

UC Berkeley

UC Berkeley Electronic Theses and Dissertations

Title

Student Union: The Architecture and Social Design of Postwar Campus Community Centers in California

Permalink

<https://escholarship.org/uc/item/2kp0b3vb>

Author

Robinson, Clare Montgomery

Publication Date

2012

Peer reviewed|Thesis/dissertation

Student Union: The Architecture and Social Design of Postwar Campus Community
Centers in California

by

Clare Montgomery Robinson

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
Requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Architecture

in the
Graduate Division
of the
University of California, Berkeley

Committee in charge:
Professor Andrew Shanken, Chair
Professor Paul Groth
Professor Laurie Wilkie

Fall 2012

Copyright 2012

Clare Montgomery Robinson

Abstract

Student Union: The Architecture and Social Design of Postwar Campus Community Centers in California

by

Clare Montgomery Robinson
Doctor of Philosophy in Architecture
University of California, Berkeley
Professor Andrew Shanken, Chair

This dissertation examines the architecture and social intent of Student Union buildings. The narrative reaches back to the first quarter of the twentieth century when students and college leaders in the Midwest and Northeast formed the Association of College Unions, but focuses on the postwar period in California when Student Unions became modern, standard fixtures on North American campuses. Early ideas about social education in the 1920s and 1930s targeted the socialization of young men and women, class distinctions, and the business sphere that many students would enter as graduates. Subsequently, architects took cues from private social clubs and YMCA buildings. In the 1950s, however, ideas about social education turned toward the G.I. and the postwar demographic of college students. As a result, campus leaders took steps to build large postwar Union buildings that they thought addressed the needs of a broad middle-class culture. By providing arenas for consumption and postwar leisure activities, proponents reframed the social agenda and gave buildings new form.

The underlying institutional armature of Student Unions and the rhetoric behind them remained largely unchanged between the 1920s and the 1960s. Student Unions were and continued to be called “living rooms” or “hearthstones” of the campus. But after World War II, the strategies and tactics deployed by Union proponents and architects, especially in California, adapted to the social context of the university campus, creating a complex combination of rhetoric and form. Vernon DeMars, Donald Hardison, and Lawrence Halprin, who designed the postwar Student Union at the University of California, Berkeley, and Welton Becket, who designed the postwar Student Union at UCLA, dutifully called their buildings “campus living rooms.” The interior spaces, however, were boldly modern, and the buildings mimicked corporate hotels, shopping malls, and civic centers. The shift domesticated non-residential campus buildings and helped introduce modernism and its social vision to large postwar public universities. Students no longer experienced separate lounges for men and women but found

themselves in coed commercial complexes with large cafeterias, bookstores, and bowling alleys. By examining parallel architectural developments such as the design and growth of suburbs and urban renewal, this dissertation upends the institutional history of Student Unions that has its roots in halls of debating societies of Oxford and Cambridge.

Contents

Student Union: The Architecture and Social Design of Postwar Campus Community Centers in California

Acknowledgments	<i>iii</i>
Introduction	<i>1</i>
Chapter 1 Establishing the Campus Living Room	<i>10</i>
1.1 Social Education in the 1920s	
1.2 Early Architectural Precedents	
1.3 Student Union Buildings in the 1920s and 1930s	
1.4 The “Campus Living Room” in California	
1.5 The Student Union as a Home Away from Home	
Chapter 2 Food and the Postwar Student Union	<i>55</i>
2.1 The State of the Student Union During World War II	
2.2 Bringing the Postwar G.I. to Campus	
2.3 The Building Boom on Campuses in California	
2.4 Building on Wartime Habits	
2.5 The Nation’s Food During World War II	
2.6 The Cafeteria Situation at Berkeley and UCLA	
2.7 Food Stands at UCLA	
2.8 Quantity Feeding and the Student Union	
Chapter 3 Postwar Student Unions as Crucibles for a Middle-Class Art of Living	<i>86</i>
3.1 Student Character and the Student Union	
3.2 Re-establishing the Link between the Student Union Building and “Home”	
3.3 Alumni, War Memorials, and Community Planning	
3.4 Planning Purpose and Programs for Postwar Union Architecture	
3.5 National Visionaries Bring Expertise to College and University Campuses	
3.6 Campus Community Centers for All	

Chapter 4 California's Postwar Living Rooms: The Unions at UCLA and UCB	118
4.1 Modern Campus Architecture and Postwar Planning	
4.2 Building Modern at UCLA	
4.3 Building Modern at UC Berkeley	
4.4 A Model for Postwar Consumption	
Conclusion	152
Bibliography	158

Acknowledgments

I stumbled onto the topic of Student Unions as I was researching the Free Speech Memorial at the University of California, Berkeley, which lay at the base of the Martin Luther King Memorial Student Union. With the encouragement of many, my interest swiftly turned from memorial competitions to the social institution of the university, campus architecture, the perennial youth of students, and the ties alumni have made to the campus setting. The Student Union complex at Berkeley strung these concepts together and brought many more ideas and people to the fore. In the end, my dissertation about Student Union buildings in California and the social institutions behind them created a pool of intellectual and personal debts.

The chapters that follow were written in dialogue with my dissertation committee. To my chair, Andy Shanken, I owe the greatest intellectual debt. His patience and willingness to read nearly anything I wrote and his critical comments, approach to research, and timely encouragement provoked substantive revisions that brought more confidence to my original arguments. My committee members, Paul Groth and Laurie Wilkie, were invaluable and available whenever I needed them. They pointed me in fruitful directions at crucial moments while I was researching and writing. I am indebted to them for their enthusiasm, support, and breadth of knowledge.

Many other scholars shaped my dissertation as well in small but memorable ways. Early on, Professor Kerwin Kline, who witnessed my initial dive into the archives of the Bancroft Library, encouraged me to explore Student Union buildings as a dissertation topic; Professor David Henkin prompted me to consider social and economic class in the academic institutions; and Professor Greig Crysler, who advised me during my first three years at Berkeley, gave me excellent ideas for my dissertation prospectus. Along the way, I presented bits and pieces of my project to audiences at conferences and received good feedback. I am especially thankful for Carla Yanni's interest and guidance and Bill Littmann's unyielding enthusiasm for this project. While I was writing, Professors Margaret Crawford and Greg Castillo led me to re-examine pieces of my project and consider the approach to my analysis carefully. I am indebted to all of these scholars for their insights and observations.

As with any historically based research, knowledgeable archivists and librarians made this project possible. I am most indebted to Waverly Lowell of the Environmental Design Archives at UC Berkeley. We often discussed research and materials in the archives and when we met in the halls of Wurster. Because of her interest in the project and willingness to share ideas and materials, I owe her a great deal of thanks. She and

Miranda Hambro were accessible and remained enthusiastic about my research as I progressed. The university archivist at UCLA, Charlotte Brown, graciously accommodated me and my questions for a month one summer when UCLA's James and Sylvia Thayer research grant supported my work. The same is true for the university archivist of University of Wisconsin at Madison, David Null, and Ann Bowers of Bowling Green University, who I met when the Joan E. Draper Fellowship at UC Berkeley supported my travel. Close to home, Susan Snyder, Kathryn Neal, and staff at the Bancroft Library were exceedingly helpful when I had a summer fellowship from the Bancroft, as were the librarians in the Environmental Design Library, Elizabeth Byrne and David Eifler, who helped locate materials and resources.

During my studies at UC Berkeley, I was thankful to have been part of the campus Design Review Committee while researching and writing my dissertation. The experience provided a window onto contemporary campus planning and environmental design and on the current renovation and reconstruction of UC Berkeley's Student Union complex. Through this committee I met Steve Finacom, who shared his wealth of knowledge about UC Berkeley history, and Helaine Prentice, who shared her enthusiasm for UC Berkeley buildings. Emily Marthinsen, Assistant Vice Chancellor of Physical and Environmental Planning, took a special interest in the topic. Her own research and involvement in the Society of College and University Planners encouraged me to see the larger implications of my project, and to keep going.

I owe personal debts to a handful of friends who helped make this project possible as well. Marilyn Novell, who read everything, is a saint. Marilyn's editorial comments ensured a level of clarity my early drafts lacked. Katherine Rinne, who fed me soup on Sundays, also shared engaging conversations about College Unions and gave me any primary sources she had. Katherine might be UCLA's biggest Student Union fan. Over the years my classmates listened and offered advice. Thanks to Cecilia Chu, Susanne Cowan, Gabriel Arboleda, Tiago Castelo, Yael Allweil, Huey Ying Hsu, Ahmed El Antrabli, Kartikeya Date, and many others who discussed ideas and pressed me forward. I also owe thanks to Lois Koch and Sarah McCarthy, who kept track of my progress and made sure my paperwork was in on time. Friends outside the academy listened and asked good questions about my work, too. Thanks to Jamie Phillips, Greg Cutler, Erin Cubbison, and Fernando Herrera, the project got better.

Finally, my acknowledgments bring me to my family, who sustained me over the years. My husband, Eduardo Guerrero, who joined me midway through my Ph.D. project, adapted to my research and writing schedule and wholeheartedly celebrated my small and significant accomplishments along the way. My younger brother, Carl, never complained when I called with a computer problem. He cheerfully and faithfully provided technical support whenever something digital went haywire. Every researcher needs someone like him. My parents, for whom I owe the greatest personal debt, have supported my intellectual pursuits through one undergraduate degree and two graduate programs. Without their emotional and financial support and belief in perseverance, I may not have attempted a doctorate.

