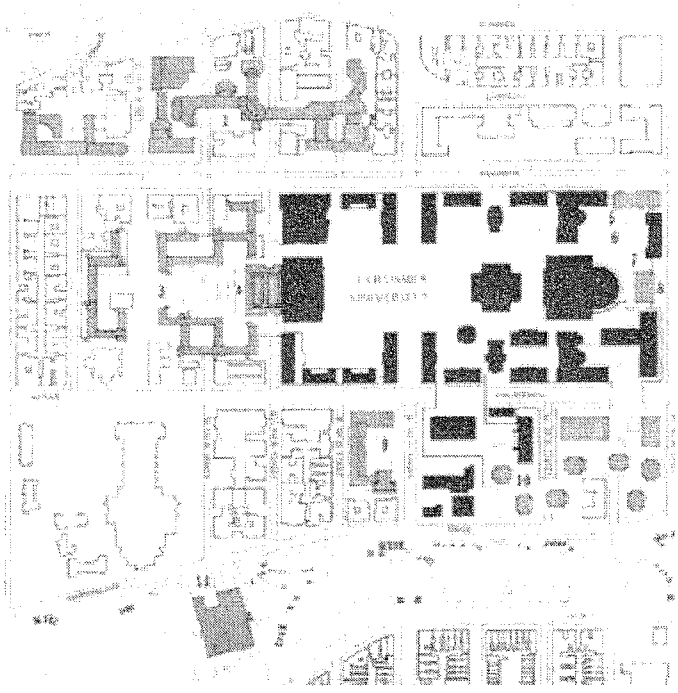
0.3: Paul Rudolph, Art and Architecture Building, Yale University, 1962. Source: Pictures of Yale University's Buildings and Grounds, 1716-1980 (inclusive). Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University.



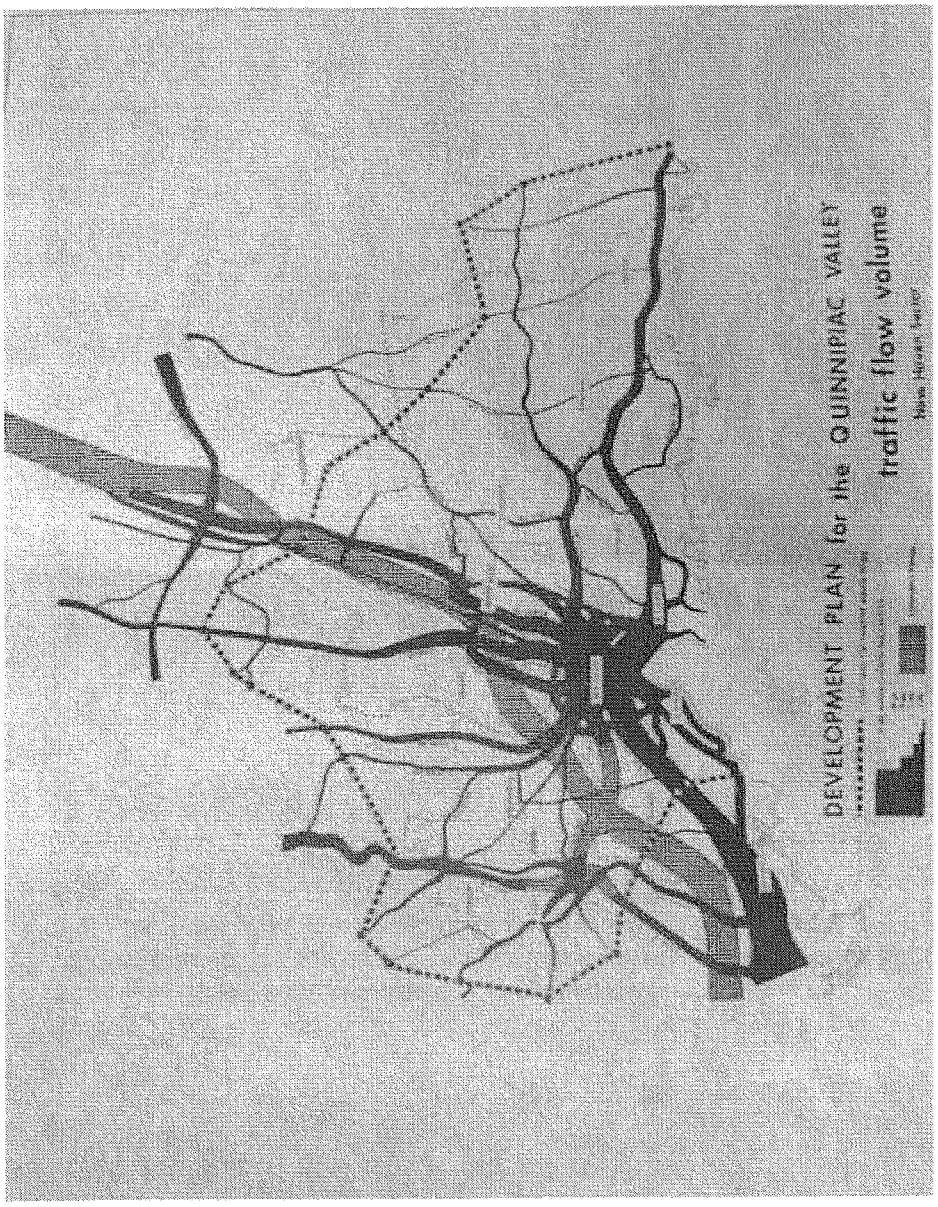
0.4: Eggers and Higgins with Sherwood, Mills, and Smith, Columbia gymnasium (unbuilt), c. 1960-68. Courtesy Frank da Cruz



0.5: Comparing McKim, Mead and White's revised master plan for Columbia University (c. 1893-4) with I.M. Pei and Associate's study of Columbia as it was in 1970. Sources: (bottom) *Harper's Weekly* (Nov. 3, 1894) and (top) courtesy Pei, Cobb, Freed and Partners.



0.6: Site plan for a proposed Columbia University gymnasium in Morningside Park (c. 1966). Campus buildings in black with the gymnasium (dark gray) at the intersection of 113th Street and Morningside Drive, to the northeast of the Cathedral of St. John the Divine. Courtesy Frank da Cruz



0.7: Maurice Rotival, "Development Plan for the Quinnipiac Valley: Traffic, Flow, Volume," 1953. Source: Maurice E.H. Rotival Papers, Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library.

0.8: Downtown New Haven looking south and indicating proposed urban renewal changes (c. 1955-1965), including the long cross-hatched area (at left), which stood in for Paul Rudolph's parking garage along State and Temple Streets. Source: *Progressive Architecture* (January, 1968): p. 148.

Chapter One: Architecture's Academy

The sick frustration of the young generation at being taught a profession, which at this moment of total reorientation is un-teachable, vents itself on a total contempt for their environment.

—Sibyl Moholy-Nagy, 1967[1]

Beaux-Arts and Bauhaus Legacies

The story of architecture's academy—the pedagogies and practices of architectural education—had two conclusions in the twentieth century. Like many other American schools, the architecture curricula at Columbia University in New York, and at Yale University in New Haven, had been locked between two competing pedagogies for several decades. The Beaux-Arts approach, after the École des Beaux-Arts in Paris, where scores of American architects had trained since the mid-nineteenth century, represented one pedagogy. The Bauhaus, named for the influential German art, industrial design, and architecture school from which many instructors and students had emigrated prior to 1945, represented another. For the most part, the multi-platform curricula represented by these institutions were reduced to a contest between traditional and progressive thought, in both art and politics, in their American versions. Established notions of historic precedent, monumentality, and civility contrasted, often incommensurately, with instruction that emphasized craft, community, materiality, and social issues. At the core of both the Beaux-Arts and Bauhaus systems of architectural training was the idea that architecture remained a professional culture outside of society with an insular, tribal language and methodology operating as a hybrid between fine art instruction, engineering, craft, and philosophy.

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[1] Moholy-Nagy, Sibyl, "Letter to the Editor," *Architectural Forum* 127:2 (September, 1967): 12.

Although the École des Beaux-Arts was officially founded in 1819, it represented a 25 year consolidation of the Académie Royale d'Architecture (founded in 1671) and the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture (founded in 1648).[2] As a royal charter and, ultimately, an elite school of fine arts, the programmatic focus of its architecture division centered on buildings of authority or civic necessity: military barracks, Greek temples, clock towers, or, palaces. Accordingly, historians of the École have described the methodological focus as "rationalist" in the twentieth century and, perhaps more accurately, it has been described as a methodology founded on "reason" after the French Enlightenment.[3]

Les élèves, or, its students, having been sponsored by the *patron* of an *atelier* and having passed a four-part entrance exam, would find themselves at the base of a pedagogical pyramid. They advanced by participating in competitions—*concours d'emulation*—that assessed sketching (*esquisses*) and more formal rendering abilities (*projets rendus*). After 1876, the ability to analyze the Classical orders—the *éléments analytiques*—became the third component of the *concours* methodology. To advance to the next level, students took on additional *concours* that focused on construction methods in stone, iron, wood, and general principles. The *charette* served as the system's primary process of design and final evaluation, which reinforced the Beaux-Arts ethos of careful and decisive mastery of historical models mapped onto selected programs. Named for the cart that would collect student work for review, this *charette* period forced students to

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[2] Richard Chafee's dissertation, which became a chapter entitled "The Teaching of Architecture at the École des Beaux-Arts" in *The Architecture of the École des Beaux-Arts* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1977), details the pedagogical and political shifts within the École des Beaux-Arts, with special attention to the school's curriculum.

[3] Chafee, Richard, "The Teaching of Architecture at the École des Beaux Arts," in *The Architecture of the École des Beaux-Arts* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1977): 61-2.

work against an artificial deadline during which they developed their *parti*, or scheme, for a project into something more formal. **[1.2]** Judged by a panel of professionals, work completed *en loge* during a *charette* would be then loaded into the cart which passed through the *atelier* at a prescribed time. It is at this intermediate level that students spent several years within their *ateliers* while working part time. At any point, after completing some study at this level, the student could be called an *ancien élève*, a designation that set him apart professionally from other architects who needed only purchase a patent to practice as an "architect."[4]

Between the *projet rendu* and the *esquisses*, students developed a working knowledge of how building plans related to their massing and elevation. Through lectures delivered at the École itself, and during the first level study process before their official entrance exam, they were to glean the lessons of architecture's history and develop a working knowledge of typological precedents—particularly how program dictated plan and, ultimately, elevation. Hierarchy within the design process and within the structure of the École was a fundamental value in design practice and principle, reinforced by the status of the *ancien élève* within architectural culture.

The final stage of the pyramid was the *Grand Prix de Rome*, which was administered outside of the École by the Académie des Beaux-Arts within the Institut de France. The importance of the Rome Prize in European design circles was exceeded only by its importance to the French state. Winners were supported through several years of architectural study in Rome before returning to an open position as *une architect du gouvernement* and, if they wished, as *patrons* of their own *atelier*. Unsurprisingly, as the

[4] Chafee, "The Teaching of Architecture at the École des Beaux Arts," 85. Chafee notes that this practice of professionalization-by-patent continued until 1940.

historian Richard Chafee has noted, "French students were attracted to the ateliers that were currently capturing the *Prix de Rome*, if only because those were the ateliers where the best students were exchanging ideas."[5]

Within the Beaux-Arts system, a building began with a program and developed, initially, from the *parti*. The composition of a building plan reflected the inherent hierarchies of the program and their respective spaces and, as such, the central, guiding principle of design assumed the logic of a well-ordered universe. If a given *concours* focused on "a royal library," for example, the elements of that program might include book storage, a circulation desk, public reading space, and offices. The book storage area would have to be accessible, protected from direct natural light, and offer a logical circulation pattern; public reading space would have to be large and airy, well-lit, and offer a sense that each patron had adequate individual reading space; the circulation desk would have to mediate between book storage and public reading space; finally, the offices would have to facilitate the daily operations of the library (acquisition, membership, and so on) and be somewhat unobtrusive.

Based on Classical precedents for public buildings, Renaissance examples such as Michelangelo's Laurentian Library, or Rationalist contributions such as Henri Labrouste's Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, the Beaux-Arts solution to this hypothetical library plan would include a dominant interior feature, such as a large central reading room or entry stairs, as well as secondary features such as peripheral book stacks, and a series of axial corridors. In this way, the civic space of the library would be ordered logically and therefore impel a logically ordered society. The architect as cultural agent,

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[5] Chafee, "The Teaching of Architecture at the École des Beaux Arts," 89.

then, acted on both the scale of the civic building and the scale of the community within which it was located.

Architecture students in the 1960s, particularly at Yale and the University of Pennsylvania, would come to understand this idea from architects like Louis Kahn, who often lectured about the fundamentals of "served" and "servant" spaces in architecture, after his own teacher at the University of Pennsylvania, the École graduate Paul Philippe Cret.[6] For Cret, the École's pedagogy existed as a product of the particular culture of its time and place. The post-Renaissance division of popular art and craft from fine art, the guild from the artist, national traditions from the "ideals" of the court, and master builders from architects, forged a new arena for the École des Beaux-Arts: the production of artist-architects who, ultimately, practiced a historically technical trade. The division, then, was not a limitation for the school's growing ranks, but an approach that ultimately outlived the school itself; whether it was the interplay of Classical and Neo-Classical precedents or the plan and *parti*, the École's culture supported this formal, hierarchical tension, which was in evidence even in Kahn's servant and served dichotomy, later.[7]

"Attacks on the academy are as old as the academy itself," Cret wearily noted in the account of his time at the school.[8] Indeed, since the mid-nineteenth century, the domination of government work by the royal architects, prominence of Antiquity in the curriculum, and what Cret called the "pedantic, narrow, and out of date teaching" of the

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[6] See the transcription of Kahn's talk at the final meeting of the *Congrès Internationale de l'Architecture Moderne* (Otterlo, 1959), in *Louis Kahn: Essential Texts*, by Robert Twombly, ed., (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 2003): 37-61. Besides the concept of "served" and "servant" spaces, he begins to formulate the idea that "social institutions" are the irreducible aspects of any city, which found a sympathetic audience among the members of Team X, whose members split from C.I.A.M. in that year.

[7] Cret, Paul, "The École des Beaux-Arts and Architectural Education," *Journal of the American Society of Architectural Historians* 1:2 (April 1941): 3-5.

[8] Cret, "The École des Beaux-Arts and Architectural Education," 6.

École prompted regular complaints and occasional coups within the academy. While liberalism defined the school's character—in as much as students could align themselves freely with certain teachers and develop their own curricula—the pedagogical character remained divided. Despite the hope that the French Enlightenment architects Claude-Nicolas Ledoux and Étienne-Louis Boullée's examples of stripped-down Neo-Classicism offered students, their Roman models ultimately proved just as constraining as Classical Greek models. Alternatively, students could work in other, related design modes as a way of traversing some of the strident lines separating Classicism and Neo-Classicism as they progressed through their programs. Félix-Jacques Duban, Emile-Jacques Gilbert, and Henri Labrouste's interpretations of Gothic and Renaissance models and Eugène-Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc's Neo-Gothic approach fostered Rationalist design within the curriculum, even if Classicism carried the school.

The École course of study, shaped by affiliated *ateliers*, lectures, and competitions, operated according to historical "case studies," or fixed reference points that allowed both students and practitioners to produce and evaluate design. Conceptually, all students agreed that good design depended on a good building plan, which offered proof of a building's "fitness."[9] The *parti* existed as further proof that the design was not just "good," but spatially integrated. Preoccupied with producing the *beau plan*, however, Cret concluded that the École student often neglected the "organic arrangement" of an overall design. "The cleverness of the planners from the 1880s to the [First] World War," he said, "was both astonishing and alarming. Alarming because the

[9] Cret, "The École des Beaux-Arts and Architectural Education," 11-12.

graduate of the École had acquired much more planning ability than he needed but was too often sadly deficient in good taste."[10]

Other observers pointed to both the École des Beaux-Arts graduate's lack of taste and his apparent lack of practical knowledge, as well. The American architect William Le Baron Jenney once told the story of an engineer colleague who surmised, "the students of the École des Beaux-Arts make beautiful drawings, but chances are they are entirely unconstructable."[11] Jenney was a curious figure to architectural historians, having been trained at the École Centrale des Arts et Manufactures (rather than the École des Beaux-Arts like his American peers). As such, he existed outside the typical narrative of architecture's *fin de siècle* elite. The École Centrale did not offer architecture at all, but mechanical engineering, metallurgy, chemical engineering, and civil engineering (Jenney's specialty), "to provide remedies for the industrial impotence of Post-Napoleonic France," as one historian has noted.[12]

Yet, the École Centrale's administration, including Jenney's mentor Louis Charles Mary, considered architecture, industrial design, and engineering to be interrelated—a concept not unfamiliar to most architects 150 years later. Confident that students were competent in all three disciplines, the school's alumni—its *ancien élèves de l'École Centrale*—could choose to identify themselves as "architect" or "engineer" upon graduation. Jenney, for his part, identified himself as both an "architect" and a "landscape engineer" in an 1889 alumni directory, more than 30 years after first enrolling

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[10] Cret, "The École des Beaux-Arts and Architectural Education," 13.
[11] Jenney, W.L.B., "A Few Practical Hints," *Inland Architect and News Record* XIII (1889): 9
[12] Turak, Theodore, "The École Centrale and Modern Architecture: The Education of William Le Baron Jenney," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 29:1 (1970): 42.

in industrial art school and four years after completing his landmark insurance building in Chicago.[13]

It is unclear if this was a case of Jenney legitimizing his education through the words of this old engineer "colleague." Clearer, perhaps, was the picture of architectural education's emerging pedagogical divisions. The fine arts, the industrial arts, and engineering (at a third school, the École Polytechnique), represented differences in terms of their respective curricula or skill sets. But, the act of design and the principles of composition united all of these pedagogies. One can find remarkable drawings in the archives of all three French schools from this era, even if the École des Beaux-Arts renderings were the best known, and the American graduates were the most influential.

The formal, program-based system of design of the École des Beaux-Arts that relied on historical precedent also defined American architectural education between the 1880s and the 1920s.[14] **[1.1]** Americans who attended the school, having been accepted to the few *ateliers* that would take them, later returned to the United States to professionalize architecture by establishing École-influenced curricula. What the École guaranteed for its graduates, a "well-organized curriculum, rational design theory, and government patronage," was distilled for the American context in schools in California, Illinois, New York, and Massachusetts.[15] Ateliers Vaudremer, Laloux, Pascal, and Gisors, some of which were among the largest associated with the École at the turn of the last century, had begun to have a much larger influence in the United States through

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[13] Turak, "The École Centrale and Modern Architecture," 43.
[14] Over 500 Americans completed studies at the École des Beaux-Arts between 1850 and 1968.
[15] Draper, Joan, "The École des Beaux-Arts and the Architectural Profession in the United States: The Case of John Galen Howard," in *The Architect: Chapters in the History of the Profession* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977): 209-10. Also, see Paul Bentel's dissertation "Idealism and Enterprise: Modernism and Professionalization in American Architecture, 1919-1933," (MIT, 1992).

professional organizations like the Society of Beaux-Arts Architects (established in 1893) and the Beaux-Arts Institute of Design (established in 1916, now the Van Alen Institute), which attempted to push the profession of architecture toward this set of standards for design services in commercial practice.[16]

By 1898, nine American schools of architecture existed in the United States, all of which, in some form, had appropriated the Beaux-Arts system as a way of training students to be competent draftsmen for their later work in increasingly larger American architecture firms.[17] John Galen Howard, appointed the dean of the architecture program at Berkeley in 1903 and an MIT graduate, who had worked for Henry Hobson Richardson and Charles McKim and attended the École, recast Berkeley's program accordingly. He emphasized program, process, and Classicism as the core principles of a Beaux-Arts education.[18] Yet, Howard's interests were not entirely technical; he also appropriated the patriarchal model of the École, in which students advanced within a social and pedagogical hierarchy.

Warren Perry, a student who assumed Howard's deanship in 1927, continued the symbolic *charette* tradition that drew a line between students and faculty, but also

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[16] Since its founding in 1857, the American Institute of Architects (AIA) also worked toward these ends to professionalize architecture in the United States. While many of its members were *École* graduates, the AIA never explicitly endorsed the Beaux-Arts as a standard pedagogy for American schools of architecture. The AIA standardized other things, though, including client-architect contracts in 1912 and a mechanism for peer-recognition with the AIA Gold Medal in 1907.

[17] Plunz, Richard, "Reflections on Ware, Hamlin, McKim, and the Politics of History on the Cusp of Historicism," in *The History of History in American Schools of Architecture, 1865-1975* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1990): 53-4.

[18] Berkeley, in context, was contrasted by the architecture programs at the University of Illinois and Harvard University, which emphasized construction methods and structure during the same period. See Anthony Alofsin's essay "Tempering the École," in *The History of History in American Schools of Architecture, 1865-1975* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1996): 73.

encouraged "fraternization" and "camaraderie" between the two groups.[19] The old hierarchies of the Beaux-Arts system slowly became an academic conceit rather than a true representation of everyday life in the American Beaux-Arts program.[20] By the late 1920s and into the 1930s, Berkeley students had also incorporated sleeker and less ornamented facades into their largely historicist designs, reflecting the influence of local architects Timothy Pflueger and William Wurster, as well as other modernists such as Richard Neutra and Bertram Goodhue.[21]

Significantly, the liberal politics that modern housing came to represent in the 1930s for students became aligned with their support of local New Deal housing projects in Berkeley and San Francisco under the Rural Resettlement Administration (RRA) and, later, the Farm Security Administration (FSA).[22] By the eve of World War II, Beaux-Arts studio assignments for a customs building, a *chateau*, a bank, or an art museum seemed outmoded and disconnected from the more pressing housing situation and Depression-era poverty. **[1.3]** Camaraderie among students and faculty waned as the former demanded new, more contemporary design strategies and the latter would not relinquish the strategies that many of them helped to establish. By the 1930s, Columbia's Dean of Architecture, Joseph Hudnut, and others began to reject the emphasis on training the architect-as-artist and placed a new emphasis on the architect-as-social-agent. Labor movements in the United States and the global Great Depression after 1929 contributed to this shift in training the professional architect, but, more directly, the agenda that

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[19] Littmann, William, "Assault on the École: Student Campaigns Against the Beaux-Arts, 1925-1950." *Journal of Architectural Education* 53:3 (February, 2000): 160.
[20] Bosworth and Jones's 1932 commentary on student life describes, in detail, the clubby nature of both architectural education and instruction, which continued well into the 1950s.
[21] Littmann, "Assault on the École: Student Campaigns Against the Beaux-Arts, 1925-1950," 161.
[22] Littmann, "Assault on the École: Student Campaigns Against the Beaux-Arts, 1925-1950," 161.

underscored the Bauhaus curriculum began to find purchase with American educators like Hudnut. His tenure at Columbia marked the beginning of a growing interest in forging a new, more modern architecture curriculum. It was not until after assuming his next post as Dean of Harvard's School of Design (later, the Graduate School of Design), however, that Hudnut was able to affect the most substantial change in design curricula.

By 1936, the year after he arrived, Walter Gropius and Hudnut had recast Harvard's School of Design to combine architecture, landscape architecture, and urban planning within an integrated curriculum. Within four years, Harvard, as well as MIT, the University of Illinois, and the Illinois Institute of Technology had all become, essentially, Bauhaus programs that had been transformed by German émigrés such as Gropius, Josef Albers, Lazlo Moholy-Nagy, Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, along with American reformers (Hudnut being the most prominent). Other schools, such as the University of Pennsylvania, Berkeley, and Columbia either remained closely tied to the Beaux-Arts approach or began to find a compromise between Beaux-Arts methods of organizing studios and Bauhaus concerns with structure, material, and a larger social mandate. 1940 also marked the year when nearly every architecture school in the country—Beaux-Arts or Bauhaus in spirit—had migrated to a 5-year Bachelor of Architecture degree, after Cornell University's lead 18 years before.

The Bauhaus represented no less of a rigid system than the Beaux-Arts in terms of positing a specifically architectural design process. Cultural agency within a Bauhaus system was often focused on reorienting the domestic sphere as a way to both change the individual's domestic experience and reflect a pan-modern lifestyle. The origins of this approach lay in part in the Bauhaus principle of total design at multiple scales or, as the

Milanese architect Ernesto Rogers once observed, "From the spoon to the city." A Bauhaus education, as it existed in Germany, was also hierarchical in that certain foundations had to be mastered before more advanced work could begin (not unlike the process by which students advanced through their associated *ateliers* while enrolled at the École). However, the ethos of each competing system was different. While the nineteenth-century École addressed the idea of architect-as-artist through great civic projects or regal interiors (after 1789 and especially after the Second Empire in France), the Bauhaus encouraged this agency through, among other things, craft-ways, industrial design, and public housing. As the role of the architect was different in each sphere, so too were the ways in which an architect performed that role. **[1.4]**

Institutionally, the state-administered Bauhaus represented commercial interests, a practical-design philosophy, and a fertile ground for theory that went through as many curricular adjustments as it did design instructors. Seeking to bridge the nineteenth-century gap between materialism and the spiritual, its curriculum always attempted a balance between aesthetic integrity (outside of material concerns) with the industrial realities of post-World War I Europe. Its institutional goals, argues the historian Hans Winger, were the unification of all creative arts under architecture and a reconsideration of craft's relationship to the artist.[23] Two Bauhaus models emerged as the strongest influences on American education: the impact of the dual-instructor system, in which all courses were taught by a "master of craft" and a "master of form," and the so-called Basic Course. Johannes Itten, the Basic Course's author, placed the emphasis on self-

[23] Hans Winger's *The Bauhaus: Weimar, Dessau, Berlin, Chicago* (1962), later translated into English in 1969, outlines the relationship between pedagogy and politics at the institution as they were mapped onto the dramatic transformation from craftwork to industrial design between Weimar and the Bauhaus' brief swan song in Chicago.

directed design.[24] The penultimate goal of the course, before students could move into their second year electives, was a mastery of "subjective" and "expressive" forms. The six-month, intensive studio intended to "develop the pupil's creative powers," according to Walter Gropius, as a means of liberating "the pupil's individuality from the dead weight of conventions and allow that personal experience and self-taught knowledge which are the only means of realizing the natural limitations of our creative powers."[25]

While the Bauhaus's studios and workshops certainly directed collective efforts towards its own, market-oriented ends, individuation was valued as the key that made all later design instruction successful. For Itten, "expressive forms" meant anything derived from one's "inner vision," or conceptual intent. Being able to understand personal expression was a critical skill that could help a student move past what Itten called "fixed seeing," or that which was familiar, and "fluctuating thinking," or lack of conceptual clarity in a design. Once these early stumbling blocks were dispensed, the student could effectively translate conceptual intent into design. This heightened state of clarity led to so-called "subjective forms," which indicated the successful "un-learning" of precedent in defining the elements of composition, such as chiaroscuro, rhythm, as well as color theory and materiality.[26] **[1.5]**

Beyond the Basic Course, Weimar's and, later, Dessau's curriculum was divided into studio courses and training courses, both interspersed with lectures. The former explored "practical instruction" in materials and materiality as well as "formal

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[24] See Itten's account of his basic course in *Gestaltungs-und Formenlehre* (Stuttgart: Urania Verlag, 1963) and republished as *Design and Form: The Basic Course at the Bauhaus* (London: John Wiley & Sons, 1975).
[25] Gropius, Walter, *The New Architecture and the Bauhaus*, trans. P. Morton Shand (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1965): 71.
[26] Itten, *Design and Form,* 110-34.

instruction" on the qualities of naturally-occurring phenomena, modes of representation like draughtsmanship and geometry, and finally, design, which covered volumes, color theory, and composition. The latter included a six-month demonstration course on the properties of different materials, a three-year apprenticeship in a "training workshop," and instruction on structural engineering.[27] **[1.6]**

Bau, or building, obviously exists at the center of the Bauhaus's institutional identity, but it was something that had become distorted by the 1950s, after that identity had necessarily changed when its instructors fled Germany in the mid-1930s. "[W]hereas building is merely a matter of methods and materials, architecture implies the mastery of space."[28] So begins Gropius's own explanation of what lay at the heart of the Bauhaus as an institution, a text that had not been available in English until 1965. The architect and former Bauhaus director described and clarified the Bauhaus' approach. "[T]he new architecture," he lamented, had been reduced to "catch phrases like 'functionalism',"—a product of the Bauhaus' own popularity and, he implied, a mistranslation of *die neue Sachlichkeit*.[29] "Rationalization, which many people imagine to be its cardinal principle," he noted, with regard to *die neue Sachlichkeit,*

> is really only its purifying agency. The liberation of architecture from a welter of ornament, the emphasis on its structural functions, and the concentration on concise and economical solutions, represent the purely material side of that formalizing process on which the *practical* value of the New Architecture depends.[30]

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[27] Gropius, *The New Architecture and the Bauhaus*, 66-8.
[28] Gropius, *The New Architecture and the Bauhaus,* 24.
[29] Gropius, *The New Architecture and the Bauhaus*, 23.
[30] Gropius, *The New Architecture and the Bauhaus,* 23-4.

The translation of practicality—or the possession of practical values in acts of design and making—also exist at the center of the Bauhaus' inception, according to Gropius.

Gropius replaced Henri Van de Velde as head of the Grossherzogliche Kunstgewerbeschule, or the Weimar School of Arts and Crafts, and was also appointed head of the Frossherzogliche Hoschule für Bildende Kunst, or the Weimar Academy of Fine Art, in 1919. He combined both schools to form Das Staatliche Bauhaus Weimar in the same year and set himself to the task of joining the principles of efficiency behind mass-production and the romance of making and authorship underlying handicraft: "Modern architectonic art," as he called it, or an architecture that bears evidence of its own making.[31] Insofar as architecture remained an art form for Gropius, one cannot say that the Bauhaus completely opposed the fundamental belief among Beaux-Arts architects that design elevated mere building or craft to the level of art. In this sense, the Bauhaus' contribution to American architecture programs was not to introduce a radically new position on making architecture, but instead to reframe the questions that centered on the role of history in the practice of Modern architecture.[32]

Fifty years after Gropius' unified craft and art education under *bau*, architects and educators still struggled to unify architecture's canonical history and Modernism, which had its own cannon. In 1967, a Society of Architectural Historians symposium focused on the relationship between history and modern architecture in architectural education. Architectural historian Marcus Whiffen, who was in attendance, observed that "there is

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[31] Gropius, *The New Architecture and the Bauhaus*, 65.

[32] For three public pleas that outline this debate in the immediate post-war period, see Turpin Bannister's "The Functions of Architectural History in the Education of the Modern Architect," (1949), Henry-Russell Hitchcock's "The Study of Architecture in the Liberal Arts College," (1946), and Henry Millon's "History of Architecture: How Useful?" (1960).

one difference that architecture students not only recognize but tend to regard as an absolute: the difference between the present and the past."[33] Whiffen's comment was deceptively straightforward. He did not mention "history," but "the past" as an absolute condition, one that receives its meaning only in relation to the present, and which forms the only substantive categories in architecture on which everyone can agree. "History possesses traditions, meaning, and a set of icons, while the past simply refers to anything that existed prior to the present time. In other words, for students, the distinctions between Beaux-Arts and the Bauhaus, the kinds of programs that should be assigned, or even the architects who assigned them, were as critical as the split between present circumstances and past solutions.

At the same symposium, architectural historian Spiro Kostof further noted, "The question, then, seems no longer to be whether to include history in the education of the architect, but why to include it."[34] In framing the debate about history in architectural curricula, both Whiffen and Kostof pointed to the utility of history, which had implications for the larger question about the utility of architecture. If mid-century urbanism had spawned an "urban junkyard" of new architecture, as the architect Max Bond observed a year later, how could a history of architecture—essentially, a history of other, much older junkyards—be useful to architects or students?

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[33] "Architectural History and the Student Architect: A Symposium," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 26:3 (October, 1967): 197.
[34] "Architectural History and the Student Architect: A Symposium," 190.

Shifting Boundaries

One of the fundamental questions that underscored the issue of architecture's social responsibility in the 1960s centered on the nature of the architect's education: how long should it take and what should it include? The move from a four-year to a five-year Bachelor of Architecture program in the 1930s suggested that the architect needed a more extensive education, than the conventional student. It was a profession that required a student to obtain technical knowledge and planning ability, but also the mutable quality of "good taste," to borrow a phrase from Paul Cret. The Modernist Joseph Hudnut agreed— he also understood that the architect's education should be wide-ranging and partially take place outside of architecture, itself, in the Vitruvian sense: through a mastery of law, history, astronomy, ethics, painting, and so on. The architect's mastery of any number of disciplines beyond conventional design is an idea that is foundational to both Beaux-Arts and Bauhaus sensibilities. When asked to make a list of the essential topics for an architect's education and corresponding years of instruction, Hudnut reportedly came up with twenty-two years as the ideal term for an architect to be in school in order to achieve this mastery.[35]

The topic of the architecture student's term-of-engagement was raised from time to time for the next 30 years and, by the early 1960s, had arisen again. By that time, policy changes were needed, as the five-year Bachelor of Architecture degree had become an increasingly at odds with other four-year Bachelor of Arts or Sciences degrees. Moreover, a 1962 report from the professional group, the American Institute of Architects (AIA), stated that five years might not be as effective as a staggered system:

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[35] McCommons, Richard E., *Guide to Architecture Schools in North America* (Silver Spring, Md.: Association of Collegiate Schools of Architecture, 1982): ix.

four years at the undergraduate level and two years at the graduate level. The so-called 4+2 program, endorsed by the Association of Collegiate Schools of Architecture and the AIA, meant that architecture students could pursue architecture or a closely related field as an undergraduate with fewer professional issues in the curriculum. Later, while in graduate programs (the +2 part), architecture students could build more rapidly from a general knowledge base with a professional curriculum focused on the practice of architecture.[36]

Despite these intermittent calls for reform, the education of young architects remained mired in stasis. In a 1963 report entitled, "Advancement of Architectural Education," a special ad-hoc committee of the Association of Collegiate Schools of Architecture (ACSA) stated, "We believe that the significant questions of our time are ethical and aesthetic," but the report itself raised few questions, ethical or aesthetic.[37] The committee's members, including the architects Walter Netsch, Ralph Rapson, and chair Walter Sanders, saw the advancement of architectural education, as being primarily conducted through structural changes rather than pedagogical ones. Taking issue with the professional limbo between graduation and certification—the apprenticeship or internship period—the report's authors asked, "Can the profession continue to require apprenticeship as a pre-requisite to examination without assuming responsibility for training after graduation? Can schools go on adding subject areas of specialization

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[36] McCommons, *Guide to Architecture Schools in North America*, ix.
[37] Association of Collegiate Schools of Architecture, "The Advancement of Architectural Education.," (1963), Douglas Putnam Haskell papers, Avery Architectural and Fine Arts Library, Department of Drawings and Archives, Columbia University.

without recognizing the need for further integration?"[38] Ethics and aesthetics had little to do with the uneasy relationship between architecture, its academy, and practice.

The ASCA committee had several recommendations. First, require a liberal education before applying to an architecture program, second, administer state board exams through the schools and integrate training programs for students into the curricula, and finally, revise the curricula to "reflect emerging changes in practice."[39] The committee did not say what these changes were or how to "reflect" them, but they did prescribe a top-down framework for implementation. Architectural education, as far as the ACSA was concerned in the early-1960s, should take its cue from the exigencies of practice, not the traditional pedagogies or studio culture. Ultimately, the fluctuating and often contentious relationship between by practitioners and academicians to frustrated students, as the shifting and conflicting requirements between the two camps often left them ill-prepared for practice. A graduating architecture student was expected to have a technical skill set, a design vocabulary, and some design ability. Yet, only some of those skills were transferable to everyday practice in a working architectural office. By closing the gap between graduation and licensure, the ACSA had hoped to better integrate the elements of the package rather than change the inexorable divide between training and practice.

Many of architecture's most vital concerns—among them, the role of history and the place of social agency in design—remained peripheral. Despite the rapid destruction of urban neighborhoods, the increasing violence in social protests, or the increasingly open nature of warfare in Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia, the means and methods of

[38] ACSA, "The Advancement of Architectural Education," 2.
[39] ACSA, "The Advancement of Architectural Education," 1.

"change" was still uncertain for many college students in the late-1960s. None could know what change would ultimately mean and yet many felt caught between their own inchoate values and the familiar but unsatisfying values of their parents and teachers. This unsettled perspective was felt in all the academic disciplines by restless students, each to a different effect. Architecture students, in particular, now found it increasingly difficult to reconcile what they were seeing on the street with what their architecture programs, with their generations-old curricula, represented as design problems. In 1968, a dozen Columbia University architecture students critically took on this problem of and drafted a completely new curriculum.

The Platform System

"In a society whose only permanence lies in its capacity for change," began a Columbia University proposal, penned by a handful of architecture students, "a school cannot continue to present itself as a 'package of knowledge' offered by the 'knows' and the 'don't knows'." The proposal, for a new architecture curriculum was entitled the Platform System.[40] Drafted less than a year after Whiffen and Kostof's inquiry into the role of history in contemporary architectural practice, the Columbia proposal defined its "platform" as a critical problem identified and explored through the voluntary collaboration of students and faculty, and opposed packaged or pre-conceived knowledge of any kind. This platform need not be confined to the term of a semester, but could be continued indefinitely by subsequent groups of students and faculty. Multiple platforms could exist simultaneously, and collectively they would define the school's curriculum

[40] Schuman, Tony (Anthony), "The Platform System," *Touchstone* 4 (1969): 3.

rather than of the series of unchanging and irrelevant design problems, such as the Swiss chalet or the vacation home that Columbia student Paul Broches noted:

> [Last] year, my class was told to design a desert oasis, and I almost quit the School. [...] The design projects here have always been notoriously irrelevant, just little arty exercises like designing summer houses for leisure lovers or making a few Swiss chalets that could pass as miniature Grossingers.[41]

The proposal was authored by student members of the Avery Commune, who had barricaded themselves in Avery Hall, the architecture school's main building, for a week in April 1968 to protest the building of a school gymnasium in nearby Morningside Park. Reflecting their own powerlessness in the definition of architecture, the Platform System sharply articulated the role of the student against a largely ambiguous design culture. Students were to initiate platforms by identifying their central problems, proposing a methodology for solving them, and setting a schedule for the solution. It rejected the "knows and don't knows" categories that had defined faculty and student relations that one of its authors, Tony Schuman, recalled had been a theme for architects like Herman Hertzberger. Platforms favored collaboration and attempted to level whatever artificial hierarchies separated students and faculty.[42] Faculty members, reflecting their expertise, were responsible for lecturing or holding seminars that addressed the current interests of the students in light of more formal architectural topics. Nevertheless, they would also be asked to initiate their own platforms in addition to collaborating on existing student platforms. Essential to this was the maintenance of a log in which the progress of the

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[41] Rosenkranz, Richard, *Across the Barricades* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott Company, 1971): 41.
[42] Schuman, Tony (Anthony). Interview by author, Montclair, N.J., 29 July 2009. Gropius' early advocacy for collaboration in the studio among students and between students and faculty created a precedent for the Platform System authors and other community design initiatives.

platforms, the subjects raised in lectures or seminars, and the solutions proposed would be recorded for the benefit of entering students and new faculty.[43] Alan Salomon, one of the curriculum's student contributors and now a practicing architect in France, explained,

> [T]hat Platform proposal...was an idea of trying to blur the differences of experience and seniority in the school—and to focus people on the issues. Rather than the pyramid type of teaching, in which you accumulate knowledge, the Platform [System] was to give preeminence to the issues. People at different levels of experience could contribute equally to the issue. It was a kind of egalitarian approach to teaching and to identify what was relevant at the moment instead of the first year fundamentals, second year housing, third year large scale public projects—in which you increase the complexity.[44]

Instilling the Platform System with a sense of continuity was what Schuman called the Alpha/Omega concept. The graduating student's final studio project had to be presented to the incoming class, "as simply and convincingly as possible, without any jargon."[45] In this way, a student's eligibility for graduation and, ostensibly, the proof of their candidacy as an architect was dependent upon the ability to clearly communicate their ideas and concerns. **[1.7a-1.7d]**

This final exercise, however, revealed the irreducible task of the Platform System or any curriculum: to function as the students' means of completing their studies. Collective though it seemed, the Platform System could be extracted from the ontological nature of higher education, in which tuition-paying individuals purchased the opportunity to learn in a structured format. This education model, in which architecture was necessarily embedded, remained intractable in the face of the Platform Systems assault

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[43] Schuman, "The Platform System," 3.
[44] Salomon, Alain. Interview by author, Paris (France), 19 July 2009.
[45] Schuman, Tony (Anthony). Interview by author, Montclair, N.J., 29 July 2009.

on hierarchical learning. In light of this, the best critique of the Platform System, according to Schuman, came from Columbia architecture instructor and architect Alexander Kouzmanoff, who observed, "It valued individual accomplishment more than the real collective identity that it intended to encourage."[46]

After the occupation of Avery and the other occupied Columbia buildings was disbanded by the authorities on April 30, 1968, Schuman and the rest of the Avery Commune students worked through the following summer to expand their proposal. By August, the students proposed divisional councils in Architecture, Planning, and Architectural Technology, each composed of students and faculty. These three councils answered to the executive Architectural Division Council, which would administer the school and three subcommittees for curriculum, admissions, and university expansion.[47] While conservative architecture faculty and some alumni protested the Platform System and its administrative structure, the faculty approved Schuman's proposal in April of 1969, with some modifications.[48]

As approved, the structure of the old program remained, in which first-year courses were designed by the faculty to reflect fundamental skills such as rendering, construction principles, and modeling. Second- and third-year studios continued the so-called vertical system, in which students advanced by choosing from a series of electives. The Platform System made its greatest impact in the design of the fourth-year curriculum, in which students pursued an independent thesis that, essentially, addressed their own

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[46] Schuman, interview by author, 29 July 2009.
[47] Gutman, Marta and Richard Plunz, "Anatomy of Insurrection," in *The Making of An Architect, 1881-1981: Columbia University in the City of New York* (New York: Rizzoli International Publications, 1981): 205.
[48] Columbia University, School of Architecture, "Interim Rules for School of Architecture—adopted, Faculty Meeting," 25 April 1969.

platform for investigation. In addition, the other vertical studios were recast to include more pressing design problems using real sites and circumstances.[49] Studios would now consider sites like Coney Island, "in which the population had jumped from thirty thousand to more than seventy-five thousand in only seven years and in which there wasn't enough decent housing," according to Broches.[50]

While the influence of the Platform System on architectural education was visible, the real impact on many of the Avery Commune members, including Broches, Schuman, and a journalism student, Richard Rosenkranz (another Avery Communard), who would later write about their experiences at Columbia, concerned issues outside the classroom. They, along with dozens of other Columbia architecture students at various stages of their education, became increasingly involved with community activism. The Architect's Renewal Committee for Harlem (ARCH), already in place for several years, continued to draw students into their consulting and advocacy projects for Harlem and Morningside Heights. The Architect's Resistance (TAR) also attracted students along the East Coast to encourage student protests within architecture schools. Under the banner of this latter group, Schuman and other architecture students at Columbia organized a counter-convention to the 1969 AIA Convention in Chicago, in part through a grant ($500 for gas money, he noted) from the architecture school.[51]

If one can ascribe an overarching idea shared by members of the Avery Commune, or evident within the Platform System, it would be to emphasize a greater sense of connection between architecture and the communities it served, created, or in

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[49] Gutman and Plunz, "Anatomy of Insurrection," 206.
[50] Rosenkranz, *Across the Barricades,* 8.
[51] Schuman, interview by author, 29 July 2009.

some cases, destroyed. Whether through the Beaux-Arts, Bauhaus, or some combined approach, the instructional framework for architectural education had begun to incorporate the urban impact of architectural interventions on multiple scales. Some architecture school administrators also realized that, perhaps, the white, mostly middle or upper-middle class students at private universities and colleges were not the best interpreters of or designers for black urban life. Ultimately, the admission of more minority students and the expansion of co-education in the 1970s helped to define the outcome of the student protests in the 1960s, but the path forward between architecture and the city and between black and white was unclear for many years..

Into the City, Seeking

A little before six o'clock in the evening on Saturday, August 19, 1967, the white owner of Tony's Snack Bar on Congress Avenue, in the black Hill neighborhood of New Haven, shot a Puerto Rican man named Julio Diaz for reasons that remain unclear to this day. Over the next 90 minutes, a large crowd of demonstrators and by-standers began to gather outside of the offices of the Hill Parents Association (HPA), looking for answers, while small gangs of teenagers smashed store windows along Congress Street. By 8:30 p.m., New Haven Police had already gassed one group of unarmed black youth and by 11:00 p.m., several white-owned storefronts erupted in flames. New Haven's mace-carrying police force—350 strong—managed to repel a few marauders with the aid of a shot-gun wielding white man who offered to help "kill the niggers." Unsurprisingly, it

was it was reported that within the African-American community, "Nearly all residents are openly hostile or indifferent to the police, even those who disapprove of the rioters."[52]

By six o'clock the following evening, exactly twenty-four hours since Diaz's shooting, New Haven Mayor Richard Lee—"King Richard the Little-Hearted" as he was known to some Hill residents—declared a state of emergency, as 250 National Guardsmen stood ready to deploy tanks. Cars, buildings, and trash fires continued to burn, as they had all day, with most of the action centered on Congress Avenue. After the window smashing and fires from the night before, looting began in earnest all over the city—along Chapel Street near Yale, and in the affluent Westville neighborhood. Looting also occurred in Wooster Square, a low-income housing project whose construction pre-dated Lee's tenure, but which lay within the larger Wooster "renewal" initiative undertaken by Lee and the New Haven Redevelopment Authority throughout the 1960s.

Across town, Hill residents who had been displaced by the riots and the fires began seeking refuge beyond Congress Avenue. On their behalf, the Hill Parents Association approached Yale for the use of its dormitories, as the 1967-68 academic year was still weeks away and the buildings were largely vacant. The university declined and, ironically, Hill residents ended up in suburban shelters outside of New Haven, which were situated within the predominantly white communities whose "white flight" had, twenty years earlier, precipitated the urban renewal efforts that some commentators blamed for the race riots.

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[52] Green and Cheney, "Urban Planning and Urban Revolt: A Case Study," 136.

By the end of the third day of rioting, according to newspaper accounts, most of the looting, burning, and police incidents had moved out of the Hill neighborhood and occurred in other parts of the city: Wooster Square, Dwight, Yale, Fair Haven, and Dixwell, which was adjacent to Yale. The curfew, enacted by Lee in the hours after the initial shooting, remained in force for all Puerto Rican and African-American youth, and armed police and National Guardsmen continued to patrol on foot and in tanks. The worst of the violence was over, although gangs of youth—white and black—were caught past curfew, sometimes unarmed and, sometimes wielding knives. Firebombing of businesses and homes continued sporadically.

The curfew continued, despite calls by community leaders for the end, as insurance inspectors began to arrive in the New Haven to assess the damage. By the final day of the riot, on Thursday, August 24, 1969, total losses were estimated to be approximately $1 million, much of which was in the predominantly African-American neighborhoods that had already been deemed blighted by the city government. Hours after the city curfew was lifted and the riots subsided, Mayor Lee celebrated his party's nomination for an eighth term—unprecedented in New Haven. That a seven-term mayor who had enacted the largest and most pervasive urban renewal campaign in the United States could be nominated after a city-wide race riot seemed at once remarkable and, yet, strangely vexing. The "numb fear, helplessness, and defiance" that had gripped the city that month in 1969 was over, as the *New Haven Register* noted, but it was the beginning

of urban renewal's reassessment as "panacea" in New Haven and, in fact, marked the end of Lee's tenure as mayor.[53]

Two years after the New Haven riots in the summer of 1967, the syndicated columnist Nicholas Von Hoffman observed that, "City planners have done more in the last 20 years to ruin the black man than any other profession you care to name." He went on, "They're the ones who supplied bureaucratic and technological doubletalk, which has rammed the superhighways through the ghettoes, which has engineered the urban renewal speculation that's driven black people from neighborhood to neighborhood, which has built the public housing monstrosities.[54] That city planning had done more to destroy communities than to renew them, was an opinion shared by many students and faculty within architecture and planning circles at Yale University in the late-1960s.[55] The solution was not in changing the terms of city planning, but in changing the racial profile of the profession.