Introduction

In the summer of 1968, administrators at the University of California in Los Angeles (UCLA) realized that Student Union ideas had changed when university officials considered purchasing the Masonic Affiliate Club (MAC) as a satellite Student Center for the Health Sciences students. The MAC was located at the edge of Westwood Village across from the Health Sciences Center and since 1929 had been used by both sons and daughters of Masons attending UCLA.¹ Many of the amenities the building provided for student leisure would have been familiar to seasoned Student Union directors and long-time college administrators because early Student Union buildings emulated private clubs like this one.² MAC members used the ballroom for formal dances, the soft upholstered chairs of the lounge for relaxation after class, and the dining room for informal meetings and coffee breaks (Figures 1 and 2).³

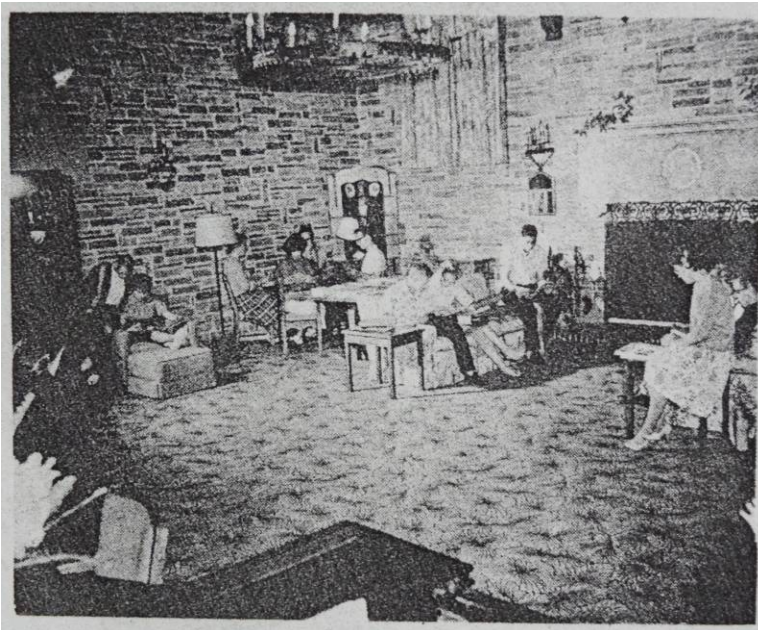


Figure 1. Students relax in the lounge of the Masonic Affiliate Club, circa 1960 (source: courtesy of the University Archives, UCLA).

¹ See Property Appraisal prepared by Keith Brownwell, n.d. but circa 1968 (University Archives, UCLA).

² Amenities in the Masonic Affiliate Club included a lounge, a library, a study room, a television room, an office, a dining room, a kitchen and dish room, a ballroom, and a billiards room (see Property Appraisal prepared by Keith Brownwell, n.d., University Archives, UCLA).

³ See brochure from Masonic Affiliate Club Appraisal Report, August 1968 (University Archives, UCLA).



Figure 2. Students take a coffee break in the dining room of the Masonic Affiliate Club, circa 1960 (source: courtesy of the University Archives, UCLA).

For the college-bound Mason, these social spaces offered opportunities to develop important social connections away from home, just as Student Union proponents hoped that Union buildings would do for students on campus.

Although the building type of the MAC had served students well, the purchase of the facility for Health Sciences students provoked discussion. Initially, the solidity of the building's construction and its proximity to the Health Sciences Center attracted administrators. The MAC was built of decorated concrete block, had endured the abuses of student use for 40 years, and appeared to be able to withstand several more years of service. Moreover, there was no need for substantial physical improvements to the building, and students at the Health Sciences Center were calling for a branch Student Union.⁴

Ideas about student recreation and concerns over Student Union operations, however, had changed between 1929 and 1968. Because financing after World War II had shifted from membership dues to also encompass rent, sales, and services, administrators were especially aware of income-producing recreation and commercial enterprises. A cafeteria, a newsstand, and a group of guest rooms could easily be placed in the MAC with only minor architectural alterations, and these upgrades could offset the cost of operating the satellite Union.⁵ But the students at the Health Sciences Center had no interest in guest rooms, and although they welcomed a cafeteria, they also desired a large lounge, a tap room, and athletic facilities for sports such as basketball, handball, and swimming.⁶ A viable operating budget might have been within reach, but because the recreational needs of students did not fit within the existing MAC spaces, administrators wondered about the suitability of the building as a branch Union.

⁴ See letter from the business manager, Donald Walden, to the executive director of UCLA's student government (Associated Students), July 11, 1968 (University Archives, UCLA [Series 401 Box 69 F71]).

⁵ See letter from Walden to Brugger, July 11, 1968 (University Archives, UCLA).

⁶ See letter from Walden to Brugger, August 6, 1968, which summarizes results from a student survey (University Archives, UCLA [Series 401 Box 69 F71]).

The vision for collegiate recreation at UCLA in the 1960s came in part from broader postwar efforts to build modern Student Centers on college campuses. UCLA students at that time would have been familiar with Ackerman Union, then a glistening new building with bright, large rooms and colorful mid-century furniture. This building had a bookstore, a bowling alley, a cafeteria, a grand lounge, and a coffee shop and showcased the latest durable materials (Figure 3). It also featured modern technology in the form of elevators, televisions, record players, automatic pinsetters, and industrial-sized ovens. In contrast, the MAC was a quaint and exclusive clubhouse. Its patio framed a tiled fountain, while its interior walls showcased murals and fine art. Overall, the MAC embodied the social order of the 1920s. As Health Sciences students expressed interest in their future branch Union, they recalled popular Westwood establishments such as Mom's and the Pizza Palace rather than refined clubrooms. Students rejected the aesthetic and social order afforded by the MAC building, and it was clear to Student Union leaders and UCLA's administrators that the building would not meet the expectations of students.⁷ Students, and the social institutions that catered to them, had responded to social, cultural, political, and economic forces between 1929 and 1968. As a result, buildings like the MAC had become obsolete.

⁷ See letters between Brugger and Adrian Harris of the UCLA planning office, August 7 and August 15, 1968 (University Archives, UCLA [Series 401 Box 69 F71]).



Figure 3. The coffee shop in UCLA's postwar Ackerman Student Union showing students among the modern chairs, tables, and polished laminate floors, circa 1960s (source: courtesy of the University Archives, UCLA).

The development of student social centers on college campuses in California – from buildings like the Masonic Affiliate Club of 1929 and UCLA's postwar Student Union of 1961 – is the topic of this research. The subject of Student Unions as a building type is underexplored: architectural historian Nikolaus Pevsner does not mention Unions or discuss college campuses in his *A History of Building Types*; Jens Fredrick Larson and Archie MacInnes Palmer devote only two pages of their 1933 book, *Architectural Planning of the American College*, to “social unions”; and Charles Klauder and Herbert Wise introduce Student Unions only along with many other buildings for student and faculty welfare in their 1929 book, *College Architecture in America*.⁸ Aside from the histories produced by the Association of College Unions, the guardian institution of

⁸ Nikolaus Pevsner, *A History of Building Types* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976); Jens Fredrick Larson and Archi MacInnes Palmer, *Architectural Planning of the American College* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1933); and Charles Klauder and Herbert Wise, *College Architecture in America* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1929).

Student Union buildings nationwide, few architectural historians have turned their attention to this building type.⁹

But these buildings are a remarkable American invention, especially in California, where post-World War II enrollment burst campuses at their seams, instigated large-scale campus planning, and prompted the design and construction of new social centers for students. Added more than a decade after the war, postwar Unions not only broke free from traditional campus architecture but also, when viewed as a social instrument, gave form to ideas about social education and normative life in the American Cold War era. Student Unions helped Union proponents and college administrators deliver important lessons about consumption and civic life that the classroom alone could not.

The underlying challenge of this topic is that Student Unions were and remain both physical and social entities in local and national settings. Originally they reflected local campus building traditions as much as ideas circulated by the Association of College Unions. Unions were nested in the campus institution while also being promoted as an inextricable part of a broad national call for building social centers on all college campuses. Although Student Unions were celebrated by the Association of College Unions, individual universities had their own proponents and local interests. The many reciprocal forces, evidenced by the participation of Union professionals, administrators, student leaders, architects, and the buildings themselves, are entangled with national trends to enfranchise Americans as middle-class consumers. Thus, the social and physical character of Student Unions has reflected the predominant approaches to social education, which are tied to life and architectural precedents beyond the campus.

Off-campus buildings, including private clubs of the 1920s, suburban bungalows, college Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) chapters, military mess halls, postwar shopping centers, and urban renewal projects, served as precedents for this study. These examples deliberately diverge from the Association of College Unions' own institutional history, which places the birth and early development of College Unions within the framework of the university. The history of Student Unions, conceived from the vantage point of the academic institution, allowed universities and the Association to impose intellectual and elite aspirations on the social life and social spaces of campus. Although Student Unions depended on universities for institutional support, universities themselves and therefore Student Unions were not isolated enterprises. Tensions between town and gown are centuries old.¹⁰ More important, universities in the United States enjoyed newfound popularity, especially during the 1920s and after the enactment of the

⁹ The Association published many versions of its history. See, for example, Edith Ouzts Humphreys, *College Unions: A Handbook on Campus Community Centers* (Ithaca, NY: Association of College Unions, 1946); Porter Butts, *State of the College Union Around the World* (Ithaca, NY: Association of College Unions International, 1967); Chester Berry, *Planning a College Union Building* (New York: Bureau of Publications Teachers College, Columbia University, 1960); and Chester Berry and Alfred Looman, eds., *College Unions ... Year Fifty* (Stanford: Association of College Unions, 1964).

¹⁰ See, for example, Rowland Parker, *Town and Gown: The 700 Years' War in Cambridge* (Cambridge: P. Stephens, 1983).

G.I. Bill.¹¹ Thus, college campus communities have been permeable and open to outside influences.

The relationship between the university and its setting are beyond the scope of this research, but the topic of social education and its bearing on social life before and after graduation is not. Deep concerns over social education guided Union proponents and architects early on and shaped debates about the form and function of Student Union buildings, which were to embody the goals and aspirations of the Association. Thus, the architecture of social institutions like the YMCA before World War II and regional shopping centers of the postwar period were important parallel developments that shed light on the architectural programs found in Unions.

Another level of analysis engages more generally with the history of building types. Eve Blau's discussion of architectural typology in her book *The Architecture of Red Vienna*, for example, is productive and relevant to the topic of Student Union buildings.¹² She moves beyond the modern movement's rendition of type as prototype and returns to Quatremère de Quincy's late-eighteenth-century concept, in which the logic of form is derived from use and custom.¹³ Blau posits that a habit of mind establishes a link between society and architecture, which, in turn, manifests as a form of knowledge.¹⁴ In other words, "at the level of topology," Blau asserts that "ideological content and a form of knowledge specific to architecture converge."¹⁵ Her study of Viennese architecture, while far removed from postwar universities in the United States, nevertheless lays out key questions and issues for the study of Student Union buildings.

The specific relationships between College Unions and their social, cultural, political, and economic contexts align more closely with Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz's research on women's colleges. In her book *Alma Mater*, Horowitz poses questions about how buildings reflected the culture that created them and how women came to be regarded by others and themselves because of, or despite, their institutional surroundings.¹⁶ Similar questions may be asked about the role of the social institutions and gender on coed campuses. Thus, Horowitz's work gave rise to a set of initial research questions.¹⁷

For the aftermath of the G.I. Bill and how universities responded, Stefan Muthesius' book *The Postwar University* provides yet another framework.¹⁸ His interests lie with college and university planning, social utopias, and the influence of architects

¹¹ See, for example, Daniel Clark, *Creating the College Man: American Mass Magazines and Middle-Class Manhood* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2010), and David Levine, *The American College and the Culture of Aspiration 1915-1940* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1986).

¹² Eve Blau, *The Architecture of Red Vienna* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1999).

¹³ Blau, p13.

¹⁴ Blau, p14.

¹⁵ Blau, p14.

¹⁶ Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, *Alma Mater: Design and Experience in the Women's College from Their Nineteenth-Century Beginnings to the 1930s* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1984).

¹⁷ Other typological studies that navigate social and historical subjects are Abigail Van Slyck, *Free to All: Carnegie Libraries and American Culture 1890-1920* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1995), and Paula Lupkin, *Manhood Factories: YMCA Architecture and the Making of Modern Urban Culture* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010).

¹⁸ Stefan Muthesius, *The Postwar University: Utopianist Campus and College* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000).

and planners on the form of new universities. He reviews how economic, political, and intellectual agendas changed the institutional boundary of postwar universities and radically transfigured the campus. Student Unions, amid postwar plans for campus expansion, were also shaped by external forces, adopted modern architecture, and positioned themselves as an important postwar institution. And akin to Muthesius, whose campus examples span the United States, the United Kingdom, and Western Europe, postwar Student Union buildings enjoyed a broad and diffuse increase, first in North America and then across the world.¹⁹ The Association of College Unions' national network of directors, business managers, and staff nurtured the deepest aims and highest aspirations for buildings in the country. Like the institution of "higher education" explored by Muthesius, the pursuit of "social education" bound Union proponents, administrators, students, and alumni together in a common cause. The result of this common cause was a surprisingly similar set of College Unions. The corporate organization and the physical expression of the institution developed in tandem and evenly. Although this study focuses on California, which experienced tremendous growth after World War II, California's Student Union history mirrors the developments elsewhere in the country.

This research shows that the underlying framework for the institution of social education, the Association of College Unions, remained largely unchanged while the strategies and tactics deployed by Union proponents, administrators, and architects adapted to the social and cultural contexts of university campuses. Chapter 1 sets the stage by describing how pioneering Union proponents established the essential building form and program for Student Unions during the 1920s and 1930s. I argue that these buildings, referred to as "campus living rooms" by Union leaders, came not from the debating halls of Oxford and Cambridge but from building types close at hand: college YMCA chapters and suburban bungalows. Union buildings modeled on the YMCA and on the rhetoric of "home" were the first generation of College Unions in the United States. Because the Association of College Unions championed the early completion of Union buildings through publications such as *The Bulletin of College Unions*, campus leaders and Union proponents embedded the building type in collegiate landscapes (Figure 4).

¹⁹ See Porter Butts, *State of the College Union Around the World* (Ithaca, NY: Association of College Unions International, 1967).

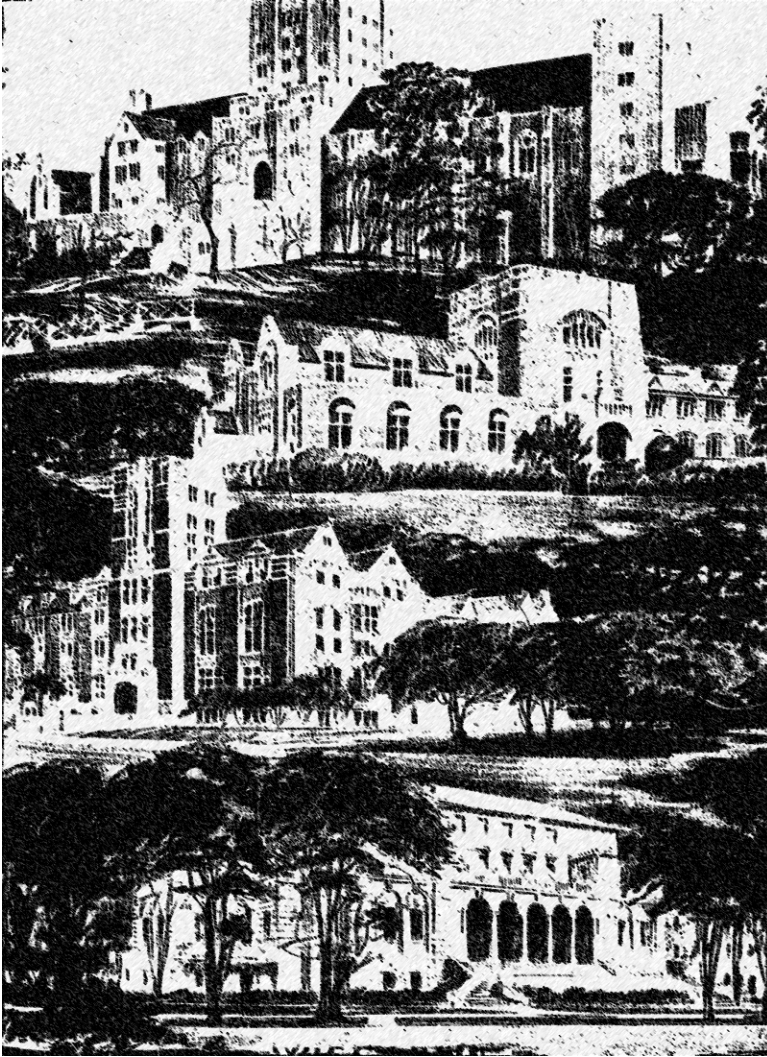


Figure 4. Four early Unions illustrated in *The Bulletin of the Association of College Unions* reflect the Association's enthusiasm for institutional expansion as a fantasy about building (source: Front cover, October 1937).

In the subsequent chapters I describe how Student Union buildings developed in response to wartime and postwar pressures. In chapter 2, I show that the Reserve Officer Training Corps (ROTC) played a crucial role in establishing the will and vision for large-scale cafeterias on college campuses. To meet wartime demands, universities transformed Unions into ROTC mess halls during the war and served food to hundreds of men in training. I argue that this, and the importance of food during and after war, defined UC Berkeley's mission to feed students en masse. Because the students and the administration deemed these efforts successful, the large-scale cafeteria became a crucial and defining component of the postwar Union.

Chapter 3 describes how college alumni and influential Union professionals at the national level contributed to the design of postwar Unions. Core concerns among proponents centered on the character of returning war veterans, appropriate war memorials, and the quality of life promised by popular magazines and federal home loan policies. For these leaders, the quality of life after graduation – one's house and community – should begin in college in a student's Union and the activities it afforded.