In 1968, the School of Art and Architecture at Yale began drafting a generic letter to foundations for matching funds to execute a special admissions project. "In recognition of the pressing need to increase the number of black people in urban planning positions of authority and responsibility," it began, "the faculty of this department has recently increased its efforts to recruit black students."[56] The department was prepared to allocate $7,000—more than half of its available scholarship funds—toward finding more

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[53] This narrative was constructed using several sources, including Peter Green and Ruth Cheney's account in *Progressive Architecture* (January, 1968: pp.135-9) and accounts in the *New Haven Register*, the *New York Times*, and Fred Powledge's *Model City* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1971),

[54] Von Hoffman, Nicholas, "B.B. and Lucille Lay the Urban Blues on Whitey," reprinted in *St. Petersburg Times* (11 July 1969): 19A.

[55] Scully, Vincent. Interview by author, Lynchburg, Va., 29 July 2009.

[56] Harry J. Wexler to Dean Weaver, 22 March 1968, School of Art and Architecture, Yale University, Records (RU 189), Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library.

African-Americans to fill its student ranks, and applied for an additional $7,000 from various sources. The letter continued, "The department currently has one black student in the first year MCP [Master of City Planning] class and one in the MUS [Master of Urban Studies] program. We hope to increase this number not only because of the social desirability of doing so, but also because our teaching experience suggests that a group of more than one or black students would be able to offer each other a more desirable level of mutual emotional and intellectual support."[57] The City Planning Department in particular, increasingly a bastion of progressive thought within the School of Art and Architecture, was trying to achieve a level of multi-racialism by devoting resources to seeking out non-white applicants. Even if matching funds could not be found, the school could devote as much as $7,000 to finding African-Americans who were interested in becoming urban planners.

Aligned with the City Planning department's goals for reconstituting Yale's racial profile, Charles Moore's tenure as Dean of the School of Art and Architecture redefined Yale's openness to a world beyond its cloistered quadrangles. Between his arrival as department chair in 1965 and the end of his time as Dean in 1970, Yale's architecture program redefined the social mandate of its curriculum. Urban outreach studios, special admissions initiatives within predominantly African-American communities, interdisciplinary courses between architecture, painting, and sculpture, the introduction of computer-aided design, installation pieces like the pulsating "Project Argus," and filmmaking projects contributed to a school-wide ethos within Art and Architecture. This ethos encouraged, as historian Eve Blau has noted, "environmental

[57] Harry J. Wexler to Dean Weaver, 22 March 1968.

concerns...multi-sensory experiences and multifarious connections to disciplines and practices traditionally considered to lie outside architecture."[58]

Moore's tenure at Yale was defined by several shifts and changes that influenced the way the architecture and planning programs at Yale functioned. Thematic studios were offered, such as the one that ultimately produced *Learning from Las Vegas* by Denise Scott-Brown, Robert Venturi, and Steven Izenour (1968) and the Black Workshop, a student-led design collective that worked to establish community design initiatives.[59] For Moore, however, the creation of outreach opportunities and collaboration was not an academic exercise, but an elaboration of the values he established in private practice in California in the previous two decades. The architectural historian Eve Blau has noted, "The phenomenological and spatial preoccupation of his California work, their foundational ideas about art-making processes, concern for lived experience, and the social implications of such architectural acts, are all manifest in the core curriculum." The centerpiece of that curriculum was the first-year Building Studio, which remains a central piece of the curriculum..[60]

The Building Studio, for its first fifteen years as a central part of the curriculum, targeted mainly rural and non-urban projects in under-served communities and contexts. If the mission to give students more practical experience remained in the forefront, the way that mission was executed was often scattered, at best. **[1.8]** In 1967, the program began by erecting the New Zion Community Center in Jackson County, Kentucky,

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[58] Blau, Eve, "Architecture or Revolution: Charles Moore and Yale in the Late 1960s," in *Architecture or Revolution: Charles Moore and Yale in the Late 1960s* (New Haven: Yale School of Architecture, 2001): 3.
[59] W. Deresiewicz, G.S. Finney, and S. Kirby (eds.), "Into the Fire," *Perspecta* 29 (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1998): i-xvii.
[60] Blau, "Architecture of Revolution," 11. Blau goes on to note that the first year Building Studio also offered a model for a later change in the American Institute of Architects (AIA) code of ethics allowing architects to serve as their own contractors and builders, presaging the current "design-build" approach

followed by a community center in Leslie County in 1968 and, curiously, a dock and "floating sculpture," in Whitesburg in 1969. Kentucky was an unlikely location for an otherwise urbane group of architecture students to initiate a studio, the foundations of which lay with the Bauhaus' First Year Studio.

In addition to Moore, Paul Rudolph had hired Kent Bloomer, a MIT-trained architect and Yale-trained sculptor, who had been developing a course at the Carnegie Institute of Technology (now Carnegie Mellon) based on his own coursework with Josef Albers and Gyorgy Kepes, both seminal Bauhaus figures.[61] Bloomer's developing "first-year" studio experimented with "visual exercises" that included large-scale models intended to instruct students on sculptural form versus volumetric space. With Moore's help, these visual exercises became personal and social exercises intending to "de-program" the student's preconceptions about what architecture should look like.[62] Owing something to Johannes Itten's notion of an "inner vision" giving way to "expressive forms," Bloomer and Moore's experiments with a first-year studio in 1966 were designed around exercises in "making." The idea and vocabulary of "making," rather than designing was intended to help students how design works: from the city to a spoon, to reference Ernesto Rogers, again, or, from a house to the tectonic relationship between beam and joist.

Just as Itten's pursuit of an "inner vision" for the first-year studio contrasted and in some ways conflicted with what Gropius' institutional focus on the "practical values" of *neue Sachlichkeit*, the spirit of Moore and Bloomer's experiments existed slightly

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[61] Hayes, Richard W., *The Yale Building Project: The First 40 Years* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007): 13-14.
[62] Hayes, *The Yale Building Project*, 14.

outside of established curriculum. The School of Art and Architecture's official language, which defined architecture in 1966 as the "rational integration of the art and science of building, left little room for exercising the student's spatial imagination. "[63] The description of the City Planning Department by Christopher Tunnard, its chair at the time, outlined an approach that had already begun bridging the gap between individuation and collective design, as well as the amorphous process of "making" and the "rational" steps involved in production. "Planning has long been practiced by communities and private organizations at all levels [and] the planner thus deals with the community (urban and regional environment) preparing plans for its development and control and coordinating the professions and skills which contributed to its detailed realization." The planner's goal, he went on, was one of "resolution" and its responsibility is "to know how people live."[64]

During the spring semester of 1968, the Department of City Planning at Yale offered two courses on urban "slums," one on New York as a city and one on Harlem as a case study, under the direction of Alex Garvin, an alumnus Philip Johnson's office,. Offered to non-majors, the stated goals of the two courses were nearly messianic: to bring "future businessmen, professionals, and politicians," into the urban fold, academically and literally.[65] In both cases, fieldwork was the principle research mechanism. One course asked students to provide new housing in an area of the city without destroying the existing fabric. As it was reported, "the only practical solution suggested was a 43-

[63] *Bulletin of Yale University, School of Art and Architecture*, 6a:5 (March, 1966): 19.
[64] *Bulletin of Yale University, School of Art and Architecture*, 6a:5 (March, 1966): 30-31.
[65] "Into the City, Seeking, Go Students from Yale," *Progressive Architecture* (July, 1968): 49.

story tower that would have been entirely out of scale with existing structures."[66] The assignment's directive to be constructive rather than destructive indicates a real change the general scope of studio assignments, in that contextual public housing were about as far from the Swiss Chalets (that Columbia student Paul Broches described) as possible. Despite the efforts of administrators to refocus studio assignments on the problems of the local context, students appeared unable to engage fully in developing solutions. Yet, if a 43-story tower was the most feasible proposal, the dearth of innovative solutions remained problematic.

The second studio was aligned more closely to the Avery Commune's proposed "Platform System." Looking at Harlem, students were asked to propose model solutions based on problematic conditions. Crime, police protection, housing, and unemployment were deployed as, essentially, "platforms" on which students were to address the city as a series of interdependent social, political, and physical systems. Despite these lofty intentions, the course's final projects lacked the same engagement with urban conditions as the 43-story tower assignment in its associated course: students prepared research papers, based on field data and analysis, on "the ideal way to plan for a city."[67] Even for non-planners—and even in light of educational reforms in planning during the previous eight years—the conceptual allure of the "ideal city" remained powerful.

The interdisciplinary nature of planning as it was taught then—borrowing from the social sciences, design, and geography—lent itself to both laconic references to the city (as an abstraction) and the specific policy decisions that directed zoning and development on an everyday level. Yale's Urban Studies Institute, formed in 1967, was

[66] "Into the City, Seeking, Go Students from Yale," 49.
[67] "Into the City, Seeking, Go Students from Yale," 49.

intended to ground ideas about the "city" in real communities and people. As its first director, Joel Fleischman (now a professor of law), reported to *Progressive Architecture* that he intended to foster technical planning skills that demonstrated "a new, substantive focus."[68] Along with the newly formed Yale Council on Community Affairs, Fleischman's institute put students in the streets of New Haven in a similar way to the fieldwork undertaken in Moore's course. One of Fleischman's first projects was a student analysis of their adopted city, with an eye toward the impact of Yale on surrounding communities.[69] The idea, however, of the city-as-object to be studied still seemed to be an unsatisfactory solution to architecture's distance from "context" for several Yale educators—Moore and Christopher Tunnard, included. What architecture and planning needed were students and practitioners who understood that context first hand, because they had grown up within it.

An Admissions Debacle

Yale may have been putting students in the streets through the Urban Studies Institute and Moore's Yale Building Program, but many students in the architecture and planning programs felt that the streets—and minority students who lived in them—were not adequately represented in their schools. Nor were they represented in the profession, itself. "If there is a shortage of white city planners," noted one 1959 graduate of the Department of City Planning who had gone on to become a director at the National

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[68] "Into the City, Seeking, Go Students from Yale," 50. The institute sponsored graduate and undergraduate courses, taught by a university-wide faculty, which emphasized economics, sociology, and law.

[69] "Into the City, Seeking, Go Students from Yale," 50.

Association of Homebuilders, "the lack of black planners borders on the absurd." He went on,

> The blacks in the central cores feel they can better relate their need and desires to one of their own. I can very well understand this for most of the professional planners I know come from middle- and upper-middle white classes, and as such, have difficulty relating to the needs of the blacks, no matter how sympathetic they may be. [...] The shortage is so great that some offices have resorted to using blacks as "front men" even when their training is lacking for the job.[70]

African-American planning firms had, in fact, begun at a the grassroots level in New York, with the architect Max Bond's ARCH being the most prominent, but the field of planning remained demographically narrow due, in large part, to the shallowness of the labor pool. Students came from a handful of university programs at elite American schools.

During the 1960s, it had been Yale University policy that individual departments could establish requirements and admit their own students. The City Planning Department had been moving toward admitting more African-American students by the middle of the decade, having established the "Black Forum," an outreach program that encouraged African-American applicants. Yale's administration—notably the Provost, Charles Taylor—pressured administrators like Howard Weaver of Art and Architecture to curtail recruitment efforts that were seen as too progressive. In 1969, after imposing a limit on admissions for City Planning (14 for the entering class), Taylor sent a note to Weaver reminding him that deans were expected to establish admissions guidelines that would ensure the "high standards applicable to Yale degrees." These guidelines, vaguely

[70] Lee Anthony Syracuse to Kingman Brewster, 13 June 1969, Christopher Tunnard Papers (MS 1070), Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library.

outlined, placed the onus of vetting student applicants on the faculty but retained the authority for admitting them on the administration, in spite of the power vested in faculty-student admissions committees like the City Planning Forum.[71] In terms of how many students were to be admitted, Taylor called for "only in such numbers and in such fields as the faculty of the School is able and qualified to instruct" and in terms of their competency, all that was required was an assurance that applicants were "fully qualified."[72]

Despite the recommendation for racial quotas by the Art and Architecture School's governing Student-Faculty Committee, which had called for the acceptance of at least 50% African-American students and special financial aid to ensure their attendance, the office of the Yale Admissions Committee spent Friday, May 23, 1969 preparing a list of rejected students. These students included twelve African-Americans who had applied to the Department of City Planning and had been approved by the City Planning Forum., "It is extremely important that the University should not offer admission to students whose educational expectations we are unable to meet," noted Taylor in the same letter to Weaver, retroactively citing financial considerations as the basis for the decision.[73] Rebuking the decision to exclude these twelve students from admission for the 1969-1970 school year—a decision that had been, along with the other admissions decisions,

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[71] Deresiewicz, et al., "Into the Fire," xiv.
[72] Charles Taylor to Howard S. Weaver, 29 April 1969, in *Perspecta* 29 (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1998), viii.
[73] Charles Taylor to Howard S. Weaver, 29 April 1969, *Perspecta* 29, viii.

in-process for the spring term—Tunnard and Assistant Dean of the School of Art and Architecture Louis DeLuca independently sent acceptance letters to them.[74]

Fallout from the incident occurred immediately. Telegrams were sent first to the applicants from Weaver's office, which asked them to disregard letters "from a group which calls itself...City Planning," and noted that their official letters would arrive before May 30 of that year.[75] The letters of Yale President Kingman Brewster to the applicants followed, in which he explained the departmental problems that led to the confusion. "We cannot now promise to offer a degree administered by an adequate department of city planning [and] if the department does not continue in its present form, you will be entitled to fashion a program as you see fit, subject only to the permission of the instructor with respect to enrollment in a particular course."[76] After keeping the admitted students in limbo and even offering an *a la carte* curriculum, the fate of the twelve had, in truth, already been decided. On May 29, 1969, Weaver sent out letters of rejection to the students. "After careful consideration of all factors," he went on, "I must advise that it is unwise for you as well as for us to consider your matriculation at Yale in September."[77] Undaunted, one of the applicants—William Brenner—replied that he was a "disinterested observer" of Yale's internal problems and reaffirmed his intent to enroll in city planning, having returned from Vietnam:

> I have made quite extensive arrangements for attending Yale. Further, my primary reasons for applying to Yale and accepting admission have not changed. I have been somewhat isolated in the military for the last three years

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[74] Landers, Robert K. "Yale Gives Tunnard Key Job in Reorganized A&A School," *New Haven Journal-Courier* (17 September 1969): 13.
[75] Howard S. Weaver to applicants, 22 May 1969, published in *Perspecta* 29, x.
[76] Kingman Brewster to applicants, 27 May 1969, published in *Perspecta* 29, x.
[77] Howard S. Weaver to Jerome Herring, 29 May 1969, *Perspecta* 29, xi.

> and cannot make a personal observation on the subject, but it is not impossible that what happened within the University will in the long run improve the University and its role in society; and I hope that Yale will make the best of the situation.[78]

Brenner never matriculated and Tunnard was relieved from his post as Chair of the Planning Department by Brewster at the end of the spring term in 1969, as was Associate Professor of City Planning Harry Wexler. Assistant Dean Louis DeLuca, Tunnard's alleged co-conspirator, was also told that his contract would not be renewed for the following year.[79] Combined with other personnel changes, notably the retirement of the abstract expressionist painter Jack Tworkov, DeLuca, Wexler, and Tunnard's dismissal offered an opportunity for Yale's administration to reorganize the school.[80] In light of these events, the City Planning Forum—the department's own student-faculty governing committee that had recommended admission to the twelve students in question as well as eight others—issued a statement calling for restitution of salary (in DeLuca's case) and the reinstatement of Tunnard. First and foremost, however, they demanded recognition "as the body which governs the Department of City Planning."[81]

While the stated reason for this "interim" reorganization was to improve the lines of communication between the Art and Architecture school and Yale's administration, it was a clear brandishing of the presidential sword by Brewster. In spite of his Republican Party affiliation, Brewster is remembered for being a progressive force at Yale. His espoused belief that tolerance, civic virtue, and a desire to turn out a thousand graduates a

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[78] W. A. Brenner to Kingman Brewster, 17 June 1969, Christopher Tunnard Papers (MS 1070), Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library.
[79] Von Hoffman, "B.B. King and Lucile Lay the Urban Blues on Whitey, 19A.
[80] Warren, Tom, "Brewster Splits Fine Arts from Architecture Faculty," *Yale Daily News*, 4 September 1969.
[81] City Planning Forum to Kingman Brewster, 28 May 1969, *Perspecta* 29, xi.

year, each having "a constructive impact on our society 30 years later," contributed to the "liberal establishment" label that his biographer has supported and that has been reaffirmed in some contemporary accounts.[82]

During his tenure, the first women matriculated at Yale and the school's undergraduate admissions policies were restructured to weigh requirements relative to each other (instead of depending on a gross score). Progressive as they were, these were improvements that, for Brewster, reflected a slow and thoughtful response by the administration to social changes. Liberal or not, the key to understanding Yale's leadership and its president in these years is through academic conventions governing comportment and protocol, which were not fraying at the edges nearly as much as the activist Left would have hoped. Any quick movements or abrupt disobedience by departments to bring about these change too quickly corrupted Brewster's sense of Yale's systemic integrity.[83]

The Art and Architecture School, which had contained five independent departments, was split into two separate faculties: the Architecture Department, chaired by Charles Moore, and Studies in City Planning, directed by the re-hired Tunnard. Tunnard's role had changed significantly, even if he was back in the departmental fold. **[1.9]** He was approaching twenty-five years as a notable asset to the School of Architecture and Design and the core of the City Planning Department, itself. Having first been appointed as Assistant Professor of City Planning in 1945, Tunnard rose steadily within the school, receiving significant raises about every five years, and after

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[82] Raymond, Sarah, "Brewster's Legacy: God, Country, and Yale," *The Yale Herald* 38:5 (1 October 2004): 14.

[83] For a biographic account of Brewster, see Geoffrey Kabaservice's *The Guardians: Kingman Brewster, His Circle, and the Rise of the Liberal Establishment* (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 2004).

six year as an associate professor, his salary was doubled in 1962 when he was appointed full professor.[84] A Guggenheim Fellow (1950-51), a Fulbright Fellow (1956), co-author of the popular *City of Man* (1953) and *American Skyline* (1955), and recipient of an surprisingly generous, $165,000 grant from the Connecticut State Highway Department to begin a study of the highway-as-environment. Medalist in half a dozen expositions and competitions, including the Jefferson National Memorial Competition in St Louis (1948), Tunnard was also, in 1966, elected a Fellow of the Royal Society of Arts in London.[85] Under his watch, Yale, New Haven, and City Planning was the subject of several exhibitions generated by Tunnard and his students, making Yale, for all intents and purposes, an authority on planning's academy.

Having served as a consultant to several Connecticut redevelopment initiatives, particularly its highway improvements in the early- to mid-1960s, Tunnard was also the gateway for City Planning graduates into the profession. Speaking about his dismissal in the spring of 1969, one graduate noted, "Not only will this action reduce Christopher Tunnard's influence on Yale students, but since his name is respected on a nation-wide basis, the reputation of the University is bound to suffer."[86] Another graduate claimed that the dismissal would be "a disaster" for the program's influence on the profession, further chiding Brewster for being out of touch and not realizing—despite Yale's relationship to urban renewal efforts in New Haven—the significance of a city planning

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[84] See confirmations issued by Yale Corporation Secretary Rubin Horden and Yale Provost Charles H. Taylor between 1956 and 1967 in Christopher Tunnard Papers (MS 1070), Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library.

[85] Christopher Tunnard curriculum vitae, c. 1967, Christopher Tunnard Papers (MS 1070), Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library.

[86] Lee Anthony Syracuse to Kingman Brewster, 13 June 1969, Christopher Tunnard Papers (MS 1070), Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library.

department in the first place.[87] Others agreed, noting that one of the preconditions of city planning, as an enterprise, was that it would always be in a state of flux, and that the current need to absorb otherwise marginalized communities within city planning's education had to be addressed. "Any experimentation linking students and faculty in a meaningful dialogue is of utmost importance," noted George Anselevicius, Dean of Washington University's School of Architecture, in a letter to Brewster, "especially those that are community activist oriented. At this moment in time, we cannot afford to stop our efforts in planning a better physical environment."[88]

In short, it was clear that Tunnard had to be brought back into the newly re-organized Art and Architecture School. Besides his credentials, he symbolized progressivism, which was something that Yale could not afford to be seen reject. Upon his return, he enlisted both students and faculty to draft a new city planning curriculum to begin in the 1970-71 academic year, which centered on a "Workshop Lecture Series," that included, among other things, a "Black Workshop."[89] The series was to be the basis for independent studies within the School of Art and Architecture, undertaken in the student's final year, and focused on the urban experience of underserved or generally underrepresented communities. "A person wishing involvement with the Puerto Rican community would be expected to schedule one or more lectures related to that involvement," Tunnard noted.

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[87] Craig S. Noren to Kingman Brewster, 17 June 1969, Christopher Tunnard Papers (MS 1070), Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library.
[88] George Anselevicius to Kingman Brewster, 19 June 1969, Christopher Tunnard Papers (MS 1070), Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library.
[89] Christopher Tunnard to Kingman Brewster, "Program Proposal for City Planning, 1970-71" (1969), Christopher Tunnard Papers (MS 1070), Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library.

Among the other planned initiatives were courses on preservation planning, taught by Tunnard, and courses such as "Inner-city Ferment and Thought," and "the Profession and the American Crisis," taught by others. Weaver was also brought back as the Dean of Faculties in Arts next to Charles Moore, the new Dean of Faculties in Design and Planning. Yale needed continuity between the old School of Architecture and Design and the new Art and Architecture School, but it also wanted to communicate that that there was now a clear hierarchy in place.

In December of 1968, a memo appeared on Weaver's desk that outlined the demands of the undergraduate classes. Written in consultation with Moore and signed by eighteen students in their final year at Yale, called the Committee of Eight, the proposal set forth several demands. "To encourage excellence," the authors noted, term limits should be placed on faculty, whose body had been suffering from "limited diversity, mediocre quality, and small and unvoiced activity."[90] It was clear to the students that, at this moment of departmental and professional change within architecture, too many faculty existed along the fringes of that change; "ineffectual" lame-ducks that, at the associate professor level should be reviewed every two years and, at the full professor level, every four. The students also called for more transparency in the departmental budget and five points for a new curriculum. The Committee of Eight proposed offering both accredited and a non-accredited Master of Architecture degrees as a means of providing students structured and un-structured academic paths, opening up all lectures to every student in the school, and revitalizing the current lecture series ("in the doldrums for the past two years"). In addition, they proposed offering landscape architecture as an

[90] Robert W. White, et al. to Howard S. Weaver, 9 December 1968, School of Fine Arts Administrative Records (RU 189), Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library.

elective, and introducing a new strain of seminars and lectures that dealt with architectural history.[91]

The significance of the Committee of Eight's demands was evident in the serious and candid tone of the group's memo—calling out the mediocrity of the faculty to a school's Dean was confrontational in any circumstance—but the specific curriculum that it outlined towards the end. Similar to Schuman and the Avery Commune's Platform System, the Committee of Eight proposal called for more collaboration across classes and a greater degree of relevance in terms of the "scale, complexity, and specificity-detail" of studio assignments. In advance of the ideas explored by Louis Kahn in his seminal 1971 AIA Gold Medal acceptance speech, entitled "The Room, the Street, and Human Agreement," the Committee of Eight called for an understanding of architecture's beginning as "an arena of human activity."[92]

Unlike the Platform System, however, the Yale proposal advanced along more conventional lines. The program was to be two years long and each of those years had specific lessons to absorb. "Design," itself, as a function of programmatic concerns like sleeping, bathing, playing, meeting, and ultimately, habitation, was studied in the first year; the concepts of "exchange" (market, commercial, trade) and "communication" (transportation and learning) were the focus of the second year. In essence, what the proposed curriculum came down to was a balance between what the students called the "real" and the "abstract." Human arenas, as architecture's basis, were one issue, but systems analysis, technology, and practical decision-making were identified as

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[91] Robert W. White, et al. to Howard S. Weaver, 9 December 1968, School of Fine Arts Administrative Records (RU 189), Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library.

[92] Kahn, Louis I., "The Room, the Street, and Human Agreement," in *Louis I. Kahn: Essential Texts* (New York: W.W. Norton Co., 2003): 252-60.

fundamental holes in the existing educational paradigm. "Pathology sessions about real buildings would be useful," the curriculum outline concluded, "Skills, tools, thinking, 'answers.'"[93]

The rest of 1968 and 1969 were characterized by unrest and upheaval within the Art and Architecture School at Yale: insurrections by senior faculty, departmental reorganizations, the open question of racism's relationship to admissions practices, and a student population that had become frustrated with their curricular options plagued the department. Students demanded more financial aid, more resources, and equal opportunity for African-American applicants to the architecture and planning programs.[94] Younger faculty joined them and attacked the program itself, which was aligned with the old Beaux-Arts notion that an architectural education should be about developing "professional skills." It was a profession that the architecture students could not recognize, much less anticipate by mapping a nineteenth century skill set onto a twentieth century context. Herman Hertzberger, who had been with the Avery Commune at Columbia only a year before and stood on the side of reform-minded students at Yale, argued that "since architectural language was a public, social language there was no way to teach or understand it without understanding its connection to social structure."[95] The practice of architecture, as these students understood it, should be accountable to the people who would benefit from it as much as it should be accountable to its own, recursive set of skills.

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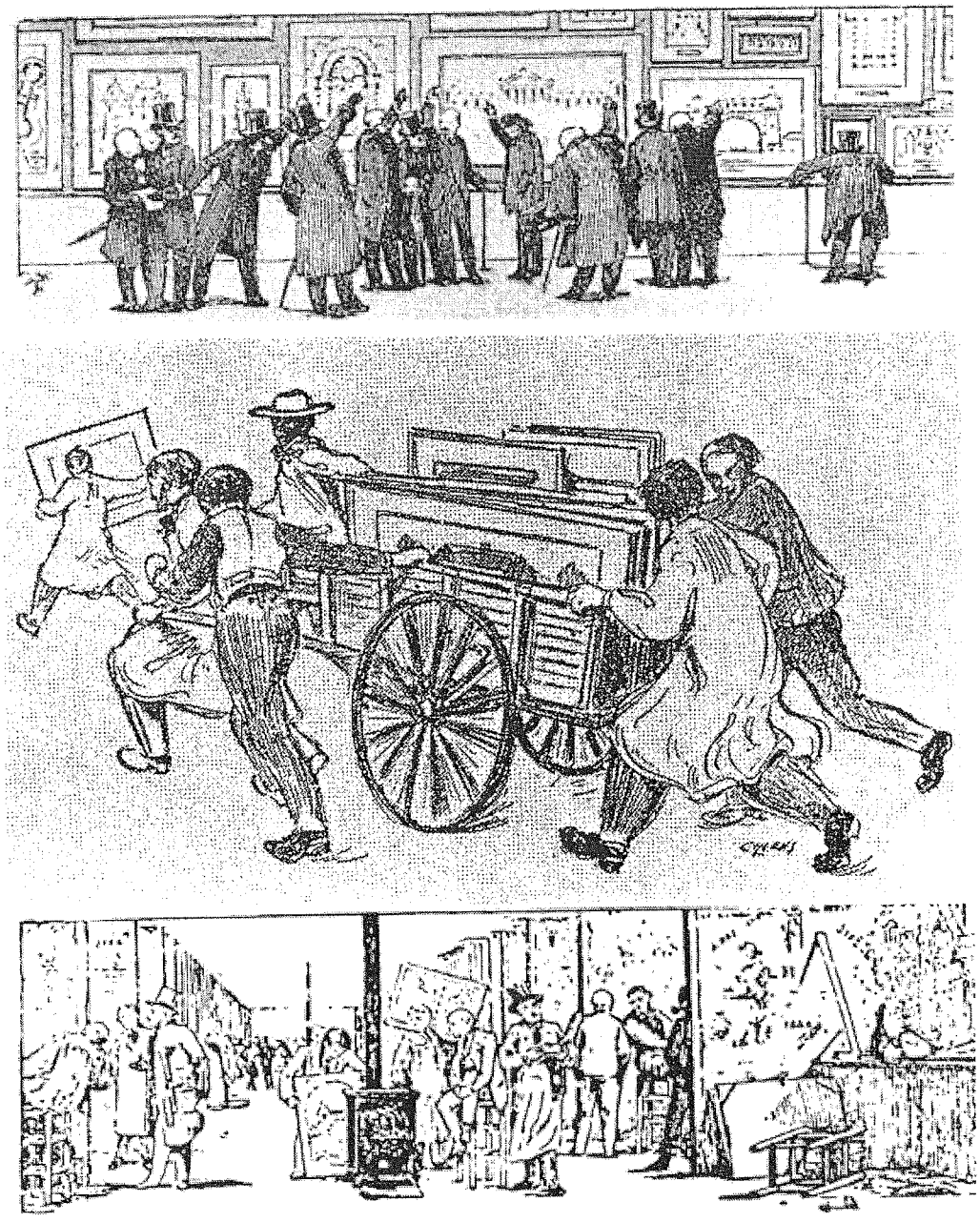
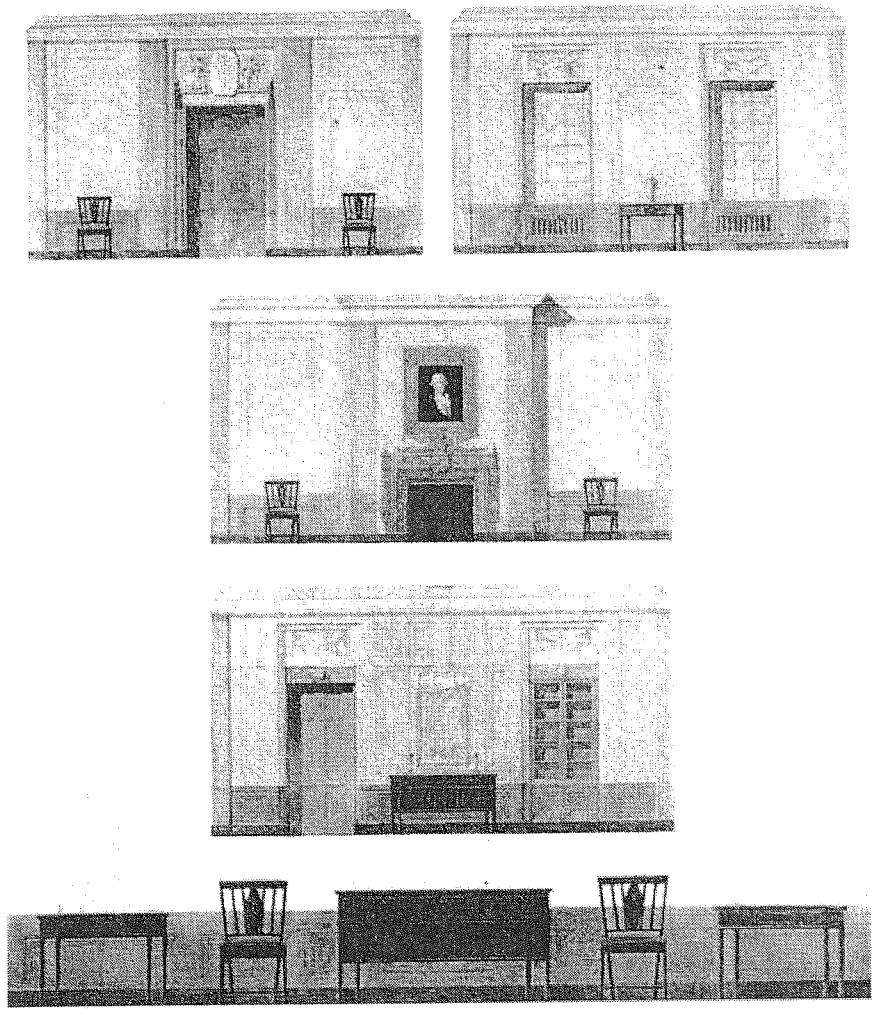
[93] Robert W. White, et al. to Howard S. Weaver, 9 December 1968, School of Fine Arts Administrative Records (RU 189), Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library.
[94] Deresiewicz, William, et al. "Architecture: Whom Does It Serve?" *Perspecta* 29 (1998): 11-17.
[95] Gutman and Plunz, "Anatomy of Insurrection," 202.

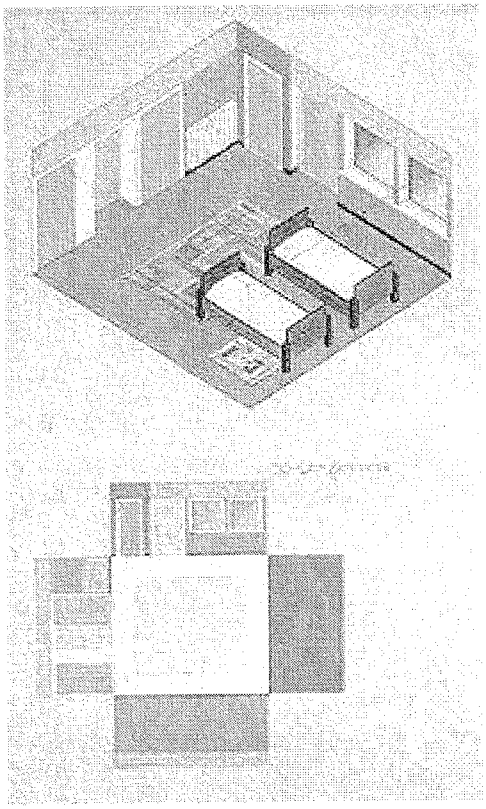


1.1: *En loge* to *charette* to *salon*: depictions of the *charette* design process by L.-B. Bonnier (top, 1907, and bottom, 1895) and George Collins (middle, 1947). Source: Richard Chaffee, "The Teaching of Architecture at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts," *The Architecture of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1977),: 60-89.

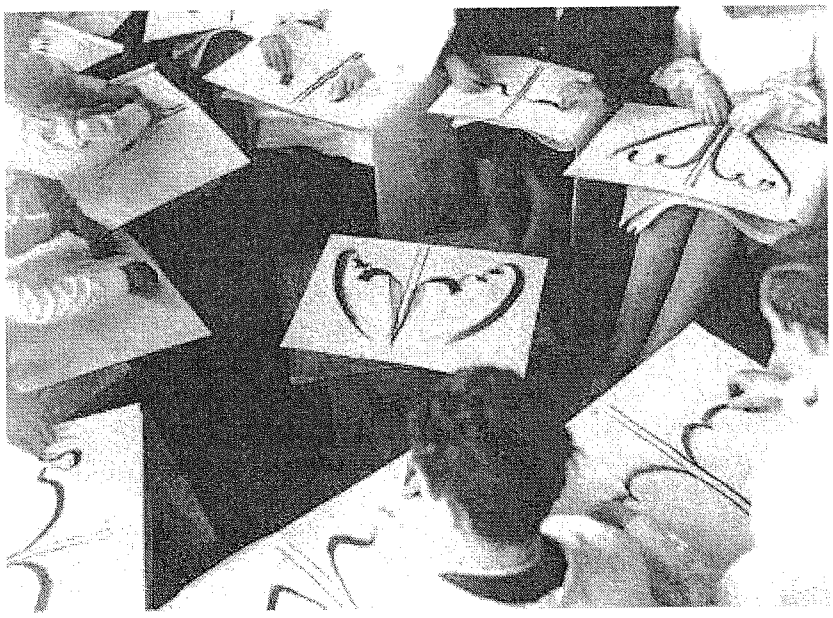
1.2: *Salles des etudes antiques*, Ecole des Beaux Arts, Paris, c. 1897. Source: Richard Chaffee, "The Teaching of Architecture at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts," *The Architecture of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1977): 60.



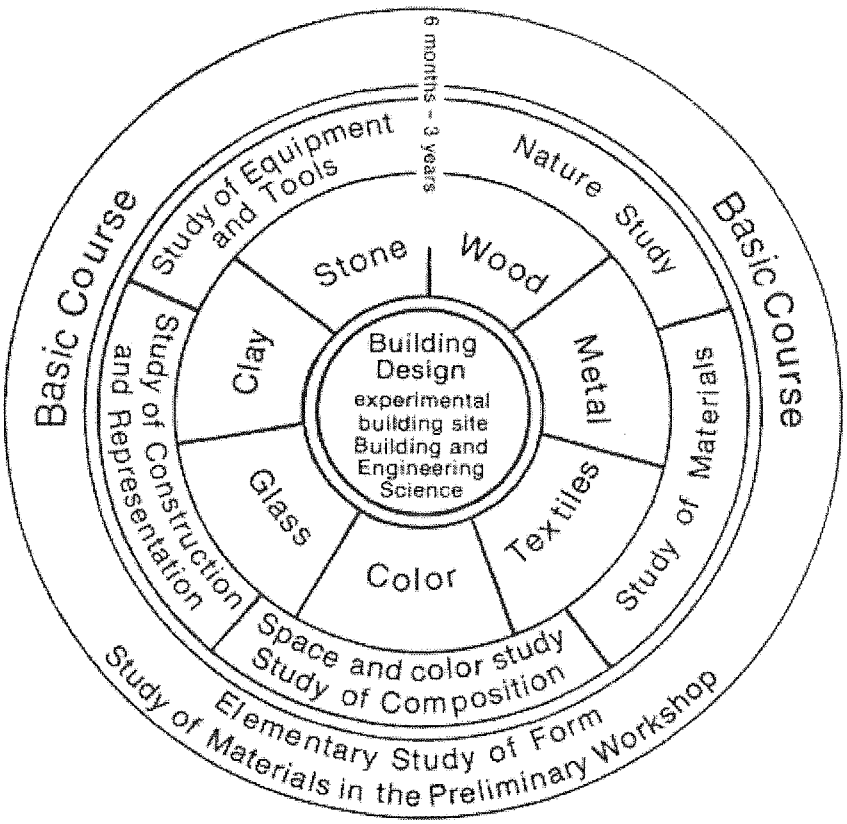
1.3: Max Abramowitz, "A Presidential Dining Room," 1931. Source: Anthony Alofsin, *The Struggle for Modernism: Architecture, Landscape Architecture, and City Planning at Harvard*, New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 2002.



1.4: Alfred Arndt, color plan for Haus Auerbach (detail of bedroom), 1929
Source: Jeannine Fiedler, *Bauhaus*, London: H.F. Ulmann, 2008.



1.5: "Students Writing Rhythmical Forms with Both Hands, Simultaneously" Source: Jeannine Fiedler, *Bauhaus*, London: H.F. Ulmann, 2008.



1.6: The Bauhaus curriculum, Weimar (c. 1923). The Bauhaus education, as it existed in Germany, was also hierarchical in that certain foundations had to be mastered before more advanced work could begin, which mirrored the process by which students advanced through their associated *ateliers* while enrolled at the Ecole. However, the ethos of each competing system was different. While the nineteenth-century Ecole addressed the idea of architect-as-social-agent through great civic projects or regal interiors (after 1789 and especially after the Second Empire in France), the Bauhaus encouraged this agency through, among other things, craft-ways, industrial design, and public housing. Source: Johannes Itten, *Design and Form: The Basic Course at the Bauhaus*, New York: Van Nostand Reinhold, 1963.

THE PLATFORM SYSTEM

The major work of the Architecture Divisional Council was the elaboration of an experimental curriculum effective with the Fall semester. In a report released last August, the Council described the program in the context of the general objectives of the School. "The purpose of the Columbia School of Architecture is to assist the student in developing for himself the means by which he can approach the design of human accommodation. This development depends upon the exploration and understanding of the two broad areas of resource available to each student. The first is a self-awareness and understanding of the significance of his own experiences and beliefs, and a means by which he can utilize his many resources to ask the right questions and find appropriate solutions. The second resource area is the store of information he needs, where or from whom he can get it, and finally how he is to use it. To realize these broad goals, an experimental curriculum called the Platform System will be initiated at Columbia School of Architecture in September."

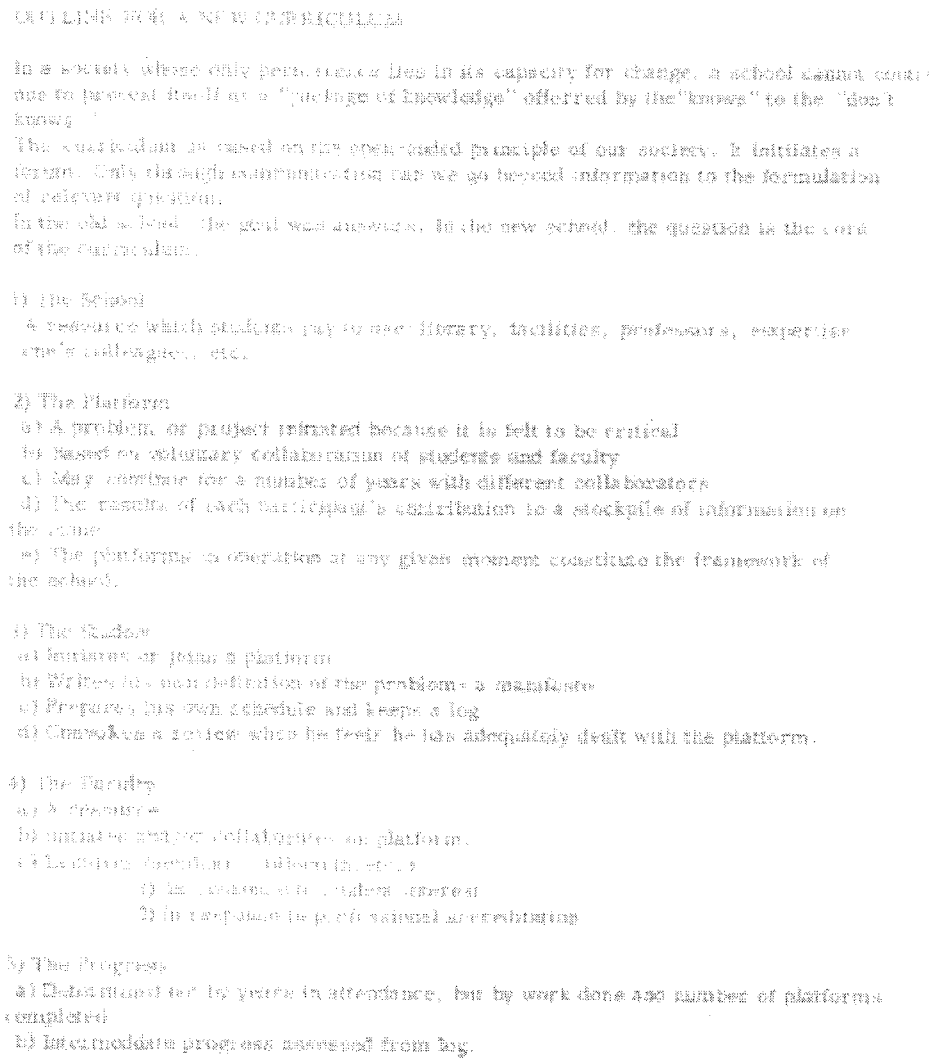
The details of the platform system follow fairly closely the preliminary outline here appended. Aspects which remain to date unfulfilled are: the proposed abolition of the standard four-year student tenure in favor of a term based on the completion of a certain number of projects at the student's own rate of progress (a 12-month academic year was envisaged in this regard), and the students' assumption of full responsibility for making and keeping schedules and logs, and convoking reviews. An evaluation of the system written in late November follows.

This system began in the fall of 1968 amid general enthusiasm, relief, reassurance, and pride that the diligent work of the student-faculty council had not been in vain, and little realization of the depth and quality of commitment and responsibility required to make the system an effective educational operation. The initial presentations by the faculty who initiated the first platforms were thorough and provocative, but the net result was that the majority of the students sailed back into fairly traditional academic orientations, even to the extent where scheduled periodic reviews, which were to have been convoked by individual students in accordance with their personal progress, were deemed necessary to prevent a complete breakdown of studio communications and normal activity. Ironically, the platform which seemed to run the risk of being "too popular," in the words of its progenitor, would up with the poorest response from students. This platform, C. Richard Hatch's on university expansion, was a direct attempt to grapple with one of the central problems of last spring's strike, and was certainly an issue demanding immediate attention. It would be difficult to pinpoint the reasons for the paltry response. One possibility is that the emphasis during Hatch's presentation on "non-design" aspects of the study project (economic, legal, social, moral) dismayed some students. Another is that many of the students who were most interested in this project chose instead to work in Max Bond's community work studio in conjunction with the Real Great Society in East Harlem. Some of the enticements of working with RGS appear obvious: an opportunity to work with an energetic and articulate community group, to practice advocacy architecture, to do real work with tangible results. To what

1.7a: Tony (Anthony) Schuman, et al., "The Platform System" curriculum,. Source: *Touchstone* 4 (1969): 1-4. Page 1 of 4.

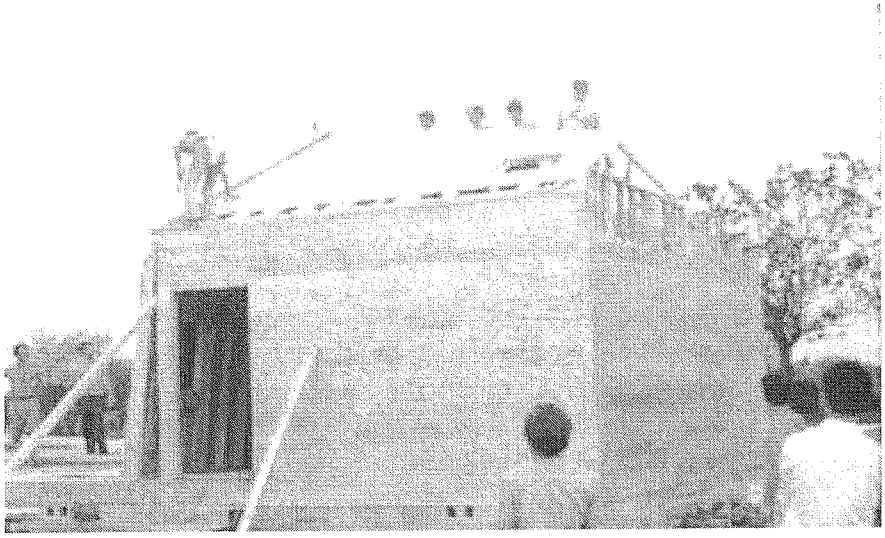
Tony Schuman

1.7b: Tony (Anthony) Schuman, et al., "The Platform System" curriculum,. Source: *Touchstone* 4 (1969): 1-4. Page 2 of 4..



1.7c: Tony (Anthony) Schuman, et al., "The Platform System" curriculum,. Source: *Touchstone* 4 (1969): 1-4. Page 3 of 4..

1.7d: Tony (Anthony) Schuman, et al., "The Platform System" curriculum,. Source: *Touchstone* 4 (1969): 1-4. Page 4 of 4..



1.8: First Year Studio on site in New Zion, Kentucky. Source: Charles Moore Exhibit, Manuscripts & Archives, Yale University Library

1.9: Lydia and Christopher Tunnard, c. 1970. Source: Christopher Tunnard Papers, Manuscripts & Archives, Yale University Library.