Thus, Student Union programs and the architecture of this new era responded to demographic changes, overcrowded campuses, and cultural expectations by becoming campus community centers. These centers, still called campus living rooms, were imagined amid the design and growth of suburbs and had similar amenities to those found in regional shopping malls. The second generation of Student Union buildings, in this way, helped to train citizens for the American way of life, which pivoted on the rhetoric of “home” and the reality of postwar consumption. Unlike the suburbs of the 1920s, however, the suburban “home” of the Cold War featured grand visions of a broad (and white) middle class that shared values of family recreation, leisure, and consumption. At this time too, Americans viewed the intimate lives of families in “sitcom suburbs.”²⁰ I describe how the blurring of public and private life established an optimistic new tone among Student Union proponents.

Finally, as shown in chapter 4, the architects of Student Union buildings boldly broke from prewar campus architecture and planning. Using the postwar Union buildings at UCLA and Berkeley as examples, I describe how College Unions by the 1960s had attained a character far different from their prewar counterparts. As robust, large-scale interventions, Student Unions in California carried out ideas introduced in the previous era but with sights set on the city – a metaphor deployed by Berkeley’s Union architect, Vernon DeMars – or the corporate hotel – a model used by UCLA’s architect, Welton Becket. Although the core of the architectural program remained the same – students could expect lounges, lunchrooms, and billiards – postwar Unions expanded leisure spaces and cafeterias to both fuel and fulfill middle-class consumption. The Masonic Affiliate Club and the postwar Union at UCLA illustrate, when placed side-by-side, the dramatic changes that took place.

As Union proponents and architects first sorted out the desired characteristics of a Student Union building in the 1920s, ideas about social education addressed the socialization of young men and women, class distinctions, and the business sphere that many students would enter as graduates. The same institution in the 1950s, however, shifted its attention toward broadening the middle class, defined largely by consumption and leisure. The institution and buildings continue to be an ever-present part of college and university landscapes. Understanding their past might intelligently inform their future.

²⁰ “Sitcom Suburbs” here is borrowed from Dolores Hayden’s chapter in *Building Suburbia: Greenfields and Urban Growth* (New York: Vintage Books, 2004), but it is meant to refer to actual television sitcoms that disseminated potent ideas among the population about home and family in the 1950s.

Chapter 1

Establishing the Campus Living Room

As organizations, Student Unions emerged out of the debating societies at Oxford and Cambridge University. But an association of students, where students and university administrators planned leisure activities, constructed dedicated Union buildings, and maintained intercollegiate exchange, is a relatively young, twentieth-century phenomenon. The movement officially began in 1914, when members of the Student Union at Ohio State University invited a handful of administrators and student leaders to gather and discuss the possibility of forming an Association of College Unions.²¹ At that time, this was a practical solution for far-flung student organizations in the Midwest and Northeast that had potent social consequences. With a burgeoning number of spaces for leisure and casual study on college campuses and a variety of approaches to addressing these needs, the early meetings gave leaders an opportunity to forge personal contacts, share ideas about student government and leisure activities, and visit College Unions.²² Administrators, Union directors, and students, by way of the Association, thus cast chance correspondence aside by institutionalizing how student leaders and a growing group of young Student Union professionals would air concerns, exchange solutions, and develop the Student Union idea. With a cooperative and collegial spirit, the Association would be a celebrated organization through which students could practice self-governance and learn professional skills and leisure habits deemed important for society at large.

Early convention delegates immediately turned their attention toward Student Union buildings in an effort to make sense of what they had. The Association recognized Houston Hall at the University of Pennsylvania as the first Student Union in North America. It had a store, a soda fountain, a barbershop, a post office, a billiards room, and

²¹ The Association was first founded at Ohio State University in 1914 but had several incarnations until the close of World War I, when members decided to name their organization the Association of College Unions. At the first meeting, Ohio was the only school represented with both a Student Union and a dedicated building (see Convention Proceedings for the Association of College Unions, 1915, p7, National Student Affairs Archives, Bowling Green State University).

²² For an early member survey about the Association of College Unions and possible Union programs, see *The Bulletin of Association of College Unions* March 1933 Vol 1 No 2 pp1, 4.

several small reading and lounging rooms.²³ The Ohio Union, another early Union building, had a basement cafeteria, a small private dining room, a soda grill, and a kitchen as well as a large lounge, a billiards room, a game room, a reception room, offices, and a theater. Most Unions built just after the First World War contained lounges, cafeterias, game rooms, and offices.²⁴ Talk about these Unions gave leading proponents a tangible project and stirred planning, if not building campaigns, for Student Unions on college campuses.

All Unions constructed during the 1920s and 1930s borrowed from the earliest examples and from campus YMCA buildings but adapted them to house coed socialization. Most Unions made lounges, game rooms, offices, and cafeterias the core of the building program, but because colleges increasingly placed men and women in the same building, these programs were nuanced to instill appropriate social behavior.

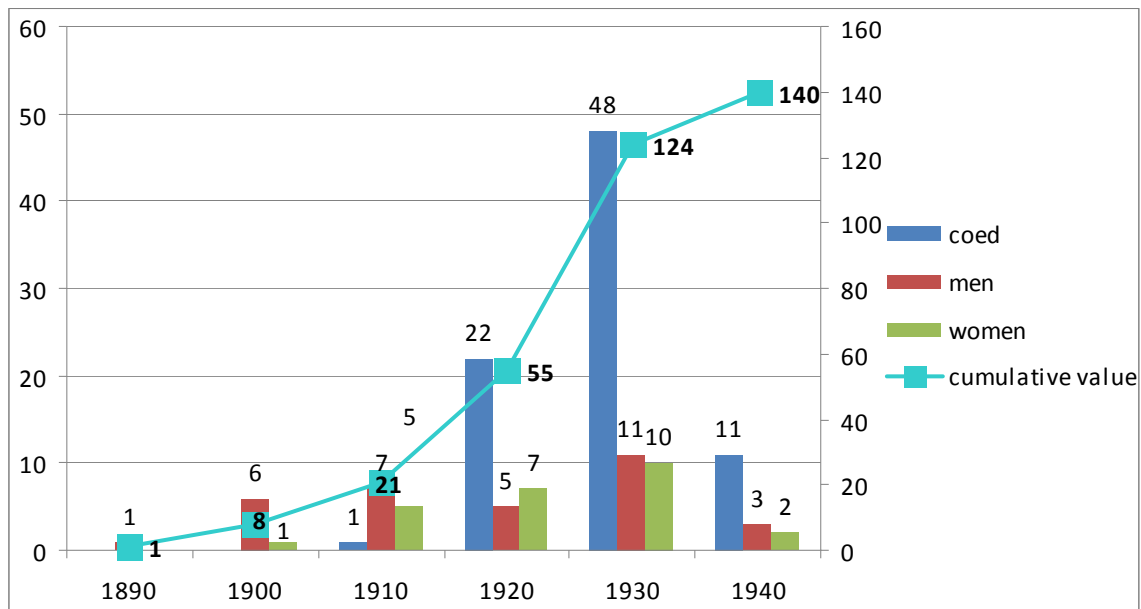


Table 1. The number of College Unions built by decade shows a significant increase in Student Unions in the 1920s and 1930s. By 1940, coed Unions outnumbered Unions for only men or only women. (Data compiled from Edith Ouzts Humphreys' *College Unions: A Handbook on Campus Community Centers* (Ithaca, NY: Association of College Unions, 1946).)

Considering that more than half of the new Student Union buildings were coed, Student Union proponents clearly saw value in sharing facilities. Edith Humphreys, who authored the first College Union handbook in 1946, thought that ideas about democracy swept through College Union programs only as the nation enfranchised women into the political

²³ Houston Hall at the University of Pennsylvania was founded in 1896. For information about its financing and facilities, see the Convention Proceedings for the Association of College Unions, 1925, pp14-15 (National Student Affairs Archives, Bowling Green State University).

²⁴ See descriptions of Purdue, Minnesota, Iowa, and Iowa State University Unions in the Convention Proceedings for the Association of College Unions, 1925, pp21-27 (National Student Affairs Archives, Bowling Green State University).

system.²⁵ Including women in the Student Union building, to her mind, was part of a larger democratizing force. Women were entering college in larger numbers. Rooms assembled in Student Unions built in the 1920s, however, looked less like parliaments or public forums and more like private clubs and nineteenth-century benevolent associations such as the YMCA. If the Unions did not segregate men and women on the inside, the architectural interiors and the staff supervision curtailed inappropriate behavior.

Early Student Union proponents, most notably Porter Butts, who was director of the Union at the University of Wisconsin, described Student Unions as “club houses” with membership privileges much like those that businessmen and their wives would find in their hometowns. Thus, like clubs and early YMCA buildings, Student Unions provided space for students to create and maintain social connections. And much like clubs, membership rules and staff supervision played a role in ensuring that students followed acceptable forms of social intercourse. In many cases, the activities themselves structured social exchange. Ladies’ teas, for example, required less supervision than formal dances. But the architecture played a role, too.

Proponents quickly came to describe Student Union buildings as the “campus living room.” As rhetoric, the term conjured ideas about the comforts of home and domestic order. Home had been a perennial concern for reformers who believed home life built civic and social order.²⁶ The living room itself was a reformers’ invention, a reaction against parlors of the nineteenth century, and it played into the modern suburban home life many students in the 1920s increasingly came from. But home also gave lay visionaries, decorators, and architects a physical form to work with. Home-like interiors became common in Student Unions, and didactic comfort was the object of many Union proponents. Because of the living room’s rich cultural references, it was profoundly malleable and influenced Student Union discourse and design. It was simultaneously a metaphor, a physical goal, and a reason to build.

Reasons to build preoccupied directors more than anyone else. For Butts, the impetus to build a Union at the University of Wisconsin originated after World War II when the student body grew to unwieldy proportions. More students gathering en masse away from home meant that students had greater opportunities for misbehavior, immoral choices, and social ruin. A home-like living room, in Butts’ mind, would nullify these concerns. Butts also thought a Student Union would be a fitting war memorial that could solve all non-classroom space requirements, such as much-needed student organization offices.²⁷ Thus, Wisconsin’s project, like many others, resulted in a hodge-podge building program with game rooms, a memorial rotunda, dining facilities, student activity

²⁵ Edith Ouzts Humphreys, *College Unions: A Handbook on College Community Centers* (Ithaca, NY: Association of College Unions, 1946), pp22-25.

²⁶ See Gwendolyn Wright, *Moralism and the Model Home* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), and Katherine Grier, *Culture and Comfort: People, Parlors, and Upholstery* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1988) and “The Decline of the Memory Palace” in *American Home Life, 1880-1930: A Social History of Space and Services*, Jessica Foy and Thomas Schlereth, eds. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1992).

²⁷ The idea built on post World War II efforts to create useful memorials (see Andrew Shanken, “Planning Memory: Living Memorials in the United States During World War II,” in *Art Bulletin*, March 2002, Vol LXXXIV No 1, pp130-147).

offices, a theater, alumni offices, a dance floor, and a large auditorium.²⁸ But why *these* spaces and activities? And why during the 1920s?

1.1 Social Education in the 1920s

Although Paul Turner, in *Campus: An American Planning Tradition*, marks the Morrill Act of 1862 as the basis of broad-based change in the social and academic structure of colleges, World War I marked a pivotal turning point for higher education, too.²⁹ When veterans re-entered the work force, they found that employers were looking for college graduates in technical and managerial fields and recruiting on college campuses.³⁰ Although the value of a college degree was never strictly defined by the number and type of courses undertaken – among the upper classes a college degree made social and business networks possible and lasting – the campus had rarely been the site of noticeable corporate recruitment. As a result, young men (and women) increasingly sought the college experience, aspired to go to college, and saw the campus itself as an avenue to corporate jobs. Activities pursued by men and women during college not only shaped social networks but also taught them networking skills.

In parallel, educators and administrators viewed Student Unions as instruments through which the social lives of students could be defined and developed to meet the cultural norms of college and beyond. Thus, it is no coincidence that the idea of College Unions came of age as college attendance entered the limelight and the popular imagination of youth, when the archetypal self-made businessman of the nineteenth century gave way to a college-trained middle-class expert.³¹ Like George Babbitt of the fictional city of Zenith in Sinclair Lewis' 1922 novel, *Babbitt*, college gave the average man a memorable right of passage, strong fraternal connections in business, and a social lens through which to organize his personal life and accomplishments.³² When academic programs alone did not, the activities of Student Union buildings promised to engender enduring camaraderie and social development to a new generation of college graduates.

The Union buildings themselves had tremendous importance. They housed recreational activities, which were thought to be essential for a productive adult life. Leisure activities in a building devoted to recreation, culture, and the social life of campus were part of a comprehensive educational approach. As a new generation of educators gravitated toward facilitating extracurricular activities, scholars bolstered their ideas with cutting-edge educational theory. Educators concluded that leisure, if defined and ordered, would increase productive hours at school. And because schools trained

²⁸ Press release by Porter Butts, n.d. (General Files of Porter Butts, University Archives, University of Wisconsin [series 26 11 1 box 1]).

²⁹ Paul Turner, in *Campus: An American Planning Tradition*, pins the most significant changes in the social and academic structure of colleges on the Morrill Act of 1862 (see Chap. 4, "The Democratic College," in *Campus* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1984). David O. Levine, in *The American College and the Culture of Aspiration, 1915-1940* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1986), updates external forces and internal social and academic solutions.

³⁰ Levine, Chap. 3, pp45-67.

³¹ Levine, p43.

³² Sinclair Lewis, *Babbitt* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1922).

students for life, teaching students how to spend leisure time meant that graduates would become more efficient and well-behaved workers. With Union facilities available, graduates also stood a chance, in the minds of educators, of exhibiting good character and values.³³ Faculty at the University of Wisconsin understood that unstructured and wholly unsupervised leisure time made unruly students. Freshmen, in particular, if shown how to study and play, would make better seniors and citizens. Thus, learning, once coveted by faculty in the confines of the classroom, found a permanent place in Union buildings and claimed social education as its principal domain.

Although John Dewey did not write about college education per se, college educators and students were astutely aware of Dewey's philosophical principles. *Democracy and Education*, first published in 1916, crystallized what administrators and Union directors came to embrace.³⁴ Dewey's primary message – that education has a social purpose and requires formal as well as informal settings – gave educational credence to leisure time's importance and to the social forces at work in a Student Union. Thus, early iterations of the "Union Idea," fleshed out by Union directors and college presidents, resonated with the educational philosophy of Dewey and his followers.

President Clarence Dykstra of the University of Wisconsin, who would later serve as Chancellor at UCLA, formed his opinion about the purpose of the Union at Wisconsin after living in one of its hotel rooms. In his mind, education could not be a "cloistered or removed-from-life experiment." Education, Dykstra thought, must prepare a student to be an individual in society.³⁵ Other early Wisconsin presidents, such as President E. H. Fred, invoked the idea of a laboratory for the Union, where students would partake in a community enterprise and continually practice democracy.³⁶ The value of social education pivoted on preparing successful leaders of the industrialized world. Students properly socialized were educated and therefore prepared to live among others. A campus without a Student Union might fail to achieve such socially minded goals.

The sharpest critique of college life without a proper Student Union came from President Charles Van Hise of the University of Wisconsin at the turn of the century. In

³³ See Eugene T. Lies, *The New Leisure Challenges the Schools: Shall Recreation Enrich or Impoverish Life?* (Washington, DC: National Education Association, 1933); Paul P. Boyd, "Extra Curricular Activities and Scholarship," *School and Society* XIII (February 5, 1921); Donald S. Bridgeman, "Success in College and Business," *Personnel Journal* IX (June 1930); Delisle C Burns, *Leisure in the Modern World* (New York: The Century Co., 1932); Stuart F Chapin, "Extra-Curricular Activities of College Students: A Study in College Leadership," *School and Society* XXIII (February 13, 1926); Alzada Comstock, "Time and the College Girl," *School and Society* XXI (March 14, 1925); W. H. Cowley, "Explaining the Rah Rah Boy," *New Republic* XLVI (April 14, 1926); Irwin Edman, "On American Leisure," *Harper's Magazine* (January 1926); Christian Gauss, *Life in College* (New York: Scribner's, 1930); L. P. Jacks, *Education for the Whole Man* (New York: Harper's, 1931) and *Education Through Recreation* (New York: Harper and Bros., 1932); and Woodrow Wilson, "What is College For?" *Scribner's Magazine* Vol XLVI (November 1909).

³⁴ John Dewey, *Democracy and Education: An Introduction to the Philosophy of Education* (New York: MacMillan Company, 1916). Also see Dewey's *School and Society* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1915).

³⁵ C. A. Dykstra at curtain talk at theater opening in 1939. Before moving into the president's house in 1937, he lived in the Union and served as president until 1945 (General Files of Porter Butts, University Archives, University of Wisconsin [series 26 11 1 box 1]).

³⁶ President E. H. Fred, n.d. Served as president 1945-1958 (General Files of Porter Butts, University Archives, University of Wisconsin [series 26 11 1 box 1]).

his view, the potential power and influence of the United States, like the success of Britain, hinged on the social education of men. Colleges at Oxford and Cambridge, according to Van Hise, made Britain's achievements possible. If Britain could do this for the sons of England, why not the United States of America? If Britain could socialize its college men, why not Wisconsin? At a commons or a Union, President Van Hise thought, men could adjourn at the end of each day for close, wholesome, social intercourse.³⁷ They would also flock to the university to obtain intellectual training as well as "sterling, vigorous, self-sufficient, adjustable manhood."³⁸ Cultivating men, in Van Hise's view, was the crux of the Union's purpose.