Chapter Two: Columbia University in the City of New York

I used to look down at planning when I came out of school, but then I learned how important it was. Largely as a missionary effort, I went into it heavily. —I.M. Pei, 1957[1]

Campus Growth Up Against the Wall

Universities became vehicles for urban reform as they surged to accommodate growing physical plants for larger student populations after World War II. Besides the physical effect this had on adjacent middle to lower-middle class neighborhoods, university needs and urban politics were not aligned with the social agency that architecture students considered central to their profession. The Morningside Heights neighborhood in New York, which included Columbia University, Union Theological Seminary, St. Luke's Hospital, the Cathedral of St. John the Divine, the International House, and Riverside Church, was the site of enormous institutional expansion during the late-1950s and 1960s. **[2.1]** Columbia was, by far, the largest and under the aegis of Morningside Heights Incorporated, Columbia sought to revitalize dilapidated or otherwise low-market properties by purchasing them, renovating them, or rebuilding them to accommodate a growing student and faculty population.

Between 1957 and 1968, Columbia acquired $12 million in real estate in this way,[2] and evicted or pressured to move between 2,000 and 3,000 families.[3] Local papers reported that other families, who could not be evicted from tenements or single-room occupancy hotels (SROs), soon found that their plumbing and electricity had been

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[1] Douglas Haskell to the managing editors of *Architectural Forum*, 18 December 1957, Douglas Putnam Haskell papers, Avery Architectural and Fine Arts Library, Department of Drawings and Archives, Columbia University

[2] Starr, Roger, "The Case of the Columbia Gym," *The Public Interest* 13 (Fall, 1968): 105.

[3] Alden, Robert, "Neighbors Assail Columbia Growth," *The New York Times* (18 January 1964): 25-6.

sabotaged.[4] Through religious groups like the Quaker Friends, some of these families were relocated and, among those that stayed, some measure of support was found. The majority, however, had a difficult time living near Columbia.

In response, Columbia architecture school graduates established the Architects Renewal Committee for Harlem (ARCH) in 1964 at 125th Street and Lennox Avenue. Funded by the city's new Office of Economic Opportunity, private donations, and grants, ARCH did much of the same work that members of SDS had been doing in the community by interpreting leases and offering to be an arbitrator for area residents. ARCH's unique role, however, was as a collective of architects, planners, and lawyers that provided low-cost design services within Harlem, which included so-called "community-supervised urban renewal plans."[5] By 1968, then-Executive Director, the architect Max Bond, framed the group's mission as one of "intent and society" rather than "taste and technology," in its plan to re-establish 125th Street as Harlem's "main street."[6] **[2.2]**

While it could not stop the purchase, destruction, or renovation of properties by the university, ARCH was a physical and administrative presence for Harlem, which had some activists but few organized advocacy firms that could speak for the displaced. ARCH members served as community advocates and consultants for the residents that were displaced.[7] While some Columbia architecture students and faculty were involved with the surrounding community through ARCH, it was the Columbia gymnasium

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[4] Goldstein, Richard, "The Groovy Revolution: Phase Two, Take One," *The Village Voice* (23 May 1968): 11.
[5] Tucker, Priscilla. "Poor People's Plan," *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 27:5 (January, 1969): 266
[6] Tucker, "Poor People's Plan, 265.
[7] Starr, "The Case of Columbia Gym,"118.

proposal for Morningside Park that fully catalyzed the architecture student population.[8] The 1960 proposal enraged the city-at-large, as the annexation of city parks for any purpose was seen as anathema by popular architecture critics, including Ada Louise Huxtable and Lewis Mumford, as well as by students and Harlem residents.

Regardless of what the 1960s represent now, in light of the actual and perceived legacies, it was a time in which open inquiry and violence became part of the vocabulary in nearly every sector of American culture—particularly the culture of cities and universities. Most universities had all of the ingredients for unrest: a large student population—many of which were newly away from their parents for the first time—overseen by a rule-bound and paternalistic administration; a generation of faculty who served during World War II teaching a generation that had not yet known war. For urban institutions, in particular, there were the added factors of a mostly white student body in a mostly non-white neighborhood context and an academic institution in need of an expanded physical plant contingent to adjacent, dense, and often historic neighborhood that wanted to preserve their existing fabric. Framing the campus issues were several adversarial national and international forces including the national opposition between "hawks" and "doves" on the issue of Vietnam, Communist sympathizers and Cold Warriors, and Civil Rights activists and their opponents, that ensured the boundaries between liberalism and conservatism were clearly marked. The Cold War domestic economy, as it related to political positions and university growth, was never as straightforward.

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[8] Gutman, Marta and Richard Plunz, "Anatomy of Insurrection," *The Making of an Architect, 1881-1981.* (New York: Rizzoli International Publications, 1981): 196.

For federal lawmakers, the Cold War state of constant military emergency justified a consistently large defense budget beginning in the 1950s, which spurred economic growth in defense-related industries—notably the sciences. As the student and faculty populations surged in the 20 years following 1945, scientific research money fueled the university's expansion to meet those demands. In addition, a few "entrepreneurial" faculty members became conduits for that money, giving the faculty body "an extraordinary degree of control [over] the conditions of their employment," argues the biologist Richard Lewontin.[9]

Federal dollars available to fund research in the sciences, however, were limited by the private sector: most corporations simply could not afford to educate and maintain a scientific workforce (except behemoths like Bell Laboratories), investment in scientific research rarely produced immediate returns, and a free and open exchange of scientific information runs counter to corporate and "proprietary interests."[10] Academia presented the most viable outlet for defense research dollars, as it offered all the things that the private sector could not: a scientific community, less pressure from market forces to produce results, and a collegiate environment that encouraged sharing of information. "Socializing," or spreading out the cost and process of scientific innovation, could only have been justified by the Department of Defense under the auspices of a military threat. In this way, the Cold War became the patron of the academy's expansion in the post-war

[9] Lewontin, Richard C., "The Cold War and the Transformation of the Academy," in *The Cold War and The University* (New York: The New Press, 1997): 2.
[10] Lewontin, "The Cold War and the Transformation of the Academy," 8-9.

years.[11] "If the Cold War had not existed," Lewontin notes, "it would have had to be invented."[12]

There was a high degree of regulation in place for the Federal disbursement of the early Cold War, which was estimated to be upwards of $100,000,000 in 1956.[13] A year earlier, in 1955, President Eisenhower, Hawkish on national security matters, had assembled a seven-person committee to debate the role a scientist's political loyalty should play in on the selection process for unclassified research grants. The committee, which included five university scientists, a lawyer, and the president of the National Academy of Arts and Sciences, ultimately determined that politics were not relevant to pursuing the greatest scientific good. Curing cancer, the report stated, "would be no less beneficial to all humanity for having been made by a Communist."[14] In "socializing" the burden of unclassified scientific work by the Department of Defense, there was little need to worry about those who believed in more political forms of Socialism. The way was clear for the Department of Defense to begin investing heavily in research at American institutions of higher education.

Formed in 1955 by the Weapons System Evaluating Group, Institute for Defense Analysis (IDA) was the most prominent program within the Department of Defense's growing network of Cold War research projects.[15] Schools that formed partnerships with IDA between 1955 and 1959, such as the University of Chicago, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), and Columbia University, among nine others, became the

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[11] Lewontin, "The Cold War and the Transformation of the Academy," 10.
[12] Lewontin, "The Cold War and the Transformation of the Academy," 7.
[13] "Bar to Research in Science is Scored," *The New York Times* (5 April 1956): 13.
[14] "Bar to Research in Science is Scored," *The New York Times*, 13.
[15] Bell, Daniel, "Columbia and the New Left," *The Public Interest* 13 (Fall, 1968): 66-7.

best funded and best equipped research centers in the country with state of the art laboratories and ready access to tools and materials. The catch, however, was that Department of Defense scientists shared part of the new laboratory facilities to conduct their own classified weapons systems research. These labs, such as the Electronics Research Laboratory at Columbia and the Jet Propulsions Laboratory at the California Institute of Technology, allowed the Department of Defense to execute multiple projects simultaneously, recruit from a readily available pool of academics, and have a presence in the scientific community.[16]

By 1967, the associations that schools maintained with the Department of Defense were perceived by many students to be an endorsement of the American military presence in Vietnam. That year, according to the National Science Foundation, 14 schools received $20 million or more in federal research funds, 15 received between $10 and 20 million, 31 between $5 and 10 million, and 651 received between $1,000 and $5 million.[17] Even if these universities had never explicitly endorsed any military action, an enormous amount of unfettered cash flowed into the academy, which in turn facilitated research and development that benefited the military. By virtue of this and other affiliations with the Department of Defense, organized student groups, most notably the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), targeted the academy for its indirect complicity.[18]

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[16] R.O.T.C. recruiting, of course, defined the military's presence in a more visible and explicit way.
[17] National Science Foundation, "The Dynamics of Academic Science" (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1967): 66-7.
[18] SDS was the reformed youth section of the League for Industrial Democracy, itself a reformation of the Intercollegiate Socialist Society (ISS) formed in 1905 by Upton Sinclair, Walter Lippmann, Clarence Darrow, and Jack London.

In 1960, a newly appointed SDS held its first meeting in New York to discuss a possible role in organizing non-violent civil disobedience to support the desegregation effort.[19] SDS's efforts were tied to unions, such as the United Auto Workers Union, which, in 1963, granted SDS $5,000 for the establishment of the Economic Research and Action Project (ERAP). The goal of ERAP was to organize and educate residents on basic civic amenities, such as trash removal and school improvements, and on the workings of local government. The implicit mission of ERAP, however, was to radicalize residents of poorer neighborhoods in cities like New York and Chicago. Working in tandem to ERAP, SDS members like Todd Gitlin, Richard Flacks, and Paul Booth spearheaded the Peace Research and Education Project (PREP) with a $7,500grant from private donors. ERAP ultimately absorbed PREP and redeployed its mission through the Political Education Project (PEP), which mounted an anti-Barry Goldwater campaign in conjunction with the Industrial Union Department of the AFL-CIO on a $1,300 grant.[20]

SDS's publication campaign grew steadily over the next ten years through local student chapters and groups. Pamphlets like *New York Viewpoint* and *Freedom Bulletin* produced in New York reported on speeches by prominent SDS members in Berkeley, like Mario Savio, and SDS-sympathizers like Noel Day, then-director of the Community Center in the Roxbury section of Boston. Day, whose "A White American in a Non-White World" was a rambling, if effective and unifying, diatribe on the dichotomies in

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[19] Heath, G. Louis (ed.), *Vandals in the Bomb Factory* (Metuchen, N.J.: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1976): viii-ix.
[20] "Students for a Democratic Society Paper, 1958-1970: A Guide to the Original Records in the State Historical Society of Wisconsin" (Glen Rock, N.J.: Microfilming Corporation of America, 1977): 2-3.

American racial politics.[21] SDS also distributed reprints of articles by Michael Harrington, whose seminal *The Other America* (1962) gave the student group a framework within which think about a spectrum of poverty in America. Harrington's typology of poverty was comprised of the "classic poor," or the ever-present and necessary "other" of wealth, the "invisible poor" in "the interstices of society," the "bohemians," ostensibly poor by choice, "alcoholics," poor by virtue of their addiction, and the "rural poor," or the "oakies" and "hill folks" that migrated to the city to work and could not return.[22]

The sociologist Herbert J. Gans, whose *The Urban Villagers* (1962) was held up by SDS as a model of community investigation, had chronicled Boston's West End Italian-Americans, and, more pointedly, described the impact of urban renewal on their communities. Another reprint circulated by the SDS was Gans' 1965 essay, "The Failure of Urban Renewal: A Critique and Some Proposals," which was underwritten by funding from the League for Industrial Democracy. Gans' assessment stood in stark contrast to the laudatory Congressional testimony of HUD's future secretary Weaver in 1964. In "Failure," Gans had likened post-1949 Housing Act projects to "jalopies," rather than the Cadillacs, Lincolns, and Imperials that were promised.[23] Gans' argued that urban renewal had failed because of the disregard for what "community" might mean and, in terms of the extant fabric of the city, the practice of infill. Low-cost housing could not engender a desirable sense of community because it was placed on vacant city land that was often next to factories and rail yards. The "underclass" could never rise above the

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[21] Day, Noel, "A White American in a Non-White World," pamphlet (New York: Students for a Democratic Society, 1962): 1-9.
[22] Harrington, *The Other America: Poverty in the United States*, (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1962): 83.
[23] Gans, "The Failure of Urban Renewal: A Critique and Some Proposals," *Commentary* (April, 1965): 35.

indignity of public housing's locations, which prevented a general "enthusiasm" for public housing from materializing among those who lived there.[24]

Gans' argument became the argument of the community-activist wing of SDS, whose tenant housing manuals were produced and distributed in conjunction with local housing committees and, in some cases, local student chapters of the American Institute of Architects.[25] The political-action wing of SDS, which had been much more focused on campus politics, grew steadily from 1962 until 1970 and began producing pamphlets and newsletters at an almost daily pace. The titles of these publications offer a guide to the group's national and local trajectory from polite political action group to "heroic guerrillas." No longer was SDS interested in the polite message of *Viewpoints*, but its members published material under the banner of *Up Against the Wall* (Columbia University) or "The CIA at College" (1967), the latter of which depicted one rat raping another on the cover.

SDS became more violent and combative as the decade progressed. For this reason, and its capacity to self-organize more effectively than other New Left groups, SDS became the most prominent radical presence on campuses in the United States. After meeting with a group of Harvard SDS members in 1967, the historian Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. described a "disaffected" and "embittered" lot. The group was given to "murky abstractions" about national issues such as Vietnam or Civil Rights (making them sound like a "crowd of Trotskyites of thirty years ago"), but their interest was in local labor and academic matters. When he pressed the group about the national increase in

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[24] Gans, "The Failure of Urban Renewal," 31-2.
[25] Berthold, Anne and Irving Himmelblau, "Tenant Housing Manual," Chicago: Students for a Democratic Society and the AIA Student Chapters of the University of Illinois at Chicago Circle, 1966.

"urban guerrilla movements" among New Left members, they denied any involvement in Cambridge but acknowledged the "inevitability of violence" by asking, "If the National Rifle Association is going to organize posses, why shouldn't we protect ourselves against them?"[26]

The growth of SDS shadowed the United States' involvement in Vietnam, which produced, by the late-1960s, what the historian Arthur Marwick has called a "cohort of SDS zealots, much tougher and more uncompromising than those who had appeared earlier in the sixties."[27] With that shift came a new rhetoric that defined SDS and its changing positions on particular issues. Carl Oglesby's lament "We had no uncomplicated answer" appears early in his account of SDS during this period.[28]

Oglesby, president of SDS during its virulent transition between 1965 and 1966, distinguishes between the radical left and the liberal left: while political extremism was not new in the United States, the formation of anti-war radicals in the mid-1960s was a critique of what Oglesby and others felt to be a feeble and bland American liberalism. The stock American liberal, Oglesby contended, sought to resolve racism and segregation, but would not approach Vietnam as readily as the recent sect of American radicals. For Oglesby, SDS was a vehicle to build a radical base, introduce Vietnam and Civil Rights as equal and connected issues into public discourse, and slowly move that radical base towards a political middle ground. Oglesby was a pragmatist within the New Left who maintained that the only avenue for political change in a two party system was a

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[26] Schlesinger, Arthur M., Jr., *Journals 1952-2000* (New York: Penguin Books, 2008): 260-1.
[27] Marwick, Arthur, *The Sixties: Cultural Revolution in Britain, France, Italy, and the United States, c. 1958—c. 1974* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998): 658.
[28] Oglesby, Carl, *Ravens in the Storm: A Personal History of the 1960s Antiwar Movement* (New York: Scribner, 2008): 62.

moderate one, which made him increasingly unpopular with SDS after his tenure as president.

For other SDS members who became Weathermen, such as Bernadine Dohrn, the New Left was too tame for what they believed to be the radical, Marxist base of SDS. As the Vietnam War intensified, after the Detroit and Newark riots in 1967, after Martin Luther King's assassination in April of 1968 and the riots that followed in 111 American cities, Robert Kennedy's assassination in June of 1968, and Richard Nixon's election in November of the same year, Dohrn's SDS solidified its small but dangerous base.[29] The internal power struggle in SDS between moderate and radical factions mirrored the larger shift within American liberalism, and was further galvanized by Vietnam. "The original commitment to Vietnam was made by President Truman, a mainstream liberal; it was seconded by President Eisenhower, a moderate liberal [and] it was intensified by President Kennedy, a flaming liberal," concludes Oglesby.[30] Vietnam supporters were found among conservatives and liberals in the post-1945 period, embodied ultimately by Lyndon Johnson, a deeply conflicted if garrulous "hawk."

The American commitment to Vietnam was codified by Operation Rolling Thunder, Johnson's retaliation against North Vietnam for the Viet Cong guerrilla attack against an American helicopter base in Pleiku. With this, Johnson cemented a hawkish center to mainstream liberal America. By 1966, the American Left included a pro-Civil Rights and pro-War platform of moderate liberals, pro-Civil Rights and anti-War platform for mainstream liberals, and a pro-Civil Rights and pro-Vietnamese/Communist

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[29] For an account of the nation-wide riots that followed King's murder from a number of perspectives see Clay Risen's *A Nation on Fire: American in the Wake of the King Assassination* (New York: Wiley Academy, 2008).
[30] Oglesby, *Ravens in the Storm*, 96.

Nationalism platform for the radical Left. If there was no uncomplicated answer among SDS members, then, it was because the politics and ideology of SDS—and the American Left—was never an uncomplicated proposition.

At its annual convention in 1967, SDS isolated the IDA "as a symbol of the universities' complicity in the Vietnam War."[31] Relatively unknown to most students during the previous decade, the IDA instantly codified the deception that radical students felt to be the crux of university policies and the funding source for university expansion campaigns under the guise of urban renewal. SDS persuaded enough students that the IDA represented the lynchpin to unraveling what it considered to be academic corruption. Other groups were persuaded, as well. By 1967, some scientists had also begun to believe that academia's association with the Department of Defense brought it into conflict with what it considered to be the life-sustaining mandate of scientific research. The Federation of American Scientists issued several statements that year criticizing classified weapons research "designed to destroy human life or incapacitate human beings," as fundamentally opposed to science, itself. As the memory of Columbia's involvement with the Manhattan Project during the Second World War was less than 25 years old, criticisms by some scientists were careful to distinguish between acceptable associations with the military in a time of "national emergency," and associations in the Vietnam era.[32] There were, it turned out, caveats to killing.

University administrations also concluded that school ties to Department of Defense research were an indirect endorsement of the Vietnam War. Even if their arrangements with the government were lucrative, Berkeley, MIT, and Columbia all

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[31] Bell, "Columbia and the New Left," 67.
[32] Clark, Evert, "Secret Research in Colleges Is Found Declining," *The New York Times* (23 April 1968), 3.

began divesting their interests in defense research by the mid-1960s. Many of the labs were converted to private, non-profit entities or were absorbed by existing university science programs. Despite those divestments, which were largely complete by the 1967, SDS made a decade of collusion the single most representative issue around which all its local chapters would organize protests. Those protests were particularly strident at Columbia, since university president Grayson Kirk and university trustee William Burden continued their membership to the IDA's Board of Directors. Even if Kirk and Burden served as private citizens, as most university administrators do for various public and private institutions, their membership was exploited by SDS as a conflict of interest and reflected the larger contention among the New Left that universities as institutions had compromised their independence and the values of Academic Freedom.

SDS's founding document, the Port Huron Statement (1962), outlines what they perceived to be an ideological crisis in academia, American cultural conservatism, and the social justice movement that the organization counted as its inherited legacy. Penned by Tom Hayden, the American social activist and later one of the Chicago Seven, the Port Huron Statement begins by expressing both patriotic and regretful sentiments, speaking in the first paragraph about old-fashioned American values and principles and in the next, ruefully about Southern bigotry, the Cold War, and "human degradation." It was actually two documents: an essay and a polemic. Descriptive and proscriptive, the Port Huron "Statement" was more of a treatise on political action for SDS members.

As an essay, its subject was the paradox that defined American society: nuclear energy's beneficence and the nuclear bomb's totalizing destruction, our guarantee to equal rights and the "facts of Negro life," and the supposedly peaceful interests of U.S.

foreign policy and its investments in weapons development. The overriding conflict that Hayden addressed, however, was a critical divide between those who could not accept these disjunctions (the emerging New Left) and those who accepted them as irreducible facts of life (everyone else). "In this is perhaps the outstanding paradox: we ourselves are imbued with urgency, yet the message of our society is that there is no viable alternative to the present."[33]

As a polemic, the agenda of its authors was "democracy," and their method realigned foundational American values with this new democracy. Honesty, idealism, a Puritan work ethic, and the idea that "men are infinitely precious," the authors argued, should be salvaged from what they believed to be a broken social system.[34] The new democracy would reclaim the participatory nature of the old one and, in a plainspoken way, would have two aims: people should have a say in the direction of their society and that society should encourage independence of thought and action in its members. While SDS lamented the paradox of a stifling, broken society still convinced of its progress and righteousness, the Port Huron Statement attempted to recapture a set of rhetorical ideals. The document was a call to make the illusion of integrity real again: American society inherited a human rights constitution, but it had to be put back to work in a new, post-industrial, post-McCarthy age.

The Port Huron Statement directly addressed a social ambivalence within college life. Bemoaning the "cumbersome academic bureaucracy" of modern education, Hayden drew a direct line from a rigid, conformist academic environment to a majority of its

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[33] Students for a Democratic Society, "The Port Huron Statement," in James Miller. *Democracy in the Streets: From Port Huron to the Siege of Chicago* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1987): 330.
[34] Miller, *Democracy in the Streets*, 332

students who, citing a recent Gallup poll, "will settle for low success and won't risk high failure."[35] It continues,

> "Attention is being paid to social status; much, too, is being paid to academic status. But neglected generally is real intellectual status, the personal cultivation of the mind. Tragically, the university could serve as a significant source of social criticism and an initiator of new modes and molders of attitudes. But the actual intellectual effect of the college experience is hardly distinguishable from that of any other communications channel—say, a television set—passing on the stock truths of the day."[36]

Although they were among the principle audiences of the Port Huron Statement, college students were one unit of analysis in the document's totalizing, pan-American scope. If SDS was to succeed, they had to put those students in touch with those very "stock truths," their fallacies, and an intelligent, logical argument against such "truths."

The relationship between geo-politics and economics was not difficult to imagine for most Americans at the time, but a global understanding of the military-industrial complex, for instance, was not something many could claim. SDS and the Port Huron Statement's authors were, at a base level, engaged in a guerilla form of public education. Arming the average SDS member with an airtight argument against "the most spectacular...creation of the authoritarian and oligopolistic structure of economic decision making," was not something the document could do in detail, but could do by outlining a pedagogical platform.[37]

Eisenhower's term "military-industrial complex" described a defense-based economic juggernaut whose chief agent was the Department of Defense, which was

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[35] Miller, *Democracy in the Streets*, 334.
[36] Miller, *Democracy in the Streets*, 334-5.
[37] Miller, *Democracy in the Streets*, 340.

fueled by, among other things, sixty cents for every public dollar spent in 1962.[38] A relationship between military and private industry was not a novel one in 1962, but the scope and impact of the Cold War military-industrial complex in mid-century America was totalizing. "Business and politics, when significantly militarized, affect the whole living condition of each American citizen. Worker and family depend on the Cold War for life. Half of all research and development is concentrated on military ends."[39] More importantly, ambivalence among average workers and families toward an otherwise stable economy belied SDS' belief that it was a "stagnant" economy.

Stagnancy was at the heart of the Port Huron Statement, which offers a broad interpretation of "economy" to mean both fiscal fitness or failure and social progress or regression. Labor conditions, racial discrimination, disarmament, and reform in higher education, SDS argued, were both fiscal and social matters. The stagnancy of this broad economy of fiscal and social policies merged with the political ambivalence that SDS members found on college campuses. Both qualities were based in the wholesale acceptance of a status quo and an absence of critical engagement. Just as the document began with an "Agenda for a Generation," it ended by identified the university as a place where criticality can be unfettered and most influential.

Critiques of the academy drew together students as well as young faculty in the 1960s, yet there were few political causes that architecture students embraced. The insular nature of design studio, the long hours, and, as some have argued, the irrelevance of the studio assignments on everyday conditions offered few incentives for engagement with SDS or others. It was not until Columbia broke ground on a gymnasium in

[38] Miller, *Democracy in the Streets*, 340.
[39] Miller, *Democracy in the Streets*, 345.

Morningside Park—eight full years after it was proposed and 12 months after the workers began preparing the site—that architecture students were incentivized to act. Though they were slow to the issue of unchecked campus expansion, they were quick to grasp the opportunity presented by a school-wide protest in April of 1968. As cries of "gym crow must go" began to circulate around Harlem, on the other side of the park, Columbia's architecture students began to connect the terms of their education with the conditions just outside their studio windows.

Gym Crow Must Go

Nearly one hundred years after Frederick Law Olmsted and Calvert Vaux completed Morningside Park, New Yorkers remained committed to the landscape architect's original antipathy toward development in park spaces. Olmsted, who also designed Central Park and Prospect Park with Vaux, presciently noted soon after winning the commission for Central Park:

> The time will come when New York will be built up, when all the grading and filling will be done, and when the...rocky formations of the Island will have been converted into foundations for rows of monotonous straight streets, and piles of erect, angular buildings. There will be no suggestion left of its present varied surface, with the single exception of the Park.[40]

Columbia's arrival uptown in 1897 and, in 1904 the completion of the IRT subway line, created the framework for maximum density that Morningside Heights maintained throughout the twentieth century. **[2.3]** Almost immediately after McKim, Mead, and White completed the school's master plan and, now, historic campus, Columbia began to

[40] Rybczynski, Witold, *A Clearing in the Distance* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1999): 174.

feel the pressure of neighborhood growth advancing against its institutional growth. By mid-century, and compared with other Ivy League schools, Columbia officials had long felt disadvantaged due to a lack of proper athletic facilities. To solve this problem, the university negotiated a 50-year lease with the New York City Parks Department for 2.1 acres in Morningside Park that amounted to $3,000 a month in rent.

The deal began in 1958, when university officials and then-Parks Commissioner Robert Moses decided that, given scale and purpose of a university athletic complex, demolishing buildings in the adjacent neighborhoods would be unwise. Its rocky topography aside, Morningside Park was the most tenable piece of land for Columbia to erect a gym. **[2.4]** Yet, even if Moses and New York City Department of Parks and Recreation were willing to lease land to Columbia for a gym, parkland still constituted sacred space. To mitigate the torrent of criticism that it would likely receive—and ultimately did—the gym project was intended to be half-private and half-public in its funding, maintenance, and use. Columbia would fund the construction of the gym and have sole access to it on weekdays during the school year. On weekends, and when school was out of session, the gym would be open to the public and administered by the Parks Department.[41] **[2.5]**

Both houses of the state legislature unanimously passed the February 1960 bills that authorized the lease of parkland to Columbia.[42] Introduced into legislation by James Watson, the African-American representative from the Morningside-West Harlem

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[41] Starr, "The Case of Columbia Gym," 107-10. A precedent for this was already in place with the Columbia-Community Athletic Field, two baseball diamonds that it had constructed in Morningside Park (under similar terms with the Parks Department) in 1957.

[42] Cannato, Vincent J., *The Ungovernable City: John Lindsay and His Struggle to Save New York* (New York: Basic Books, 2001): 231.

District, the gym was seen as positive step on both sides of Morningside Park. For Harlem residents to the east, the park site promised somewhat accessible, but brand new, amenities. For Morningside Heights residents to the west, the park site meant that parts of their neighborhood would not be razed.

Morningside Park, as a whole, was also the most likely candidate for a renewal in the city of New York, having made number one on Mayor John Lindsay's 1965 list of twelve most feared parks in the United States.[43] The Lindsay campaign's eagerness to make an argument for Morningside Park's transformation—not necessarily its redevelopment—stemmed from the project's strong political support in Albany and within the city. For the moment, Columbia's eagerness to claim the park was rooted in the university's profound growing pains by the late-1950s. Although Lindsay inherited the Columbia gym/Morningside Park project from the previous mayor, Robert F. Wagner, he was not in favor of it.[44] Lindsay's Parks Commissioner, the art historian (later the Director of the Metropolitan Museum of Art) Thomas Hoving, who authored the report that identified Morningside Park as the most dangerous park, argued against the project's encroachment on the park, calling Columbia's actions "disgraceful." "[If] we are going to have to live with this big ugly structure built on community land," he argued, "then the community and not Columbia should get the most benefit."[45]

Designed by two New York firms, Eggers and Higgins and Sherwood, Mills, and Smith, the gym also roused public skepticism even before the architecture students

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[43] Hoving, Thomas, "Lindsay Campaign White Paper on Parks and Recreation," 8 October 1965, John Vliet Lindsay papers, 1944-1994 (inclusive). Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University.
[44] Hentoff, Nat, *A Political Life: The Education of John V. Lindsay* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1969): 87.
[45] Cannato, *The Ungovernable City*, 234.

publicly opposed it. Neither the function nor the purpose of the gym was contested, as it satisfied Columbia's need for athletic facilities and included what most considered adequate community programming—including an Olympic-sized pool—for non-Columbia uses. **[2.6]** The objection, in other words, was about context.[46] According to the proposal, the gym was to occupy the steep cliff that formed a natural border between the Columbia campus above and Morningside Park below. It was a border that, according to one Morningside Heights resident, applied to both Harlem and Morningside Heights communities; she knew of no one "black or white who dared use the park even for a short-cut, let alone for relaxation."[47]

The bulk of the gymnasium complex, which included storage rooms, locker facilities, and athletic offices, were located at grade on the ground level. **[2.7]** The gymnasium itself, which surmounted these functional spaces, was to be a large, six-story box with massing relieved only by a series of sinuous vertical members and a few, diminutive windows. **[2.8]** After the renderings had been released in 1966, Ada Louise Huxtable, then writing for *The New York Times*, called it a "blockbuster" in the sense that its "huge masonry build will never blend with its rustic setting."[48]

The debate to isolate the public park from private interests was about preventing the erosion of civic space for Olmsted. A century later and just as the historic preservation movement had gained momentum, the debate was about preventing the erosion of both civic space and what had become a historic space for gym opponents. Once completed, many wondered if it would set an irreversible precedent for other,

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[46] Keller, George, "Six Weeks that Shook Morningside," *Columbia College Today* (Spring, 1968): 31.
[47] Trilling, Diana, "On the Steps of Low Library: Liberalism and the Revolution of the Young," *Commentary* (November, 1968): 32.
[48] Huxtable, Ada Louise, "Expansion at Columbia." *The New York Times* (5 November 1966): 33.

similarly situated urban campuses, or stand as an exception.[49] No kind account of the gym's presence in Morningside Park can be found among critics at the time, such as Huxtable, Allan Temko, or commentators in neighborhood newspapers. The occasional account of the gym appeared in *The New York Times*, which generally supported the project despite its long-standing editorial position that parkland should not be "invaded" for "non-park purposes."[50]

Harlem had already been "invaded" to a great extent by this time or, as urban renewal proponents might have argued, "improved." Overcrowding in the inter-war period continued well into the 1960s, and architects from William Lescaze (redevelopment plan for Central Harlem, 1944) to Robert Stern (with others: St. Nicholas Park neighborhood master plan, 1969) offered multi-block, mixed-use proposals to alleviate the housing crisis and create parkland. The spirit of these proposals, a bird's eye view of various sections of Harlem, Ward's Island, and Randall's Island rendered through as a series of inter-block systems, appeared again at the Museum of Modern Art's (MoMA) 1967 exhibition "The New City: Architecture and Urban Renewal." Arthur Drexler, then-chairman of the architecture department at MoMA, selected teams from Princeton, Cornell, M.I.T., and Columbia to consider the idea of "redevelopment" in response to both what had been proposed (Lescaze, et al.) but also what had been built

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[49] In a letter to the editor of *The New York Times*, then-president of the Municipal Art Society Harmon Goldstone wrote, "When Columbia's gymnasium is built, and a monstrous mass of unrelieved brickwork affronts the soaring apse of the great cathedral rising on the Heights...when park policing is no problem because there are no parks, then may historians of an untenable city question the nice distinction that [Columbia] makes between 'an exception' and 'a precedent.'" See *The New York Times*, 4 August 1961, 24.

[50] Starr, "The Case of Columbia Gym," 111.

since 1945: more than 200 acres of new housing projects across Harlem.[51] In each case, the role of the mega-structure dominated the debate about how developing a *better* solution for what had been considered *best* solution at the time of construction. The projects for the Stephen Foster Houses (1946; later the Martin Luther King, Jr. Houses), the Manhattanville Houses (William Lescaze, 1961) and the River View Towers (Kelly & Gruzen, 1963) epitomized much of this housing stock. All were 25-story or taller concrete slab towers, sometimes arranged in clusters of three with a central stairwell/utility shaft, set within an open (often barren) lot; for lack of a better description, they were the quintessential towers-in-the-park.

As towers continued to go up, living conditions did not improve. In the post-war period, heroin gripped Harlem, corporate support and city services declined, the proliferation of single-room occupancy units (SROs)—former apartments converted to house multiple people individually—destabilized the social fabric, and crime rose dramatically—all while the population of Harlem and Morningside Heights grew by nearly 700% between 1950 and 1960.[52] Columbia University Provost Jacques Barzun, at the height of the school's public relations push for the Morningside Park gymnasium project, noted that the area surrounding the school had become "uninviting, abnormal, sinister, and dangerous."[53] Barzun's comments were not entirely inaccurate, as the adjacent neighborhood appeared even more dangerous in contrast with the campus of Columbia. Uninviting as it seemed to some, Harlem represented a series of communities

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[51] R.A.M. Stern, T. Mellins, D. Fishman, *New York 1960: Architecture and Urbanism Between the Second World War and the Bicentennial* (New York: Monacelli Press, 1995): 859-63.
[52] Bradley, Stefan, "Gym Crow Must Go! The 1968-69 Student and Community Protests at Columbia University in the City of New York," Ph.D. diss. (University of Missouri-Columbia, 2003): 44.
[53] Nash, George, *The University and the City: Eight Cases of Involvement—A Report Prepared for the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1973): 97.

that, increasingly, had found a voice. When proposals such as a semi-private, Ivy League gymnasium on public land between two predominantly African-American and Puerto Rican neighborhoods, the communities were galvanized.

Some Harlem residents certainly viewed the gym as an invasion, but also understood it as an opportunity. Max Bond of ARCH, put the gym within the wider context of urban renewal, noting that the city was becoming "an urban junkyard" of large housing projects and that a civic one might be useful. Bond's specific contention was that redevelopment schemes for Harlem were conceived outside of the community. In fact, groups such as ARCH, the Harlem Commonwealth Council, and Real Great Society were not opposed to development, but were opposed the gradual erosion of neighborhood boundaries.[54] The gym could stay, as far as Bond was concerned, if it could be signed over to Harlem. Even the elements of the project that had been completed, such as preliminary site work, could be turned into an amphitheater for community use.[55]

Eggers and Higgins, John Russell Pope's successor firm that employed 180 people in 1968—understood its position relative to the gym debacle; by October of that year, the firm established a paid internship program within its offices for minority youth, employing five African-Americans, three Puerto Ricans, and two white students.[56] Besides being a good public relations, the youth drafting program served another explicit goal: to address the gap between the graduating architect's skills and the actual skills needed by a working firm. Reporting dissatisfaction with "the quality and price of drafting talent," the firm paid the new recruits minimum wage rather than "professional

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[54] "Harlem Labeled City's 'Junkyard'." *The New York Times* (24 August 1968): 30.
[55] Tucker, "Poor People's Plan, 268.
[56] "Closing the Drafting Gap." *Progressive Architecture* (October, 1968): 71-73.

wages." Newly minted architecture school graduates who entered the program, Eggers and Higgins principals argued in defense of their wage policy, would often have to be retrained at great expense in order to learn concrete and steel drafting beyond the wood framing drafting that was "of little use" in a large urban firm.[57]

If the professional firm's complaint about architectural education centered on the dearth of skill sets, the student's complaint about the profession centered on architecture's intent. In spite of the social activism of the Great Depression that produced robust federal programs and responsive public housing, from which 1960s activists drew some of their rhetoric, many architecture students felt as though the architecture profession had not evolved in terms of defining a standard set of ethics. The "castles and churches" of *fin de siècle* America had been traded for "corporate office buildings and banks," in architecture's limited spectrum of production, noted Ray Lifchez, one member of Columbia's architecture faculty in 1968.[58] Skill sets and professionalization aside, architecture's academy still resembled "the establishment" in which students were discouraged from "utopian talk about social concerns."[59] Lifchez went on:

> I had disliked the curriculum ten years ago when I was a student here, and I criticized it for being too rigid, too closely wedded to the Beaux Arts tradition of stressing the form of the building, its style, over everything else. When I came back here to teach...I found the curriculum was exactly the same. Now if this...was a revolution over curriculum, I could understand that, and I might even join it. But it wasn't.[60]

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[57] "Closing the Drafting Gap," 71.
[58] Rosencrantz, *Across the Barricades,* 88.
[59] Rosencranz, *Across the Barricades*, 89.
[60] Rosencranz, *Across the Barricades*, 89.

The gym was not a revolution, at all, but a conventional solution for an unconventional context. Lifchez and his colleagues, the Canadian architect Peter Prangnell, and visiting critic Herman Hertzberger, stood as many young faculty did, between the progressive social beliefs they shared with students and the stale patterns of training that professionalization required. As a gleaming white box in Morningside Park, itself a highly charged social and political landscape, the gym seemed to be every bit the "blockbuster" of Huxtable's indictment.

Exacerbating the problem, Columbia largely ignored the architecture faculty's expertise and advice during the gym's design process.[61] Architecture faculty members who served on the Columbia administration's Advisory Council on Architectural Planning, did so as a token gesture. Romaldo Giurgola, architecture professor and delegate to the Advisory Council in 1968, lamented, "We were asked to approve plans already under way or buildings for which foundations were already being dug."[62]

Among architecture students, the gym proposal epitomized the concern that, by intention, the curriculum did not train architects to consider the social impact of their work. Students were reminded, through their own experiences in the neighborhood, how a profession-wide and perennial focus on housing could have such a small impact on an everyday level. *Progressive Architecture* editor Jan Rowan summarized the situation in 1968 by noting, "In spite of the idealistic plans, single-house suburbia continues its victorious march. [...] Perhaps no answer to the constant schism that exists between ideal

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[61] In his official history of the architecture program at Columbia, Richard Oliver argued that university policy forbade faculty from accepting commissions for design jobs on campus. Although faculty could advise on projects, neither the gym nor the other period buildings on campus (like Ferris-Booth Hall or the Law School) benefited from the architecture school faculty's input.

[62] Huxtable, "Strike at Columbia Architecture School Traced to Anger Over Exclusion from Planning," 70.

environments proposed by architects and not-so-ideal environments offered by builders and eagerly bought by the public lies in that simples of explanations: most people don't want what architects want."[63]

Earlier that year, the AIA released a report on reevaluating the role of the architect in society, by recommending interdisciplinary, project-oriented collaboration (versus letting one profession take the design lead), and a series of academic modules that would reflect these values: "process," "scope," and "scale."[64] The modules would each have six dimensions, or basic lessons, and each of those would have six other dimensions, supporting lessons. The report draws up a matrix of 216 possible connections between these values, modules, and lessons, around which schools could identify their strengths and refine their curriculums.[65] By virtue of this rubric, a nationwide set of standards could be implemented and a ready-made model could be accessed, as every architecture school was "hoping to be the next Harvard," one of the report's authors noted.[66]

Behind the AIA report was a belief among architecture's educators and students that better models of education needed to be tested—whether it followed Harvard or not—and that, structurally, programs were uneven in their emphases: architecture as art or architecture as practice. In addition, there were ethical questions about architecture's relationship to the extant fabric of the city and the architect's role in that relationship. The architect John Young, one of the first preservation students to study with Fitch at Columbia, noted, "The preservation program, which admitted mostly non-architects, was

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[63] Rowan, Jan, "The People v. The Architects," *Progressive Architecture* (August, 1968): 85.
[64] "Education and the AIA: A Process for Change," *Architectural Forum* (May, 1968): 86.
[65] "Education and the AIA," 88.
[66] "Education and the AIA," 88.

an excellent antidote to conventional architectural education, which was...too heavily weighted toward professional practice. Since then, professional preservation has become as hidebound and lock-jawed...in its self-interest as architectural practice [seemed at the time]."[67]

Fitch, for his part in shaping the preservation program at Columbia, was remembered by architecture and preservation students, for his focus on the fundamental activism inherent in historic preservation.[68] Another student in Fitch's nascent preservation program at the time, the architectural historian William Morgan, recalled:

> The gym was a pure preservation fight—and Fitch was adamant that, if you had a park, you don't build in it. He did a study on Central Park for all the architectural schemes that others had proposed for it over the years. He concluded that if all of them had been approved—for the museum or another gazebo or whatever—they would have made up 150% of the park. And, that really made an impression on me about gradual erosion. If you had an Olmsted park, you did not give up an inch.[69]

It was because of the gym, too, that some students felt as though preservation and architecture grew closer within their curricular aims.[70] A move to better incorporate ideas about preservation, community, and social agency—and their curricular impact—had been slowly gaining ground during the two years leading up to the strike even if faculty struggled to marry the motives of social unrest onto a plan of action for the designing architect.[71]

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[67] Young, John. E-mail to author, 8 November 2009.
[68] The training for the "scholarly Preservation Architect" first became a goal of the architecture program in 1959 during the search for a new dean following Leopold Arnand's retirement. See Richard Oliver's chapter "History VI: 1959-68" in *The Making of an Architect*, pp. 167-68.
[69] Morgan, William. Interview by author, Providence, R.I., 13 November 2009.
[70] Young, John. E-mail to author, 8 November 2009.
[71] Prangnell, Peter, E-mail to author, 15 November 2009.

Avery Hall and the architecture program, ineffectual in guiding Columbia's expansion and planning decisions and ideologically disconnected from the SDS protests, sought reform from within as it addressed its own curriculum and the larger direction of architectural agency. It was due to these pressures that Avery Hall was occupied for five days beginning on April 24th, 1968.[72] Avery's occupants spent their time productively on two related tasks: proposing an alternative to the gymnasium design and outlining an expanded curriculum that would build on their vertical studio arrangement and integrate social justice, social agency, and inclusive notions of civic space into the architect's education.

Architecture's Communards

The campus-wide student protests and police bust at Columbia University during the week of April 24, 1968, in which hundreds of students barricaded themselves in five buildings and hundreds more gathered outside for nearly an entire week, may be a familiar story. Eighty-one of those students at the School of Architecture occupied their own building, Avery Hall, and turned it into both fortress and workshop—in many ways against the protest current that other building occupiers had created. Their standoff with the administration, fueled by Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), framed a series of related protest issues: Vietnam, amnesty for disciplined classmates, government-funded

[72] Comparing interviews recorded in 1968-69 among members of the Avery Commune and interviews conducted by the author in 2009, it is clear that SDS existed largely outside of the concerns of architecture students at Columbia. At their most charitable, interview subjects felt that SDS was disorganized and, in many ways, irrelevant to the focused efforts on curricular reform undertaken in Avery Hall at the time. As Katia Solomon noted (interview by author, 19 July 2009), "We were involved in the sense that SDS presented themselves as the spokesmen for the students. We took our distance with them. Of course, we were all fascinated by this Mark Rudd who was so daring in his expression, but...we had our own movement within Avery with specific ideas."

research through the Institute for Defense Analysis (IDA), and campus recruiting by R.O.T.C. **[3.9]**

If there was one thing that angered architecture students, however, it was the proposed school gymnasium in adjacent Morningside Park, which had broken ground only weeks before. **[2.9]** Over the course of five days, the gym became the central foil for these students to call attention to the conflict between what they felt to be the architect's role as social agent and community displacement through urban renewal in neighboring Harlem. To the members of the Avery Hall Commune, as it came to be called, the gymnasium project embodied the practices of the university as imperialist monolith—displacing families, carving up communities and park land, and remaking the urban fabric to better serve its own, privileged constituents. Determined to identify a practical solution to unchecked development, those who occupied Avery produced a draft of an entirely new curriculum entitled, "The Platform System," which combined the idealism of collaborative design with the realities of communities that had been fractured by institutions like Columbia. The protests among architecture students advanced along these ideological lines and, like SDS and the New Left, sought strawmen in the course of seeking the fundamental failures of the system. Student demands at Columbia grew to include more interdisciplinary programs, the student selection of critics for reviews, and the addition of Landscape Architecture to existing programs in Architecture, Architectural Technology, and Planning. During the week of April 23-27, 1968, as four other academic buildings were taken over, occupied, and fortified by demonstrators, the occupation of Avery Hall made it an object of these demands. **[3.11]**

By 1967, problems on campus extended far beyond personal freedom and student representation, including civil disorders and race riots in adjacent neighborhoods. Moreover, multiple student groups existed, each with a distinct set of concerns, some of which overlapped, and several associated methods of protest. Any given protest was likely to include, besides the protesters, plain-clothes police, faculty (some of whom appeared only slightly older than their students), and counter-protesters, or the more conservative "jocks," who could often be as violent as the uniformed police that were a common presence on university campuses. During the protests at Columbia, in April of 1968, a variety of colored armbands were distributed so that everyone understood the alliances.[73] There were no reports of the success or failure of these armbands, easily appropriated by the various sides and likely confusing the lines of protest, but they reflected the complexity of the situation in which most students found themselves by design or by accident.

Contemporary news reports and later retrospectives disagree about the events at Columbia in between April 23 and April 27, 1968. A few distinct groups had been identified, but the nature of their associated actions and alliances were muddled, at best. Generally, Columbia faculty, Columbia administration, Columbia students, and Harlem residents represent the four biggest groups that, themselves, had sub-factions. Some Columbia faculty sympathized with students and some did not; some students valued faculty involvement in the building occupations, but most were suspicious of them. The Columbia's administration, most of who were away that week, had mixed alliances.

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[73] Goldstein, Richard, "The Groovy Revolution: Fold, Spindle, Mutilate," *The Village Voice* (2 May 1968): 18. Goldstein goes on to note that a red armband stood for "pro-strike militancy," green for "peace with amnesty," pale blue for "stop all demonstrations," white for "faculty," and black for "support for (police) force."

Finally, Harlem residents, loosely represented by the Student Afro-American Society, and students from the general population, the largest and most fractured group, formed the last two sides of the protest. By all accounts, however, SDS instigated and orchestrated (poorly at first) most of what happened.

In the previous month, Mark Rudd radicalized the local chapter of SDS, which had been run by "moderates, who temporarily rejected direct-action techniques in favor of 'research' to expose the administration and 'education' to gain the allegiance of moderate students."[74] Rudd's first act violated the university's recent policy banning all indoor demonstrations by holding one. Consequently, six of SDS's leaders, including Rudd, were put on probation by Columbia for the remainder of the school year.

On April 23, several students and members of SDS marched to Morningside Park, assembled at the site of Columbia's proposed gymnasium, and proceeded to destroy the fences that ringed the site. **[2.10]** Most evidence suggests that the motive for this was the disciplinary actions taken against SDS members, as the initial demonstration was intended to occur inside Low Library, which the students found to be locked.[75] Failing to accomplish anything at Low Library, SDS capitalized on the expectations of the crowd, now 200-300 strong, and moved on Morningside Park. The proposed Columbia gym, as SDS knew, was a point of contention for both students and Harlem residents who, according to one historian, "were beginning to see the opportunity for making special claims of their own."[76]

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[74] Trimberger, Ellen Kay, "Why A Rebellion at Columbia Was Inevitable," *Trans-action* (September, 1968): 31.
[75] Trimberger, "Why A Rebellion at Columbia Was Inevitable," 32.
[76] Marwick, *The Sixties,* 659.