Scholars who have studied college men and middle-class manhood pin the pursuit of college on assumptions about class, identity, success, and social mobility.³⁹ The thinking is that popular interest in college did not necessarily grow from the expansion of public and private schools or from radical changes in the curriculum in the late nineteenth century. Instead, native-born middle-class men found themselves in a new cultural milieu. During the 1920s, women were seeking political representation and professional identities, while "white" immigrant men were filling the polls and climbing the corporate ladder. At the same time, suburbs extended cities, which posed new choices for middle-class men and their families and reframed gender roles and identities in households. Middle-class men responded to these physical and social changes by cultivating a hyper-masculinity, which they could more easily demonstrate through leisure activities rather than through their studies or occupations. Harold Lloyd's portrayal of "Speedy" in the 1925 film *The Freshman* is a comic example of a college student who gained popularity through the football team.⁴⁰

Although other scholars have cast the rise of "muscular Christianity" as central to the idea of manhood in this period, the college man also had a more secular set of skills and a broader range of extracurricular pursuits to choose from.⁴¹ What college gave men that other institutions did not was an opportunity to unite disparate facets of their

³⁷ Wisconsin President Van Hise's view is later reinforced by the president of the Association of College Unions, J. E. Walters, when he celebrates the organization of leisure into more "wholesome channels." (J. E. Walters, "The University Union," Association of College Unions Convention Proceedings, 1925). As background, in Van Hise's 1904 inaugural address, he describes the success of men trained at Oxford and Cambridge as they were, in his mind, "instrumental in extending the empire of Britain over the earth." Oxford and Cambridge make not only scholars but men. When students go out into the world, he thought, the most important part of their education would be their capacity to deal with men. "Nothing that the professor or laboratory can do for the student can take the place of daily close companionship with hundreds of his fellows." All this, Porter Butts thought, was the beginning of the Union idea at Wisconsin (General Files of Porter Butts, University Archives, University of Wisconsin [series 26 11 1 box 1]).

³⁸ Van Hise, inaugural address, 1904 (General Files of Porter Butts, University Archives, University of Wisconsin [series 26 11 1 box 1]).

³⁹ Daniel Clark, *Creating the College Man: American Mass Magazines and Middle-Class Manhood* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2010). See especially his introduction and Chap. 5, "From Campus Hero to Corporate Professional."

⁴⁰ *The Freshman*, 1925.

⁴¹ See Clifford Putney, *Muscular Christianity: Manhood and Sports in Protestant America, 1880-1920* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001), and David Setran, "Following the Broad-shouldered Jesus: The College YMCA and the Culture of Muscular Christianity in American Campus Life, 1890-1914," *American Educational History Journal*, Vol 32 No 1, pp59-66, but also articles by Joan Paul (*Journal of Sport History*, Fall 1983, Vol 10 No 3).

masculinity. Athletics, scholarship, leadership, and professional pursuits naturally blended together on campus. The college man could prove his worth and position in society simultaneously through sports culture and his academic achievements in college. Then he could continue these activities, with the same rewards, as a businessman or professional.⁴²

Because Union proponents found few useful resources on social education, let alone buildings, ideas about manhood fueled early iterations of the College Union. University administrators – college men themselves – subscribed to the late-nineteenth-century version of masculinity.⁴³ For them, leisure and shared social traditions made the college man recognizable to other college men, because through these shared activities, college men would learn to identify other college men.⁴⁴ The Union – as a social organization and as a building – was uniquely positioned to engender shared social lives and the spirit of the self-made adult, but it took Union proponents time to develop and refine building programs with the right social purpose.⁴⁵

1.2 Early Architectural Precedents

Accounts of the origins of Student Union buildings came from professionals who built Student Unions from the ground up. These men and women were active members of the Association of College Unions; they often served as conference speakers and authored publications about the benefits and the architecture of Unions. Their notions about Student Unions stemmed from a synthesis of various examples in the United Kingdom, and Union proponents studied, if not visited, Oxford and Cambridge.⁴⁶ But by the 1930s founders of the Association of College Unions more often looked to North American examples.

Student Union buildings in North America doubled and quadrupled in size in the 1920s and 1930s. Gone were the lounges where students would gather to read, debate, and play cards. In their place came a variety of spaces with more specific programmatic

⁴² Clark, p9.

⁴³ In 1933, the Association of College Unions published a list of books helpful for Union directors. None of them directly pertained to Student Unions. Instead, titles presented psychology, sociology, and child development as useful disciplinary resources. See Charles Horton's *Social Education* (New York: Scribner's and Sons, 1929) and *Human Nature and the Social Order* (New York: Scribner's and Sons, 1902); Martin Peck's *The Meaning of Psychoanalysis* (A. A. Knopf, 1931); Sigmund Freud's *A General Introduction to Psychoanalysis* (New York: Boni and Liveright, 1920); Thomas Douglas' *Everyday Problems of the Everyday Child* (D. Appleton and Co., 1927); and Robert Cooley Angell's *The Campus* (Appleton and Company, 1928).

⁴⁴ "... the best result of a college education should be that you 'know a good man when you see him,'" David Starr Jordan, "Knowing Real Mean" in *Portraits of the American University: 1890-1910* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Inc., 1971), pp11-13. Also see "The American Undergraduate: The College Man and the World" by Clayton Sedgwick Cooper, May 1912, pp182-192, in the same edition.

⁴⁵ Little research has been done on college women. See Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, *Alma Mater*, as well as Alzada Comstock, "Time and the College Girl" *School and Society* (March 14, 1925) IXX.

⁴⁶ See Edith Ouzts Humphreys, *College Unions: A Handbook on Campus Community Centers* (Ithaca, NY: Association of College Unions, 1946) and *College Unions ... Year Fifty*, Chester Berry, ed. (Association of College Unions, 1964), and publications by Porter Butts.

purposes. Smaller rooms were for reading, while others were for games such as chess or cards, and still others were for billiards. Larger rooms were for dances or lectures. Student Union buildings, dubbed social unions by Jens Fredrick Larson in his 1933 publication, *Architectural Planning of the American College Campus*, had become indispensable for extracurricular campus activities.⁴⁷ As their size as well as their programmatic complexity multiplied, so did their social significance. Thus, Student Union buildings held a prominent position in the minds of college administrators, who by the 1930s fairly universally thought universities *should* provide spaces for a variety of leisure activities.

The founders of the Association of College Unions lauded most the first comprehensive collegiate recreational facility, the Hart House at the University of Toronto built in 1919. Its rooms and activities had the purpose of serving “the highest interests of [the] university by drawing into a common fellowship the members of the several colleges and faculties” and to gather “into a true society the teacher and the student, the graduate and the undergraduate.”⁴⁸ The unity of fellowship, against the backdrop of debate, music, play, casual reading, sports, and games, promised to mold the whole student and arm him with clarity of mind, depth of understanding, and moral objectives. With the responsibility of leisure space placed on the shoulders of the collegiate institution, the university effectively broadened the avenue through which faculty could shape the minds and bodies of young men. Moreover, the institution’s role as parent was expanded by its oversight of the social as well as the intellectual development of college students. The building in which this education took place was crucial.

Built between 1911 and 1919, the Hart House first served as a training ground for enlisted soldiers in World War I and then as the Union for all male undergraduates, graduate students, and faculty. Unlike debating halls, this Union aimed to provide the range of spaces and the broad set of activities that the administration believed men needed outside of their academic routine.⁴⁹ It housed a great hall, various common rooms, a library, a lecture room, a music room, a chapel, and rooms for the Student Christian Association, as well as a studio for painting and drawing, a darkroom for photographic work, a billiards room, a theater, a dining room for faculty, a kitchen, and a gymnasium. The Hart House even had a few guest rooms as well as an office and living quarters for the warden who oversaw all operations. Although rooms within the Hart House might accommodate several different activities in the course of one day, the

⁴⁷ Jens Fredrick Larson, *Architectural Planning of the American Campus* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1933); see pp150-153. Larson expounds on the George W. Todd Union for Men at the University of Rochester, declaring it an exemplary small union. Note that his earlier discussion of social environment (pp28-30) relies heavily on town-gown relations and how a college can service a community through “good architecture and beautiful landscaping” (pp29-30). His concerns are thus couched in development, expansion of campus, and aesthetics, rather than the actual social life of students on and off campus. Larson is a “city beautiful” architect, devoted to creating a campus wholly distinct from the town.

⁴⁸ *Architectural Forum*, January 1924, p12. Also see Porter Butts, *State of the College Union Around the World* (Ithaca, NY: Association of College Unions International, 1967) for a description of the building and its influence (pp38-45).

⁴⁹ *Architectural Forum*, January 1924, p11.

number of specific activities housed under one roof gave new form and purpose to the social center of campus.

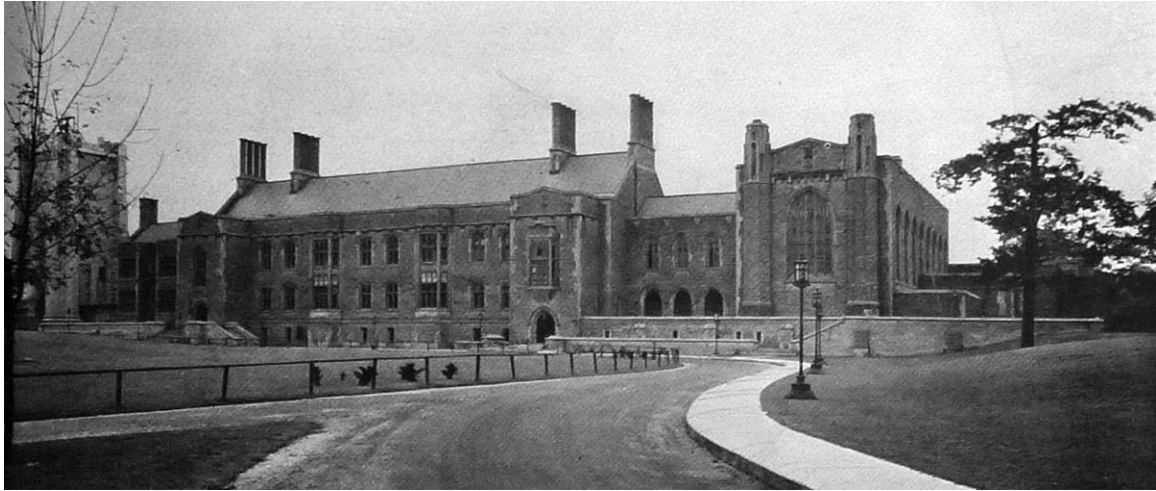


Figure 1. Exterior view of the Hart House at the University of Toronto (source: *Architectural Forum*, January 1924, Vol XL No 1, p11).