By the afternoon of April 23, 1968, SDS, unaffiliated and relatively unconcerned with Harlem, parlayed the assorted interests of students and Harlem residents into a move back to the center of campus. SDS had the numbers and the momentum, but needed to quickly direct them into a series of cogent issues that could give everyone an unequivocal purpose for demonstrating. Even if, as SDS member Dotson Rader noted, "the point of the game was power," the IDA and the proposed Columbia gymnasium became the rallying points and the issues against which most Columbia students thought they were protesting. In other words, SDS was now charged with rallying a relatively disconnected and disorganized group of sympathizers.

Conflicting reports about the terms of the Avery Hall occupation indicate that, at one extreme, it was barricaded completely in the same manner as Fayerweather Hall less than 50 feet away. In Fayerweather, doors were blocked with lounge furniture, stairwells were greased, and meetings were held hourly by members of SDS to indoctrinate the less radical occupants and form both a political and defensive strategy against the administration and the inevitable arrival of the police.[77] At the other extreme, Avery Hall became an ad-hoc workshop for architecture students in which "they sat at their drafting boards, creating plans for a humanistic city and taping their finished designs across the windows."[78] While this was the impression among outsiders, inside reports indicate that students spent several days debating architecture's utility, generally and as it pertained to the Morningside Park issue, and producing a set of proposals to reform their

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[77] "Columbia University: 1968 Student Takeover," DVD, (Tulsa, O.K.:Vintage Films, 1968). There is no director affiliated with this film footage, shot inside Fayerweather Hall and outside during the protests and subsequent police raid on the Columbia campus. While some post-production exists in this film, which was edited and overlaid with commentary from an unnamed narrator (presumably an SDS member), it captures most of the events as they sequentially happened.

[78] Goldstein, "The Groovy Revolution: Fold, Spindle, Mutilate," 18.

curriculum.[79] Many accounts of the occupations that week, including those in *The New York Times* and the *Village Voice*, overlooked that detail and grouped Avery Hall among the other fortified buildings as part of the SDS effort. In fact, most of the architecture students were not affiliated with SDS (even if they were sympathizers), and the lines of protest in Avery Hall centered on educational reform and the Columbia gym issue.[80]

In the days following April 23, which was the first real day of demonstration at Columbia, Fayerweather Hall, the Mathematics building, Hamilton Hall, and Low Library had been, essentially, taken by force and then occupied. Each of these buildings had been occupied for a different strategic reason that pertained to the larger SDS protest against the IDA and the Columbia gym. Two of the most important reasons were President Kirk's office, located in Low Library, raided for confidential documents, and the Dean of Students, located in Hamilton Hall, held hostage as an initial gambit to produce results from the administration. **[2.11a-2.11b]**

Conversely, Avery Hall had not been "taken" at all, but the architecture students who would later be part of the "occupation" were there in the first place, as they had been in the throes of spring *charrette*.[81] When it was announced on April 24 that Avery Hall would close early, to prevent students from spending all night at their desks and as a response to the general protests on campus, which were escalating, the students refused to leave.[82] Most were interested in continuing through the night on their various projects

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[79] Gutman and Plunz, "Anatomy of Insurrection," 204.
[80] Trimberger, "Why A Rebellion at Columbia Was Inevitable," 32.
[81] Charrette is the final, feverish period before a design assignment must be submitted. It derives from the *charrette*, or "cart," on which *École* students in the 19th century would place their final drawings.
[82] Gutman and Plunz, "Anatomy of Insurrection," 203.

and some relished the idea of defying a direct order to leave. According to first-hand accounts, it seems that everyone was united against the gymnasium proposal. Rolf Busch, a graduate student in the architecture program, recalled,

> I'd been working for this degree, saving up enough money from a succession of jobs so that I could afford to spend four years in architecture school. [...] I didn't care about Dean Smith telling us to leave, and I didn't care about SDS...and I didn't care about IDA, but I cared about the gym, and I knew a great deal about it. [...] It was partially an architecture problem, and as an architect I knew the gym was wrong. Maybe it was just a sick joke, but one of the private cops patrolling the Heights told me, 'Those [gym] gates are to keep the niggers down below, so they don't come up here to rob people.'[83]

Avery Hall was not barricaded at first. When students decided to barricade the doors with drafting boards is unclear, but at some point Avery Hall joined the other four occupied buildings on campus in closing completely to the outside. Significantly, Avery Hall was the only building occupied by its own students whose first act was to lock and guard its valuable architecture library.[84] The other four buildings were treated relatively well by their unassociated occupants. Posted signs instructed students to be respectful of the building, with one notifying passersby that:

> This office as been
> 1) liberated
> 2) cleaned
> Keep it that way **[2.12]**

As an open studio, initially, the Avery students had been engaged in a "design-in," that addressed the gym proposal, itself. The controversies around the gym project should not be divorced from the Avery Commune's formation, as both were firmly situated in a

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[83] Rosenkranz, *Across the Barricades*, 28-9.
[84] Huxtable, Ada Louise, "Strike at Columbia Architecture School Traced to Anger Over Exclusion from Planning," *The New York Times* (20 May 1968): 70.

broader discussion about education, and what the Commune members called "a participatory democracy."[85]

Since 1960, architecture students at Columbia advanced through a series of "vertical studios." In this system, design studios were not arranged sequentially from year to year, but were offered in any order a student wanted to take them.[86] Fundamental design courses, such as drafting and structural systems were taken in the first year. Beyond that, the "vertical studio" system allowed students to freely choose which studios (all with particular design problems) they wanted to take towards the design degree. While one of these vertical studios in the Spring of 1968, which addressed housing needs for residents on Coney Island, garnered praise from students for its social relevance, its associated faculty hardly came to periodic desk critiques or more formal reviews.[87] Desk critiques and reviews were integral to the architect's education in the same way that periodic progress meetings are part of any student's relationship with their instructors.

This interaction between studio faculty and students was especially important for the Coney Island assignment, as it was the first time that kind of social problem had been introduced at Avery Hall. As Paul Broches, in his second year of the graduate design program, recalled:

> [Last] year, my class was told to design a desert oasis, and I almost quit the School. [...] The design projects here have always been notoriously irrelevant, just little arty exercises like designing summer houses for leisure lovers or making a few Swiss chalets that could pass as miniature Grossingers. And now we've moved in the other direction, from total fantasy to total reality. We'd been complaining so much about Harlem only about a mile away that the

[85] Salomon, Solomon, Interview by author, Paris (France), 29 July 2009.
[86] Gutman and Plunz, "Anatomy of Insurrection," 203.
[87] Gutman and Plunz, "Anatomy of Insurrection," 203.

> faculty finally decided to respond by drowning us in the muck. This year they threw all the urban problems of Coney Island at the second- and third-year classes with a single instruction, 'Solve them.'[88]

The failure of faculty to meet their responsibilities was a sign of entropy for students who began to see curriculum changes (in the scope of the Coney Island studio, for instance), but not a good-faith effort among faculty to fully implement those changes.

Students were encouraged to consider studio design problems outside of lived experience, as a formal exercise in planning and drafting—a traditional Beaux Arts school approach. The French architect Alain Salomon, in his final year of the graduate program in architecture and a member of the Avery Commune, recalled his class' studio assignment in the spring of 1968: to design a 400,000 square-foot art and architecture school adjacent to Columbia's existing campus. Students were free to choose the site around Morningside Heights and their proposals ranged from the "obliteration of entire blocks around campus to giant mega-structures across Morningside Park."[89] One memorable proposal, perched over Harlem in Morningside Park, included a funicular that would have connected the new school to various sites in Western Harlem. Students were expected to have "no qualms [about] wiping out 15 blocks just to design a building," Salomon noted. "The notion of what that meant was of no concern."[90]

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[88] Rosenkranz, *Across the Barricades*, 8.
[89] Alain Salomon to Joan Ockman, 1 May 1998.
[90] Solomon, Alain. Interview by author, Toulouse (France), 15 July 2009. This was not true of the entire faculty, however. Others associated with Columbia's architecture program during the late-sixties pulled students away from treating a site like a *tabula rasa*. Alain Solomon [interview with the author, 19 July 2009] and others in Avery at the time note that James Marston Fitch, who began the preservation program there, the Canadian architect Peter Prangnell, and visiting lecturers like the Dutch architects Herman Hertzberger and Aldo Van Eyck.

This particular assignment had an analogue in Columbia's gymnasium project in Morningside Park, which embodied—with far greater consequences—the problems of unchecked development. The assumption that 15 blocks could be wiped off the map alarmed the Avery students and young faculty, who counted Team X, Aldo Van Eyck, and Herman Hertzberger as influences.[91] In their valuing of local forces, geography, climate, and the historic fabric, they challenged the University's approach to urban interventions. Context, for these students, was not a blank slate on which to draw an architectural plan and context formed the very basis of civic/public space. Architecture, in turn, was about designing a set of conditions that reflected existing patterns of use that were already in place.

While Van Eyck made an ideological impression on students as a visiting critic at Columbia in 1967, Hertzberger's influence was more piquant in his participation in the Avery Commune. As a visiting critic at Columbia in April of 1968 and unaware of what was about to unfold, he remained in New York through the first few days of the Avery Commune as a source of moral support. As students sketched the gymnasium site and proposed alternative solutions after the occupation ended, Hertzberger found himself at odds with the students' design approach, if fully aligned with their polemical position, which several of the students explained to a local NBC reporter who had been circulating during the "design-in" on the evening of Thursday, April 24.[92] As the reporter began his "reverses," or pointed summary questions to create edited sound-bytes later, Hertzberger allegedly leapt up, suspicious of the reporter and cameraman's motives, and unplugged the camera. "There are only two groups here, the students and the cops," he claimed,

[91] Prangnell, Peter. E-mail to author, 18 August 2009.
[92] Rosencrantz, *Across the Barricades*, 80-84.

"and, these people with the camera are not students, they're cops." Denying any police affiliation, the reporter pointed out that Hertzberger was not a student, either, to which the architect noted, "You don't have to wear a badge to be a cop. It's how you think."[93]

The world outside of Avery's commune began to seep in and it became apparent that the students had to define their political position relative to the other protesters in other occupied buildings, and their own consensus, as well. Arguing that the students could learn something from the Dutch *provos*, who used "happenings" to call attention to political issues, Hertzberger relayed a story later that evening of how these activists, *en masse*, once rode through the streets of Amsterdam on their bicycles, effectively forcing all automobile traffic off the road. "The *provos* did their thing, made their point, and then disbanded," he informed Avery students at the time, "You'll be doing well if your thing is so successful."[94] His story proved unconvincing, and, perhaps, irrelevant, although a few students are remembered as applauding. It did not illuminate much for the students and it marked a point during the building occupations when the Dutch architect and visiting critic began to feel estranged from what was really a student cause.

Salomon remembered this fissure well, as one forming between faculty and students, but also one between Americans at Columbia and Europeans, like Hertzberger, who saw continuity between Old World causes and Avery's cause. "These people were not taken serious for one good reason, which is that I think—by that time—we had

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[93] Rosencrantz, *Across the Barricades*, 85-6. When the report finally aired, later that evening, none of the student interviews were used. A single shot of the room's pin-up board, exclaiming "No Gym Here," was used, instead, in what became a larger story about the administrative problems that these occupations presented to the school.

[94] Rosencrantz, *Across the Barricades*, 91.

understood the originality of the Columbia movement as compared to what went on in other places. Something very specific and very original—and we were not too interested in hearing the 'good word' from the outside, not because they were foreigners, but because we had forged our own sense of things."[95] Hertzberger, for his part, found the experience dispiriting.[96] "I was invited as a visiting crit [sic] but no lessons took place," he recalled, "so I felt somewhat lost and I observed the situation from the sideline. For the rest I spent much time in a very narrow and deep bar at Broadway of which I forgot the name, but it had an extraordinary long and thin counter that was running from front to back and I do remember the tune that was playing continuously about Mrs. Robinson."[97]

Regardless of his eventual estrangement from the Avery Commune, Hertzberger's influence on the students had not been diminished, nor was his impact on them prior to the building occupation as forgettable as, perhaps, his lesson on the Dutch *provos*. In the year before the building occupations and Hertzberger's arrival in New York, he had completed designs for the "Diagoon Type" dwellings at Delft (1967-9). The project included 8 prototypical apartments that were expandable in their use of concrete-block construction, readily available and inexpensive. "The relationship between the built-up environment and its users is analogous to that between an instrument and its player," Hertzberger later noted, "The carcass is a half-product [that] everyone can complete according to his own needs."[98] User-needs were things that Hertzberger has held above

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[95] Salomon, Alain. Interview by author, Toulouse (France), 15 July 2009.
[96] Hertzberger, Herman. E-mail to author, 24 July 2009.
[97] Hertzberger, Herman. E-mail to author 24 July 2009.
[98] Hertzberger, Herman, "Shaping the Environment," in *Architecture for People* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1980): 38.

other design values like space or massing, and it not difficult to see where he and other proponents of Dutch Structuralism drew the boundaries of architecture's social function. Relevance, appropriate scale, and adaptability are intended to bring "dignity" back to living and working in much the same way that the members of Team X intended to refocus CIAM's discussion away from the city and towards the individual.

Since its founding in 1928, the *Congrès International d'Architecture Modern* represented an orthodox debate about Modern architecture under the auspices of urbanism: a systematic way of reshaping cities as the only productive arena of Modernism, itself. From the Chateau de la Sarraz (1928), to Frankfurt (1929), to Brussels (1930), and until the boat ride to Athens (1933), two ideas vital to Team X's defection emerged from an international group of architects and planners including founder Le Corbusier and founding member Sigfried Giedion. First, a post-industrial architecture should form a bureaucratic technocracy: efficient, driven towards new materials, and state-sanctioned. And, second, cities should function in a logical and orderly way, not as "chaotic" palimpsests of development, social patterns, and private and public economic interests.[99]

Team X's opposition to CIAM advanced against these prescriptions. Its members, loosely affiliated under the Team X banner but united within a general critique of both CIAM and the "inadequacies" of dominant design orthodoxies: Modern

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[99] The Athens Charter, which codifies the group's first four meetings, starkly offers "solutions" to 34 cities that had grown to be problematic for Modern architecture. Housing and housing developments, as components of the "functional city," represented the possible forms of Modernism and a way to construct urban space: regularized towers, cloistered developments, and productive sectors of living, industry, and agriculture. The allure of this proposal was its prescriptive power to renew the city, particularly the European city, after World War I when France's new diplomatic position, new geo-political boundaries, and the recognition of ethnic minorities that had been absorbed by Russian and the Austro-Hungarian Empire in the century before.

architecture, the city as an irreducible unit of analysis, and the irascibility of city planning, which held individuation in contempt of rational thought.[100] Aldo Van Eyck's "Statement Against Rationalism" (1947), the Doorn Manifesto (1954), and Alison Smithson's "The Aim of Team 10" (1962) define within this collective and among the nearly 100 published writings by members an ideological base. The latter, particularly, resonated with Avery students—through Hertzberger and their own nascent argument against a gymnasium in Morningside Park, "arty" studio assignments that Avery's Paul Broches decried, or institutional imperialism within a community.[101]

After Hertzberger's departure from the Avery Commune, its students hastened to finish collecting their thoughts about architecture's relevance and education's unrealized potential. What would ultimately be called the Platform System curriculum was still a summer's work away, and the more pressing task was planning for the impending police presence that everyone in Avery now anticipated. To prepare, members of the Avery Commune organized themselves vertically in the building: those who wanted to leave right away did so, those who would leave only when the police arrived, and those who would stay no matter what barricaded themselves on the upper levels by stacking drafting

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[100] Heynen, Hilde, "Engaging Modernism," (paper presented to Team 10—Between Modernity and the Everyday Architecture, Technische Universiteit Delft, June 6, 2003).

[101] Smithson deposes Modern architecture as a control technique not unlike Hertzberger's *provos*-on-bicycle "happening," which was one control technique used against another. The core of her statement of purpose for Team X is social agency. "For them 'to build,'" she noted, speaking about the so-called utopians behind Team X, "has a special meaning in that the architect's responsibility towards the individual or groups he builds for, and towards the cohesion and convenience of the collective structure to which they belong, is taken as being an absolute responsibility. No abstract Master Plan stands between him and what he has to do, only the 'human facts' and the logistics of the situation." In an otherwise concise statement that does not even run 400 words, the implications of Smithson's argument found an analogue in her own built work with Peter Smithson, but also in the design values of relevance, appropriate scale, and adaptability that Hertzberger brought to Columbia in the spring of 1968. See Allison Smithson's "The Aim of Team 10," in *The Team 10 Primer* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1968).

desks in the narrow stairwell. "Things were dealt with very democratically and people were allowed to adopt tactics that they were comfortable with," recalls Alain Salomon.[102]

Once the police arrived, these tactics played out against a wave of riot police that had been waiting in cramped city buses for upwards of eight hours to bust the building's occupiers.[103] Reporting for *The Nation*, Marvin Harris described the scene at Columbia after the police were freed from their buses:

> At 2:30 a.m., Tuesday, April 30, a thousand New York City policeman attacked an approximately equal number of students barricaded inside five Columbia University buildings. The action lasted three hours and injured at least 148 persons in varying degrees. Many students were thrown or dragged down stairways. Girls were pulled out by the hair; their arms were twisted; they were punched in the face. Faculty members were kicked in the groin, tossed through hedges, punched in the eye. Noses and cheekbones were broken. A diabetic student fell into a coma. One faculty member suffered a nervous collapse. Many students bled profusely from head wounds opened by handcuffs wielded as weapons. Dozens of moaning people lay about the grass unattended. At one point an estimated 2,000 spectators were set upon by the police and pinned against the gates. Outside the campus, mounted police chased screaming knots of people, young and old, up and down Broadway in a scene from "Planet of the Apes." It took a line of paddy wagons stretching along Amsterdam Avenue from 118th to 110th Street to carry off the 720 persons who were arrested. They were driven away, unrepentant, beating on the bars, cursing the police, President Grayson Kirk, and Vice President David Truman.[104]

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[102] Salomon, Alain. Interview by author, Toulouse (France), 15 July 2009. He goes on, "This has influenced me until today, perhaps more than the issue themselves: the ability to be totally independent from any type of manipulation. We really did what we decided collectively to do and we let the minority adopt another minority position."

[103] Schuman, Tony (Anthony). Interview by author, Montclair, N.J., 29 July 2009.

[104] Harris, Marvin, "Big Bust on Morningside Heights," *The Nation* (10 June 1968): 757.

Urban Deadline

After the police bust of Avery Hall and the other occupied buildings on campus, several Columbia architecture students regrouped to form Urban Deadline, a design collective that drew students and graduates from several disciplines at Columbia. Its members, largely drawn from the Avery Commune, held undergraduate degrees in journalism, English, sociology, and pre-law, in addition to architecture. Governed by a communal bond over the Columbia protests and familiar politics, Urban Deadline's members identified and advertised themselves as advocates for communities threatened by development and displacement—even if there was a distinctly architectural thrust to its contributions. **[2.13]** Between 1969 and 1971, Urban Deadline implemented 42 separate projects in New York and New Jersey that included community education classes (in construction, legal aid, and journalism), the renovation of dilapidated buildings, helping the residents of those buildings purchase them from delinquent landlords, the and the construction of day-care centers, community centers, and parks.[105]

Initially looking to purchase a barge and create a floating urban studio on the Hudson River, "to talk out our hang-ups so we don't have to go out and build them," one member noted, Urban Deadline operated as a land-based collective.[106] Home base was the apartment of John Young, the *de facto* leader of the group at West 81st Street and Broadway, who was the first among them to be licensed and, as a result, the one to "pull in much of the group's early work."[107] Young, for his part, humbly rejects the notion that he organized the group during what began as a Monday night salon and turned into a full-

[105] Rosenkranz, *Across the Barricades*, 290-1.
[106] "Latest from Columbia," *Architectural Forum* (July/August, 1968): 40.
[107] Schuman, Tony (Anthony). Interview by author, Montclair, N.J., 29 July 2009.

fledged design firm.[108] One of its founding members and member of the Avery demonstration, Tony Schuman, remembers Young as being "incredibly trusting of the members of Urban Deadline and uninterested in hierarchy or power."[109]

Although its members were Columbia-trained architects and preservationists, their overalls, work boots, Harlem connections, and ideas of a floating barge flew in the face of what their main benefactors, the so-called "limousine liberals," expected. As one member, Tyler Smith, pointed out, "It was that era where, if you lived on Park Avenue and you were a liberal, you could have a Black Panther up for a cocktail party and you were cool."[110] Besides being the *de facto* leader of the Urban Deadline, John Young was its eloquent, one-man public relations campaign for outside groups, which found him as charming as they did confounding. Tyler Smith recalls one story about the Metropolitan Museum of Art's invitation to have Young introduce an exhibition on Harlem:

> [W]e were invited to a symposium at the Met, which was just patting itself on the back for its exhibition, "Harlem on My Mind," a photographic exhibition that they were having relayed to 125th Street station and shown on a T.V. screen there. They were being "relevant." Well, we came in our official uniforms—overalls—and John was asked to say a few words. He gets up and says, "Well, thank you for inviting us. This is great and, as I look around, I am in awe of these beautiful Rubens and Rembrandts. But, if we could get management to help us move them into the basement, we could get 32 units of housing in here. We're ready to work, we brought our tools; we're ready to start construction right now![111]

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[108] Young, John, E-mail to author, 8 November 2009 and Alain Salomon, interview by author, Paris (France), 15 July 2009.
[109] Schuman, Tony (Anthony). Interview by author, Montclair, N.J., 29 July 2009.
[110] Smith, Tyler. Interview by author, Hartford, Conn., 22 July 2009.
[111] Smith, Tyler. Interview by author, Hartford, Conn., 22 July 2009.

Max Bond's "urban junkyard," in other words, had to be addressed from the ground up; not through a photo exhibition, but by observing communities and letting their needs inform the spaces that are conceived.

Building from their particular talents, the members of Urban Deadline pursued projects around New York as agents of the group's shared values. Ironically, Columbia University, itself, sustained the group for much of the 1970s and into the 1980s with a master plan for Teachers College (1973-4), disabled persons compliance projects (1975-55), and renovations to six residence halls and academic buildings including the 1922 Milbank Memorial Library (1976-87). **[2.14]** Urban Deadline also completed a series of Street Academies, daycare centers, and block association centers were planned and installed in Harlem and Manhattanville storefronts and, among other things, a Children's Free School scheme was developed by founding member Adele Chatfield-Taylor. **[2.15]**

Although it was not a housing project or master plan, Alain Salomon's work on a park in the East Village demonstrates most clearly the group's bottom-up approach.[112] **[2.16]** The project, which the landscape architect Robert Nichols had been investigating as a possible site for one of his Adventure Playgrounds, was ultimately co-opted by Urban Deadline, which had obtained a grant from the Kaplan Foundation to develop it. As illegal squatters, Salomon had no illusions about what would ultimately happen to the park, but nonetheless, the consensus within the community was that it stood a better chance of being legitimized by the city if something permanent was constructed.[113]

Wedged between two buildings between Avenues B and C, the 6th Street Park was not conceived along the typical lines of what a park should look like, but how East

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[112] Salomon, Alain, "The Interstitial Experience," *L'Architecture d'aujourd'hui* (May/June, 1975): 50-57.
[113] Salomon, Alain. Interview by author, Toulouse (France), 15 July 2009.

Village residents wanted the park to actually function. **[2.17]** Salomon was not a welcomed figure in the beginning, however. "I proceeded to do what I had been taught to do: draw up a design proposal—without contacting anybody, just doing it the traditional way. So, I came down with my drawings under my arm and by that time the news had gotten around the community that this guy, this student, was coming with his drawings. [...] Some people vowed to kill me—they thought I had done this despite them or without consulting them—and to a certain extent, this was not totally false."[114] Realizing his folly, Salomon established a storefront office next to the park and invited anyone who was interested to critique the project according to their needs—many of which were initially undetected by Salomon—and, from that, to revise the design. **[2.18]**

Area children were known to play among the lot's extant detritus, discarded building materials, and old car tires. Salomon wanted to retain the improvisational nature of these solutions, but also program the lot to respond to unmet needs like community gathering spaces, a dedicated basketball court, tables and benches, a fountain, a barbeque pit, and adequate lighting.[115] Van Eyck's own vest-pocket parks around Amsterdam offered an obvious conceptual model, but there was a certain rawness to the 6th Street operation that made it different.[116] The lot proved to be "an urban jungle," in the words of Salomon, "really—more than metaphorically." **[2.19]** The park's construction process was about building, but it was also about clearing a path through several feet of broken concrete blocks and rubble. "I was a Situationist, *post facto*," Salomon reports, "but, the story of that project was about cutting [a] path and letting events attach themselves to the

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[114] Salomon, Alain. Interview by author, Toulouse (France), 15 July 2009.
[115] Salomon, "The Interstitial Experience," 55-57.
[116] Smith, Tyler. Interview by author, Hartford, Conn., 22 July 2009.

path."[117] The problem that the park addressed, as he and others believed, was not about a dearth of vacant space in an over developed city—whether it was through urban renewal or not. The problem was not a lack of options, but the contrary, the existence of far too many options. Too many spaces controlled by developers whose investment was tied to interior square footage rather than the site. As the landscape architect M. Paul Freidberg noted at the time, too many spaces between developed lots that had been "de-programmed" by virtue of their liminal legal status. "The problem…is to make that available space more meaningful; that is to program it in such a way as to define its contents."[118]

Salomon's 6th Street Park construction methods were uneven and its labor force was unpredictable, as Urban Deadline purchased only one concrete mixer for the hundreds of square feet of concrete that was ultimately used and relied on the occasional help of a backhoe or dump truck passing by on its way to a commercial job.[119] And, as Salomon has noted in a postscript to the project, many of the Puerto Rican and African-American residents of the Lower East Side who worked daily on the park's clearing and construction efforts, died of heroin overdoses during the two years that he was involved.[120] Ultimately, the land that the 6th Street Park occupied was redeveloped, although remnants of its space can still be detected in the small alley between two buildings currently on the site.

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[117] Salomon, Alain. Interview by author, Toulouse (France), 15 July 2009.
[118] Freidberg, M. Paul, "Is This Our Utopia?" in *The Social Impact of Urban Design* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1971): 51.
[119] Smith, Tyler. Interview with author, Hartford, Conn., 22 July 2009.
[120] Salomon, Alain. E-mail to author, 15 October 2009.

The legacy of the park, however, was not about permanently programming a de-programmed lot, to use Friedberg's term, but about establishing a set of design values that could be applied to a realistic urban condition in which "People generally live where they can afford to live, either by choice or by taking what is offered."[121] Urban Deadline's approach, in this way, ran against the central principle of urban renewal, namely that urbanism should be an intervention *within* local condition rather an adaptation *of* local conditions. **[2.20]**

Through a series of collaborative design meetings and by neighborhood consensus, Salomon orchestrated the construction of the park according to a set of localized, community requirements. It may not be the most attractive park, according to an archetypical park (like Olmsted and Vaux's Morningside Park, for instance), but it utility for residents—as a park, but also as a symbol—supported Urban Deadline's ethos of participation, consensus, and, in some ways, anti-design.[122] The "architectural services" that Urban Design provided were aimed at representing the social and physical needs of a client—in many cases, a non-paying client—instead of representing the architectural profession.[123]

While working under Fitch and Charles Peterson at Columbia, John Young's thesis addressed the preservation Paterson, New Jersey's industrial building stock. Paterson, the oldest planned manufacturing city in the country, was defined—like Pawtucket, Rhode Island or Newmarket, New Hampshire—by its mills, factories, and

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[121] Freedberg, "Is This Our Utopia?" 51.
[122] Young, John. E-mail to author, 8 November 2009.
[123] Alain Salomon has pointed out the irony of Urban Deadline's acceptance by the "establishment" in New York by virtue of their 1970 award by the New York Parks Commission for contributing to the built environment.

storehouses, many of which had fallen into disrepair after World War II. Working for the Great Falls Project Committee, Young and Urban Deadline worked to implement a master plan to restore 60 buildings on the 89-acre site in the Great Falls section, along the Passaic River, for recreation and education.[124] **[2.21]** Often performing many of the restoration tasks, themselves, Urban Deadliners even worked on holidays to shore-up and weatherize the buildings. One member remembers a Christmas day scramble to re-shingle the roof of a pump house as rain threatened to undo what they managed to accomplish to that point.[125]

By 1975, six years after the Paterson project began, members of the group became involved with community development, preservation, and design beyond Urban Deadline. Young returned to Columbia to teach preservation, Alan Feigenberg, another member of the Avery Commune and an Urban Deadliner, was teaching design at Parsons School of Design, and Tony Schuman had begun work with the non-profit group Homefront: Citywide Action Group against Neighborhood Destruction and for Low-Rent Housing, which grew out of 1974 conference of housing activists in New York.[126] One of Homefront's achievements was a 1977 report that detailed how the abandonment of 150,000 rental units in New York was affecting communities.[127]

Urban Deadliner Katia Salomon, a graduate student in French Studies at Columbia in 1968 and Alain's wife, already had experience with community action programs—from rent strikes to tutoring—before joining the Avery Commune as one of

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[124] Meinhardt, Carolynn, "Building Bridges to the Community," *The Westsider* (27 February 1975): 2.
[125] Smith, Tyler. Interview by author, Hartford, Conn., 22 July 2009.
[126] Schuman, Tony (Anthony) and Ann Meyerson, "From Disinvestment (Abandonment) to Reinvestment (Gentrification): Homefront's Abandonment Analysis Thirty Years Later," *Progressive Planning* (Summer 2004).
[127] Schuman and Meyerson, "From Disinvestment (Abandonment) to Reinvestment (Gentrification)."

the few women and non-architects. Through the Religious Society of Friends—the Quakers—she worked with under-privileged, Puerto Rican youth in East Harlem throughout high school. Eventually, tutoring students in English and math became a larger project to educate their parents about their rights as renters. "I got involved in going from building to building, telling people that they didn't have to accept the conditions they were living in," says Salomon. "If they were paying rent, they should require that the landlords get rid of the rats, stop up the holes, fix the plumbing."[128]

In a larger sense, Salomon was part of a generation of middle-class students who, under the aegis of Johnson Administration Great Society programs, found teaching opportunities in Harlem and other communities. Many young teachers were qualified through the National Teachers Corps, a Higher Education Act program, which began in 1965. Operating in 700 places across the United States, the program lasted 16 years before being disbanded in 1981.[129]

During its early years, the National Teachers Corps "valorized" teaching as a "missionary" pursuit that held notions of virtue above actual, learned skills. "The Corps," notes one education scholar, "evoked the historical theme of teaching as service, further downplaying the value of professional teacher training."[130] As one of the Johnson Administration's Great Society programs, the Corps demonstrated what has been called a "deep ambivalence" towards traditional, professional authority and, yet, they were generally populated by a nearly equal split between women and men who possessed an elite education. Idealism, altruism, and community spirit promised more in a

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[128] Salomon, Katia. Interview by author, Paris (France), 19 July 2009.
[129] Rogers, Bethany, "'Better' People, Better Teaching: The Vision of the National Teacher Corps, 1965-1968," *History of Education Quarterly* 49:3 (August 2009): 347.
[130] Rogers, "'Better People,' Better Teaching," 349.

PeaceCorps, National Teachers Corps, or Community Action Project candidate than their credentials, however. "Warmth, insight, perception, commitment, patience, and energy" in new teaching applicants were valued more highly by education reformers in the 1960s, which offered an alternative to the typical definition of intelligence that underscored test-based certifications.[131]

At stake was not the young teacher's motive—and the average age was 23—but, their ability to empathize. As the historian Kenneth Clark noted in his 1965 study of Harlem, "The problems of identifying with children of different backgrounds...are multiple."[132] Despite their assiduousness, Katia Salomon and the other members of Urban Deadline remembered that the very groups they tried to help—children and their parents—tempered their intent. Tyler Smith, an admitted "child of privilege,"[133] noted in 1971—towards the end of his time with the group—"I thought I was helping the blacks and the Puerto Ricans, acting for them. But for one thing, I learned that they didn't want my help, that they didn't even trust me, that they wanted to go it alone."[134] Smith's comments call out the complex and unpredictable relationships between white students and a largely black and Hispanic community in Harlem and Morningside Heights, another dimension of the Columbia protests and urban renewal.

Designing for the idea of a community was, for Smith and others, a different proposition than dealing with a particular community. As Katia Salomon noted at the time, "The blacks are asserting their kind of legitimacy, and we were asserting ours, and

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[131] Rogers, "'Better' People, Better Teaching," 358.
[132] Clark, Kenneth, *Dark Ghetto: Dilemmas of Social Power* (New York: Harper, 1965): 133-4.
[133] Smith, Tyler. Interview by author, Hartford, Conn., 22 July 2009.
[134] Rosenkranz, *Across the Barricades*, 43.

only when both groups have done that can they work together."[135] Looking at the Avery Commune two years before, from which Urban Deadliners drew their beginning and original intent, many of the things they valued as so-called Communards translated directly into their work later as architects and educators. Social responsibility, the value placed on equal voices and equal shares in a decision-making process, and a constant critique of conventional design education underscored Urban Deadline and were aligned with the growing advocacy architecture and planning movements. Urban Deadline was about accommodating not only a diverse set of community needs in any given neighborhood project, but also a diverse set of intellects and talents within the group that make it, more than anything, a coalition rather than a collective.

Columbia's occupied buildings were also unified under a similar coalition that represented a diverse set of motives and interests during the protests.[136] Five communes, spread out over campus, afforded five separate factions to co-exist under the same banner of desired change. "The emergence of commune activism during the last week of April, 1968, did not necessitate a birth of new protest communities on campus. Instead, the establishment of communes was rooted in existing activist networks," notes the American historian Blake Slonecker.[137] In the same way, an architectural activism—the advocacy architecture movement, itself—draws its purpose from existing networks within communities, as Urban Deadliners discovered while practicing in Harlem and the Lower East Side. It was not a utopia that Columbia's communards and Urban Deadliners sought, but a social commons.

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[135] Rosenkranz, *Across the Barricades*, 36.
[136] Slonecker, Blake, "The Columbia Coalition: African Americans, New Leftists, and Counterculture at the Columbia University Protest of 1968," *Journal of Social History* 41:4 (Summer, 2008): 974-5.
[137] Slonecker, "The Columbia Coalition," 974.

Urban Deadline's methodology remains an important legacy of the Avery Commune. The group's focus on process and community development, in alignment with Team X, stood opposed to the more conventional Modernism of heroic and, at times, anonymous forms belonging to many CIAM supporters. Neither the Bauhaus nor the Beaux-Arts were consulted as traditions from which architecture—as Urban Deadline's members defined it—could be conceived. Urban Deadline's mandate for "social responsibility" recovered some of Modern architecture's early sense of ethics—before it became a style, International or otherwise. But, its members, who practiced in New York, New Jersey, and ultimately in many other places, forged a new definition of design as a reflective act—that is, an architecture that responds to its surroundings—as opposed to a reflexive act, or, an architecture that references only itself.

Architectural education at Columbia changed after 1968, but not as fully or as immediately as its reformers had hoped. Both Avery students and the rest of the other protesters desired to see a change in the Academy, but that seemed to be the extent of their shared goals. Less concerned with the IDA, collusion between the Columbia and the government, and SDS, Avery students identified what the more relevant and, perhaps, manageable task of reforming their own curriculum. Tyler Smith remembers, "The administration couldn't figure out what we were doing. I don't think there was a card-carrying SDS member amongst us—and Mark Rudd and his people, as the strike went on, didn't know what we were."[138] He continues,

> We weren't traitors, we weren't card-carrying members, we didn't talk in the same way—and so, we just said, "We [in Avery Hall] want to stay open, discuss issues, and use that period—an extraordinary seven days—to discuss things."

[138] Smith, Tyler. Interview by author, Hartford, Conn., 22 July 2009.

> We had meetings, after meetings, after meetings dealing with participatory democracy and all of the things that confronted us—from being drafted to the Vietnam War to architecture school to what the school wasn't doing. I would say, to the end, we were very mis-trusted by SDS. I remember Mark Rudd came over, very cavalier, and I thought he was just a young brat who was dealing with an authority problem he had with his father.[139]

Avery, as far as other Urban Deadline and Avery Commune members like Alain Salomon remember, was an unintentional outlier to an otherwise SDS-dominated protest. He notes,

> SDS, Mark Rudd, and those guys—they were radicals to begin with, when they go into school. I forget when they became radicalized, but way before we did in Avery. So, that's what's important about Avery: it was not a movement led by "professional radicals." It was a totally spontaneous movement that was generated by a brutal awareness of the system of values that were out of joint.[140]

Even if the Platform System ultimately assimilated with a somewhat older "system" of practice, its proponents felt that social responsibility was the legacy of Avery and, ultimately, of Urban Deadline. The students who joined ARCH, TAR, and Urban Deadline, and the students who practiced and taught architecture in the decade to follow, slowly but deliberately reformed education in a much more effective way than their non-architecture counterparts who formed the larger lines of protest at Columbia in the spring of 1968. The Platform System may not have been implemented completely in 1969, but subsequent studios at Columbia reflected the kinds of adaptive reuse, advocacy planning,

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[139] Smith, Tyler. Interview by author, Hartford, Conn., 22 July 2009.
[140] Salomon, Alain. interview with author, Toulouse (France), 15 July 2009.

and community development projects that the graduates in ARCH, TAR, and Urban Deadline had worked toward.

By 1970, the expansion, the gym, and the occupation forced school officials to temper their master plan. Columbia adopted the so-called "high-rise policy," which was devised as "a means of reducing to a minimum pressure on the use of land."[141] But Columbia's stated intention to reduce its footprint and minimize collateral damage to Harlem was inconsistent with its other expansion plans, revealed only two months after the campus-wide protests in April: a 10-block, $200 million industrial and residential development to the north of its main campus.[142] That summer, Columbia commissioned noted architect I.M. Pei to develop a new plan—the first in seventy-five years since McKim, Mead, and White's historic campus—that was tighter and completely self-contained.[143] **[2.22]** Pei, for his part in the updated master plan, raised the possibility of consolidating offices and classrooms into two 20-story towers in the heart of the historic campus, which had been dispersed across Morningside Heights in properties purchased by Columbia over the years. **[2.23]** Notably, he buried several hundred thousand square feet of campus amenities below ground including, among other things, a new school gymnasium. **[2.24]**

The Pei plan was never adopted completely, save for the subterranean addition to Avery Hall, which today contains lecture halls, common spaces, and the expanded Avery Art and Architecture Library. As the sheer cost of subterranean digging dissuaded Columbia from executing the Pei plan, the university spent the next 40 years claiming

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[141] "Columbia's Olive Branch." *Architectural Forum* (December, 1968): 26.
[142] "Onward and Upward?" *Architectural Forum* (June, 1968): 32.
[143] Pei was approached twice (1960 and 1963) by the architecture school, with the support of university administration, to be dean.

piece-meal parts of the city above ground under the critical eye of Harlem activists, the Uptown Chamber of Commerce, and other watchdog groups. Columbia's imperialist practices never left the collective memory of Harlem and Morningside Heights residents and even if it has tried to learn some lessons from the past with a kinder, gentler design approach.

Columbia's current efforts to expand into the Manhattanville neighborhood to the north of its main campus offers a coda to its troubled track record with community relations, both within its walled acropolis and without. As of the end of 2009, a proposed $6.3 billion expansion will redevelop 17 acres of West Harlem over the course of 25 years and create nearly 100,000 square feet of "publicly accessible open space."[144] "It is a piazza," one of the designers, the Italian architect Renzo Piano, was quoted as saying. "The people will come," he went on, "there will be discourse." **[2.25]** Unconvinced, the Reverend Earl Kooperkamp of St. Mary's Episcopal Church in West Harlem, responded, "You're talking about being a 21st century university...and this looks like a 12th century Christ Church Oxford. It's a quad. That's not a piazza. That's not open space for a community. If it were, it would be a big lawn on 125th Street or Broadway."[145]

Whether or not the benefits of Piano's piazza will materialize, Columbia maintains a carefully chosen set of keywords within its current public relations campaign: "open accessibility," "neighbor," "carefully considered," "transparent," and "predictable." **[2.26]** But, these keywords are merely a smokescreen to the actual dealings between Columbia, the State of New York, and private enterprise. A New York

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[144] Bloomberg, Michael R., "Statements on the Final Approval of the General Project Plan for Columbia University Expansion," 20 May 2009.
[145] Eviatar, Daphne, "The Manhattanville Project," *The New York Times Magazine*, 21 May 2006.

appeals court ruled at the end of 2009 that the state could not condemn the properties necessary to allow Columbia to grow, citing inconsistencies and improprieties within the process of establishing an eminent domain case. Not only did the State of New York and Columbia hire the same real estate consultant, AKRF, to render an official assessment of the so-called blighted properties—in a clear conflict of interest—but the evidence of blight amounted to unpainted brick walls or loose awning supports, according to the ruling.

In the majority opinion, the court called the state's process of declaring blight within the neighborhood an act of "mere sophistry" and "idiocy."[146] Columbia plans to appeal the ruling, naturally, but it continues to engender a poor public image among area residents and small business owners. One gas station owner, Gurnam Singh, consistently declined Columbia's offer for a buy-out, noting, "This is everything I have." After numerous offers, Columbia Vice President for Real Estate, Philip Silverman, reportedly told Singh that if he refused, the state would simply take the property.[147] Silverman's olive branch was to relocate Singh and his business to different site—one that he could not have the option to purchase, but only to lease from Columbia which would have to evict him again, eventually, as it would become part of the expansion's second phase. Exactly 40 years prior to this latest incident, at the height of Columbia's foray into Morningside Park and Harlem, Fred Rogers—Mr. Rogers—first appeared on television

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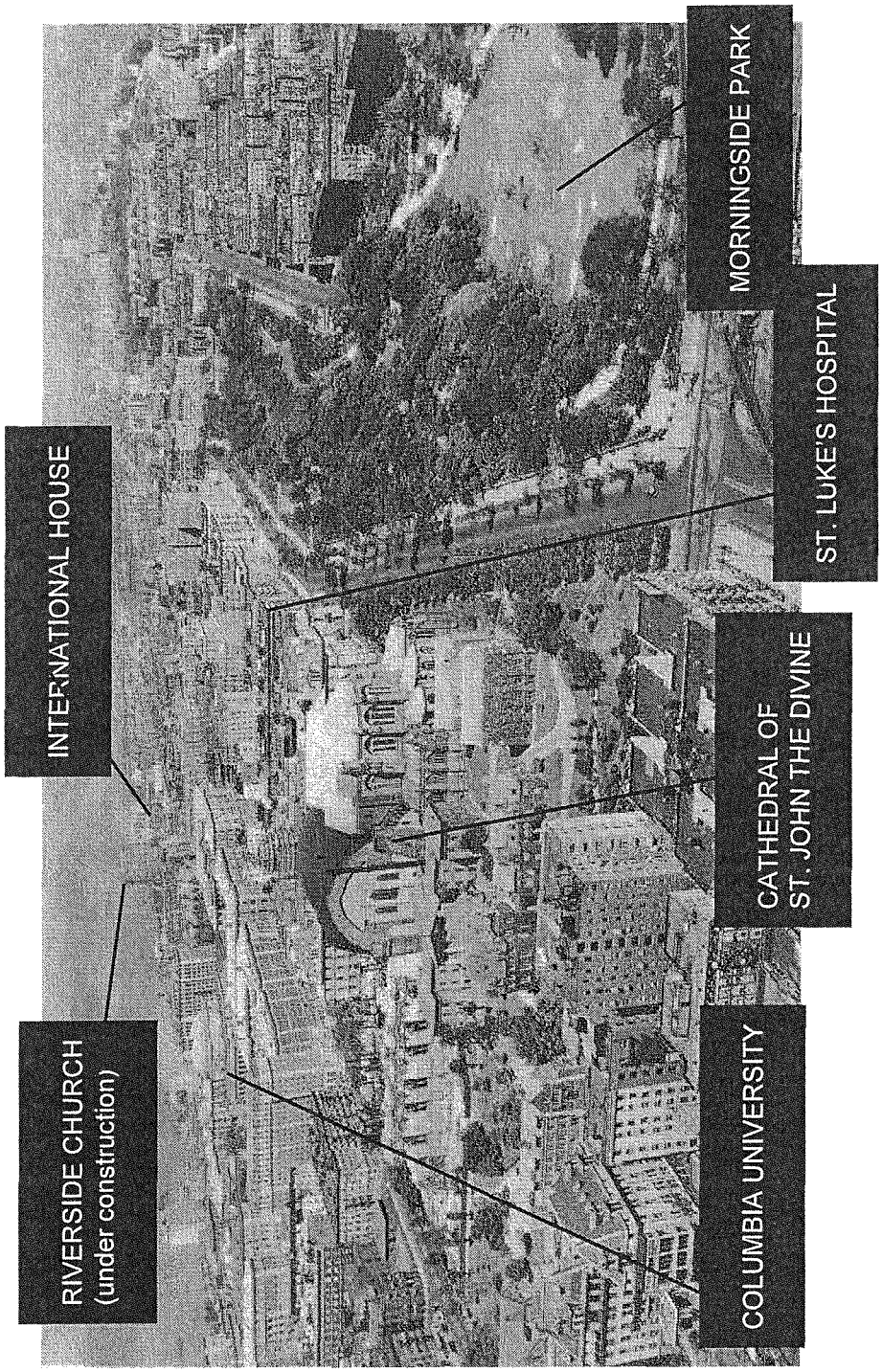
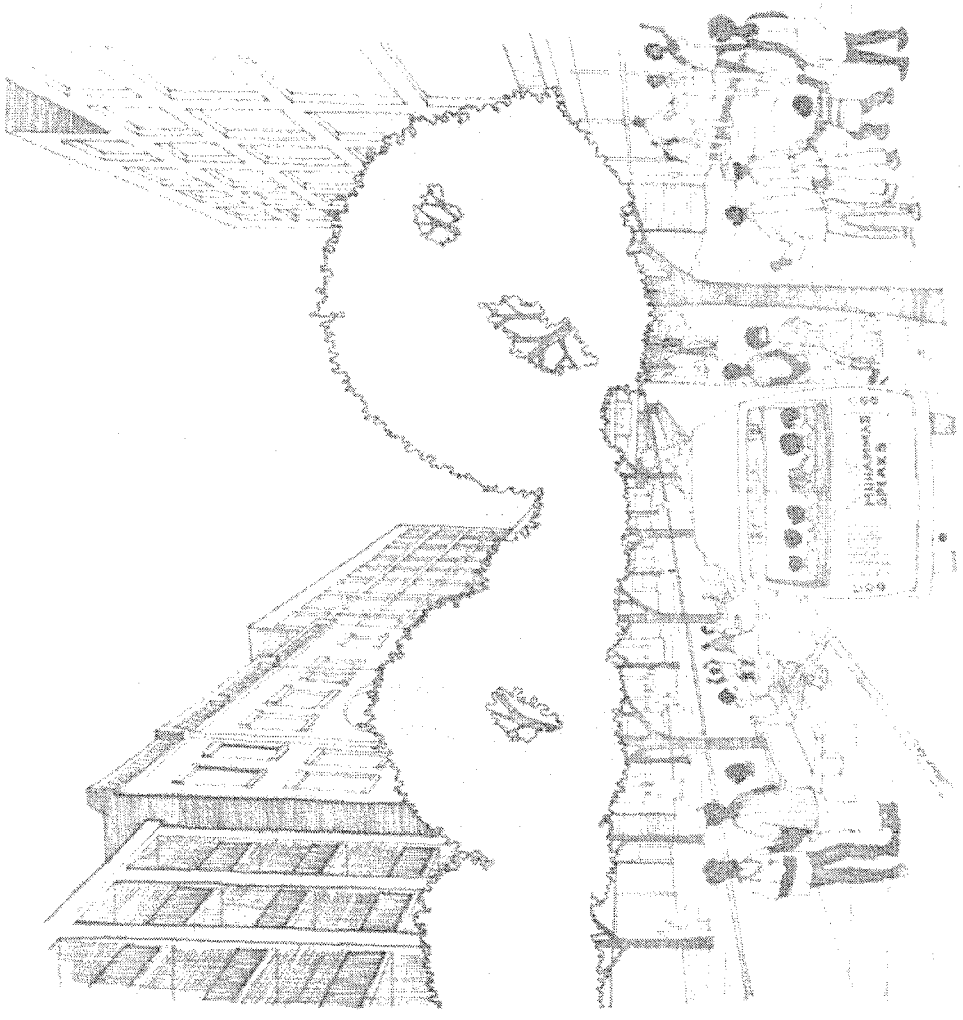
[146] Bagli, Charles V., "Court Bars New York's Takeover of Land for Columbia Campus," *The New York Times* (4 December 2009): A1.
[147] Williams, Timothy, "2 Gas Stations, and a Family's Resolve, Confront Columbia Expansion Plan," *The New York Times* (21 September 2008): A39.

from a studio in Pittsburgh, slipped into his trademark sneakers, and sang, "Won't you be my neighbor?"[148] The answer, for Columbia, still seems fraught.