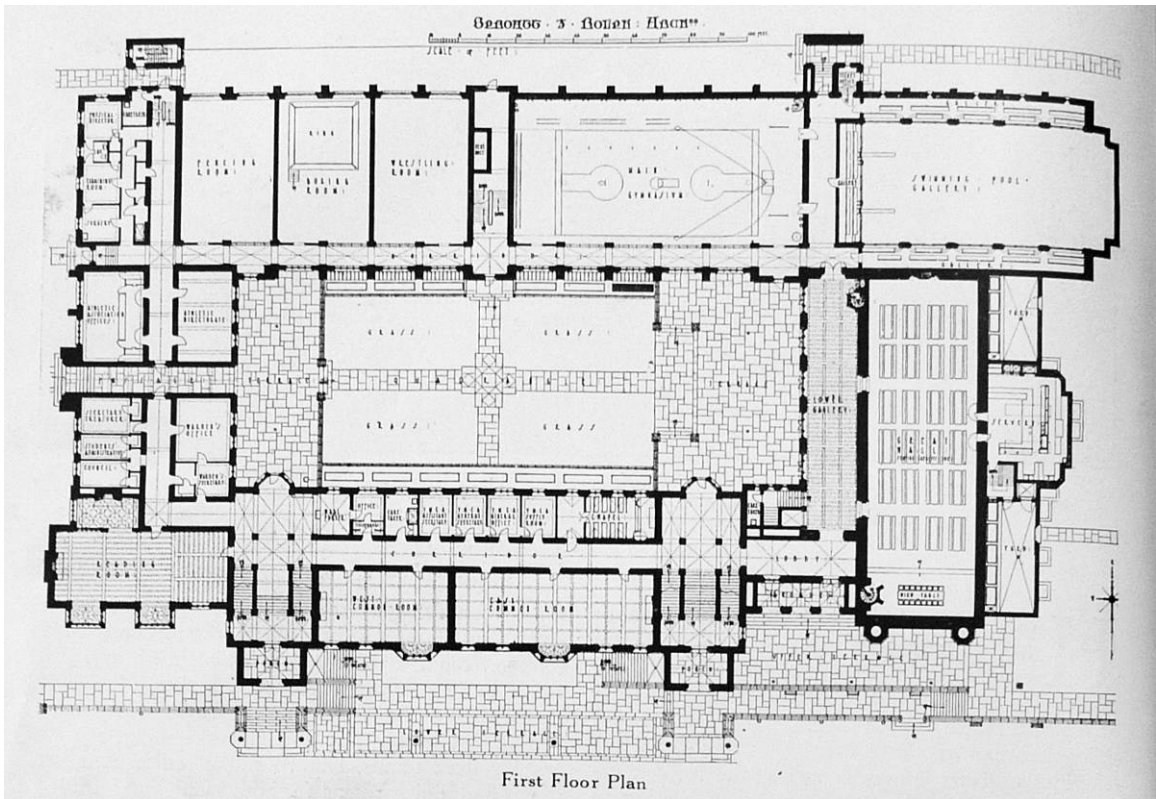


Figure 2. First-floor plan of Hart House at the University of Toronto showing varied social and recreational spaces around a central courtyard (source: *Architectural Forum*, January 1924, Vol XL No 1, p12).

The vaulted ceilings and the grandeur of the building, made of rusticated stone with a large central courtyard, not only impressed administrators elsewhere but also gave physical form to a multipurpose Student Union (Figures 1 and 2). The building's exterior resembled a monumental monastic cloister, but its content was far from that. Rather than pious study, men partook of activities considered essential for the development of the modern man: physical fitness, entertainment, and casual socialization. For such a varied set of uses, the architecture firm Spratt and Ralph artfully segregated different uses, including ornamentation in the rooms that demanded more refined student behavior and leaving the knock-about spaces relatively plain. For example, the basement of the Hart House contained spaces for the most unruly activities and housed the locker rooms, swimming pool, billiards hall, theater, and kitchen (Figures 5 and 6). In contrast, the first and most public floor of the building contained offices for the warden and the YMCA as well as a reading room, several common rooms, a great hall, and a chapel (Figures 3, 4, and 7). The upper floors of the gymnasium, which had dedicated space for fencing, boxing, wrestling, and basketball, were also on this level, but the gym had a separate circulation system. Thus, aside from the track, the third floor was as refined as the second floor. Here, deep within the building, architects placed the music room, the library, the lecture hall, and the faculty dining room. Spratt and Ralph were the first to experiment with the architectural form and program of Student Unions at this scale.⁵⁰ Although no university administration had placed such a comprehensive building on campus, these programs and activities would have been familiar because the YMCA had asked architects to assemble a similarly diverse set of activities under a single roof.

⁵⁰ The only publications on Spratt and Ralph are of the Hart House. See *Architectural Forum*, January 1924, Vol XL No 1, p12; *American Architect*, April 12, 1920, Vol 117 pt 2 No 3213,506b; *Builders*, July 2, 1920, Vol 119, pp4-5 and February 5, 1926, Vol 130, p246.



Figure 3. The Great Hall of the Hart House (source: *Architectural Forum*, January 1924, Vol XL No 1 Pl 6).



Figure 4. Lower Gallery outside the Great Hall (source: *Architectural Forum*, January 1924, Vol XL No 1 Pl 8).

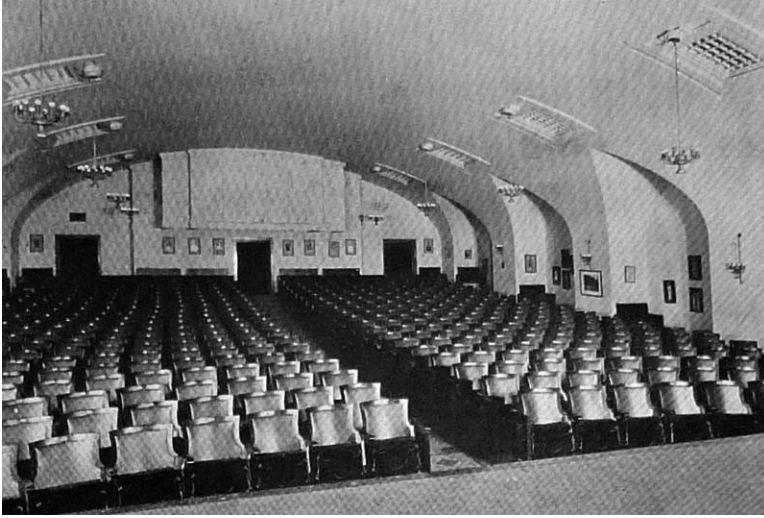


Figure 5. Basement theater of the Hart House (source: *Architectural Forum*, January 1924, Vol XL No 1, p15).



Figure 6. The Hart House Theater Gallery (source: *Architectural Forum*, January 1924, Vol XL No 1, p15).



Figure 7. The Hart House reading room (source: *Architectural Forum*, January 1924, Vol XL No 1 Pl 9).

The social spaces and activities of Hart House mirror those implemented by the YMCA after the Civil War, when YMCA leaders had reason to expand the mission of the Y in large urban centers. As Paula Lupkin and Charles Howard Hopkins observe, the social mixtures and temptations of the late-nineteenth-century city posed new and dangerous distractions for young men.⁵¹ Unmarried and often away from home for the first time, these men pursued white-collar work amid the ever-present dangers of city life. Often tempted by houses of prostitution and by gambling, young men risked outright ruin if they were to fall in with the wrong crowd. Reformers, clergymen, and successful businessmen saw sin, social ruin, and death as threats to the success of young men and to the larger social order.

Americans became acquainted with the YMCA at the Great Exhibition in London of 1851, but by the time of the Civil War, they had made the organization their own. North American leaders founded several chapters and adapted programs to suit their target clientele. Although YMCA chapters ran membership drives and programs independently, these young organizations shared basic values and activities consisting of Christian fellowship and moral instruction. However, as the Association turned its attention toward the plight of young men in cities, leaders sought to attract as many members as possible. As a result, the organization added secular programs to Bible study

⁵¹ See Paul Lupkin, *Manhood Factories: YMCA Architecture and the Making of Modern Urban Culture* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010), and Charles Howard Hopkins, *History of the YMCA in North America* (New York: Association Press, 1951).

classes, relaxed their requirement that men have church membership, and opened their doors to the public. Lectures, performances, and interdenominational community-wide events peppered weekly calendars.⁵² The core of these changes augmented early visions of Christian salvation to also uphold the moral propriety thought to be essential in the culture of white-collar work and gentlemanly exchange. Thus, through the YMCA, any Christian man of nearly any means could take part in social activities and intellectual development that improved his lot in business. These changes were aimed at increasing membership, but they also had a profound impact on the architecture of YMCA buildings.