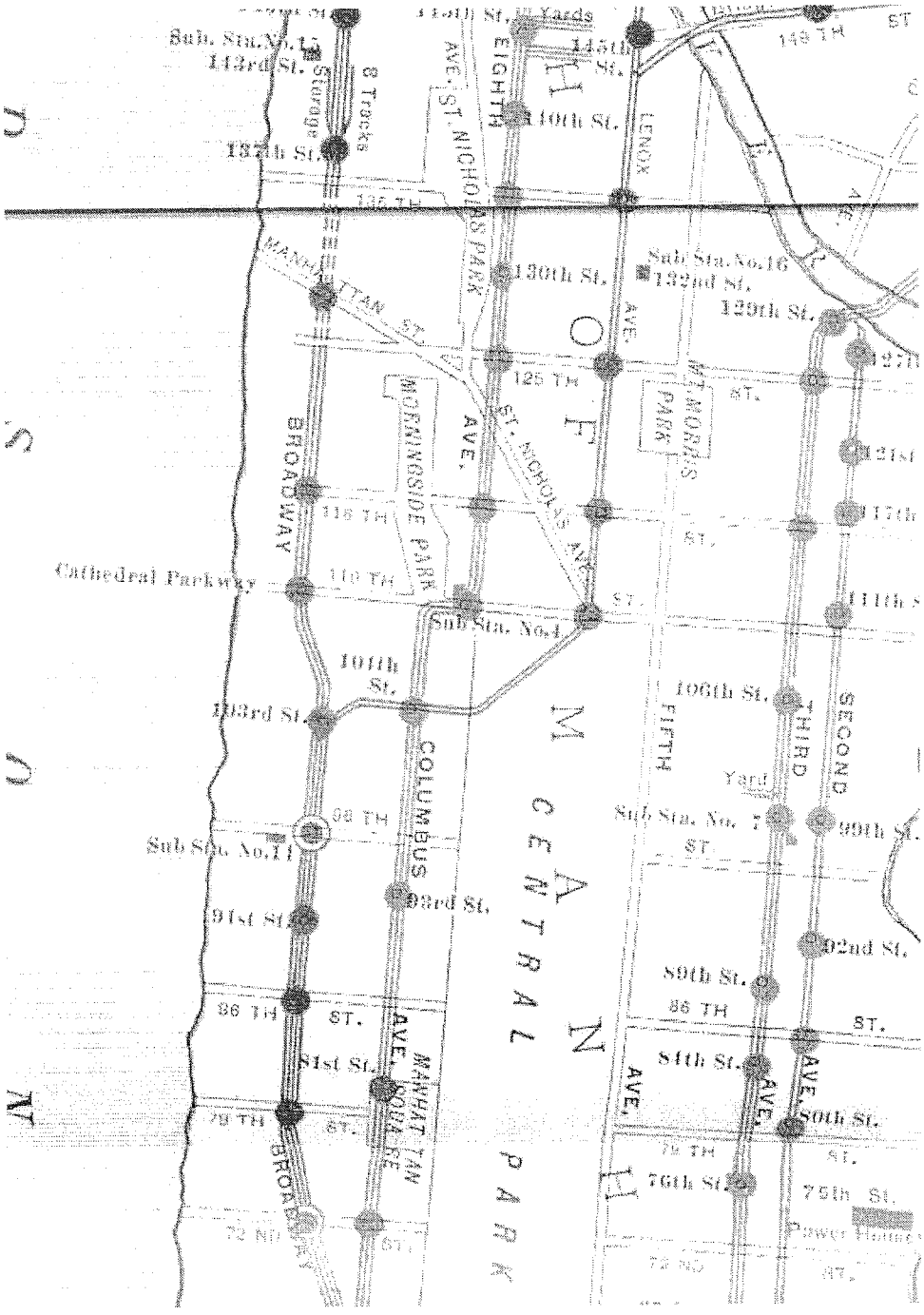
[148] Morais, Betsy, "Strained Relationship with Community Over Manhattanville Expansion Reminds Some of 1968 Controversies." *The Columbia Spectator* (30 November 2008): 7



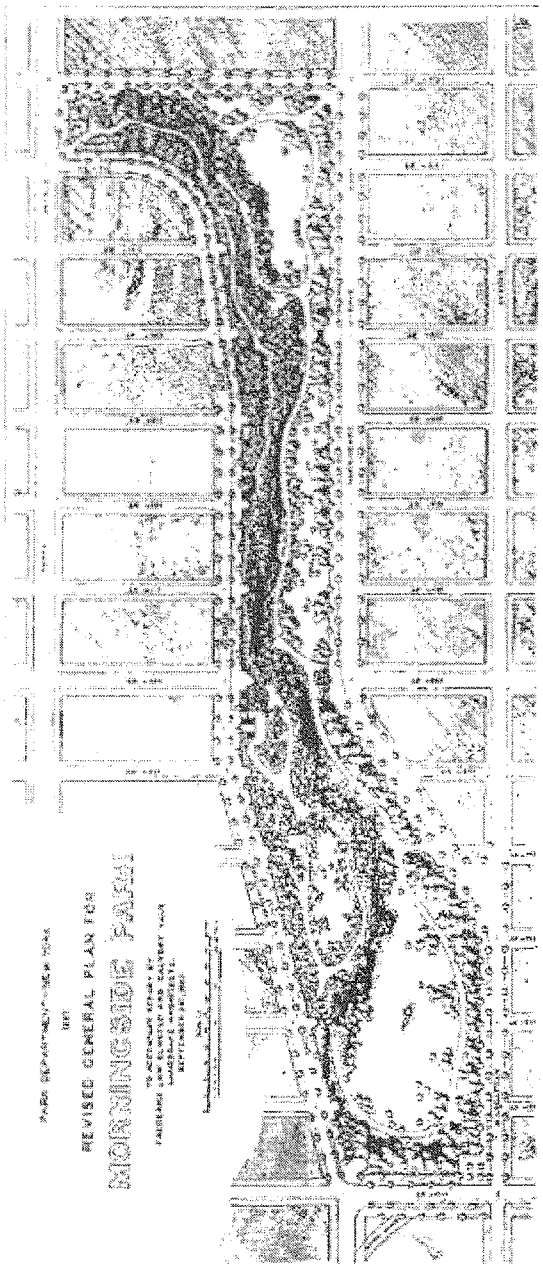
2.1: Morningside Heights and Harlem (1926) with notations by author indicating dominant institutions in the area. Source: Photographic Views of New York, 1870s-1970s, Irma and Paul Milstein Division of United States History, Local History and Genealogy, New York Public Library.



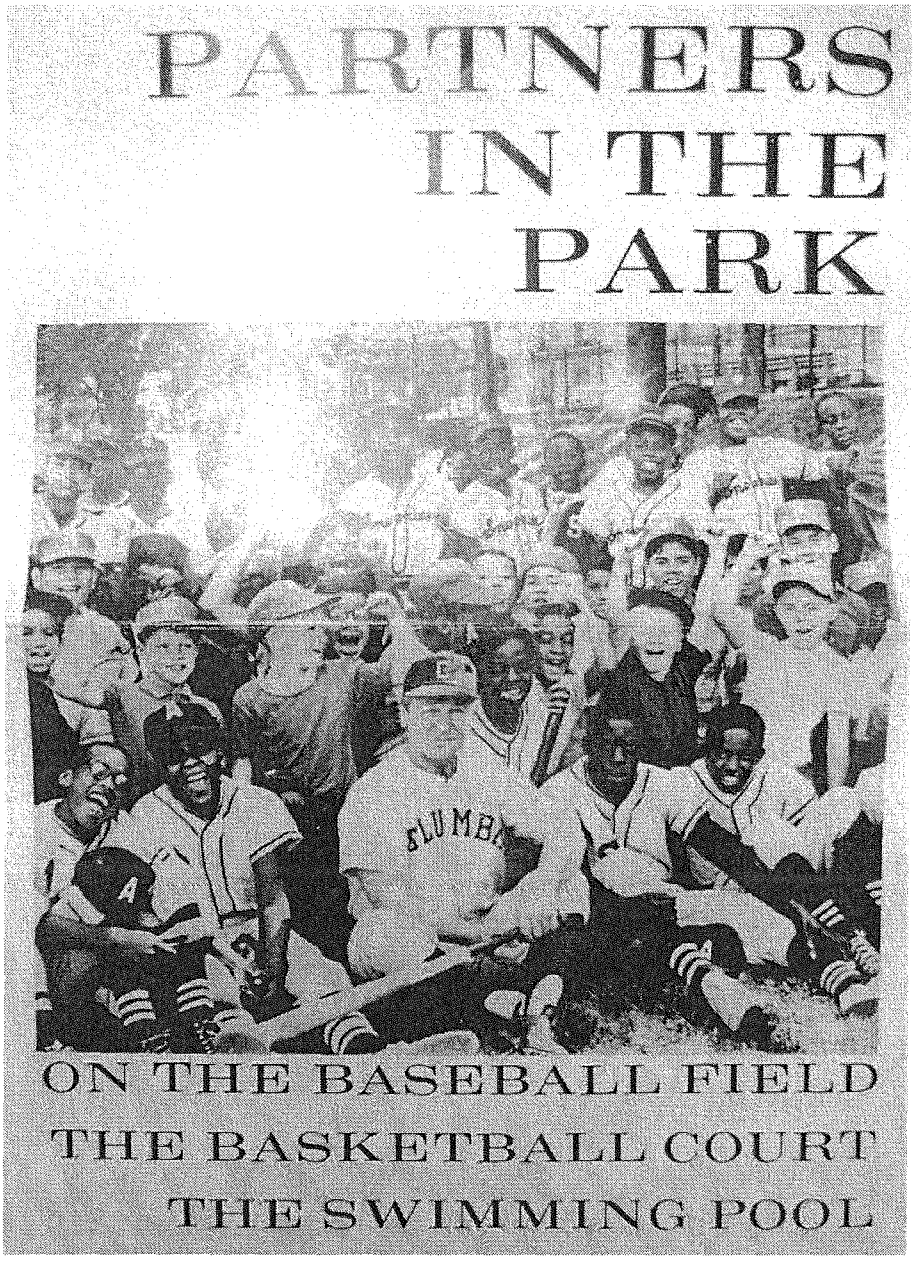
2.2: Architect's Renewal Committee for Harlem, proposal for 125th Street revitalization, 1968-1969. Source: Tucker, Priscilla. "Poor People's Plan," *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 27:5 (January, 1969): 267.



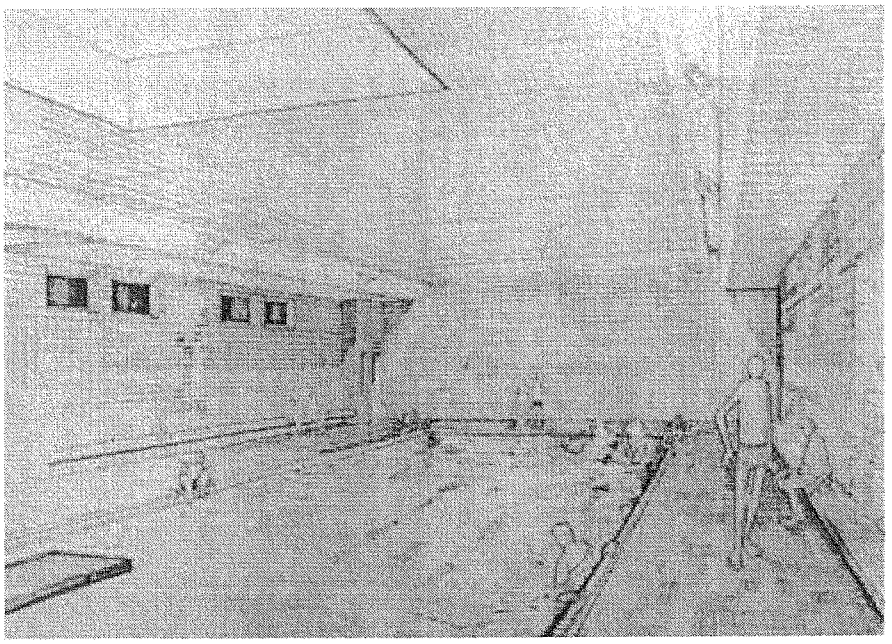
2.3: 1904 IRT subway map (detail), showing extensions through Morningside Heights and Harlem. Source:*The New York Subway, Its Construction and Equipment* [2nd ed.] New York: Fordham University Press, 1991.



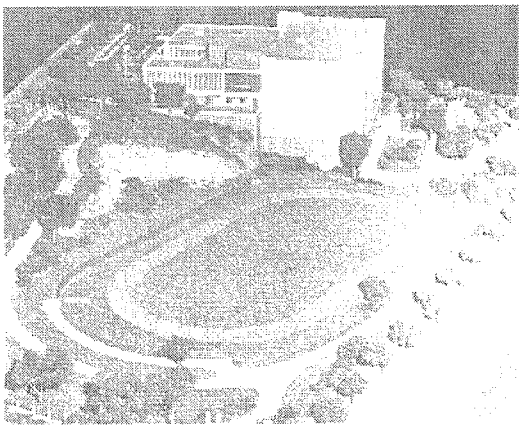
2.4: Olmsted and Vaux, "Revised General Plan for Morningside Park," (c. 1887)
Source: *Morningside Park Conceptual Plan*, New York: Friends of Morningside Park, 1985.



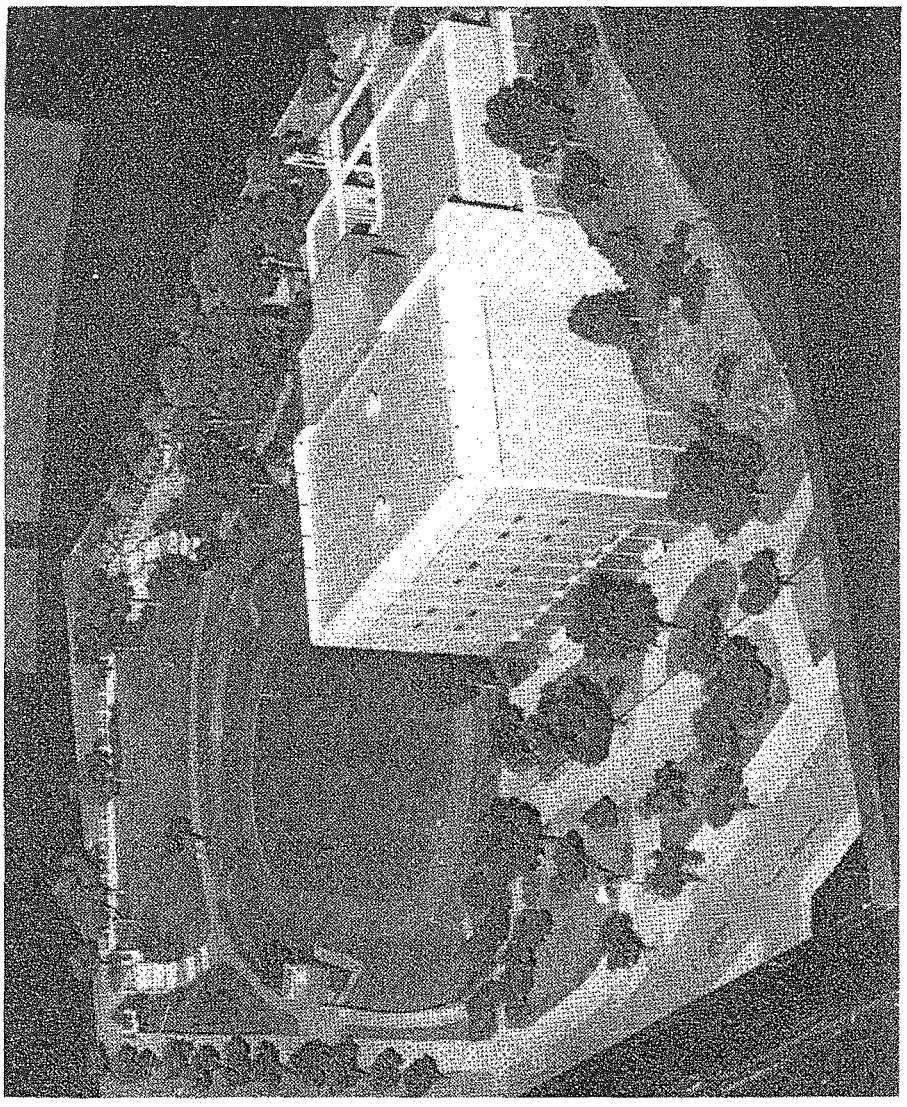
2.5: "Partners in the Park" advertisement distributed by the Office of Public Information, Columbia University (1968). Source: Protest and Activism Collection, University Archives, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University



2.6: Columbia gymnasium pool (unbuilt, c.1968) distributed by the Office of Public Information, Columbia University. Source: Protest and Activism Collection, University Archives, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University

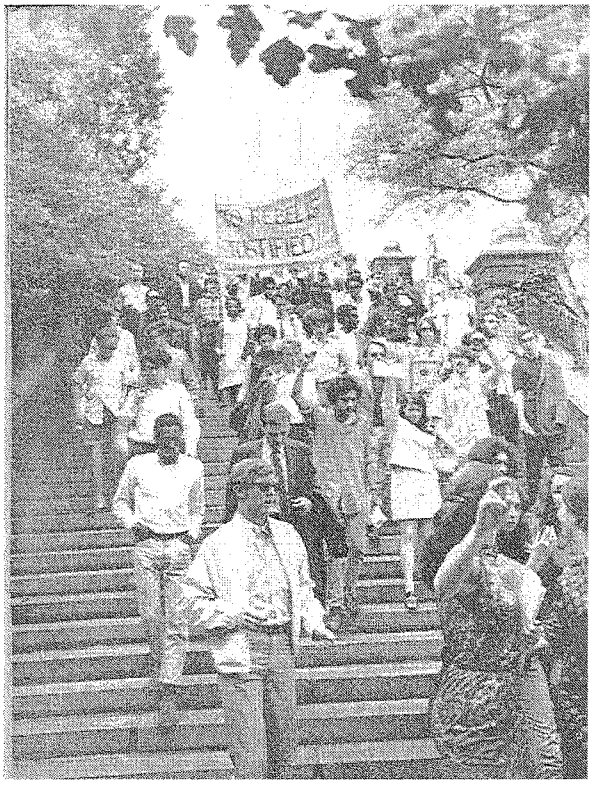


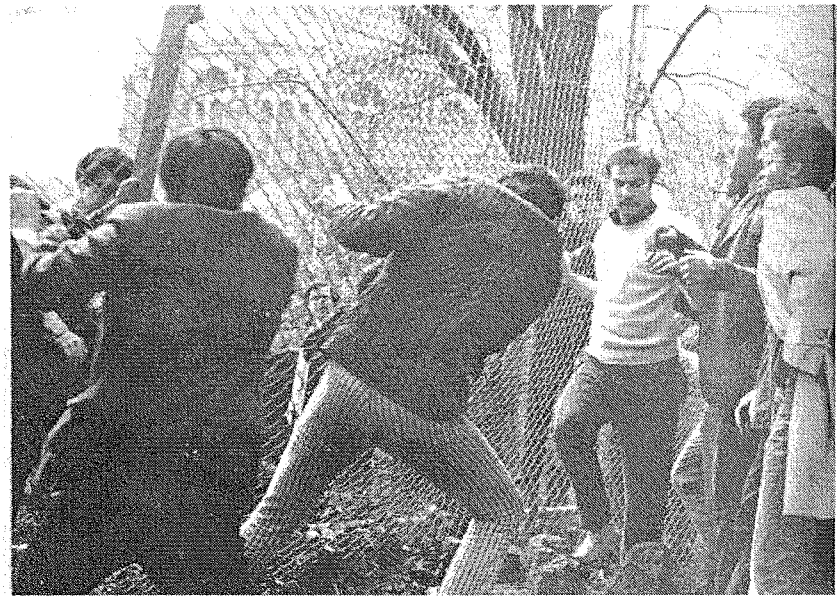
2.7: Columbia gymnasium from the southwest (unbuilt, c.1968) Courtesy West 12th Street Block Association, © www.morningside-heights.net



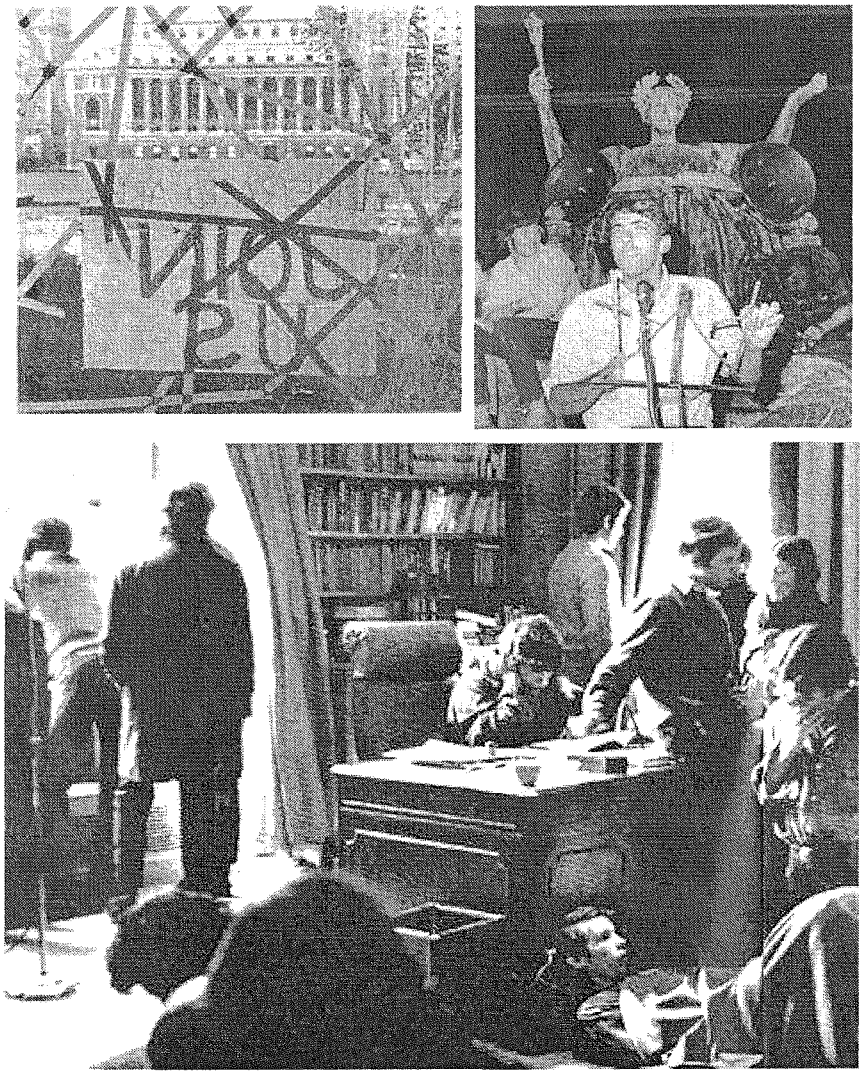
2.8: Columbia gymnasium from the northeast (unbuilt, c.1968). Courtesy Frank da Cruz.

2.9: Columbia gymnasium site work (c. 1968). Sources: (top) Friends of Morningside Park and (bottom) *Morningside Park Conceptual Plan*, New York: Friends of Morningside Park, 1985.

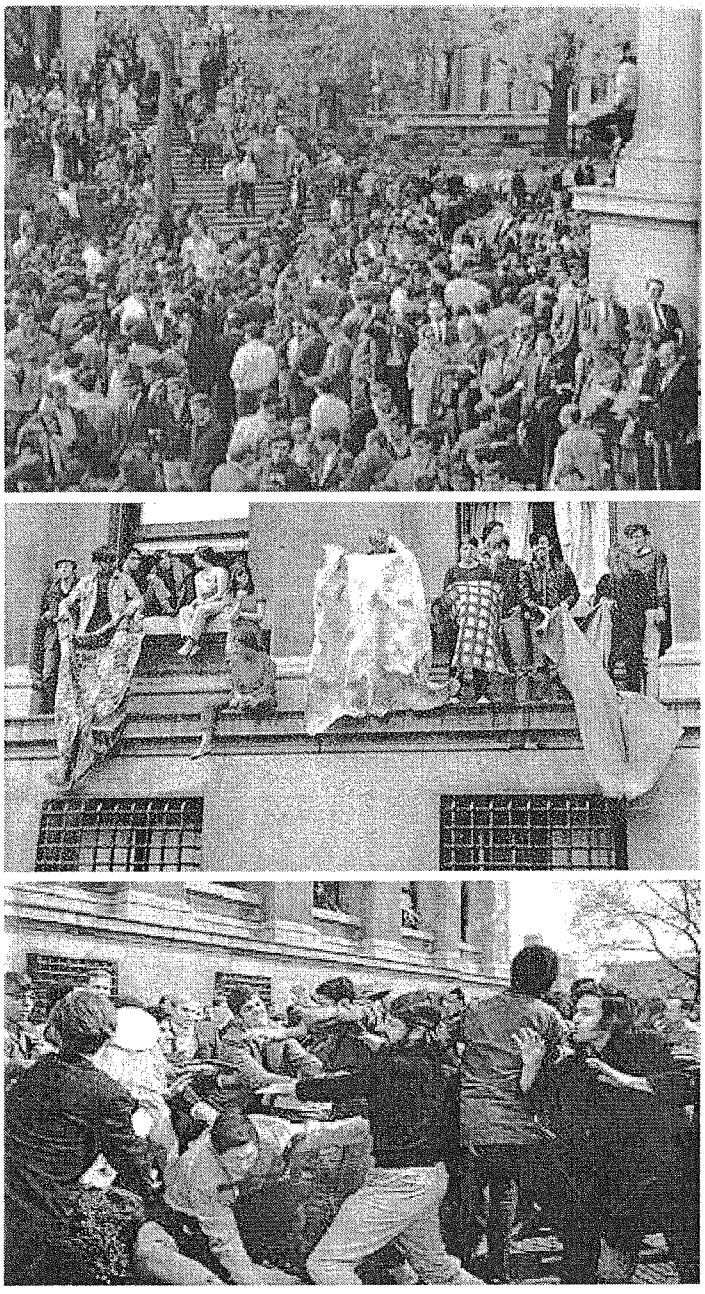




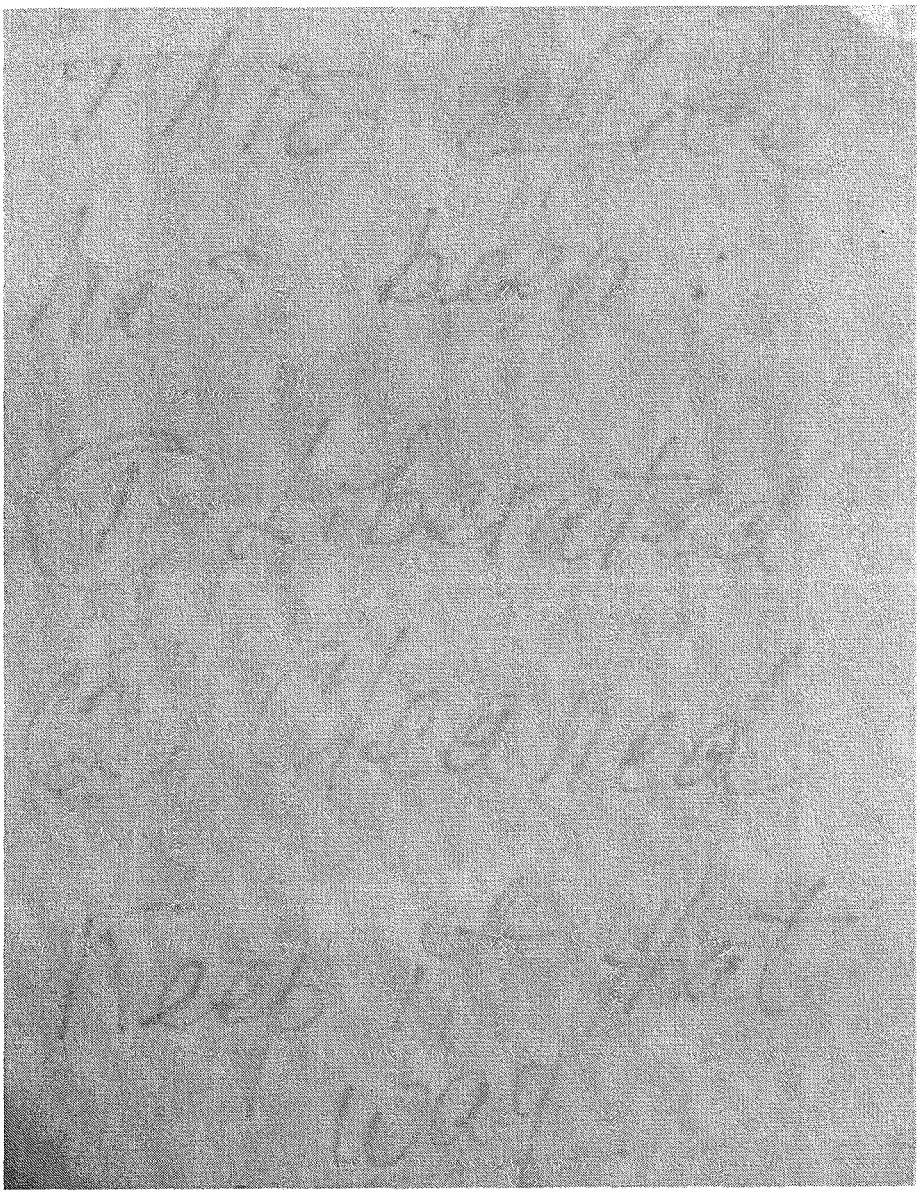
2.10: SDS members approach the gymnasium site in Morningside Park (top) and tear down fencing around the construction site (bottom) on April 24, 1968.
Source: *Columbia College Today*, Spring 1968, 96.



2.11a: Scenes from the Columbia protests of April, 1968. SDS members take over university president Grayson Kirk's office (bottom) on April 24, 1968, the view across Low Plaza to Butler Library from Kirk's office (top left) and Columbia SDS president Mark Rudd speaking in front of Daniel Chester French's statue of "Alma Mater" in Low Plaza (top right). Sources:(all) *Columbia College Today,* Spring 1968.

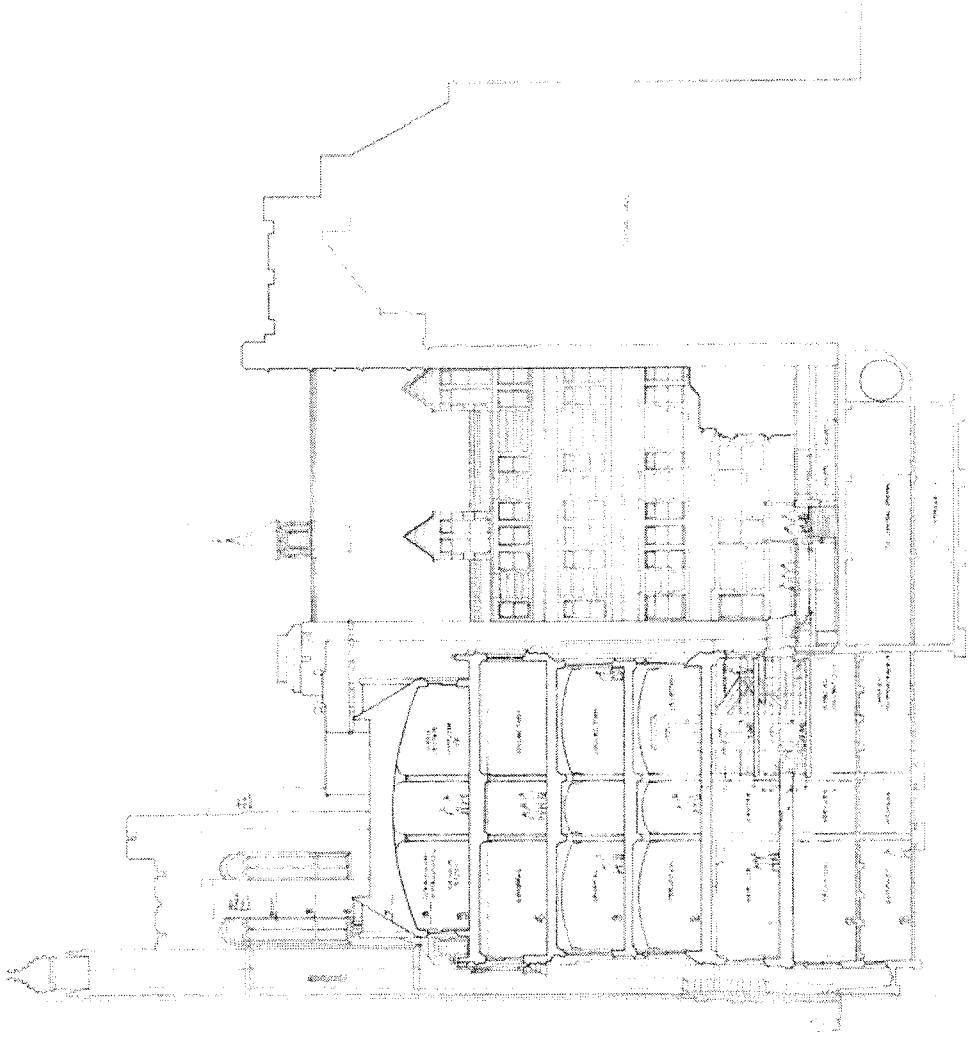


2.11b: Scenes from Columbia University building occupations in April, 1968. (Top) Low Plaza, April 25, 1968, (middle) building occupiers taunt anti-protesters below, (bottom) anti-protesters clash with protest supporters attempting to deliver food to building occupiers above. Sources (all) *Columbia College Today*, Spring, 1968.

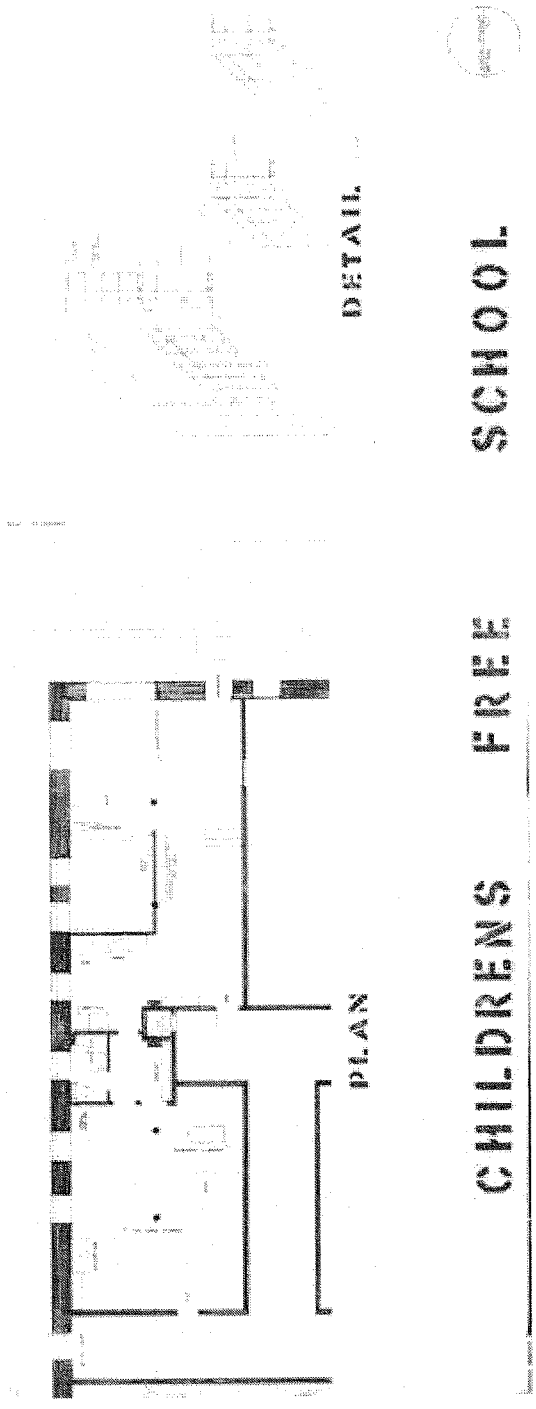


2.12: A sign from the occupation of Avery Hall. Source: Protest and Activism Collection, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University

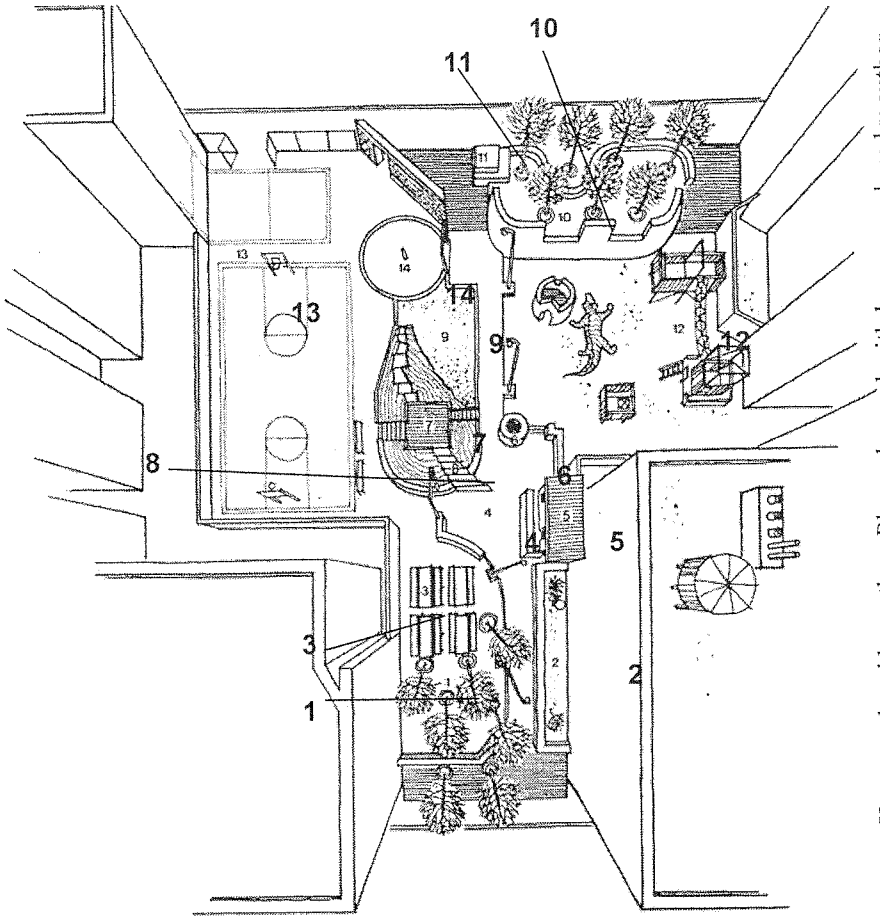
2.13: Urban Deadline members (left to right)
Bruce Dale, Tony Schuman, Geraldine Pontius,
Marjorie hoog, Katherine Heard, and John Young.
Source: John Young/Urban Deadline Architects.



2.14: John Young/Urban Deadline Architects, Milbank Memorial Library renovation , Teachers College, Columbia University, 1976-87. The project was divided into four phases: renovation and restoration of the historic structure, an interior redesign and new building systems, installing compact shelving in the stack tower, and systems modernization. Source: John Young/Urban Deadline Architects.



2.15: Adele Chatfield-Taylor/Urban Deadline Architects, design for the Children's Free School, 1969. Source: John Young/Urban Deadline Architects

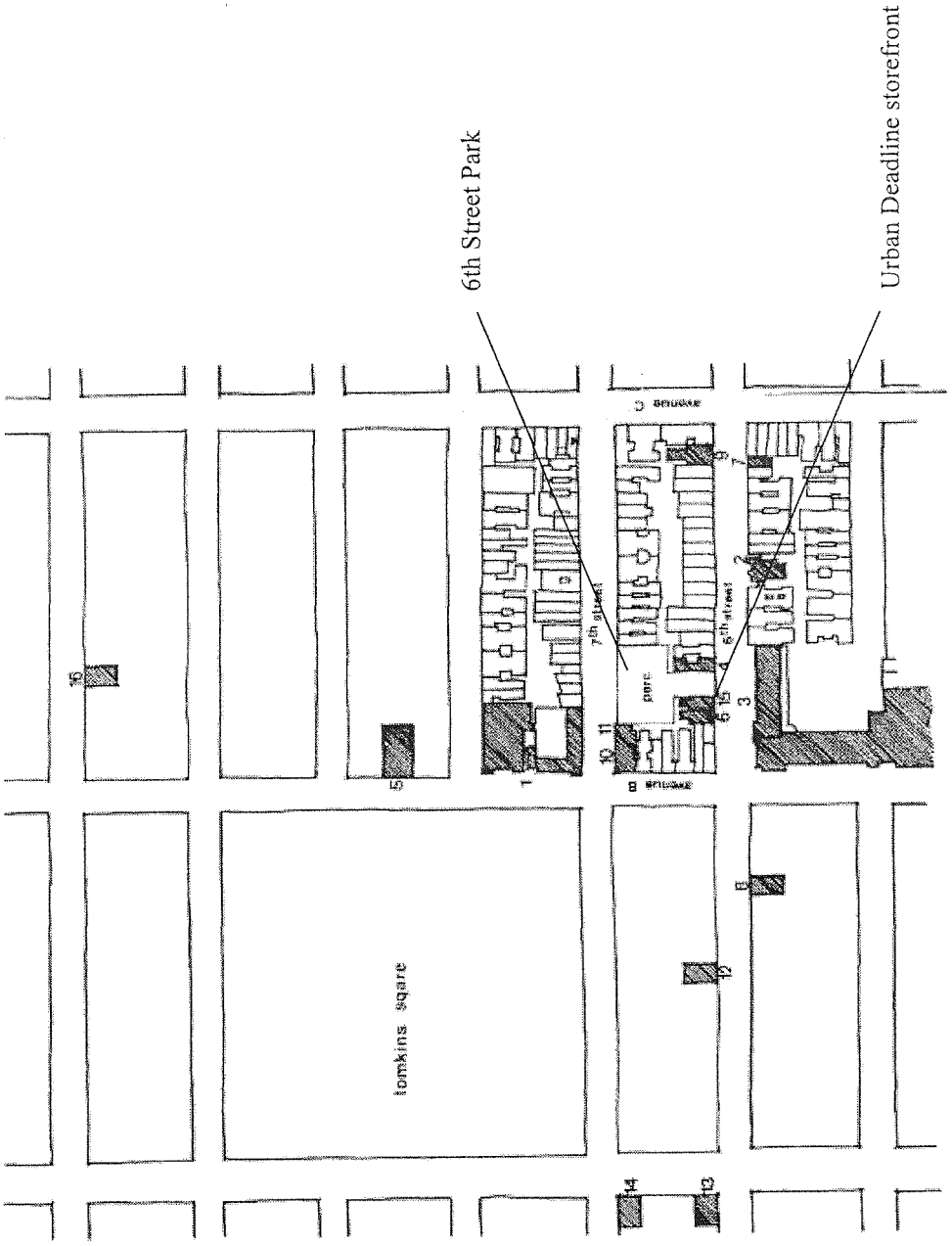


Key translated by author. Plan enhanced with larger numbers by author.

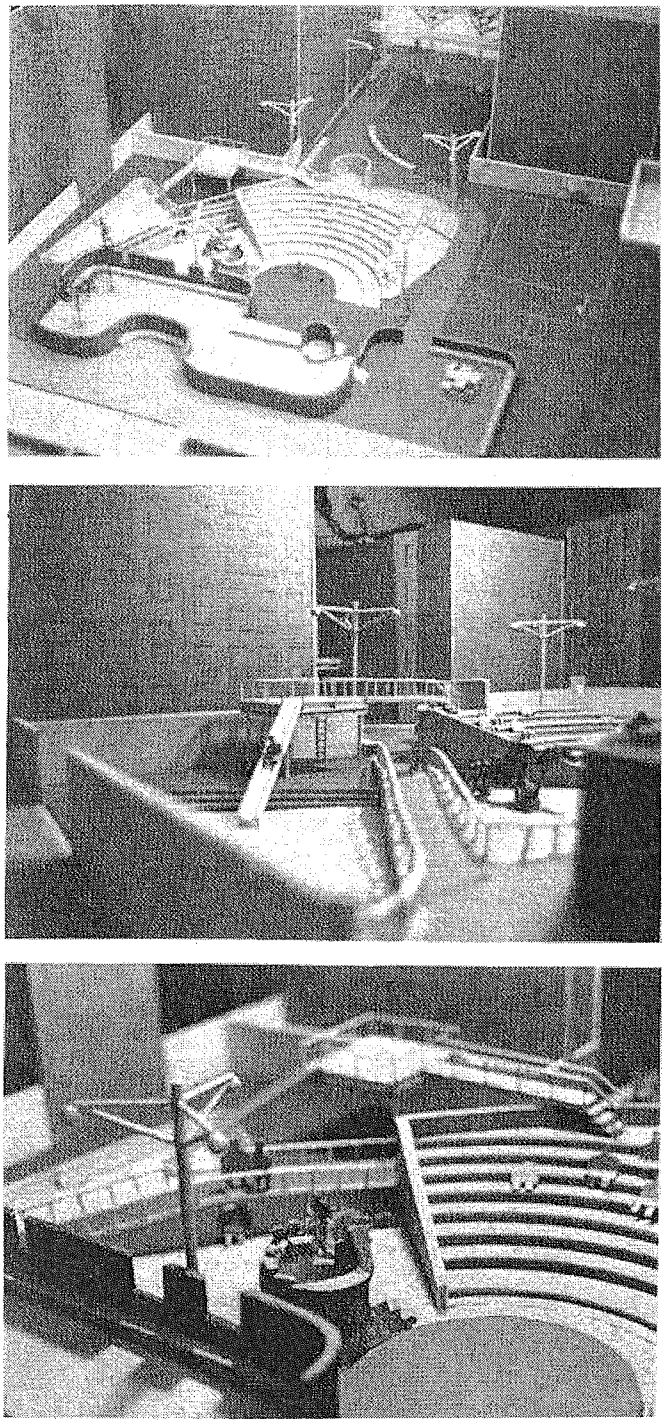
2.16: Urban Deadline, 6th Street Park plan, New York (1968-70). Source: *L'Architecture d'aujourd'hui* (May/June, 1975): 56.

KEY

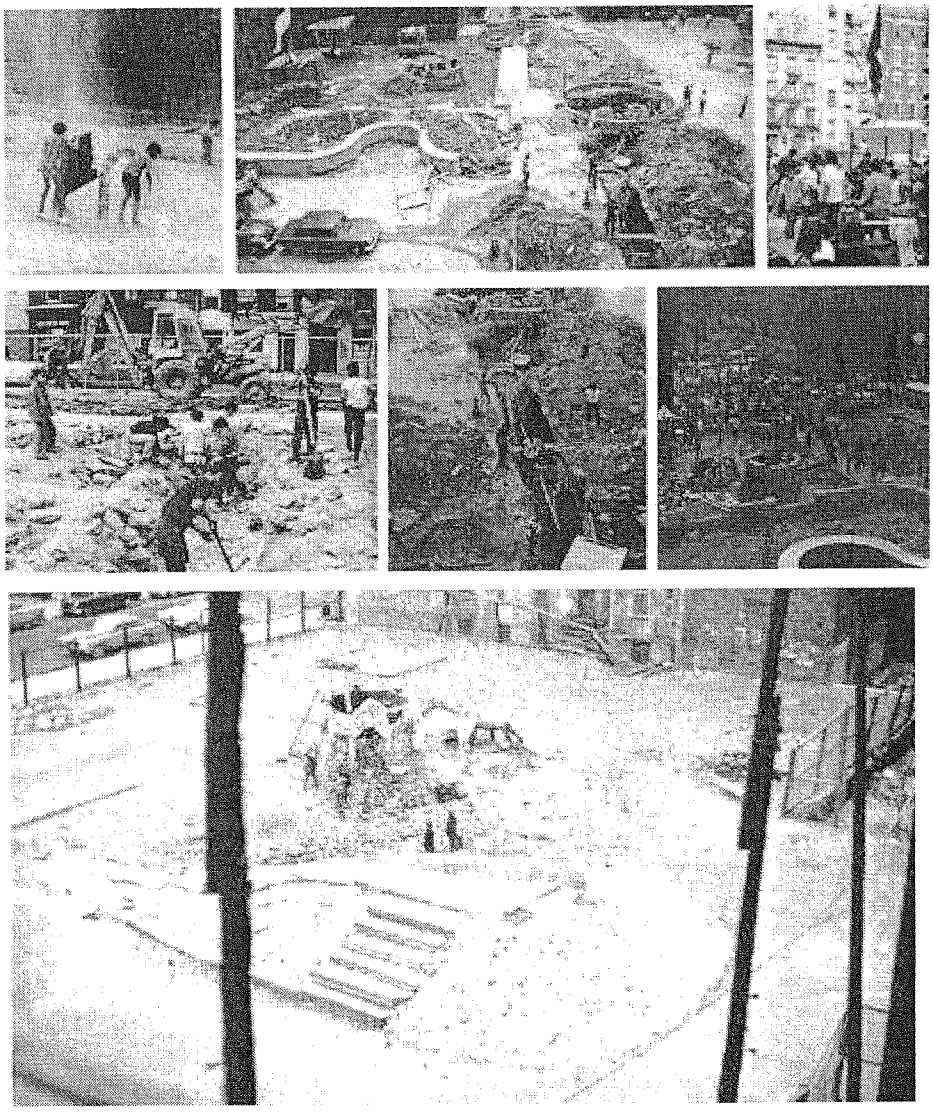
1 Area to plant trees with small tables to play dominoes ("a favorite of Puerto-Ricans")
2 Box for possible vegetable garden
3 Four large tables for use by the park's manager
4 A small place for dancing
5 A barbeque for use by the Puerto Rican community
6 A large barbeque
7 A promenade for "*les spectacles*" (events)
8 Amphitheater seating
9 Sandbox
10 Fort for the Ukranians with mural at the rear, a second area to plant trees, and tables
11 Podium for meetings
12 "Adventure Playground"
13 Basketball court
14 Pool



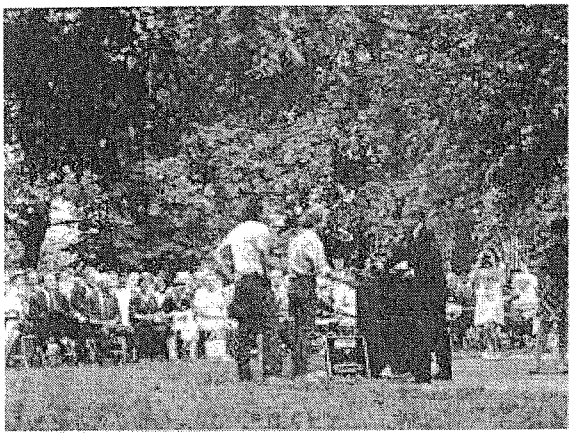
2.17: Urban Deadline, 6th Street Park site plan, New York (1968-70). Note the project's "storefront," from which Alain Salomon and others made the model available to area residents (#15). Source: *L'Architecture d'aujourd'hui* (May/June, 1975): 56.

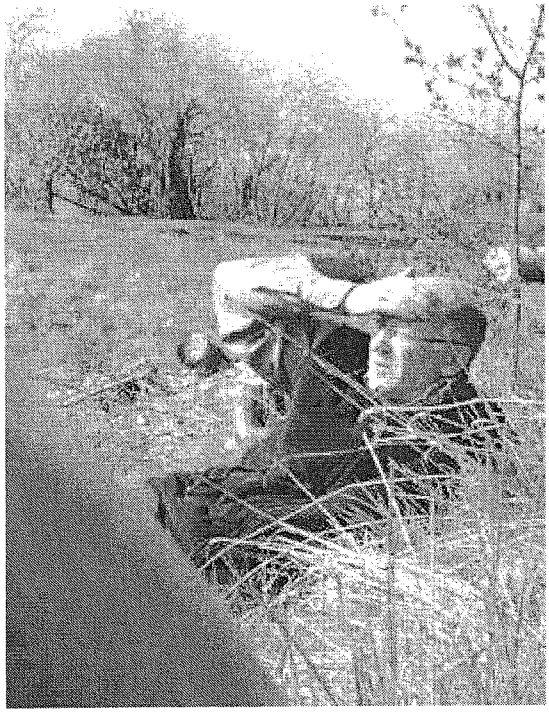


2.18: Urban Deadline, 6th Street Park working model (c.1969). Note the vacant lot on 6th Street (top), allowing access the the inter-block cavity that formed the "park." Ample lighting was to be provided by Combining three "Cobra head" luminaries (middle), designed by Donald Deskey in 1954. At detail of the amphitheater (bottom) in front of the "Ukrainian fort." Source: *L'Architecture d'aujourd'hui* (May/June, 1975): 57.

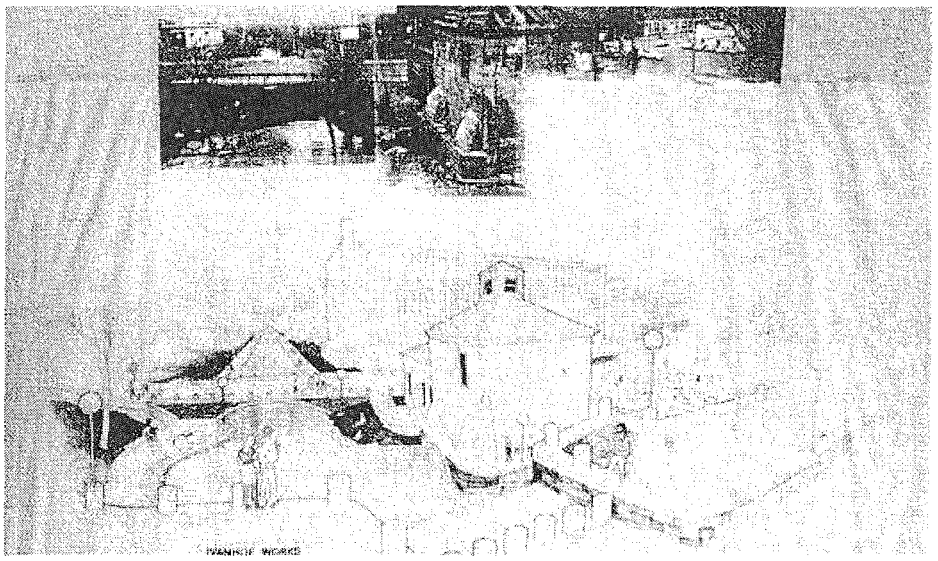


2.19: Urban Deadline, 6th Street Park construction/process images showing community labor to dismantle heavy debris, clear the lot, and pour forms for the concrete elements of the project. Source: *L'Architecture d'aujourd'hui* (May/June, 1975): 56.

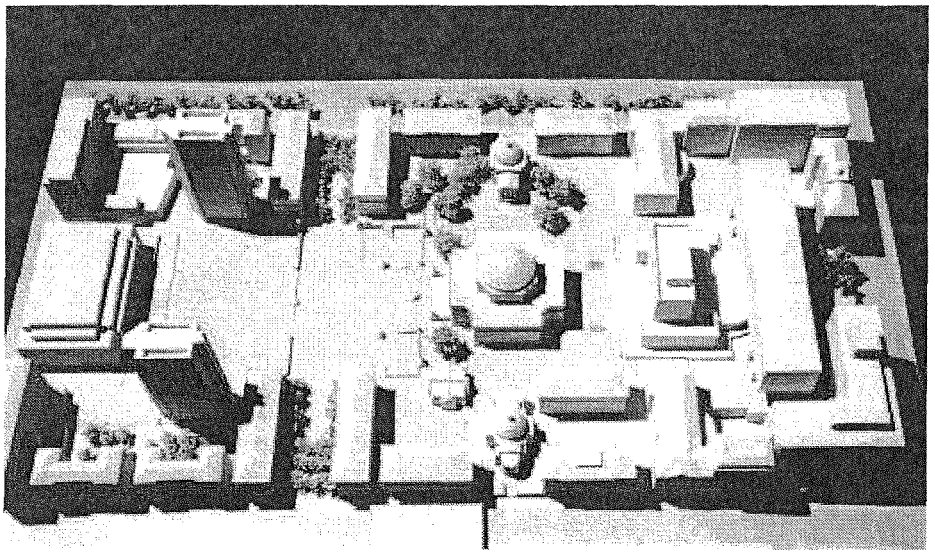




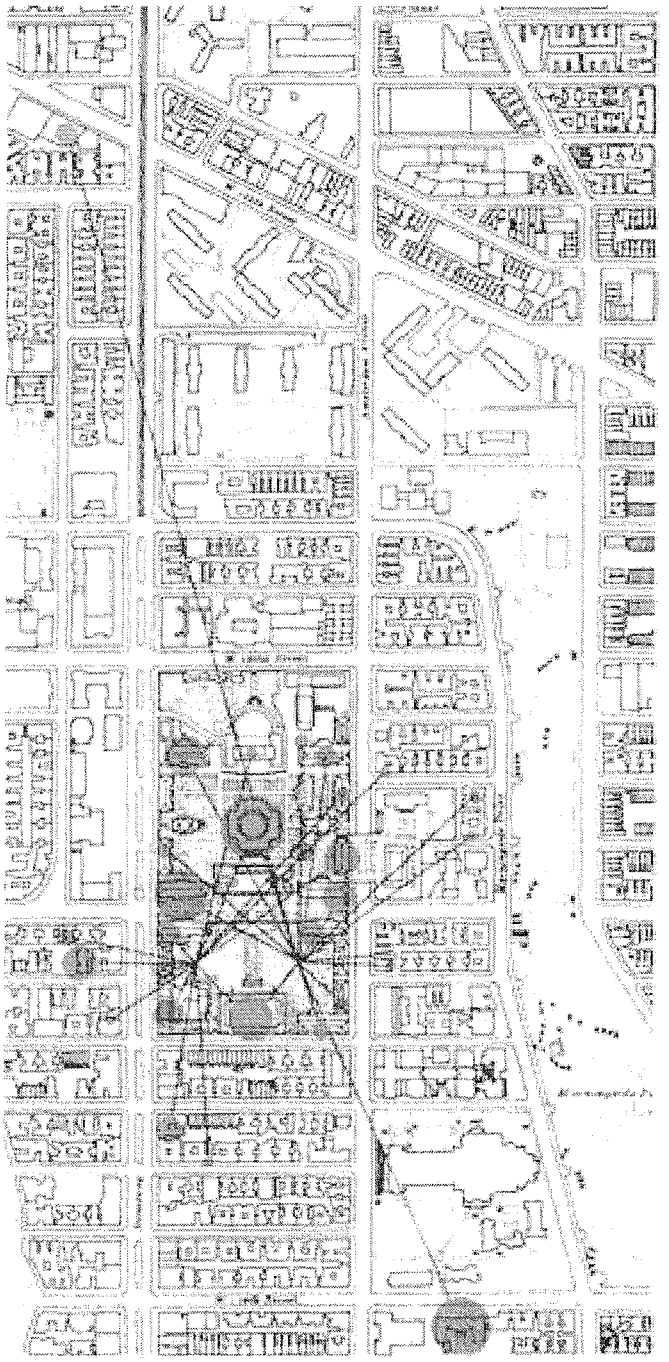
2.20: Parks Council commendation ceremony for Urban Deadline's work in New York and New Jersey (top left and right), June 1970). Pictured is Urban Deadline members Tyler Smith (far left of the podium) and Alain Salomon (near left to the podium) and 6th Street Park builder Jose (last name unknown, kneeling) and Salomon (sitting next to Jose). Alain Salomon in at La Tourette, Eveux-sur-l'Abresle in 2003. Sources: (top) *L'Architecture d'aujourd'hui* (May/June, 1975): 56 and (bottom) photograph by author.



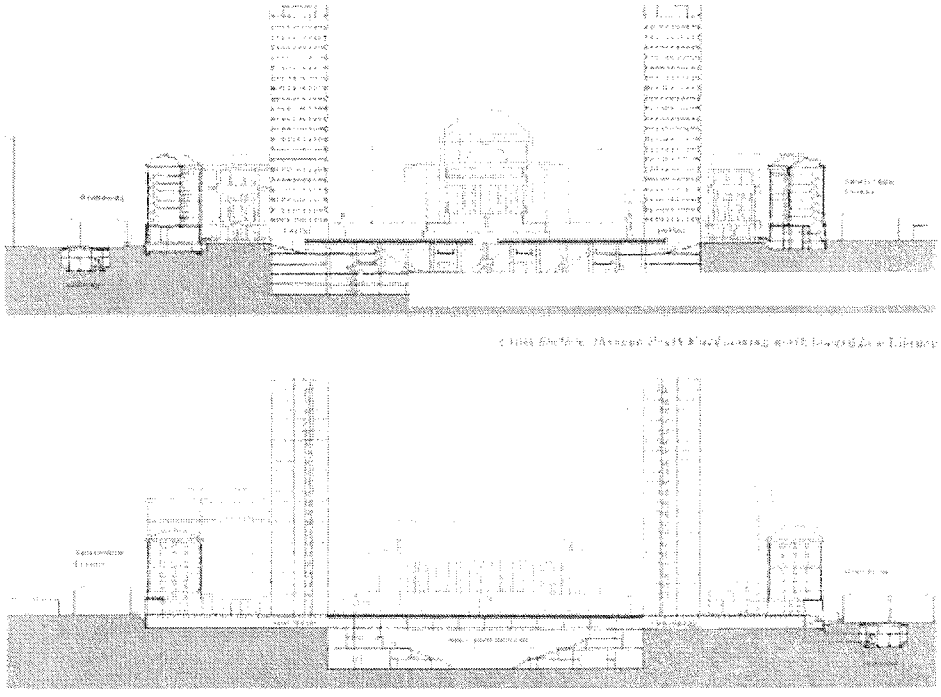
2.21: Urban Deadline, mill and pump house restoration, Patterson, New Jersey (c. 1974). Source: *L'Architecture d'aujourd'hui* (May/June, 1975): 51.



2.22: I.M. Pei and Associates, proposed changes to Columbia University model, 1970. Note the two towers on either side of Butler Library's forecourt, called the "South Field addition" in the proposal (at left). Courtesy Pei, Cobb, Freed and Partners

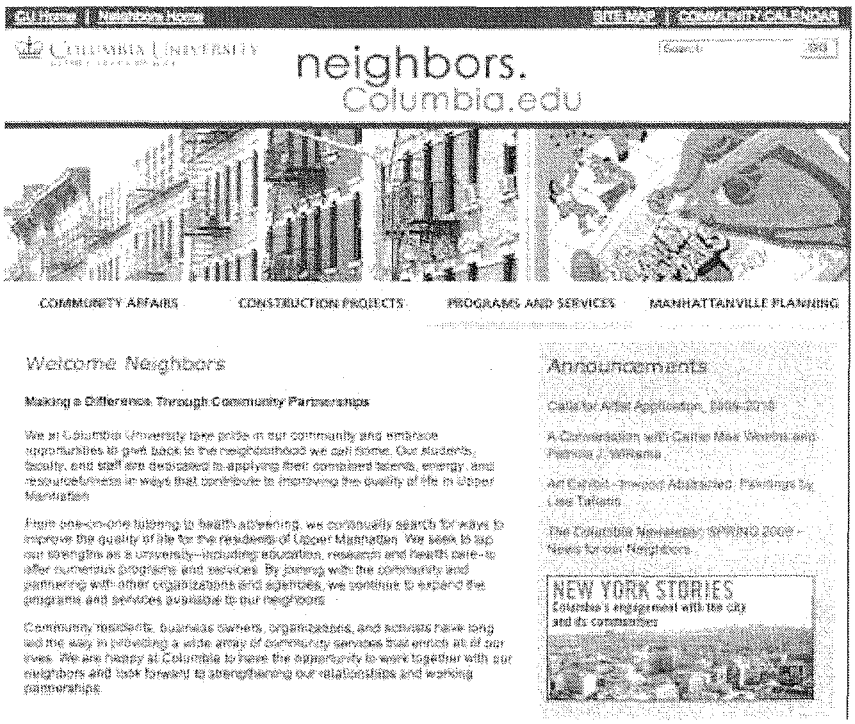


2.23: I.M. Pei and Associates Study for the "Possible consolidation of office and academic space to South Field towers," 1970. The gray dots represented existing office and classroom space within the historic campus and beyond. The lines converge on the two towers flanking Butler Library's forecourt (see previous illustration).
Source: Pei, Cobb, Freed and Partners.



2.24: (Above) I.M. Pei and Associates transverse sections through campus highlighting new additions in white and existing fabric in gray, 1970. Note the subterranean gymnasium below Butler Library's forecourt. (Left) a view looking east from Amsterdam Avenue through the base of the east tower. Source: Pei, Cobb, Freed and Partners.

2.25: Renzo Piano Building Workshop, Skidmore Owings and Merrill, and James Corner/Field Operations, central quadrangle with "piazza" in the background for Columbia University's expansion, 2009. Source: www.neighbors.columbia.edu



2.26: Opening webpage of Columbia's neighborhood outreach resource and project website. Source: www.neighbors.columbia.edu

Chapter Three: Renewing New Haven, Building Yale

It does not take a city planner's education or a blackboard of statistics to show that our cities are in trouble.
—Richard Lee, 1962[1]

Fatal Flaws

"It's a magnificent building with fatal flaws," observed Charles Moore of Paul Rudolph's 1963 Art and Architecture Building for Yale University. Moore replaced Rudolph as Dean of the School of Art and Architecture in 1967, which coincided with a shift in the school's curriculum as much as it represented a shift in architectural ideology. For many observers, few buildings demonstrate the tragic flaw of Modern architecture better than Rudolph's 237,000 square-foot school: out of scale with the surroundings, out of touch with the users, and ultimately overbearing. As a touchstone of Brutalism, the building drew complaints for its effect on the average New Havenite and, from within the school, it drew the critical ire of students, faculty, administration, and staff. From the moment the Art and Architecture School was completed, it embodied the widespread critique that Modern architecture had become more formal and repressive than optimistic and progressive.

Specific critiques about Rudolph's building, which continues to house Yale's architecture program today, center on its inert hostility to passers-by. **[3.1]** One of its corner piers, at Chapel and York Streets, disrupts the axis of the Chapel Street sidewalk and forces pedestrians to skirt the corner after crossing York. If one should brush the side of the building, in attempting to walk around this pier, one acutely understands the coarseness of its concrete pocked with a stony aggregate. **[3.2]** Defenders of the

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[1] Powledge, Fred, *Model City: A Test of American Liberalism—One Town's Efforts to Rebuilt Itself* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1970): 46. Excerpted from a speech to the Norfolk (Va.) Chamber of Commerce in December, 1962.

building's invasive footprint call attention to its symbolic plan, which draws on the historic nine-square New Haven plan for its proportions. Defenders also call attention to its stringcourses, which continue the lines of Louis Kahn's Art Gallery across the street, as a demonstration of continuity between two Modern buildings along the otherwise Gothic Revival showcase of the street. Other defenders have pointed to Rudolph's central glass volume, between the two central piers on York Street, which seems to "embrace" or "conclude" the courtyard façade of Kahn's gallery that some observers questioned for ending too abruptly at the corner of York and Chapel a decade earlier, in 1953.[2]

While the building may attempt to reconcile York Street with Kahn's gallery, its working spaces offer no such mercy to its users and for critics, the fatal "flaws" of Rudolph's building have existed, for the most part, within its concrete envelope. Thirty-six levels created a rabbit's warren of spaces around a hierarchical program: painters on the top floor, architects in the middle, and sculpture students below them. **[3.3]** This arrangement reflected what Rudolph believed to be each group's creative and ideal needs: light for painters, open drafting space in the heart of the building for architects, and a large—if dimly lit—basement for sculptors. The building was such an immediate failure in practice, however, that less than five years after it was completed, reporters observed that its studios resembled a "*favella*, a spontaneous shantytown."[3] "The most striking change has occurred on the floor of the architecture settlement—striking, that is, to those

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[2] Scully, Vincent, "Modern Architecture: A Memoir," in *Yale in New Haven: Architecture and Urbanism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004): 315-17.
[3] Berkeley, Ellen Perry, "Yale: A Building As Teacher," *Architectural Forum* 127:1 (July/August, 1967): 48.

who remember the careful rows of carefully designed drafting tables when the building opened."[4]

None of the windows had been washed during the first five years, owing to the cost of scaffolding required beyond the elaborate parapet rope system that Rudolph planned, which he admitted was not going to work because of the façade's irregularities. Air conditioning had not been installed initially, even if the muggy New Haven summer extended from May until October. Acoustical plaster installed in the ceilings had crumbled onto desktops and acoustics, generally, were uneven; too muted in the jury pit for students to hear critics and too cavernous on the main drafting room floor for students to hear themselves.[5]

Even the building's 1962 opening ceremony, ostensibly the time when a building seems most promising, ended poorly. None other than the new university president, Kingman Brewster, claimed that it had clear "problems" and the keynote speaker, Sir Nikolaus Pevsner, claimed that it too aggressively represented a singular idea about how architects and artists should work.[6] Rudolph's Art and Architecture building was, to one faculty member, "a teaching program that has been poured in place," and no ingenious *favella* or adaptive studio space created by its students could reverse that sense. In a strange coda to the building's fraught early years, the two top floors caught fire on June 14, 1969. **[3.4]** Arson was never determined to be the cause, but as stridently as keepers

[4] Berkeley, "Yale: A Building As Teacher," 48.
[5] Berkeley, "Yale: A Building As Teacher," 50-52.
[6] Scully, Vincent. Interview by author. Lynchburg, Va., 19 July 2009.

of Yale's official history deny its possibility, there are others who continue to harbor strong suspicions.[7]

By mirroring New Haven's ideal city plan of nine squares, Rudolph extrapolated the concept of a guiding framework. In doing so, he left little room in the curriculum for painters, sculptors, and architects to explore other spatial configurations. It was, as critics pointed out, Rudolph's focused and ideal vision of a school as its Dean. In its focus inward, the building—along with other examples of so-called Brutalism—attempted to define itself as utterly urban in terms of its brash materiality and as a microcosm of the ideal city itself. The ideal city in modern America, as far as city planners like Maurice Rotival was concerned, should evoke militaristic defense.[8] Speaking about city planning's role in the face of what would later be termed the "urban crisis," he noted "The development of the World is a battle...[that] has to follow the rules of military tradition especially in its approach to combat. [...] It should follow the principles of general staffing with streamlined groups of specialists trained to work together for specific operations."[9] Rotival's integral role in New Haven's development was based on this belief that militaristic organization should be the method of deploying a new urban

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[7] Robert A.M. Stern to William Morgan, n.d. Collection of the author.

[8] The logic of a so-called "ideal city" usually unfolds according to core organizing principles. Defense, resource management, hyper-controlled circulation, and socio-political hierarchies give the often rational forms of these cities meaning. That they are not accretive developments, but preconceived schemes, further defines its logic as *a priori* and reflexive: everything according to the plan and all parts of the plan reference the whole. Brutalist architecture, in the context of civic, institutional, or corporate architecture in a 1960s American context embodies this picture of rationality, systemic thought, and—by virtue of a building's massing—the permanence that ideal city planners hoped to achieve. The other, slightly older context for Brutalism is the British version (so-called "New Brutalism") from a decade earlier, as defined by Reyner Banham. He defined the New Brutalism in light of buildings that foreground structure above all else, were born of pragmatism, and, of course, liberal use of its eponymous material, *béton brut*. For further discussion, see Reyner Banham's *The New Brutalism—Ethic of Aesthetic?* (New York: Reinhold Publishing Corporation, 1966) and Irénée Scalbert's article "Parallel of Life and Art, in" *Daidalos* 75, 'The (2000): 53-65,.

[9] Rotival, Maurice, "The International City," 1956, Maurice E.H. Rotival Papers (MS 1380), Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library.

plan, and that uprooting anything in that plan's path was acceptable. The "urban crisis" of dilapidated and "blighted" areas, populated by poor and underserved African-Americans and Latinos impinging on otherwise "healthy" parts of the American city, populated by the middle-class who were mostly white, called for an urgent reclamation, many city administrators felt.

It is no coincidence, either, that the monuments of Brutalism were commissioned by municipal governments, corporations, and large institutions as rejoinders to the sleek thinness and sinuous lines of corporate Modernism. Paul Rudolph, the Boston firm Kallmann, McKinnell, and Knowles (later, Kallmann, McKinnell, and Wood), John Carl Warnecke, and Louis Kahn, to name a few, had projects in nearly every major American city in the 1950s and 1960s and they defined a disciplined, ordered, and muscular class of Modern architecture. More importantly, Brutalism defined security and dominance, offering the hope to functioning institutions or local governments that they could mitigate an urban crisis.

In "Art and Building By the System," *New York Times* architecture critic Ada Louise Huxtable decried the "deleterious effect" of impersonal glass boxes and Brutalist bunkers on our "human sensitivity for light and scale."[10] Yet, she sympathized with architects caught between high design and the exigencies of practice, noting, "the knife against the architect's throat...is always economic." Aesthetic analysis aside, Huxtable claimed that Brutalism largely existed as a triangulation of restrictive zoning codes, money saving standardization, and politics. A Brutalist building used coarse materials—concrete and stone; it was intended to stand as a lasting mark on the landscape, unlike

[10] Huxtable, Ada Louise, "Art and Building by the System," The *New York Times,* 16 Dec. 1973, sec. AL, p. 180.

some of the seemingly flimsy glass-and-steel towers; it was an ostensibly civic investment that would be around for a while, like an H.H. Richardson church. Most importantly, industrial materials and systematized building practices meant that Modern architecture could be very inexpensive.

Cold War anxieties and urban violence in the United States, from the mid-1950s through the late-1960s, appear in many city planning motives and proposals. Systemic, defensive city planning in the Johnson Administration's "Model Cities" program (and other programs before) continued a dialogue within Modern Architecture about the ideal city and its form that may have manifested in architectural practice, but had its roots within architecture's academy. The "urban crisis" at the heart of Brutalism and, indeed, urban renewal, precipitated a pedagogical crisis within several American schools of architecture that ultimately led to a chance in the way young architects redefined architecture as an agent of change within the communities beyond their studios.

Urban Renewal's Blight

Cultural critics and historians often use the terms *upheaval* and *unrest* to describe the sixties in America. Even in contemporary accounts of the period, some of which recently marked the forty years since 1968, upheaval and unrest remained the central concepts that drove collective memory. "Fallible human beings gave the sixties its inimitable shape," noted civil rights historian Wesley Hogan, and there was nothing easy or obvious in the messy business of upheaval and unrest.[11] The two terms were predicated on an overarching paradox. In the sixties, the United States was the wealthiest,

[11] Hogan, Wesley C., *Many Minds, One Heart: SNCC's Dream for a New America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007): 5.

most advanced industrialized nation, possessed of the best-equipped military, a healthy citizenry, and the most productive workforce in the world. Government coffers increased their collective value from $291 billion in 1952 to $942 billion in 1972, a boost of 224 percent.[12] In retrospect, the generally positive, social changes wrought by the civil rights movement, the counter-culture, and liberal political thought has given the sixties its rosy pallor. As recent celebrations of 1968's fortieth anniversary attested, the decade has since been lionized by its inheritors and held up by nearly everyone as the apogee of post-war liberalism in America.

Yet, it was a nation in which the distribution of wealth did not reflect the same victory of independence and equality that liberalism intended or has since claimed. It was also a nation whose citizenry increased in population by 33 percent between 1952 and 1972, while the municipal police force increased by 130 percent. There were more people and more police per capita, but far less progress in terms of closing the economic gaps that caused poverty and crime rates to rise, which then contributed to the nationwide growth of civilian police forces.[13] In 1865, African-Americans owned 0.5% of the total wealth in the United States and by 1990, that figure had only climbed half a percentage point to 1.0%.[14] Did this incremental change support the dramatic change that typically framed the sixties?

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[12] Freeman, Roger A., *The Growth of American Government: A Morphology of the Welfare State* (Stanford, Ca.: Stanford University/Hoover Institution Press, 1975): 26.
[13] Freeman, *The Growth of American Government*, 26.
[14] Conley, Dalton, *Being Black, Living in the Red: Race, Wealth and Social Policy in America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999): 25.

The reality of race in America was misrepresented in favor of maintaining the "sacred ground" of a symbolic civil rights victory.[15] In the so-called "post-Civil Rights era," many historians have pointed to the advent of black political power in the United States as evidence of this victory; an era in which sixty-seven cities with populations larger than 50,000 had elected black mayors by 1996.[16] As urban historian Thomas Sugrue has noted, however, the forty years since 1968 had been fraught with the decline of social welfare programs, suburbanization's continued march forward and sprawl outward, and joblessness within the African-American and Hispanic communities.

The fabric of urban renewal, reputedly evidence of another kind of "victory" among city administrators, remains as a concrete (often, literally) reminder that oppression was just as spatial as it was social or political.[17] "Although legal segregation has been dismantled," Hogan has noted, speaking about the post-civil rights era, "[S]egregation in neighborhoods and schools across the country is once again reaching the levels of the 1950s: four out of every five whites live outside cities and 86 percent of whites live in neighborhoods where minorities make up less than 1 percent of the population.[18] It was here that *unrest* and *upheaval* should be considered separately. While activists from the sixties can claim political and cultural unrest for that decade, their claim for social upheaval may ultimately be exaggerated.

The programs associated with urban renewal, on a national scale, were born out of the unrest or, perhaps, the restlessness of city administrators as they watched scores of mostly white residents fleeing to the suburbs, urban buildings fall derelict, and

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[15] Hogan, *Many Minds, One Heart,* 5.
[16] Sugrue, Thomas, *Sweet Land of Liberty* (New York: Random House, 2008): xxii.
[17] Sugrue, *Sweet Land of Liberty*, xxii.
[18] Hogan, *Many Minds, One Heart,* 5.

commercial interests evaporate—all of which caused a dramatic upheaval in the tax base of the city.[19] As a practice, urban renewal grew out of the 1949 Federal Housing Act, which empowered cities to acquire properties deemed "blighted," backed by federal dollars, and made additional money available to municipalities to, among other things, construct public housing.[20] In what the urban geographer John Mollenkopf has called the "postindustrial transformation" of the American city, beneficiaries of this legislation set out to organize what had become "the rapid, haphazard, and rapacious growth" induced by industrial capitalism from 1850 until 1930.[21] It was not that urban growth, itself, had led to blight, but that a middle-class migration away from cities left a hulking shell without an adequate tax base to maintain its infrastructure or housing.

Looking at the 69 largest Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas in the United States between 1947 and 1967, cities lost 111 percent of their manufacturing jobs to areas beyond its borders.[22] On average, these cities not only lost most—if not all—of their industry, but industrial growth outside of the city signaled that these jobs were not likely to return. With those jobs went skilled labor, middle management, and all of the peripheral services and professions that were attached to these industries. The 1949 Housing Act, under Harry Truman's "Fair Deal" program, sought to mitigate what would later be called an "urban crisis" of the shrinking central business district, a decaying

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[19] Gans, Herbert J., "The Failure of Urban Renewal: A Critique and Some Proposals," *Commentary* (April, 1965): 64-5.

[20] Title I is the most closely associated with urban renewal, which granted funds to applicants representing a municipal slum clearance program. The other three sections worked in tandem with this provision: Title II granted the Federal Housing Administration the ability to issue mortgages, effectively making the federal government an investor in municipal projects, Title III provided money for specific public housing units—over 800,000 in all—and empowered the Farmer Home Administration to grant mortgages for ownership and repair of single-family, rural homes.

[21] Mollenkopf, John H., *The Contested City* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983): 14.

[22] Mollenkopf, *The Contested City*, 23.

urban fabric within city borders, and inadequate, sub-standard housing for those too disenfranchised to even make a lateral move, much less any economic advances.[23]

As a theoretical framework, proponents of urban renewal held that razing outmoded buildings, filling in vacant lots, increasing the scale of public housing, and introducing massive infrastructure projects could raise the quality of urban life. The stated intention of the project at the municipal level was to eliminate "blight" in the American city.[24] Blight, in its original definition, was a discoloration symptomatic of disease. As an urban condition, the way Americans conceived of blight closely followed this biological definition insofar as it described a diseased area of a city that posed an infectious risk to adjacent areas. The racial implications of "discoloration" notwithstanding, a blighted area was to be corrected, its perceived "wickedness" eliminated, and its streets renewed in the image of civility.

The term "gentrification," first introduced by the sociologist Ruth Glass in 1964, was occasionally attached to urban renewal in this period as the reinvestment process by which blight was eliminated. Like blight, gentrification was a term that could be read in two ways: gentrification became a shorthand term among community activists for urban renewal's negative impact on local communities and, yet, it had also become shorthand for a neighborhood's renaissance among some planners, developers, and realtors.[25] For example, the re-branding of East Harlem and Spanish Harlem as "Upper Yorkville" during the late-1970s was an attempt to neutralize the legacy of riots that were hardly a

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[23] Harrington, Michael, *The Other America: Poverty in the United States* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1963): 9-24.
[24] Sugrue, Thomas J., *The Origins of the Urban Crisis: Race and Inequality in Postwar Detroit* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996): 48-9.
[25] Sharman, Russell Leigh, *The Tenants of East Harlem* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000): 200-01.

decade old.[26] "The effect of gentrification on people already living in those allegedly blighted communities is not value-neutral," noted the cultural anthropologist Russell Sharman, "and it is rarely positive."[27]

As the historian Robert O. Self has noted, speaking about Oakland after 1945, "Most local officials and business leaders understood decline as a physical and economic problem, what they termed 'blight,' rather than a symptom of social inequality. [...] Like cancer, to which it was often rhetorically compared, blight threatened the city as a whole, beginning with the financial interest of downtown property holders."[28] Race, class, economic standing, and what might be called *realpolitik* planning (everything in its right place) collectively represented the nature of renewal, as it was understood by mayors, city planners, and design students by the mid-1960s, when the consequences were identified as the catalyst for urban race riots.

The creation of the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) in 1965 by Lyndon Johnson as a way to manage urban renewal projects, in some ways, was too little too late. As part of Johnson's "Great Society" program, HUD represented a response to the 1949 Housing Act (and subsequent measures) in that it would serve as a

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[26] The relationship between gentrification and branding (or, re-branding) of a neighborhood as it relates to universities, is a growing discourse in urban geography under "studentification," which is defined as the economic and physical development impact of students on an urban area. One of the literal building blocks of studentification is the urban dormitory (often built on land deemed blighted and, therefore, primed for redevelopment), whose students ultimately become "apprentice gentrifiers." These dormitories take on the relative opulence of private condominiums or upscale apartments in their amenities, sheer size, and cost. Upon graduating, its resident students often seek the same kinds of accommodations in their home university cities or elsewhere, perpetuating the condominium market in gentrified areas. For a fuller discussion of "studentification" and university branding, see Darren Smith's "'Studentification:' The Gentrification Factory?" in *Gentrification in a Global Context* (New York: Routledge, 2004), Lance Freeman's book *There Goes the 'Hood* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2006), and Winifred Curren and Evan Hague's "A Special Brand of Sausage" in *Antipode* 40:5 (2008): 724-28.

[27] Sharman, *The Tenants of East Harlem*, 200.

[28] Self, Robert O., *American Babylon: Race and the Struggle for Postwar Oakland* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003): 139.

mechanism for accountability the federally funded projects that had been conceived and built. Leading up to HUD's creation, then-Housing and Home Finance Administrator Robert C. Weaver—who would later become HUD's first secretary—testified before Congress that urban renewal "has become a vital and decisive force in redeeming our towns and cities from blight and transforming deficit areas into productive ones."[29] In what was a widely held belief at the time, Weaver pointed to increased tax revenues, better assistance for low- and moderate-income families, and the relocation of families to what would eventually be HUD-controlled housing.. "We have provided for the re-housing of non-whites as well as whites in urban renewal areas. Some [African-Americans] are living in public housing, but most of them are living in private housing. This represents in many instances the first new private housing in the central cities ever made available to our non-white residents."[30]

What Weaver failed to see, despite the fact that he was "non-white," himself—as the first African-American to hold a cabinet-level position in the United States—was that these private housing options were worse than the public options, often owned by absentee landlords.[31] Absenteeism among landlords, poorly maintained buildings, and increasingly unsafe properties defined the experience of many residents in New York and New Haven. For tenants, relocation was not something they could elect to do, necessarily, either. According to some reports, landlords were known to blackmail tenants who earned money outside of their welfare checks and raise the rent on an

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[29] Weaver, Robert C., "Testimony before the Subcommittee of the Committee on Banking and Currency," U.S. Senate, 88th Congress, 2nd Session, Washington, D.C. (February-March, 1964). Statements collected as "The Case for Urban Renewal," in *Issues of the Sixties* (Belmont, Ca.: Wadsworth Publishing, 1965): 134.
[30] Weaver, "The Case for Urban Renewal," 137.
[31] Saloman, Katia. Interview by author, Paris (France), 17 July 2009.

otherwise rent-controlled unit every time it turned over.[32] Landlords were also engaged in legal maneuvering in signing ownership of buildings over to family and friends to evade the growing influence of community advocates. "When the pressure on a building gets too high," noted one SDS pamphlet, "the property is transferred to an affiliate—another cousin or corporation."[33]

In response, the rent strikes in the late-1960s were devised as a way to reclaim the building, in which residents organized to pay "rent" into a common account that went towards building maintenance instead of paying a landlord. "If they were paying rent, they should require that the landlords get rid of the rats, stop up the holes, [and] fix the plumbing," noted one rent-strike organizer. "I would go door to door to tell people what their rights were—and I remember going down to city hall doing some research, trying to find landlords—because nobody knew who their landlords were. Trying to find a name that corresponded to a building—and I got nowhere."[34]

Critiques about the larger program of urban renewal also formed along political lines. It would be a gross simplification to say that urban renewal remained in favor with the American Left and all progressive city planning practitioners and that it drew the ire of the American Right. Originally, the pro-business platform of urban renewal, as it appeared in legislation sponsored and carried out by Truman Democrats, was more aligned with Republican policy and economics. What Republicans derided, under the so-called "freedom philosophy" about free enterprise without government intervention was the massive spending on urban renewal initiatives after the 1949 Housing Act. The fact

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[32] Edelstein, Joel, "Rent Strike: What When How," pamphlet (New York: Students for a Democratic Society, c.1962): 1-5.
[33] Edelstein, "Rent Strike: What When How" 4.
[34] Salomon, Katia. Interview by author, Paris (France), 17 July 2009.

that military spending accounted for more than twenty-five percent of federal spending between 1950 and 1980 aside, urban renewal seemed to many conservative Americans be a money pit in this period.[35]

In one memorable letter to Douglas Haskell, the Ohio architect Eugene Dykes criticized the then-editor of *Architectural Forum* for faulty economic reasoning in a recent pro-urban renewal editorial.[36] Dykes, a proponent of the "freedom philosophy," enclosed a wildly available article that he had penned for *The Freeman* in July 1961 and was republished up by, among other publications, *American Mercury* and *Christian Economics*.[37] "Worse than Chain Letters" pointed out that the compounded expenses of urban renewal—as in the compounded signatures of chain letter—were greater than the social problems that these federal programs aimed to solve. "Only an absolute illiterate could be unaware of the large—and growing—national debt," he noted, and went on:

> The problems we try to solve with federal 'aid' are nowhere near as difficult and complex as the problems we will face in trying to untangle ourselves from the web of federal directives, red tape, massive taxation, and deteriorating values—the ingredients of the strong, centralized government we worship in our final dash away from the American revolutionary concept that man derives his rights from the Creator.[38]

No understatement, then, was Robert Weaver's 1960 article "Class, Race and Urban Renewal," which began "Urban renewal has opened a Pandora's Box in several fields."[39]

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[35] Mollinkopf, *The Contested City*, 26-7.
[36] E.W. Dykes to Douglas Haskell, 29 January 1962, Douglas Putnam Haskell Papers Box 12-6, Avery Architectural and Fine Arts Library, Department of Drawings and Archives, Columbia University.
[37] Vandergrift, Leroy. Interview by author, St. Louis, Mo., 3 November 2009.
[38] Dykes, E.W., "Worse Than Chain Letters," Douglas Putnam Haskell Papers Box 12-6, Avery Architectural and Fine Arts Library, Department of Drawings and Archives, Columbia University. Also reprinted in *American Mercury* XCIII:451 (September, 1961).
[39] Weaver, Robert C., "Class, Race and Urban Renewal," *Land Economics* XXXVI:3 (August, 1960): 235.

It had, indeed, reinvented city planning and polarized American politics. Urban renewal, he argued, was an imperfect system that was predicated on three laudable goals: to mollify race and class conflict, to reestablish the city as a center for living and working, and to make room for all economic classes and social and racial communities.[40] The eventual fourth goal was to re-imagine the city's transportation system, vexing though it may have been as its implementation was often more of a divisive agent, rather than a unifying one, in the urban fabric.

Formal planning gestures to re-establish a city's central business district or reinforce its periphery aside, the impossibility of mollifying race and class doomed urban renewal's entire logic—especially as it played out in northern American cities like Boston, Philadelphia, Chicago, and New Haven. "The North is the tragic denouement of the otherwise triumphant civil rights struggle," noted Thomas Sugrue, as Southern exceptionalism and the legacy of the American Civil War convinced Northerners of their own innocence and masked their complicity in racism.[41] Northern racism may not have been as explicit as "whites-only" fountains, but it shared what Sugrue has called "informal Jim Crow" circumstances: unfair market practices, economic injustice, political invisibility of minorities, and misguided public policies. "The social paradox in the North is exactly this," argued the economist Karl Gunnar Myrdal in 1944, "that almost everybody is against discrimination in general but, at the same time, almost everybody practices discrimination in his own personal affairs." He went on,

> The white Northerner, in his private dealings with people to whom he does not feel akin, has dangerous traditions derived from the exploitation of new immigrants. But even

[40] Weaver, "Class, Race and Urban Renewal," 249-51.
[41] Sugrue, *Sweet Land of Liberty*, xiv.

> in those nonpublic spheres, and particularly in the problem of breadwinning, the white Northern is becoming prepared, as a citizen, to give the Negro his just opportunity. But apparently, as a private individual, he is less prepared to feel that he himself is the man to give the Negro a better chance: in his own occupation, trade union, office or workshop, in his own residential neighborhood or in his church.[42]

Twenty-five years after Myrdal observed this social paradox, the conditions had not changed dramatically and all of the elements of urban renewal—including the economic and political agency of growing urban universities—had a hand in this stagnation.

Developers, architects, and mortgage lenders worked together to create a housing market in the suburbs, but urban theorists envisioned a second chance for cities in their own version of the domestic American dream. "We must replace dying cities with communities that fit and foster the activities and aspirations of the present time," intoned Clarence Stein in his acceptance speech for the AIA Gold Medal in 1956. "We must build new cites as a stage—a joyful setting for the *good life* here and now."[43] Indeed, by the late-1950s, many city planners had absorbed Stein's ideas into their own strategies for redevelopment, culminating at the height of the disbursement of federal grants for "urban renewal" and, later, what was recast by New Haven Mayor Richard C. Lee and others as "human renewal."[44]

Stein's "good life" of work and leisure in balance, regular and modest financial advancement, and a horizon dotted with suburban housing and green spaces resonated

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[42] Myrdal, Karl Gunnar, *An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy* (New York: Harper & Bros, 1944): 1010.
[43] Stein, "Communities for the Good Life," 40.
[44] Powledge, Fred. *Model City—A Test of American Liberalism: One Town's Efforts to Rebuild Itself* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1970): 46.

with the American consumer society after 1945. Whether it was a ranch, a split-level, or a two-story Colonial, the picture of middle-class comfort was the house, itself, which offered an open plan, security, privacy, a yard, and the all important labor saving devices, such as "Venetian blinds, a washing machine, and a refrigerator."[45] Year by year, these homes, on average, became larger; the typical new home in 1950 offered 983 square feet. Just five years later, they typical home boasted nearly 1,200 square feet.[46]

The good life was connected to qualities of domestic comfort and ease, but it was also defined by quantitative values: square footage, annual income, and home-ownership rates. As the purchasing power of Americans grew, so too did their rate of economic mobility. As total consumer expenditures more than doubled in the years between 1945 and 1958, reflecting income, so did consumer expenditures for shelter, which reflected a general rise in rents, mortgages, and maintenance costs.[47] Considered against growth in the average price of goods in the same period, which only jumped by a third from 18 to 29.1 between 1945 and 1959 on the Consumer Price Index, the average American consumer's purchasing power grew steadily.[48]

New Haven's role in the narrative of mid-century urban renewal was typical of many American cities. In many ways, it was a prototype for the effective way in which Mayor Lee and urban planner Edward Logue had remade the city by a deft harnessing of federal, state, and local monies, as well as through grants and property sales to Yale. In fact, Yale was sometimes referred to as the "parallel government" in New Haven during

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[45] Cohen, Lizabeth. *A Consumer's Republic: The Politics of Mass Consumption in Postwar America* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2003): 197.
[46] Cohen, *A Consumer's Republic*, 208-9.
[47] Weese, Harry M., *Apartments and Dormitories*. New York: F.W. Dodge Corporation (1958): 3.
[48] U.S. Department of Labor, Department of Labor Statistics, "Consumer Price Index: 1913-2009—U.S. city average, all urban consumers, all items" (2009): 1.

the period between 1959 and 1962, at the end of which Lee was elected to an unprecedented fifth term in office.[49] Lee was a pragmatist, however, who understood that—private development interests aside—there was a very real bottom in "top-down" planning. "Utilizing bulldozers didn't solve the problems," he noted, looking back on his first decade in office, "in fact, it just uncovered them. It uncovered human problems."[50] Along with ostensibly two governments in New Haven, there were also two distinct constituencies in New Haven, groups that reflected the two Americas that race riots, protests, and demonstrations would bring into conflict during Lee's final three terms in office..

For many city administrators in the late-1950s and early-1960s, good city planning was the panacea that would lead to a good city life, an idea that stood in contrast to Jane Jacobs' basic argument about community and accretive development in *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (1961). The same year that Jacobs' book was published, James E. Lee (no relation to New Haven's Mayor), the Planning Director for the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, chided Jacobs for misunderstanding the aims of planners. Quoting Jacobs, he argued, "To say that 'planners are the enemies of cities because they offer us only the poisonous promise of making every piece in the city more like dull and standardized Morningside Heights' is to sink from eloquence into demagoguery."[51] Lee went on,

> There is no question at all that we need more courageous, brilliant, imaginative, sympathetic, and effective people to help us retain or achieve something that might be called a

[49] Powledge, *Model City*, 45-6.
[50] Powledge, *Model City*, 46.
[51] James E. Lee to Jane Jacobs, 13 October 1961, Douglas Putnam Haskell Papers Box 12-6, Avery Architectural and Fine Arts Library, Department of Drawings and Archives, Columbia University.

> reasonably 'good life' and good environment for all. Planning, however, is a youthful, even juvenile, profession in the United States, and it reflects many of the shortcomings of our relatively young nation. But, most planners are attempting, in however weak and faltering a way, to advance beyond those shortcomings.[52]

In part, to state that planners were inadequately brilliant, imaginative, and sympathetic was to question the efficacy of city planning's training systems. Divided as they may have been between mature and "juvenile," city planners at mid-century shared certain assumptions about both the design of suburban building and the design and construction of urban apartments and public housing. As there were two New Havens and two Americas, in terms of class and race, city planning sought to bring the supposed safety of the suburbs back into the city through renewal programs and to make the city a paragon of rational, efficient organization. As it had been for *Congrès Internationale d'Architecture Moderne* participants, the basic unit of analysis for measuring civilization was the city, itself, and housing projects were the building blocks for that city.

Mass housing would be successful only if it was built in multiples on the urban scale and if it subscribed to the green good-life principles outlined by Clarence Stein and others. "Leisure occupations for all require above all space, much open space, convenient open space, verdant space [...] and the whole landscape has been cluttered with crowded, unrelated disorder."[53] In giving order to disorder, regional planners and architects still held density at the center of any urban "fix," but it had to be a newly re-

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[52] James E. Lee to Jane Jacobs, 13 October 1961, Douglas Putnam Haskell Papers Box 12-6, Avery Architectural and Fine Arts Library, Department of Drawings and Archives, Columbia University.
[53] Stein, Clarence, "Communities for the Good Life," in Weese, Harry M., et al. *Apartments and Dormitories* (New York: F.W. Dodge Corporation, 1958): 38.

constituted density. Existing communities had no place in these new plans, even if "community" served as an abstract goal.

Nowhere did the good life play out more emblematically than on the college campus. Expansion campaigns undertaken in the late-1950s at American universities focused on the dormitory as building block, as it would house the legions of students whose tuition would fund growing faculty bodies, the purchase of adjacent real estate, and a changing course of study. If Stein's good life in the city was about "fostering aspiration" and creating a "stage" for the ideal to develop, Academia was a likely place to test those goals socially and Modern architecture was a likely vehicle to test them spatially.

Yale's Cloistered Garden

An era of Modern architecture and planning at Yale began in 1950. A. Whitney Griswold began his tenure as Yale's president, the Master of City Planning degree was established, Josef Albers, the influential Bauhaus instructor and German émigré, transferred to New Haven from his first American teaching post at Black Mountain College, and Philadelphia architect George Howe became the chairman of the Department of Architecture. It was during Howe's time, as chair, that Philip Johnson began his decade-long stint as a regular visiting critic at Yale and, significantly, encouraging (and partially funding) Howe to endorse the founding of *Perspecta* in 1952.[54]

[54] Schulze, Franz, *Philip Johnson: Life and Work* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994): 219-220.

A number of other faculty joined Howe's department, among them the American architect Paul Schweikher, the former head of the Chicago Bauhaus in exile (1939-40), who assumed Howe's chairmanship of the Department of Architecture in 1953. Before he left in 1956, however, Howe invited Pietro Belluschi, Buckminster Fuller, Frederick Kiesler, Christopher Tunnard, Louis Kahn, and others to Yale as critics and, in some cases, more permanent fixtures.[55] It was a strong department that established Yale as a center for architectural debate about how to modernize traditional architectural education with, among others, its principal design critics Eugene Nalle, Paul Schweikher, and Edward Durell Stone.

The perennial divide between architecture as a technical occupation and architecture as a fine art manifested itself, curiously enough, in the City Planning Department at Yale in these years. Halfway between quantitative analysis and planning's tradition of rendering utopia, its director, the landscape architect Christopher Tunnard who had come to Yale in 1945 and shifted his attention to cities, attempted to define a discipline that had new federal mandates but an unclear set of core values.

In 1954, Tunnard established a baseline with *City Planning at Yale*, a collection of essays written by its faculty and other planning professionals in both city planning and urban design.[56] Elements of the curriculum were covered, such as the first year foundational project "civic design," as well as essays on Thomas Jefferson by Fiske Kimball, then the Director of the Philadelphia Museum of Art, new industrial towns,

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[55] Paul Schweikher to A. Whitney Griswold, 6 February, 1956. Alfred Whitney Griswold, President of Yale University, Records (RU 22), Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library.
[56] Tunnard, Christopher and John N. Pearce (eds.), *City Planning at Yale*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1954), Alfred Whitney Griswold, President of Yale University, Records (RU 22), Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library.

monumentality, the challenges of patronage by municipalities, and what a "balanced region" might mean. Tunnard emphasized the relationship between "physical planning and design" in his introduction and the interdisciplinary nature of the program, which drew from other university departments of Sociology, Engineering, Political Science, Public Health, and the Bureau of Highway Traffic. The goal of the department, as stated by Tunnard, was to foster a curriculum that exposed students to quantitative analysis, the exigencies of zoning, and master planning. Importantly, he wanted to foster a "concept of the city" through "a clear, imaginative, and graphic manner," supported by "survey and research."[57] Planning had a front end and a back end, as Yale's instructors taught it, whose practitioners had to capture real numbers and express those numbers graphically by positing qualities of a well-planned city.

The challenge of situating the ideal within the real, however, was extrapolation. Mapping quantitative analyses onto an image of the city, in a way that could anticipate both local conditions and future growth, was an ambitious task. But, none of it would matter unless the planner could be persuasive; the front-end of planning—where the art of planning was most explicit—had to be in place for the benefit of the public, city administrators, and federal backers. Yale's Survey Committee on Planning Studies agreed and supported Tunnard's position in the mid-1950s that planning should be taught under the guise of design and should remain within the School of Architecture and Design, accordingly.[58]

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[57] Tunnard and Pearce, eds. *City Planning at Yale*. ii-iii.
[58] Charles Sawyer, et al., to Edgar Furniss, 17 February 1956, Alfred Whitney Griswold, President of Yale University (RU 22), Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library.

To confront the task of artful planning, Tunnard and his co-editor John Pearce included an overview of the "Planning Your Town" exhibition in 1952, which had been created by the Virginia Museum of Fine Art (VMFA) with content supplied by the Department of Architecture and Planning, as it was called, within the School of Architecture and Design. The centerpiece was a model measuring eight feet by thirteen feet that depicted the appearance of a successful Virginia town in 1999, "if proper planning procedures are instituted."[59] Town planning, as imagined by Edward Marcus at Yale, James Ward, Land Planner for Philadelphia, and Russell Ford, Associate City Planner for New Haven, was a matter of provident care for a future condition.

In his contribution to the project, Ford presented an aerial photograph of an actual city block in Richmond that included a church, parking, shops, and apartments. **[3.5]** The block was a textbook example of accretive development, in which infill at different points in time created an irregular series of inter-block spaces, full build-out of lots mixed with only partial build-out, and a varied set of shop facades and rooflines. In retrospect, Ford anticipated the late-twentieth century model of a "Towne Center," replicated in hundreds of exurbs throughout the United States. But, in 1952, the super-block, clean-slate development, and corporate Modernism were a prescription for the healthful city.

Ford's solution, unsurprisingly, was to raze half of the block. **[3.6]** In place of the demolished buildings, which appear to be a mix of structures from the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, Ford erected two steel-and-glass slabs with brick veneers and *brise soleils* on the fronts and backs—one facing the street, the other facing the alley—with ample parking in the middle of the block. With the inter-block space that

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[59] Tunnard and Pearce, eds. *City Planning at Yale*, 7.

Ford saved by going up three stories on one of the new buildings, he created a small corner park whose trees had matured in the fifty years between 1949 and 1999, the target year for their proposal.

In Ford's bird's eye view, the economy evident in consolidating functions and the compensatory benefits of green space in the corner park matched the great civic virtues of prudence and foresight. "Consequently," Ford, Ward, and Marcus wrote in their accompanying text, "the panels consist primarily of perspective sketches and photographs to reveal the potential excellence which exists in almost all communities."[60] The authors' idea of a hidden order characterized much of the thinking among city planners at the time, an imposed organizing principal was valued more than a market-driven, self-organization, and, in Virginia at least, it was popular among city elders.

"Planning Your Town" traveled to Fredericksburg, Natural Bridge, Waynesboro, Charlottesville, Abington, Bristol, Roanoke, Blacksburg, and other cities, and was wildly popular among local planning commissions or organizations that hosted the enormous model and accompanying panels. Christened by Virginia's Governor John S. Battle and the Trustees of the VMFA, the opening ceremony was attended by mayors from all over the Commonwealth as well as members of the state AIA chapter, the League of Virginia Municipalities, and League of Virginia Counties, and the Virginia Citizens Planning Association. In his opening address, Richmond Mayor Nelson Parker began, "The history of towns is a story of change—continuous change," the task of which had already

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[60] Tunnard and Pearce, eds. *City Planning at Yale*, 13.

been realized by other localities who were looking to the future, "to avoid becoming ugly, unhealthy, and expensive to live in [and] to make themselves orderly and attractive."[61]

"Planning Your Town" and *City Planning at Yale* followed on the heels of a 1952 conference at the Yale University Art Gallery, a year before Louis Kahn completed the current building, called "Civic Art," sponsored by Tunnard's City Planning Department. Seen in context to *City Planning at Yale*, the department's statement of purpose, it was clear that the art of planning was stressed as the generator of city form. Alan Burnham, the Greenwich, Connecticut architect, spoke on the experience of the city in "The Treatment of Streets" and Yale's curator of its map collection, Alexander Vietor, emphasized the omnipotent bird's eye view in his talk "American Cities in Maps." An entire section of the conference was devoted to "Urban Esthetics," which was moderated by then architecture department chair George Howe, whose own PSFS Building, with William Lescaze, had, for twenty years, redefined the urban aesthetics of Center City Philadelphia.[62]

Testifying before the House Committee on Education and Labor in 1954 on the benefits of federal funding for city arts projects, Tunnard made a clear case for the benefits of a robust civic art program at the federal and local levels. Monies earmarked in H.R. 9111, the bill in question that prompted Tunnard's statements, aimed to employ artists and provide aid to non-profit arts organizations. Importantly, for Tunnard, H.R. 9111 would disperse funds widely, so as to have a greater geographic impact, and

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[61] Tunnard and Pearce, eds. *City Planning at Yale*, 8.

[62] "Civic Art," conference program, April 1952, Alfred Whitney Griswold, President of Yale University, Records (RU 22), Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library.

encourage the development of preservation "methods," which would prevent other "heartbreaking failures," as he saw them, to preserve early American architecture as Independence Hall and the Alamo had been.[63]

This sense of a civic realm, created through city planning and public art, that paid deference to historic preservation and what Tunnard called "a living art" that appears in his Congressional testimony, was translated further in his 1955 proposal to Charles Sawyer, Dean of the School of Architecture and Design, to expand City Planning at Yale. Tunnard outlined the program's intentions to balance technical knowledge, a "philosophy of planning," and "the aim of beauty." "Without a broad vision of the American city as it is and as it is meant to be, city planning at Yale would not be a humanistic discipline."[64] What emerges from Tunnard's proposals to expand city planning at Yale in 1955 and at later dates was a desire to offer something different from the other dominant programs at Harvard, MIT, the University of Pennsylvania, and the University of California.

Tunnard wanted to train artists, not bureaucrats, and he proved to be a complex figure. He shaped the City Planning program at Yale for more than a decade, remained active in the Society of Architectural Historians, valued the intentions of urban renewal to revitalize city centers, and argued early on—along with James Marston Fitch—that development must look forwards as well as backwards. "The faster we move in this mechanical civilization," he noted, "the closer we want to be to our ancestors, and we

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[63] Subcommittee on Arts Foundations and Commissions of the House Committee on Education and Labor: *Federal Grants for Fine Arts Projects*, Hearings, 83rd Cong., 1st Sess., 1954, 165.
[64] Tunnard, Christopher, "The Graduate Program in City Planning: A Report and Proposals," November, 1955. Alfred Whitney Griswold, President of Yale University, Records (RU 22), Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library.

will be heavily blamed by our descendents unless more preservation work is done, because we have destroyed more than any other generation in history."[65]

The arrival of French planner Maurice Rotival to the Department of City Planning in 1953 solidified the faculty's emphasis on planning's art, or, the city conceived as a gridded canvas from above.[66] Rotival, a regional planner known for his *Plan Monumental* for Caracas (1937) and similarly totalizing schemes for North African cities, famously proposed a rebuilding of central Paris (after Le Corbusier's *Plan Voisin*), which would use infill and infrastructure to make the city an enormous central business district. A tireless and thorough researcher, Rotival remained a "colonial" planner in the sense that his solutions were universally similar for any urban condition. From Venezuela to Vichy France, Rotival's ring-road was ubiquitous. Writing about New Haven, which he called "The International City," Rotival mused about the effects of his master-plan that "New Haven [would] become the center of activities related to the development of the world [...] New Haven appears well adapted to take the lead; traditionally it has blazed the trail in World commerce and in the invention of new tools for the conquest of what was the great undeveloped territory in the XVIII and XIX centuries, America." But, he warned, "the development of the World is a battle that cannot be won by the peaceful method of individual efforts."[67] **[3.7]** It was manifest destiny, then, that New Haven would emerge as a new urban experiment just as it began with nine identical square blocks; a rational solution in an otherwise chaotic mess—speaking at once about the

[65] House Committee, *Federal Grants for Fine Arts Projects*, 166.
[66] For detailed discussions of Rotival's work in Europe and South America before Yale, see Carola Hein's *The Capital of Europe* (London: Praeger, 2004) and Lorenzo Gonzales Casas' chapter "Caracas: Territory, Architecture and Urban Space" in *Planning Latin America's Capital Cities, 1850-1950* by Arturo Almandoz Marte (London: Routledge, 2008).
[67] Rotival, Maurice, "The International City," c. 1959, Maurice E.H. Rotival Papers (MS 1840), Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library.

Connecticut wilderness of the 17th century and, again, about the "urban jungle" that it became in the 20th century. **[3.8]**

The Rotival plan for New Haven echoed the formal simplicity and conceptual clarity of New Haven's admired original plan. His first contribution to New Haven was a confidential, nearly 500-page study undertaken for the City Planning Commission, submitted on New Year's Eve, 1941, in which he measured population, commercial, and real estate trends, traffic flows, and the distribution of houses according to their age, among other things. **[3.9]** When, in 1953, Lee became mayor of New Haven based on a pro-urban renewal platform centered largely on Rotival's scheme, Rotival quickly found himself at the center of New Haven's plans for growth.[68] Three things aligned for Lee to become New Haven's urban renewal champion and defined his tenure, which would last until 1969: the unfettered influence of the New Haven Redevelopment Agency, established by his predecessor, the 1954 Housing Act that empowered municipalities to build commercial *and* residential projects, backed by federal grants that covered two-thirds of the expense, and lastly, Connecticut's offer to pay for some of it allowed the city to direct resources to other renewal projects.[69] During the 1950s, Rotival launched a series of more detailed proposals while he was under contract with the city as "planning consultant" at $52,000 per year. To speak about the Rotival Plan for New Haven, then, was to refer to a series of related proposals from 1954, 1956, 1959, and 1961 that were designed by Rotival and his firm, guided by Lee, and ultimately bid, serviced, and executed by the New Haven Redevelopment Agency (NHRA).

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[68] Green, Peter M. and Ruth H. Cheney, "Urban Planning and Urban Revolt: A Case Study," *Progressive Architecture* (January, 1968): 144-5.
[69] Green and Cheney, "Urban Planning and Urban Revolt: A Case Study," 144-5.

The NHRA was the greatest agent for change in New Haven from 1950 until the mid-1970s, but it represented an amalgam of civic groups and committees that, since the turn of the century held a large degree of political influence over the city's development patterns. Born of the New Haven Civic Improvement Committee, which hired Cass Gilbert and Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr., to complete the first modern study of the city's urban form in 1907, the NHRA was defined by a legacy of planning studies that all commonly hold up "rational planning" as the spirit of New Haven's identity. With Rotival's 1941 report to the City Planning Commission, the New Haven Redevelopment Authority (later, Agency) was created, which advanced the work of the City Plan Commission (created 1913), the Zoning Commission (created 1921), and hired consultants from the Technical Advisor Corporation of New York (in 1923).[70]

By the time Rotival was brought back after World War II as a full-time, paid consultant to the NHRA, the U.S. Housing and Home Finance Agency (HHFA) had been created and his instructions to bolster the city's official (if disjointed) master plan were reconstituted within HHFA guidelines.[71] HHFA officials understood blight to be symptomatic of a greater problem that, if it was to be solved, had to be attacked at the root. HHFA methodology was straightforward and offered a clear set of steps for applicable cities and redevelopment agencies: first, "prevention of the spread of blight into good areas of the community," then "rehabilitation of salvable areas," and finally,

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[70] New Haven Redevelopment Agency (NHRA), "Application for a Preliminary Advance of Planning Funds," 28 December 1950, Maurice E.H. Rotival Papers, Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library.

[71] Richard H. Fletcher to Maurice Rotival, 3 April 1951, Maurice E.H. Rotival Papers (MS 1380) Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library.

"clearance and redevelopment of non-salvable slums."[72] Oblique language about "decay" offered the thinnest of foundations upon which one of the most transformative initiatives in the United States, urban renewal, took place.

Cities and agencies were asked to submit an application for a "workable" plan, or one in which the city understood that federal funds were for city administrators committed to long-term eradication of blight and the long-term exigencies of "renewal," which had to include a comprehensive master plan. In a widely circulated guide that anyone could purchase for ten cents, HHFA constantly referred to the need of city officials to "face up to its slums," with the implication being that blight was more than an impropriety; it was, as its official definition describes, a discoloration that was symptomatic of disease. "Slum and blight elimination, and even prevention, usually will displace families. [...] Particular consideration should be given to the problem of re-housing displaced minority group families, and the availability to them of both sales and rental dwelling units."[73] Whether that consideration was given or not was beyond the purview of HHFA's programs in the mid-1950s. When applicants like Rotival or the City of New Haven filed their "workable plan" with HHFA, it was not required to give estimates for construction of displaced-resident housing. All applicants were required to file in terms of an action plan for re-housing was a simple outline that addressed how "foreseeable problems in the re-housing of minority group families can be met."[74]

When the New Haven Redevelopment Agency filed its first application to the regional HHFA office located in New York, it asked for $16,650 to support the salaries

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[72] U.S. Housing and Home Finance Agency (HHFA), "How Localities Can Develop a Workable Program for Urban Renewal" Document 368263-56 (December, 1955), 1.
[73] HHFA, "How Localities Can Develop a Workable Program for Urban Renewal," 10.
[74] HHFA "How Localities Can Develop a Workable Program for Urban Renewal," 10.

of a director, secretary, principal city planner, associate planner, and consultant—for which Rotival filled the last role. The-chairman of the NHRA, Richard H. Fletcher, created a thirty-three-page profile of New Haven, a city whose legacy of master planning initiatives meant that the practice of city planning had become "a day-in-day-out affair" for many city officials. Despite this, the city had not successfully provided adequate low-rent housing, playgrounds, an economic plan, or expansion plans for its harbor—one of the largest in New England and the mid-Atlantic region.[75] What, exactly, had city officials been "planning" all this time? If planning was such a vital interest for New Haven—whose merchants grossed $223 million in the previous year, and whose New Haven Railroad was an East Coast powerhouse—why were they filing an application in the first place? The answers lay in three related problems. First, most of the city's housing stock was comprised of generally inexpensive rental units (rather than a mix of high-end and middle-range rentals). Second, forty-seven percent of the total land area of the city was tax-exempt, and lastly, what taxes the city could collect had dwindled while the coffers of surrounding suburban towns had grown steadily. In short, while New Haven existed as the gateway to New England and was only ninety miles from New York, it was in an economic rut and was effectively too poor to redevelop itself and encourage the middle class and businesses to remain and bolster the transportation networks and tax base.[76]

Rotival's revitalization plans of the 1950s placed New Haven at the economic center of southern Connecticut and encompassed the city, the waterfront, and the other smaller cities along the state's coast like New Canaan and New London. **[3.10]** The

[75] NHRA, "Application for a Preliminary Advance of Planning Funds," 2-3.
[76] NHRA, "Application for a Preliminary Advance of Planning Funds," 6-12.

Quinnipiac Valley, which runs down the center of the state from Hartford to New Haven, would have "fingers" of development that ran east and west to Rhode Island and New York and north to Hartford. New Haven, as the crown of this development, would service this region as an economic engine (with the port and harbor's redevelopment and proximity to New York), but also as a piece of connective tissue defined by three accessible interstates within its boundaries. The crux of urban renewal for Rotival, then, was connectivity and organization—not what he called the "middle ground" of "neighborhood programs" that defined Lee's interests.[77] **[3.11]**

Rotival's argument for urbanism, generally and as it pertains to New Haven, was that defining a single center and a fortified boundary around that center was the key to that defining that city within constellation of regional cities; carving up New Haven in such a way would facilitate the thing that made all regional cities work: circulation and connectivity. New construction along the periphery of the original core grid of 1637—containing the Central Business District (CBD), the oldest parts of Yale, and government offices—was intended to create a buffer between the less-desirable neighborhoods of Wooster Square to the east, Dixwell to the northwest, Dwight to the west, Hill to the southwest, and other areas to the south. Just outside of these buffer developments was a proposed ring road that, more or less, encircled Yale and kept all new industrial and public housing developments beyond. A vestige of this effort, the Oak Street Connector (now the Richard Lee Highway) had drawn a line between southern New Haven (including pockets of the Yale Medical Center) and the historic core of New Haven, in

[77] Maurice Rotival to Edward J. Logue (via Stephen C. Carroll), 5 November 1959, Maurice E.H. Rotival Papers, Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library.

part as a means of asserting greater control over the intersection of I-95 and I-91 to the southeast. **[3.12]**

Despite the connector's success in siphoning interstate traffic into the downtown area, its other accomplishment was the destruction of a predominantly African-American community that fulfilled the federal criteria for "blight." Room overcrowding, growing population density, poor dwelling unit conditions, juvenile delinquency, tax delinquency, and an exorbitant number of welfare cases were only six of the twelve factors that determined the Hill neighborhood's conditions—and all New Haven had to do was prove six in order to declare a "redevelopment zone."[78] The working class neighborhood stood in the way, of developing New Haven's southern perimeter as an automotive gateway into the city.

Urban renewal and Rotival's plan for New Haven was as much of a local, state, and federal partnership as it was a town-gown partnership. The university's abutment to "slums" was the primary motive behind the city's proposed ring road.[79] In the case of the school's medical center, the ring road would have drawn a neat line between it and the black Hill neighborhood—epicenter of the 1967 race riots. In the case of Yale's northwest corner, it would have kept the black Dixwell neighborhood at bay. Anticipating the ring road, Yale began to purchase parts of the existing Dixwell neighborhood that it did not already own within its proposed boundaries. **[3.13]** Three Dixwell schools, whose enrollment was 80% black, were the last non-Yale properties in

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[78] NHRA, "Application for a Preliminary Advance of Planning Funds," 20.

[79] This argument about Yale's relationship to New Haven has been the focus of several books, most notably Robert Dahl's *Who Governs?* (1961), William Domhoff's *Who Really Rules: New Haven and Community Power Re-Examined* (1978), Dahl's own re-examination of his own book in *Social Science Quarterly* 60 (pp. 144-151), and Domhoff again in *Who Rules America Now?* (1981). At stake is not the Oak Street Connector, per se, but how urban renewal initiatives were influenced by a small group of people within Yale, New Haven's government, and the local business community.

that northwest corner of the campus. Yale purchased them in 1954 and demolished them for what would become Eero Saarinen's Stiles and Morse residential colleges.[80]

What would become the site for Stiles and Morse Colleges (nearly 6 acres of land just beyond the historic core of Yale to the northwest) was the site of three city schools: Hillhouse High School, Wilbur Cross High School, and Boardman Trade School—all of which, according to the Board of Education, were "potential safety hazards...cramped and gloomy, expensive to maintain, and inadequate for teaching." **[3.14]** Lack of athletic facilities and green space also contributed to the city's eagerness to abandon conditions that it termed "cheerless and blighted." Indeed, Hillhouse, Wilbur Cross, and Boardman's only offering to recreational space was a parking lot shared by a Yale facilities building.[81] Naturally, Yale did not object as the percentage of its undergraduates living in dormitories reached 96% by 1956—its highest level at the time and since, with less than 83% living in dormitories by century's end.[82]

The Board of Education, along with the Department of Parks and Recreation, found three sites to the north of downtown—beyond the ring road—to move its high school students. The new Hillhouse would occupy a site surrounded by "native oaks, elms, and maples" in Beaver Park, the new Wilbur Cross would sit at the edge of East Rock Park, surrounded by tennis courts, baseball diamonds, football fields, nature trails, and gardens.[83] **[3.15]** Edenic and removed, Hillhouse and Wilbur Cross represented an

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[80] Green and Cheney, "Urban Planning and Urban Revolt: A Case Study," 149.
[81] New Haven Board of Education, "Blueprint for New Haven's Youth," 1956, Maurice E.H. Rotival Papers (MS 1380), Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University.
[82] Yale University Office of Institutional Research, "Yale College Students Housed in Undergraduate Dormitories, 1950-1999" (1 November 2000): C-2.
[83] New Haven Board of Education, "Blueprint for New Haven's Youth," 1956. Boardman Technical School's students were absorbed into the existing Whitney Regional School in Hamden, Connecticut, and Boardman, as such, ceased to continue.

ideal of community relations and fiscal responsibility to the city as well. The improvements of each facility, which featured two championship-sized swimming pools with retractable walls for indoor or outdoor use, were intended to be improvements for the adjacent neighborhoods as well were to be open after hours and during vacation periods for the general public.[84] Built by the Fusco-Amatruda Company, Hillhouse and Wilbur Cross came to just over $6.6 million in construction costs, which was covered by the $3 million that Yale paid New Haven for the old site, $150,000 in interest on the initial $3 million, $500,000 from the city's sale of a municipal park to the State of Connecticut, and just over $1.6 million from bonds and tax revenue over twenty years.[85] It was, in effect, a favorable deal for both Yale and New Haven.

The construction of the new Hillhouse and Wilbur Cross schools went a year over schedule, and Lee convinced Griswold—now the landlord for the future site of Stiles and Morse—to extend their tenancy. When the matter of interest on the terms of an extended lease had to be settled, Griswold was more than happy to waive it.[86] "The building of new high schools for New Haven has been demanded by parents and civic groups and awaited by the city's students for over a decade," Lee declared.[87] The deal was also awaited by Yale, which already owned over 300 properties within New Haven proper. By the end of the next decade, that number would swell to 360 properties, only 39% of which were on the city's tax rolls, not including the land for Stiles or Morse Colleges.[88]

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[84] New Haven Board of Education, "Blueprint for New Haven's Youth," 1956.
[85] "Yale Extends City's Use of Two Schools, New Haven Register (10 March 1957): 1.
[86] Richard C. Lee to A. Whitney Griswold, 4 December 1956, Alfred Whitney Griswold, President of Yale University, Records (RU 22), Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library.
[87] New Haven Board of Education, "Blueprint for New Haven's Youth," 1956.
[88] Yale Corporation, "Yale Properties in New Haven" (1971), New Haven Redevelopment Agency (MS 1814), Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library.

Saarinen's involvement with Yale was cut short by his death in 1961, but during the six preceding years that he worked on the design for Stiles and Morse Colleges for the northwest quadrant of Yale's campus, the Finnish-born architect had been involved in master-planning initiatives with Douglas Orr for the university. In the early spring of 1956, just after the time that the site and its extant buildings for the new residential colleges had been sold to Yale, Griswold invited Louis Kahn to return to New Haven and work with Saarinen and Orr as a consultant for the Committee on Architectural Plan and the Building and Grounds Committee.[89] Reportedly, Kahn considered the offer to join Saarinen and Orr in studying the Morse and Stiles site. While he assured Yale officials that $5,000 and the acting chairmanship of the architecture department was an appealing offer, the exigencies of moving his architecture practice from Philadelphia to New Haven remained daunting.[90]

It is difficult not to speculate about what collaboration between Saarinen and Kahn might have produced. In any case, Saarinen pressed on, and in less than a decade, his designs for Ingalls Hockey Rink, Ezra Stiles College, and Samuel F.B. Morse College reshaped many perceptions about housing and athletic-community space design in an urban campus. They also and caught the attention of university planners at Harvard and Brown Universities. The plans of Stiles and Morse Colleges, which abut like two "C's" turned away from each other, gave autonomy to each residential college and intended to connect Tower Parkway and York Street. **[3.16]** Within the buildings, a narrow corridor created a spine for the inverted "C's," and individual rooms were awkwardly attached,

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[89] A. Whitney Griswold to Louis Kahn, 19 March 1956, Alfred Whitney Griswold, President of Yale University, Records (RU 22), Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library.
[90] Charles Sawyer to A. Whitney Griswold, 13 April 1956, Alfred Whitney Griswold, President of Yale University, Records (RU 22), Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library.

underscoring the irregularity that characterizes the entire project. The idea was simple: by including semi-public space at the heart of the project, in the form of a pass-through—one could mitigate town-and-gown angst. As this corridor unfolded like an Italian hill-town street, as some have observed—irregular, stepped, and medieval—it was also a way to create a sense of place that was particular to Yale. [3.17] Through massing and color, the towers of the residential colleges were intended to conclude the dialogue between three other towers around it: the Graduate School, Christ Church, and Pope's gymnasium.

Sadly, the connective function of this pass-through was never fully realized. Almost as soon as Saarinen died, his widow Aline Saarinen failed to stop the installation of locked gates at either end by Yale officials worried about increasing urban violence in New Haven and elsewhere.[91] They remain locked today and any continuity between Morse and Stiles and the campus buildings that surround them is apparent only in plan. Without those urban corridors, one has the constant feeling of circling two great landmasses in trying to navigate Yale's northwest sector.

If the historic campus architecture of Yale by James Gamble Rogers, John Russell Pope, and Delano & Aldrich, among others, was about the cloistered "garden...that nobody but the elect had ever seen," the architecture of the 1950s was not a complete departure from that cloistered model at all. Griswold, like his predecessors, assumed Yale's isolation in the town-and-gown divide to be a "natural condition," notes Vincent Scully who taught there for 60 years and knew Yale's president well, and Modern

[91] Merkel, Jayne. E-mail to author, 18 April 2009.

architecture at Yale was a formal and stylistic mission, not a social or urban one.[92] "We did not object to the fact, which indeed rarely crossed our minds, that the residential colleges especially were designed to cut Yale off from New Haven. Later, when the situation was fully faced only by Saarinen's Morse and Stiles Colleges, the remedies came too late, and perhaps by that time were the wrong ones anyway."[93]

While an historic campus unified through architectural style, materiality, or form creates a sense of place at Yale, a sense of context is harder to define—particularly along the school's periphery. Gone is Rotival's hope of creating a definitive ring road, making the difference between an inside "context" and an outside one as clear as day. Private houses or apartments rented by students and businesses that cater largely to Yale have eroded the obvious boundary between town and gown. If he had lived long enough, Saarinen might have appreciated the fact that the secret to eliminating town-and-gown angst was not to invite New Haven into Yale with a dormitory pass-through. The secret, ultimately, was time, economics, and gentrification. New Haven's 53% majority African-American and Hispanic population was never far away from the center of campus, much less the periphery, but what had changed was the degree to which students and Yale-oriented businesses have infiltrated those population areas.

Yale's "cloistered garden," called to mind a particular image and place in New Haven. But, the principle qualities of that garden image—an exceptional, isolated, and furtive enclave—do not support a context at all. Yale was its own context and, because of that, remained acontextual to the rest of New Haven. Even contemporary contributors

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[92] Scully, Vincent. Interview by author, Lynchburg, Va., 19 July 2009.
[93] Scully, Vincent. "Modern Architecture: A Memoir," in Scully, et al, *Yale in New Haven: Architecture and Urbanism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004): 293.

to Yale's fabric have embraced this idea of a cloistered garden and dispensed with the empty promise of "contextuality." In describing how Foster + Partners new 237,000 square-foot School of Management is quintessentially Yale, Lord Norman Foster explained that it would be, "Planned around a sheltered courtyard space—much like a traditional cloister arranged around a campus quadrangle—our new School of Management continues [Yale's] tradition. [...] My hope is that this new building will...contribute to the architectural substance of the Yale campus."[94]

Substance aside, 20 area residents of the proposed site, which currently includes a 1924 Henry Killam Murphy building, penned a short petition calling for the city's reconsideration in, among other things, giving Yale a special zoning dispensation. Yet, they were not angry because of the sleek glass and steel forms of the Foster proposal, nor were they angry that two extant buildings would be demolished; they were angry simply because its size would destroy the residential context. "It's not that [we] are expecting some kind of colonial revival building," noted Andrew Drabkin, a recent Yale alumni and petitioner against the project. "[We] want something that's a little more sympathetic."[95]

Despite the petitioners, New Haven's Board of Alderman—the same powerful body that Richard Lee employed for political coverage and support in remaking New Haven during the 1950s and 1960s—approved a special planning district that included the project's proposed four-acre site, in a 25-1 vote. The vote's one dissenter mentioned the project's "behemoth" status as the reason to vote against it. Even one of the twenty-

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[94] Foster, Norman, "A Design Inspired By My Time at Yale," *Yale Daily News* (29 January 2010): 3
[95] Zuckerman, Esther, and Taylor Lasley, "Residents Voice Opposition to SOM Plans," Yale Daily News, (15 December 2009): 1.

five Aldermen who voted in favor of the proposal agreed, calling Foster's design "excessive."[96]

Yet, the majority, as the vote count indicated, sang the project's praises calling it a boon for Yale—"remarkable," walkable, accessible, and an "exciting piece of architecture." Another Alderman declared, "Yale needs to do this to stay competitive." Moreover, the Board of Aldermen seemed convinced that this building was in the best interests of Yale.[97]

Unsurprisingly, the Associate Vice President, Michael Morand, exclaimed, "This is fantastic. The vast, overwhelming majority voted that this project represents the best interests of the city."[98] Foster's statement—that his School of Management building would contribute to the "substance" of Yale's fabric—suggests that the interests of the school and the interests of the city were one in the same. Yale's fabric was New Haven's fabric and both were bound by the same concerns: the sovereignty of the center and the strength of the border. Maurice Rotival's previous statement about New Haven took on a different meaning now, "The development of the World is a battle that cannot be won by the peaceful method of individual efforts." Yale and New Haven's growth since mid-century had been a cooperative effort all along.

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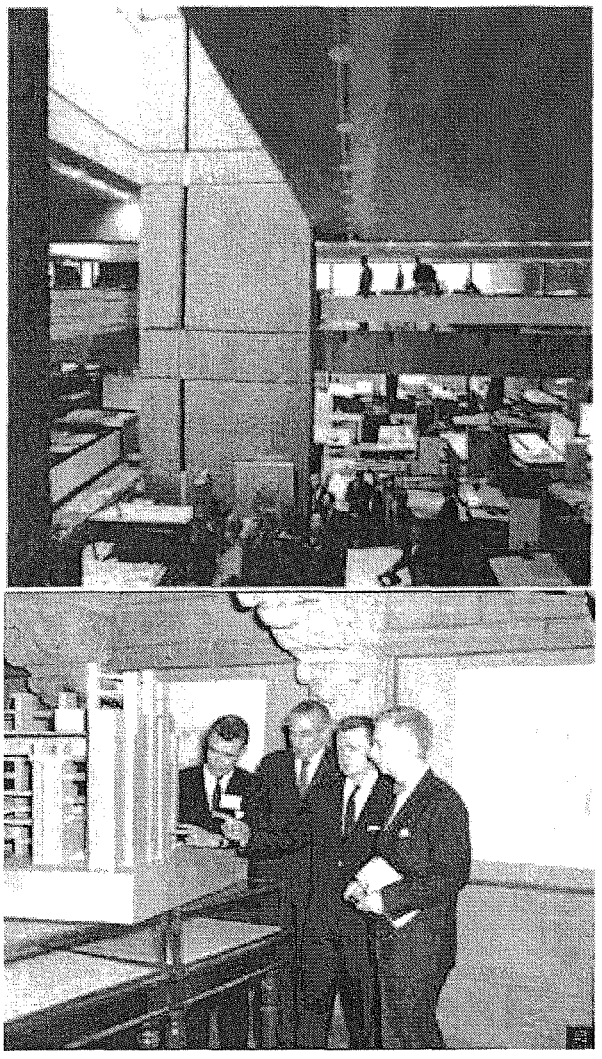
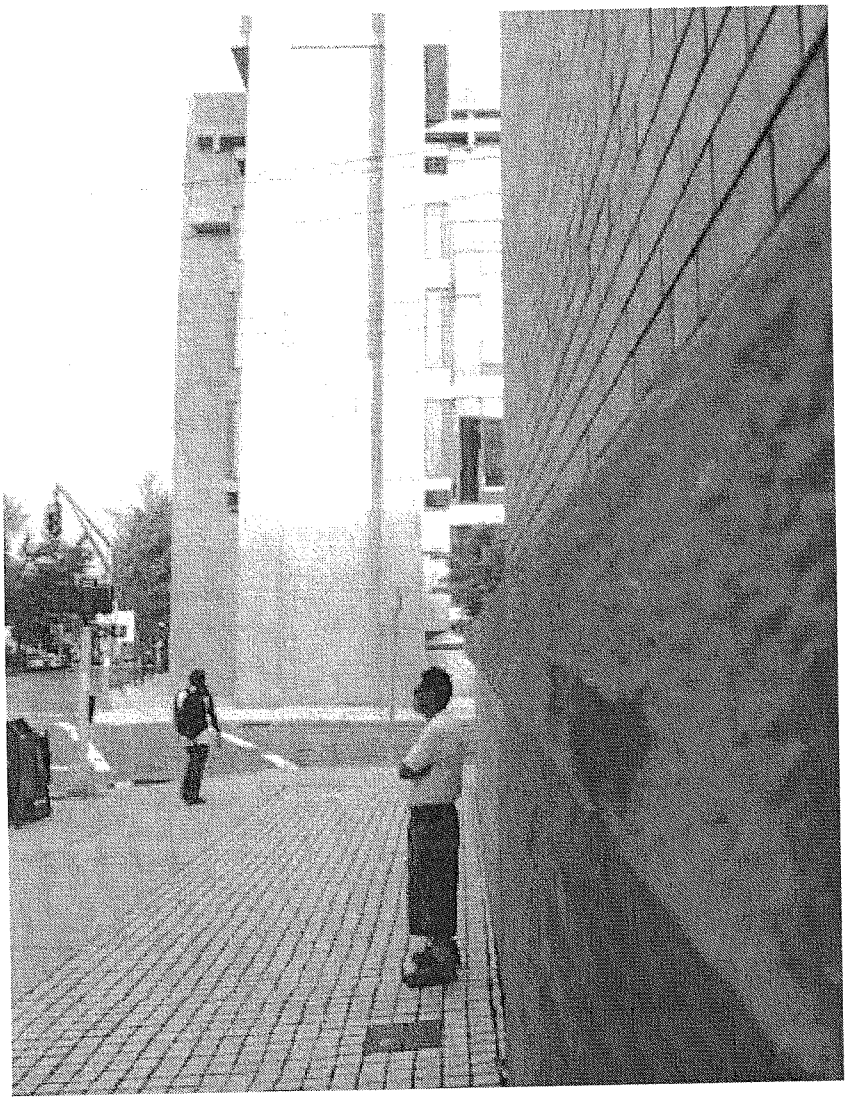
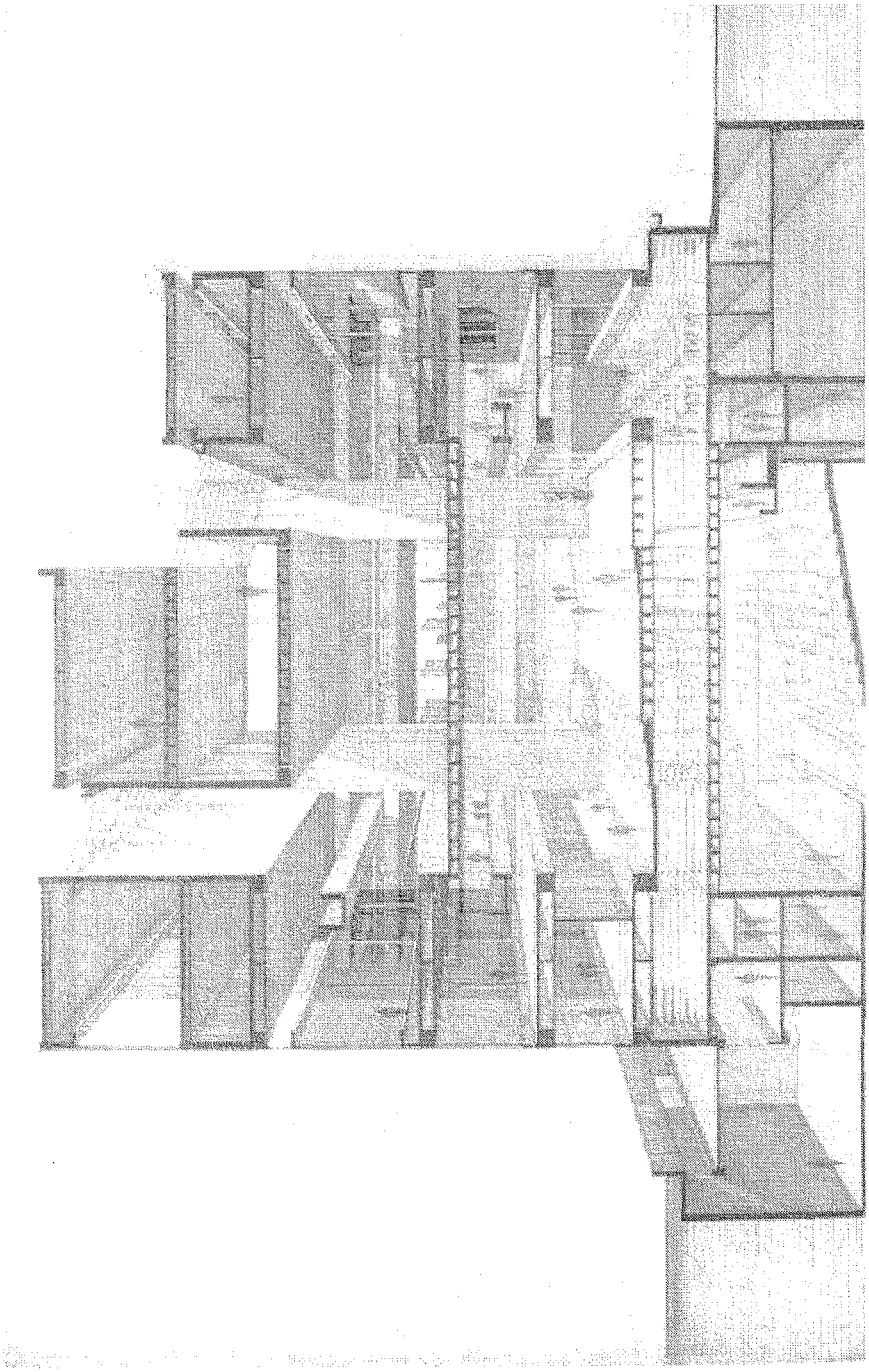
[96] O'Leary, Mary E., "Board OK's Special Zoning for Yale Site," *New Haven Register* (2 March 2010): 3.
[97] O'Leary, "Board OK's Special Zoning for Yale Site," 3.
[98] O'Leary, "Board OK's Special Zoning for Yale Site," 3.



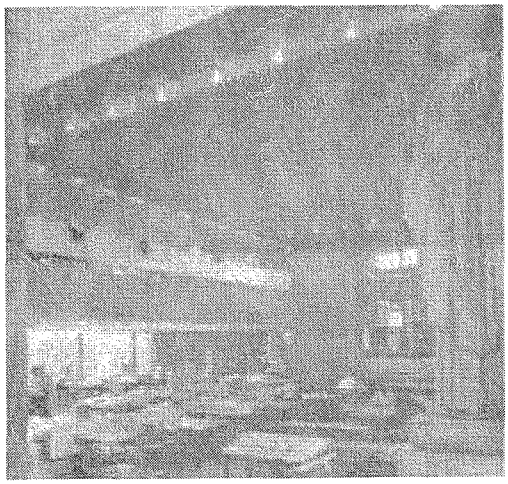
3.1: Paul Rudolph, interior drafting room hall of Art and Architecture Building, Yale University, 1963 (top). During an alumni event related to convocation in 1962 (bottom), Rudolph presented the model to, from left to right, Gibson A. Danes, Dean of the School of Architecture, Serge Chermayeff, Professor of Architecture, Rudolph, and August Heckscher, Cultural Advisor to President Kennedy. Sources: (above) Pictures of Yale University's buildings and grounds, 1716-1980 (inclusive). Manuscripts & Archives, Yale University and (below) Photographs of events and activities documenting Yale, 1919-1994 (inclusive). Manuscripts & Archives, Yale University.

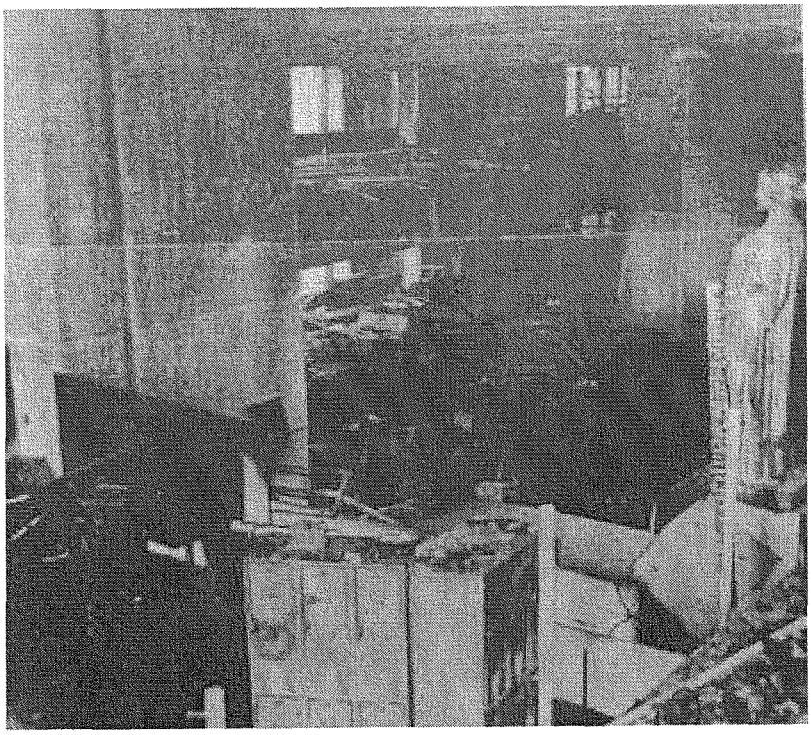


3.2: Looking along Chapel Street and Louis I. Kahn's Yale Gallery of Art, the Art and Architecture building interrupts the pedestrian axis of the sidewalk. Photograph by author (July, 2009)

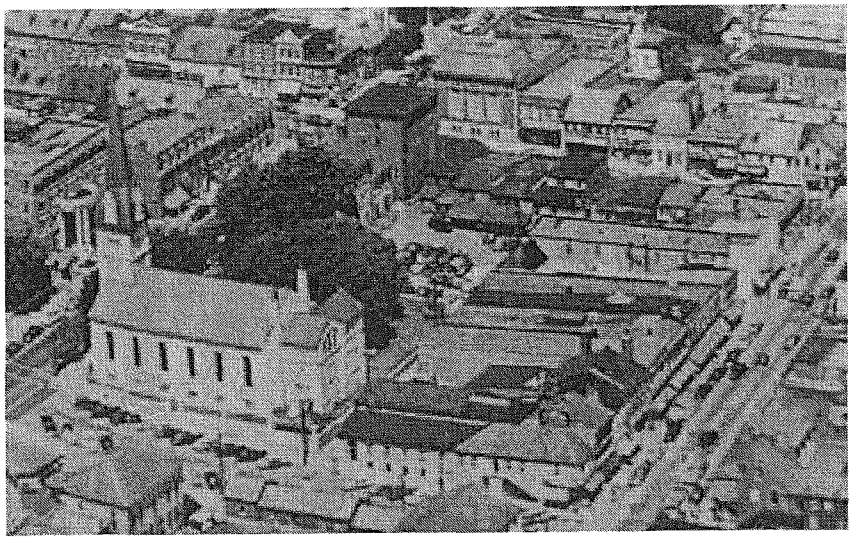


3.3: Art and Architecture Building, Yale University, perspective section (c. 1958). Source: School of Architecture, Yale University, memorabilia, ca. 1945-2006 (inclusive). Manuscripts & Archives, Yale University.

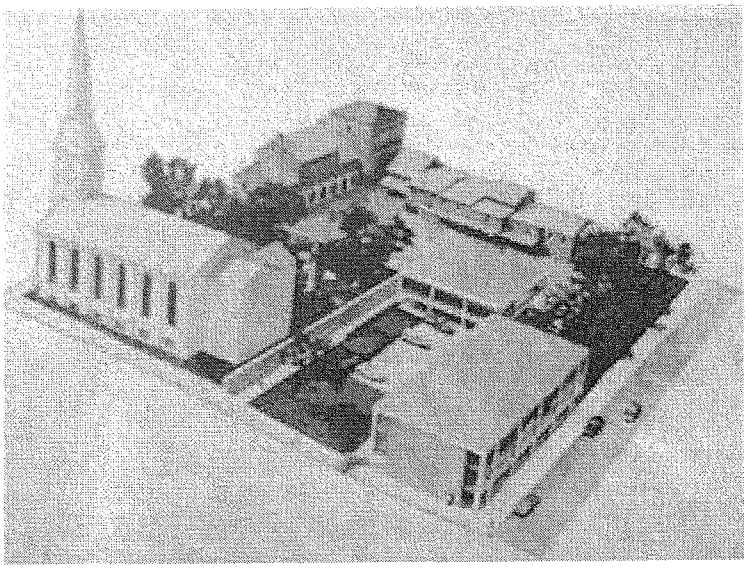




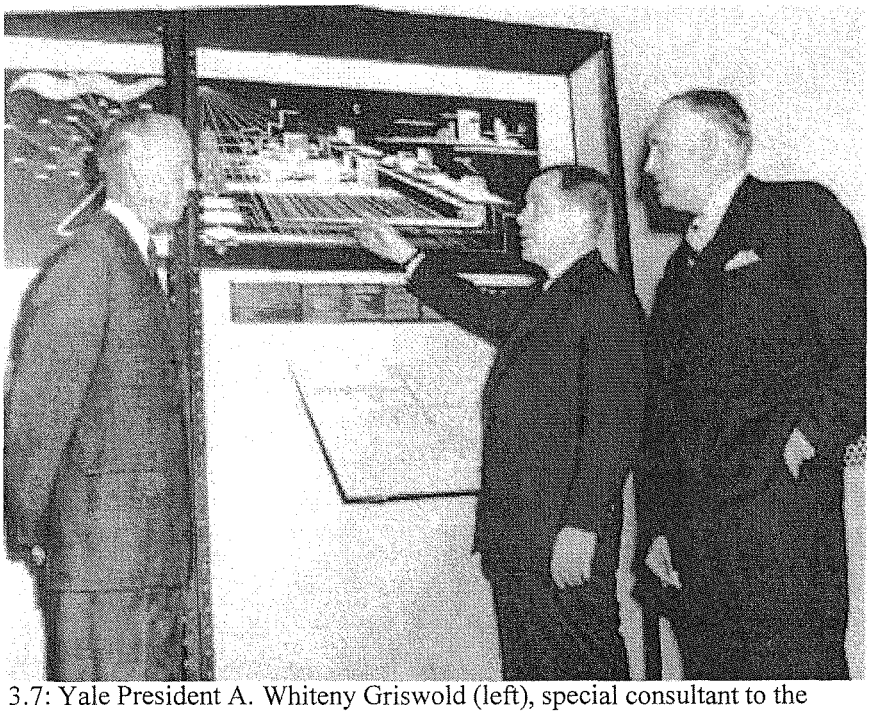
3.4: The drafting room "favella" of Yale's School of Art and Architecture (at left) . The same room after the 1969 fire (below). Source: *New York Magazine* (11 August 1969): 55.



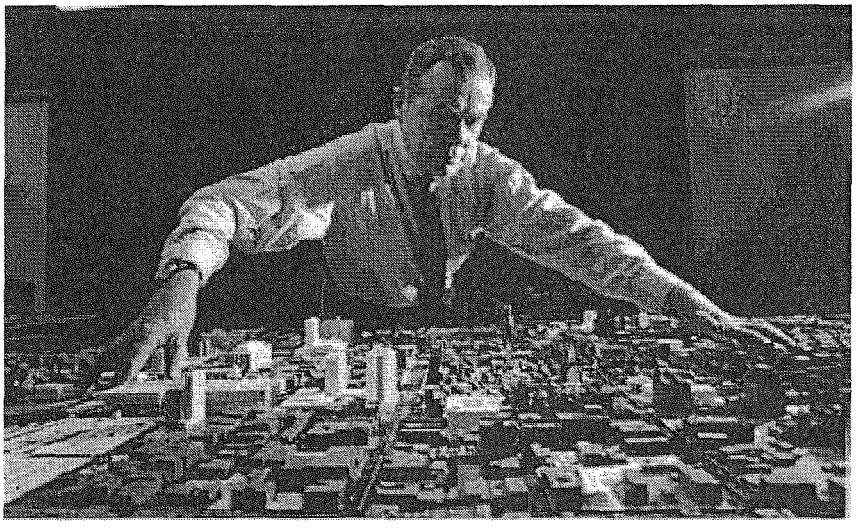
3.5: A central block of "a Virginia city" (Richmond) in "Planning Your City" exhibition (1952), Virginia Museum of Fine Arts. Source: Alfred Whitney Griswold, President of Yale University, Records (RU 22), Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library.



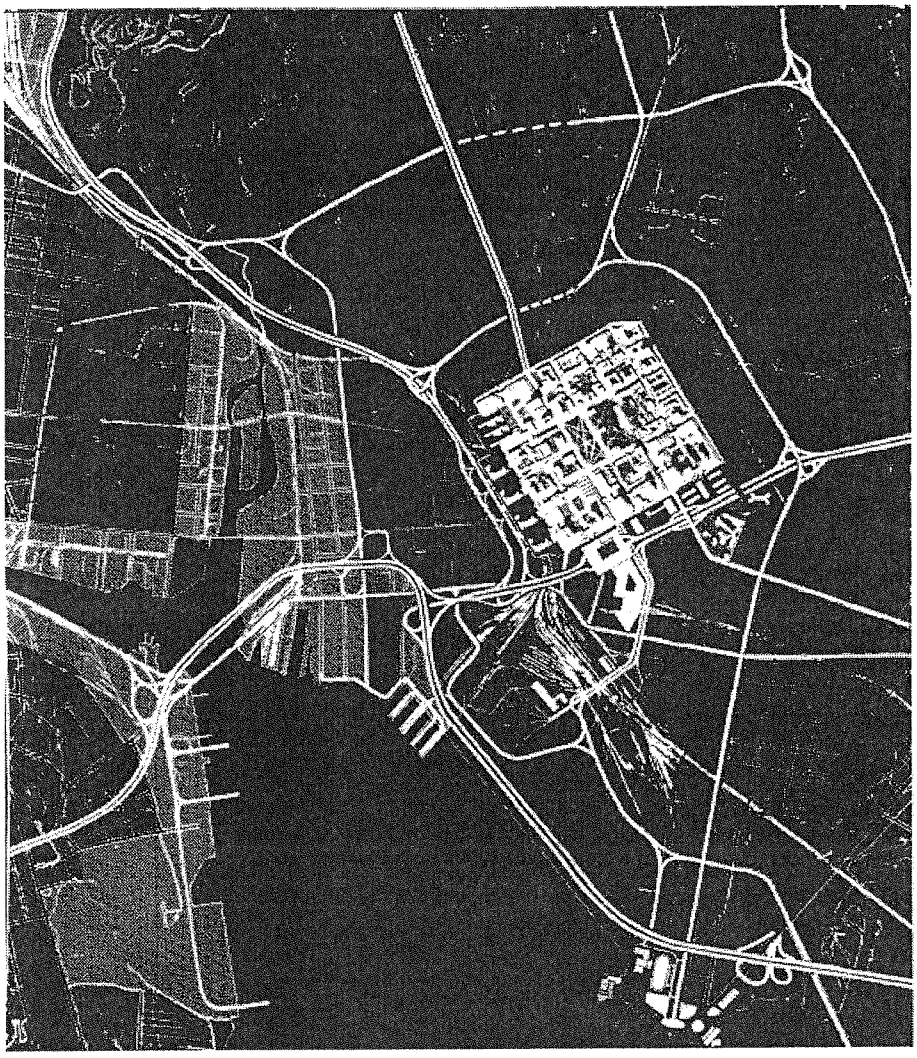
3.6: Russell Ford, Associate City Planner for New Haven, model illustrating an improved city block in "Planning Your City" exhibition (1952), Virginia Museum of Fine Arts. Source: Alfred Whitney Griswold, President of Yale University, Records (RU 22), Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library.



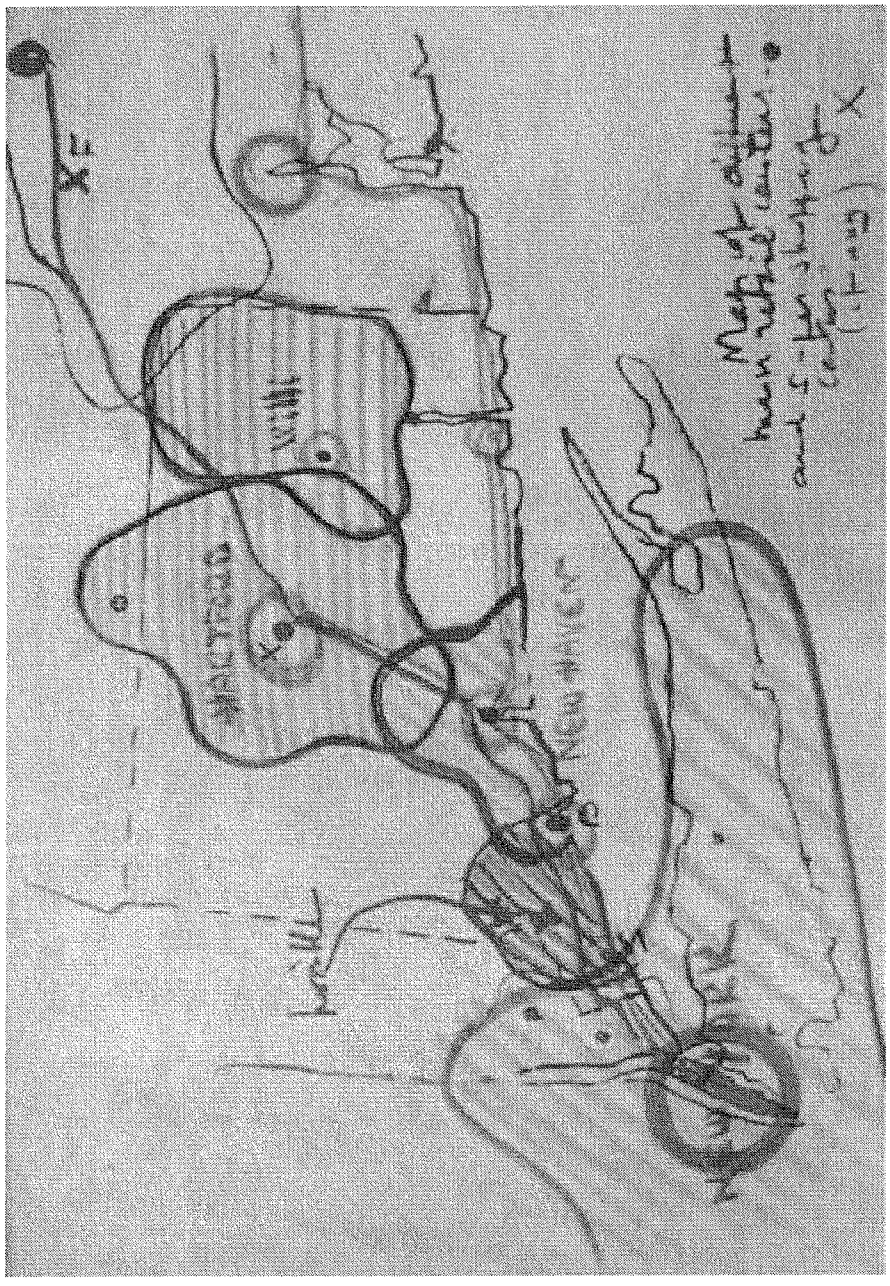
3.7: Yale President A. Whiteny Griswold (left), special consultant to the New Haven Redevelopment Agency Maurice Rotival (center), c. 1956. Source: Maurice E.H. Rotival Papers, Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University.



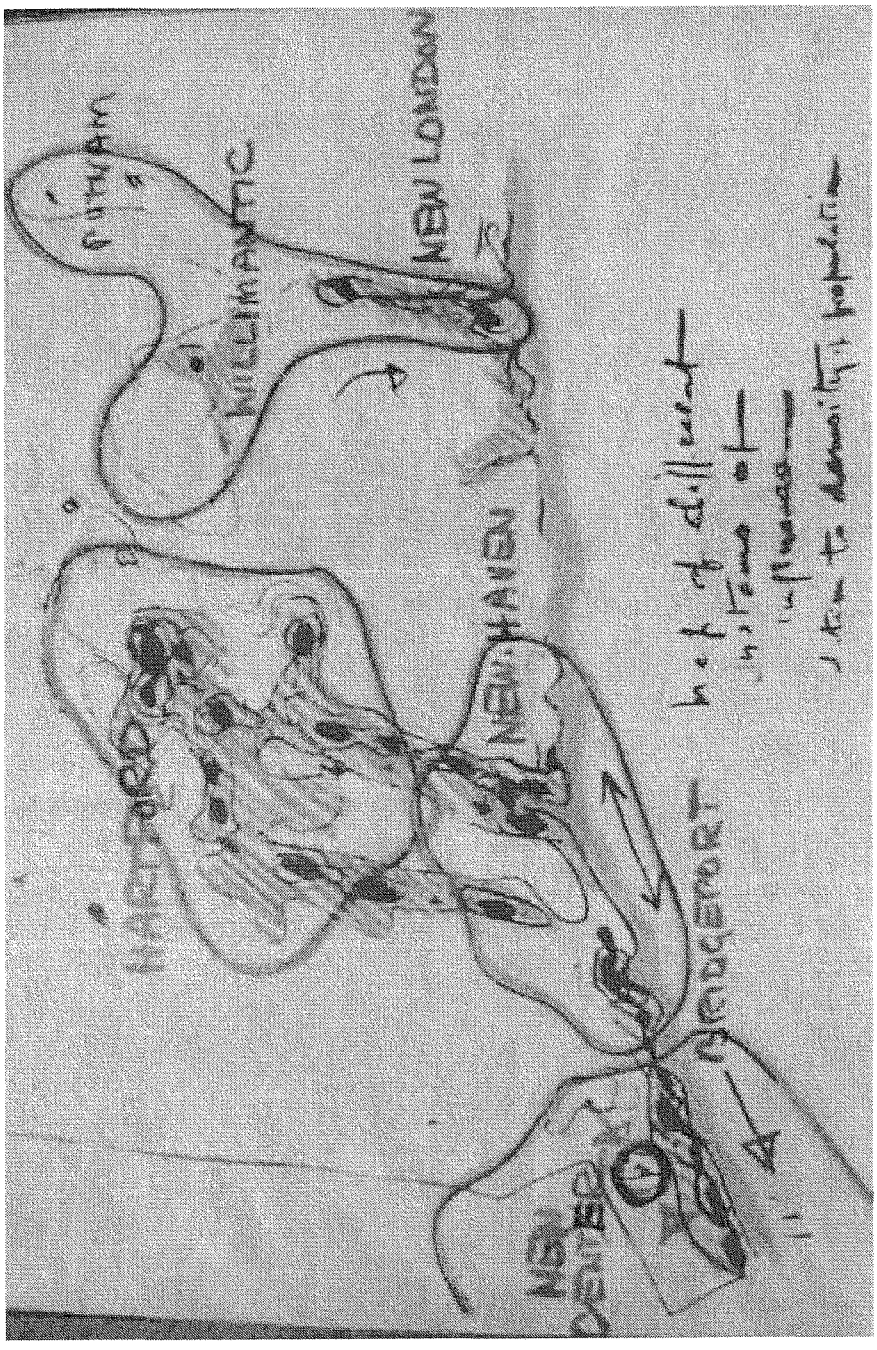
3.8: New Haven Mayor Richard C. Lee, 1963. Source: Richard Charles Lee Papers, Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University.



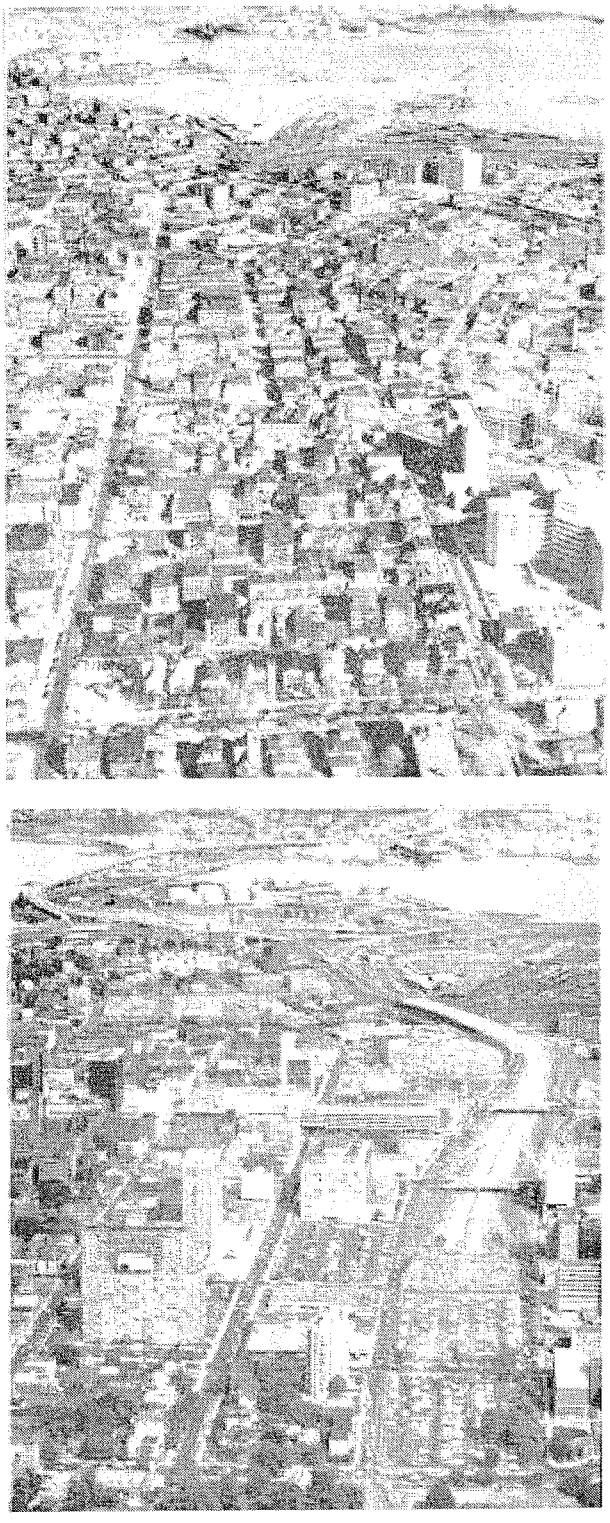
3.9: Maurice Rotival, "Master Plan of New Haven, city center and roads," (undated) Source: Maurice E.H. Rotival Papers, Manuscripts & Archives, Yale University.



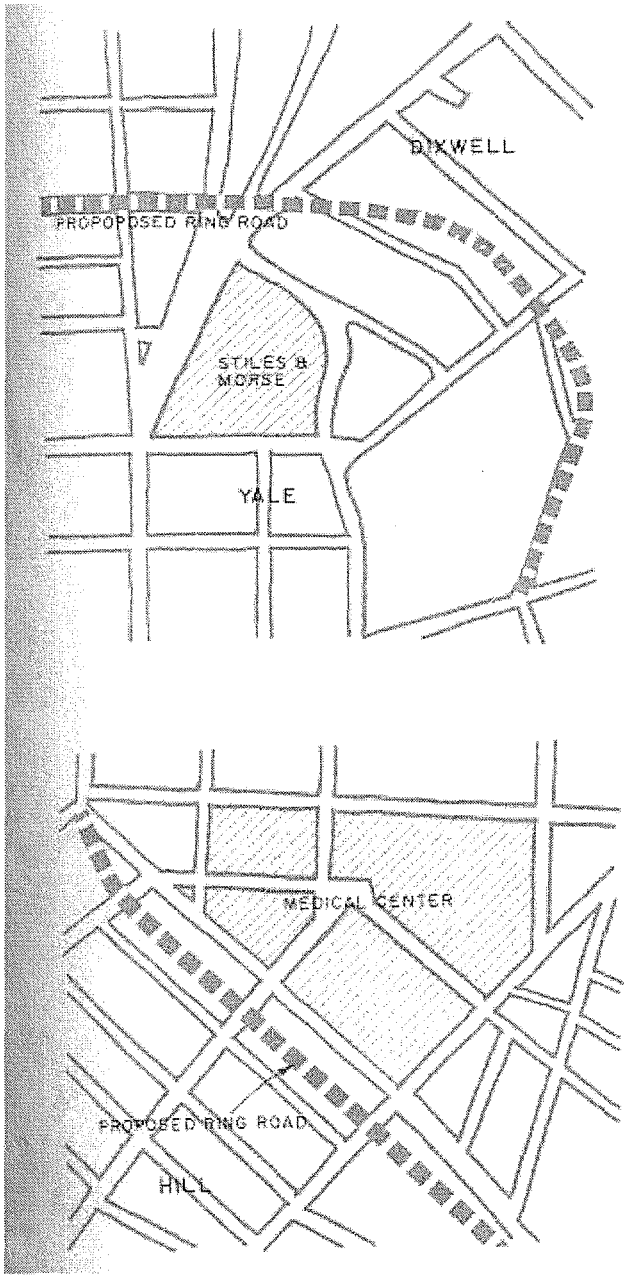
3.10: Maurice Rotival, "Map of Different Town Retail centers and Super Shopping Centers," 1952. Source: Maurice E.H. Rotival Papers, Manuscripts & Archives, Yale University.



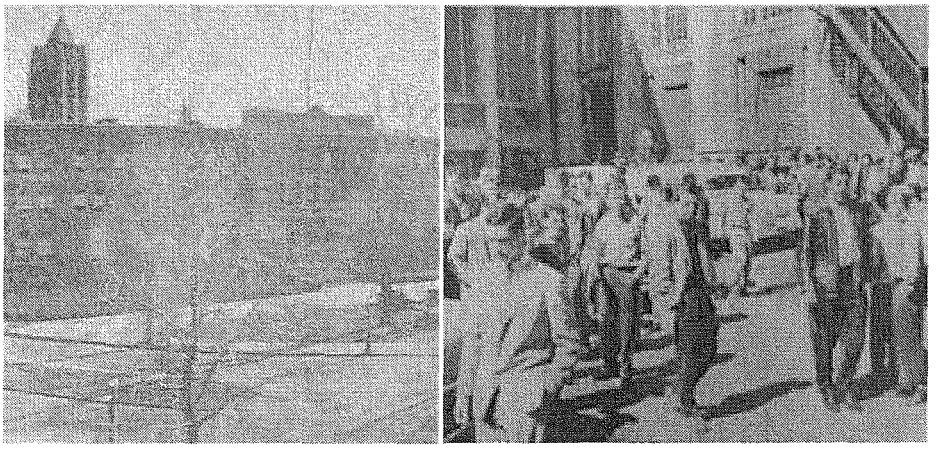
3.11: Maurice Rotival, "Map of Different Systems of Influence," 1952, showing the Quinnipiac Valley Region stretching from Hartford southward to Bridgeport. Source: Maurice E.H. Rotival Papers, Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library.



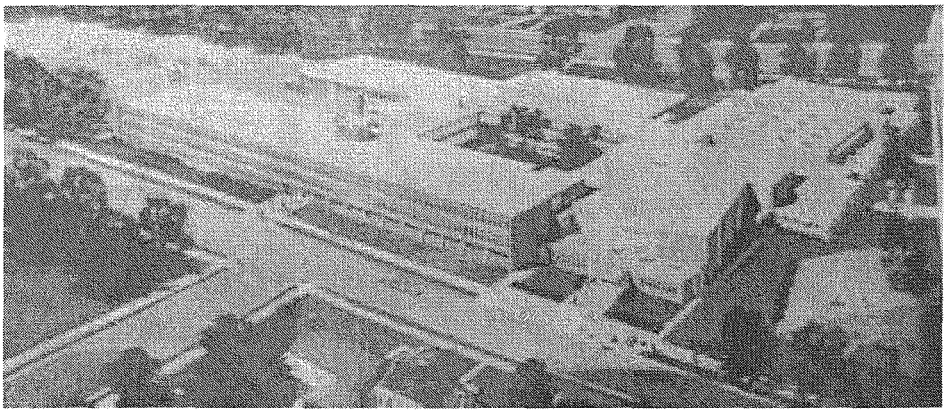
3.12: The Hill neighborhood before the Oak Street Connector (top), from the west, and the Hill neighborhood after (bottom). Source: *Progressive Architecture* (January, 1968): 152.



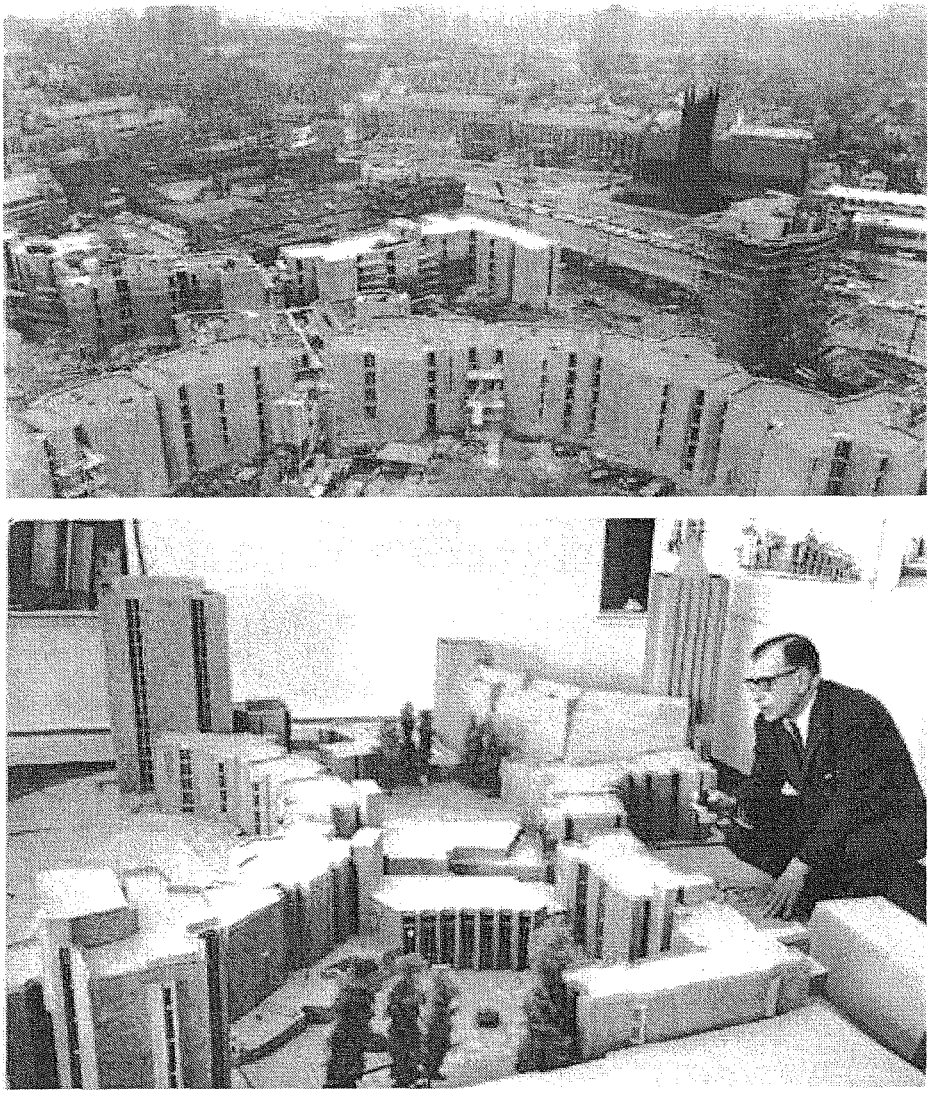
3.13: Two details from Rotival's masterplan. The ring road that was to circumscribe downtown New Haven would have effectively separated the land Yale acquired for Stiles and Morse residential colleges (formerly the site of three predominantly African-American schools) fro m the largely African-American Dixwell neighborhood in the northeastern quadrant of the city (top). In the southwest quadrant, the ring road would have marked a clear boundary between the existing Hill neighborhood, also largely African-American, and the university's growing medical program. Source: *Progressive Architecture* (January, 1968): 149.



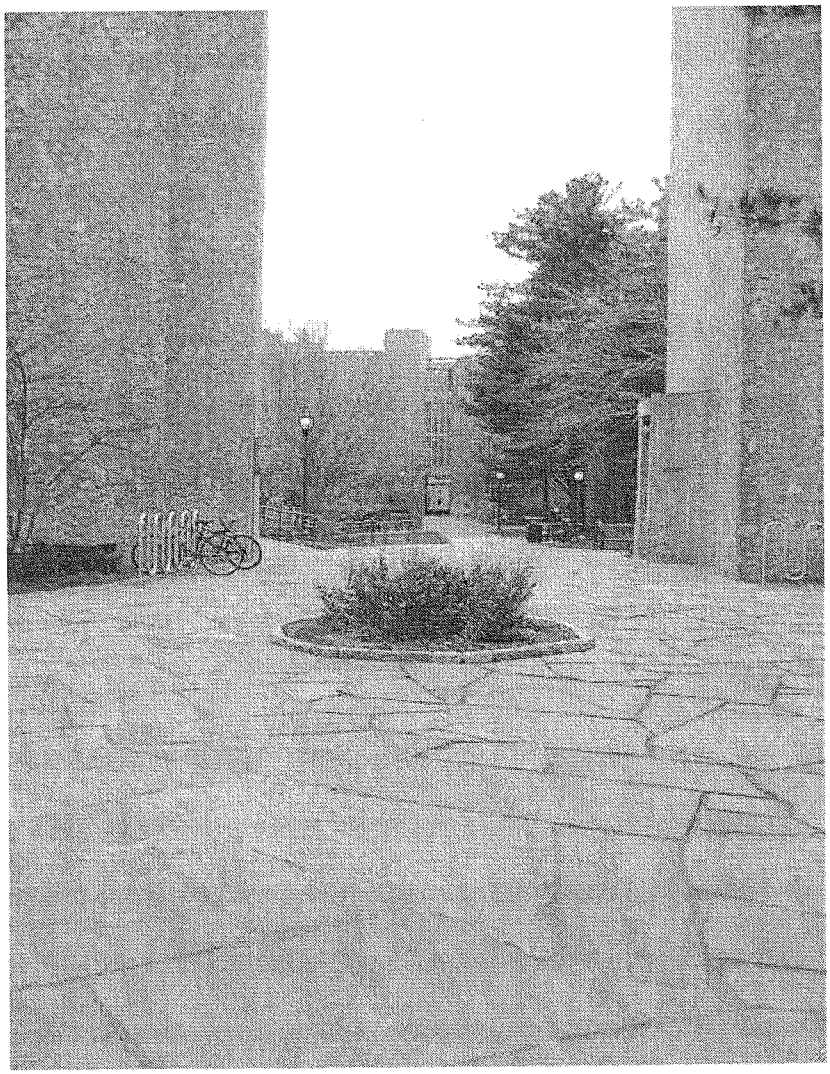
3.14: Hillhouse High School (1906), just off Tower Parkway in New Haven prior to demolition (left). The school parking lot served students as a recreational space (right), which sat adjacent to a Yale facilities plant. Coincidently, Richard Lee and Vincent Scully were graduates of Hillhouse. Source: New Haven Board of Education, "Blueprint for New Haven's Youth" 1956, Maurice E.H. Rotival Papers (MS 1380), Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University.



3.15: The new Hillhouse High School, across town, in Beaver Park.
Source: New Haven Board of Education, "Blueprint for New Haven's Youth" 1956, Maurice E.H. Rotival Papers (MS 1380), Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University.



3.16: Ezra Stiles College under construction (top), looking southeast into New Haven, 1961. Its design architect, Eero Saarinen, surveying the presentation model for Stiles and Morse Colleges (bottom), 1959. Source: Eero Saarinen Collection, Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University.



3.17: Eero Saarinen, Stiles College, interior courtyard.
Photograph by author (December, 2009)

Conclusion

Once thought to be a crowning achievement of civic architecture, the Veterans Memorial Coliseum in New Haven (Roche Dinkeloo and Associates, 1969) prompted architectural historian Elizabeth Mills Brown's salubrious assessment that it was "an experience of sheer spatial intoxication." Helical ramps stretching more than a quarter of a mile delivered cars to the parking deck that sat above the actual event space, which was the largest in the city. But, after decades of declining sales (and its final shuttering in 2002), the building was demolished in 2006 in an act that was proclaimed to be "architectural murder," by Yale's current Dean of Art and Architecture, Robert Stern. Local observers and architectural critics agreed that the Coliseum's demolition signaled urban renewal's swan song for the city.[1]

Murder or not, the erasure of mid-century buildings from the American landscape is fight that has been taken up today by a number of preservation groups like the DOCOMOMO (European and U.S.),[2] the Twentieth-Century Society (U.K.), and the Los Angeles Conservancy Modern Committee (U.S.). Even if some of the buildings that these organizations rush to defend were the same ones whose construction, 50 years ago, galvanized the historic preservation movement in the United States, the advocacy of "historic preservation," by definition, must admit these buildings after a certain number of years. Some preservationists do so willingly while others question the limits of inclusion. The fact remains, however, that the physical erasure of mid-century projects signals a change in how we critique architecture's legacy and value. Generated by

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[1] Finer, Jonathan, "Urban Renewal's Final Implosion," *The Washington Post* (22 October 2006): 26.
[2] The group's official title is the International Committee for the Documentation and Conservation of Buildings, Sites, and Neighborhoods of the Modern Movement.

students of the 1960s, many of who practice as architects, educators, and preservationists today, these critiques began as critiques about architectural education, itself.

This dissertation has shown that educational reforms in architecture and planning at Yale and Columbia were closely tied to the development practices of those schools as vehicles for urban renewal. Those reforms were based on a pedagogical critique of design curricula, but, just as strongly, on a social critique of architecture's role in the Morningside Heights neighborhood of New York and in New Have, generally. This dissertation project has also attempted to legitimize the lived experience of Yale and Columbia's students as a vital legacy within the official, institutional histories of those schools.

In the 1960s, architecture students may not have understood the totality of urban renewal (as one might now), but they knew that if local conditions such as campus expansion and irrelevant curricula were any indication, architecture's profession and academy was in serious trouble. What seemed palpable to the former architecture students interviewed for this project (and others) was the campus-wide ferment over cultural disenfranchisement, university collusion with governmental agencies, inflexible curricula, administrative paternalism and a perception that schools were not doing enough to provide a framework for students to address what they considered relevant issues: race, poverty, Vietnam, and cultural entropy. For architecture and planning students, finding a way to make architecture work—their chosen profession, in which they had all invested tuition at the very least—was tantamount to making sense of these issues. Looking back on his time at Columbia and work with Urban Deadline, Alain Salomon noted that

"Social responsibility is a part of your personal equation, but I'm not exactly sure you can teach it."[3] This gets to the point of the present examination: the things that were *not* taught to students were the things they absorbed in a way that created a critical discourse about design.

Recalling the decisive split between the Nixon Administration's claim about a "silent majority" amid the more visible radicals of the American Left, one contributor at *The Economist* called 1968 the "anvil" over which society and politics had been reshaped.[4] For architectural education, the events surrounding that year did not reshape the practice of architecture so much as it began a long and critical discourse about the architect's training and the role of building in society. The important questions at that moment centered on what was useful about the Beaux-Arts and Bauhaus systems of thinking, what ethical lessons could be drawn from architecture's complicity in failed urban renewal schemes, and, could buildings ever reflect social democracy or were they, by their nature, always representative of authority?[5]

Shaping forces are often reshaped, themselves, to fit shifting narratives about time and place. The anvil (or, perhaps the crucible) that 1968 represents is no different. Urban renewal practices continued well into the following decade, Corporate Modernism's footprint grew larger in nearly every American city during the 1980s, and a "social program" was abandoned in favor of a self-referential, formal approach to design through the fragmented forms of Deconstructivism, the so-called "Whites" and "Grays," and the hyper-rational planning of what has been called "postmodern urbanism." Indeed,

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[3] Salomon, Alain. Interview by author, Toulouse (France), 15 July 2009.
[4] "The 40-Year Itch," *The Economist,* 15 January 2008, 30.
[5] Schuman, Tony (Anthony), "Forms of Resistance: Politics, Culture, and Architecture," in *Voices in Architectural Education* (New York: Bergin & Garvey, 1991): 5-6.

a "strange incongruity" still existed between the social change that many architects wanted to see and what they had, as a profession, actually produced. "The world has seen enormous changes," the architect Max Bond noted in a 1990 interview, "yet our ideas about how architecture is done has remained very much the same."[6]

This incongruity is not just a professional problem for architecture, but evidence of a much larger political reality. Some historians have observed that a social transformation or, perhaps, the lack of its overwhelming evidence since 1968, has to do with liberalism's inclusiveness; being inclusive is not being exclusive, and decisive, enough. But, as the historian Robert O. Self has noted, the term's very meaning in the twentieth century lay in its plastic and pluralistic nature, encompassing the New Deal and the welfare state, market regulation to empower the lower- and middle-classes, equal opportunity for minorities and the state's endorsement of that principle, and, finally, the belief that policy should be written with everyday people in mind rather than the broader classes or categories to which they belonged.[7] The authorial challenge evident on every page of Port Huron Statement was to carve out a meaningful position within the landscape of American liberalism that Self later outlined. According to the Port Huron Statement's central author, Tom Hayden, the 1962 document was sharply criticized "by the very people we were closest to historically, the representatives of the liberal and labor organizations, who had once been young radicals themselves."[8] Debates about the merits of socialism versus a democracy, housing and labor laws, or "academic freedom" rarely

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[6] Dutton, Thomas A., "Architectural Education and Society: An Interview with J. Max Bond, Jr.," in *Voices in Architectural Education* (New York: Bergin & Garvey, 1991): 83.
[7] Self, Robert O. American Babylon: Race and the Struggle for Postwar Oakland (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003): 13-14.
[8] Maurice Isserman, "Will the Left Ever Learn to Communication Across Generations?" *The Chronicle for Higher Education*, 20 June 2008.

engendered the creation of a true party line.[9] In both architecture and politics, one observes multiple histories of "1968" that are much slipperier than "world changing" labels would have us believe.[10]

To argue that urban renewal played an equal, if not greater, part in the reformation of architectural education in the 1960s is walk a line between dominant, pre-existing architectural pedagogies, the terms of that reformation, protest culture, civil rights and activism (sometimes violent, and rarely straightforward), and a much larger history of urbanism driven by the real circumstances of race and post-war growth. These lines of inquiry have been followed very closely (and in some cases, many times over) but not in a way that places the culture of architectural education—and the student's experience—at the center. This dissertation began with the understanding that architecture students, at Columbia and Yale in particular, were dissatisfied enough with their educations that they took a series of bold steps to improve educational culture and curricula. The third

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[9] During the Cold War, ideas about "academic freedom" were tied closely to ideas about political freedom. By the early 1960s, "academic freedom" was under serious attack from several places, notably through the National Defense Education Act of 1959, which stipulated that students seeking federal loans had to sign an affidavit affirming allegiance to the United States, which included oblique language about defending the country from enemies (i.e. Communists) both foreign an domestic." The Association of American Colleges, the Association of American Universities, the American Association of Land Grant Colleges and State Universities, the American Association of University Professors, and the Association of Higher Education of the National Education Association all openly and rabidly denounced the bill's provision. Even before the bill was passed, federal subsidies to American universities often came with strings; open inquiry or critiques of any kind jeopardized a school's eligibility to receive federal support for student scholarships. Milton Eisenhower, President of Johns Hopkins, came out against federal funding of any kind until it could be issued without implications. "Education without freedom is no education at all. It is simply indoctrination or propaganda. For more, see: "Colleges Advised to Shun Subsidies," *The New York Times* (6 April 1957), 13, and A. Whitney Griswold's "'Loyalty': An Issue of Academic Freedom," *Yale Alumni Magazine* (January, 1960), 14.

[10] As SDS has been resuscitated, its new members at various American universities have worked to conjure the Port Huron Statement's power in recent years. But, as SDS members at New School in New York found in penning their own manifesto, consensus-building is still a central challenge in defining what social justice means. As *The New York Times* reported, "One student thought the phrase 'we accept all persons' should be broadened to cover animals. Another worried 'delineation' was alienating because 'it means drawing lines, and don't we object to lines?'" See Aviv Ravel's "One Generation Got Old, One Generation Got Soul," *New York Times Education Life* supplement (1 June 2008): 17.

accomplishment of this dissertation is to have begun a framework to evaluate the evidence of educational reform in other architecture and planning programs within other urban universities. By evaluating the student experience based on interviews, accounts of their activities, changes in school catalogue offerings, and accounts of their lives outside of school, I have been able to situate the architecture students at Yale and Columbia as people whose experiences of attending school were linked to their experiences of living in the center of social, racial, and urban change.[11]

Many of these students shared the same race, social status, background, and economic status, however. This is not to, ultimately, discount their experiences as homogeneous, but it is to say that the experiences of African-American architecture students in the same period would be a useful counterpoint or, perhaps, parallel history. Moreover, if the imperial expansion practices of predominantly white schools within predominantly non-white neighborhoods catalyzed these architecture students to act, then what were the expansion practices of historically black schools into their respective neighborhoods? What were the responses, if any, of African-American design students to those practices?

As it turns out, 40 years ago, five historically black universities and colleges had architecture and engineering programs. Notably, three out of those five only were founded at the end of the 1960s: Temple University (Philadelphia, Penn.) in 1969, Southern University and A+M College (Baton Rouge, La.) in 1970, and Tuskegee University (Tuskegee, Ala.), also in 1970. The other two, Hampton University (Norfolk,

[11] It should be noted that tracking curricular changes by addressing what students were being taught has proven to be limiting, as so many records (course descriptions, syllabi, lecture outlines) were never archived by the university and personal archives were rarely preserved. Finding instructors from the era is also difficult, although the ones that are still alive are usually more than willing to share their stories.

Va., founded 1960) and Howard University's (Washington, D.C., founded 1910) already had architecture and engineering programs for some time. Taken together, do these schools represent a separate pedagogical legacy? How did its students regard urban renewal planning and practice? Does the founding of three distinct architecture programs between 1969 and 1970 offer further evidence of educational reforms in architecture? Or, does it represent a failure of predominantly white schools, as Columbia and Yale were at the time, to attract more African-Americans to their programs?

Another framework that this dissertation offers is a way to evaluate the origins of community design, advocacy architecture, so-called "storefront academies," and design-build initiatives that have become an element of nearly every architecture school in the country. Yale's own First Year Studio, Auburn University's Rural Studio and Urban Studio, Penn State's Hamer Center for Community Design, the California Polytecnhic State University in Pomona's Outreach Partnership Center, the University of Arkansas' "House of Modest Means" design initiative, the University of California at Los Angeles' Community Scholars Program, Washington State University in Spokane's Interdisciplinary Design Institute, the Master of City Planning at MIT's Service Learning Model, and the University of Virginia's eco-MOD studio and its Learning Barge initiative represent a range of responses to notions of service learning and outreach that were founded in the last 40 years—and most of them since 1990. While these studios, programs, and centers have not overshadowed more conventional ideas about architecture-as-art, they have secured a permanent position within architectural curricula and the design lexicon.

Notably, the language of inclusion and cooperation that these initiatives represent has been co-opted by urban universities in their own, general expansion campaigns. As Columbia and Yale's recent expansion plans demonstrate, with Renzo Piano, SOM, James Corner, and Norman Foster taking the design lead for billions of dollars worth of new campus architecture, the challenges facing growing urban universities have remained the same since the 1960s. Taking Yale and Columbia as examples, even if administrators have not backed down from their development goals, the shift in language is important to note as their public relations campaigns have gone from being "service-oriented" to seeking "engagement" with the community. In a very clear outgrowth of the 1960s, urban universities have begun to call themselves as "anchor institutions" as a way to indicate an interest in community exchange and discourse, rather than appearing to be a benevolent, if feudal, force.[12]

The politics of building a school "brand," notwithstanding, the refinement of the urban university's language indicates a greater awareness of its physical and social position within a city.[13] Awareness is only half the story, of course, and the university will always balance what it stands to gain from expanding against what it cannot afford to lose in terms of its public image.[14] The kernels of this awareness at Columbia and Yale, however, began within architecture and planning circles in the 1960s. Just as mid-

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[12] Menendez, Carrie, "The Transformatory Role of Urban Research Universities: A Survey of University Partnerships for Development" (paper presented at the Association of American Geographers annual meeting, Washington, D.C., 15 April 2010).

[13] For a case study on the impact of branding and development practices on race and community, see Harley Etienne's "The Role of Universities in Urban Neighborhood Change: A Case Study of University City, West Philadelphia and the University of Pennsylvania" (Ph.D. dissertation, Cornell University, 2007).

[14] In the case of Columbia, for instance, its motives for expanding into Manhattanville is a matter of staying competitive with other Ivy League schools: it claims to only have 50% less space-per-student than Harvard and approximately 66% less space-per-student than Princeton and Yale. See Trymaine Lee,"Bracing for the Lion," *The New York Times*, 22 July 2007. www.nytimes.com/2007/07/22/nyregion/thecity/22manh.html [accessed 18 April 2010].

century urban renewal practices, race, and institutional growth startled architecture and planning students into thinking critically about the social impact of design, their collective response signaled the start of an important inquiry into architecture's fundamental role in both the academy and practice.

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