Figure 8. Reception room of the New York YMCA at 23rd Street at 4th Avenue (source: Paula Lupkin, *Manhood Factories*, p56).

Leaders in New York, who opened the YMCA at 23rd Street and 4th Avenue in 1869, were among the first to invent a new building type for the organization.⁵³ With a reception room, a gymnasium, a reading room, a library, a lecture hall, and a public auditorium as well as classrooms, parlors, and a suite of spaces for the director, the enlarged program “reflected the metamorphosis of the relatively primitive antebellum concept of ... evangelism into a bold, proactive vision of the YMCA as a formative, competitive element in the urban landscape ...” (Figure 8).⁵⁴ Armed with activities designed to order the social life of men and a building to house them, the organization parlayed cohesion for the community at large and gave local YMCA chapters a vision for expansion.

⁵² Hopkins, pp26, 30, 31, 36.

⁵³ Lupkin, see especially Chap. 2, “Inventing the YMCA Building,” pp37-71.

⁵⁴ Lupkin, p71.

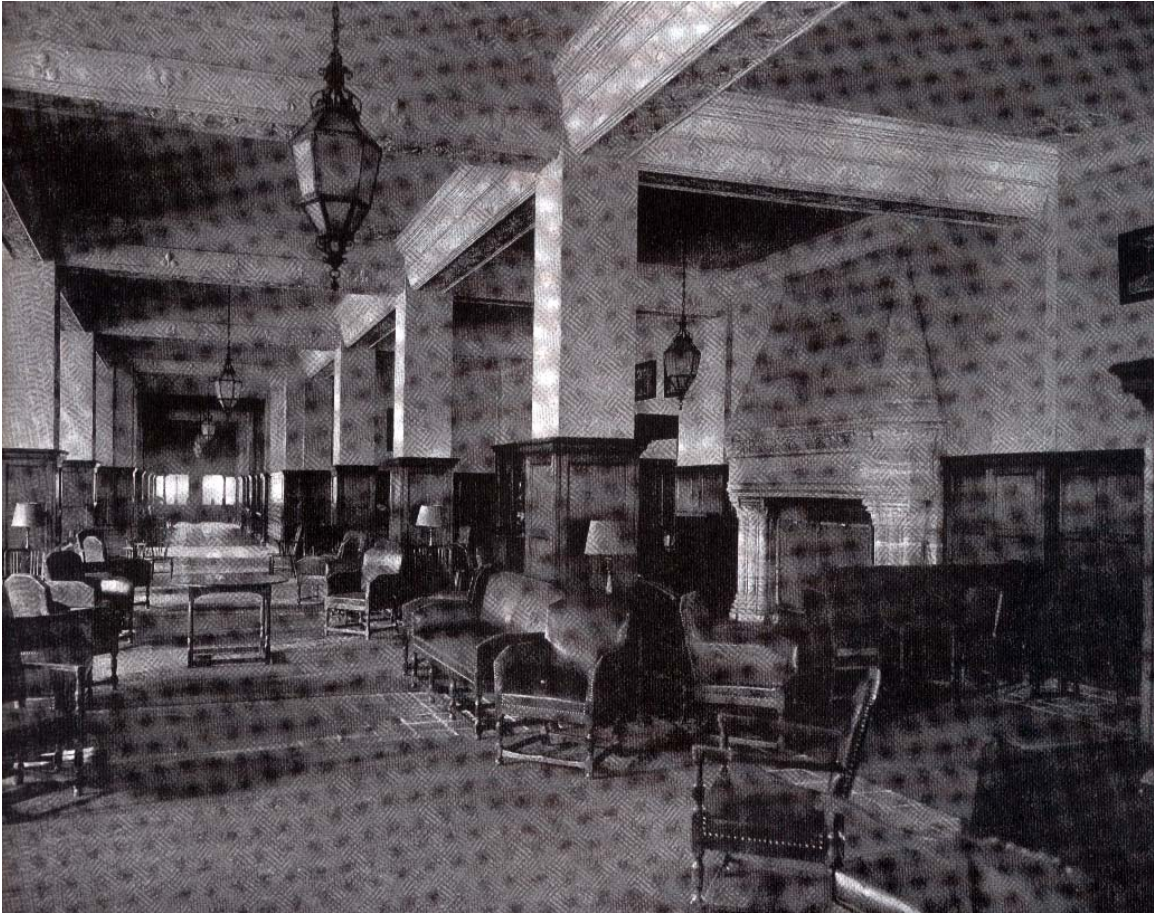


Figure 9. The open foyer at the Brooklyn YMCA allowed staff to easily supervise activities (source: Paula Lupkin, *Manhood Factories*, p131).

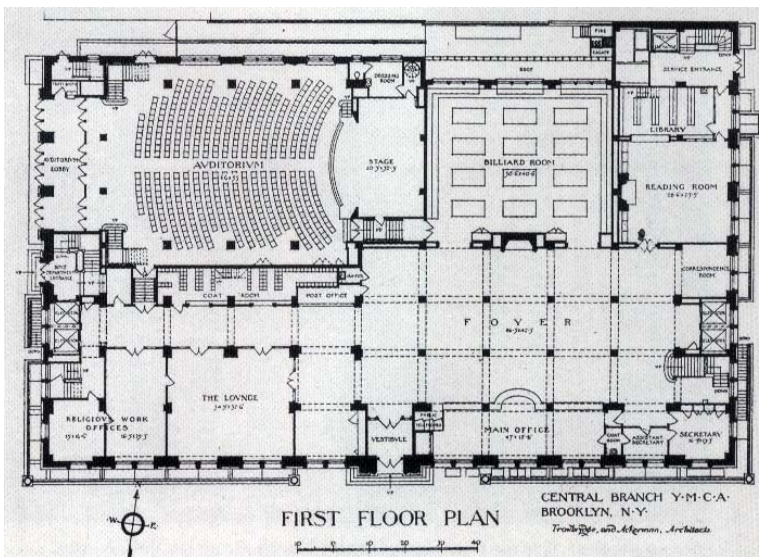


Figure 10. First-floor plan of the Brooklyn YMCA (source: Paula Lupkin, *Manhood Factories*, p130).

Underpinning the spatial order of the New York YMCA was a plan for visual surveillance. Association members and new arrivals would all enter through the reception room. This threshold, adjacent to the main circulation core, controlled access to rooms reserved for members. Thus, the director and his staff could monitor activities through the movement of men. Later YMCA buildings also strove to survey the movements of its members but did so in a variety of ways. The YMCA in Brooklyn, for example, replaced enclosed parlors with an open foyer that architects Trowbridge and Ackerman modeled after a hotel lobby (Figure 9 and 10).⁵⁵ This lobby, unlike Victorian hallways, gave staff in the main office visual and acoustic control of the large social area and, much like the reception room at the old New York Y, views of key circulation points. Therefore, entrances to the billiards room, the auditorium, the reading room, and the lounge were under direct supervision.

As the prevailing ideas about the socialization of young men took hold, YMCAs adapted the types and aesthetics of the rooms to accommodate a broader base of activities and services. Billiards rooms were made elegant but were not, like parlors of the nineteenth century, decorated with bric-a-brac. Dormitory rooms had modern amenities such as radiators and central lighting but lacked elegant crown moldings and overstuffed upholstery. When possible, the walls between corridors and rooms gave way to colonnades. Employment departments expanded office space. Billiards and games, lodging, open social rooms, and additional offices consequently joined the auditoriums, reading rooms, and lounges of the previous era.⁵⁶ The expansion of services suited college and university campuses because similar broad-minded programs that targeted leisure, housing, and employment were a part of college life.

Academic leaders had persuaded themselves that athletics, social clubs, fraternities, and debating, literary, and music societies should be coordinated. Without constructive channels for socialization, administrators and faculty had witnessed rowdiness and a preoccupation with undesirable extracurricular activities. With supervision, administrators thought, appropriate social activities could civilize students.⁵⁷ Leaders of the YMCA student movement saw in the elevation of social standards an opportunity to make inroads onto college campuses. Through fraternal exchange and camaraderie, the Y could bind college experiences together and create a community of men with a shared student culture.⁵⁸

Religious societies of various kinds had been a vital part of American campus life, but the YMCA organized students from various denominations into a single Christian entity. These chapters, like their urban counterparts, served men who were away from home and Christian in the broadest sense. Thus, the YMCA's mission to socialize men for productive adulthood mirrored efforts elsewhere, whereas on campus their effort focused on a short but formative period of a young man's life.

The YMCA Intercollegiate Association, founded with just over one thousand members in 1877 when only 26 campuses had organizations, helped promote the student

⁵⁵ Lupkin, p131.

⁵⁶ See Lupkin, Chap. 4, "Bedrooms, Billiards, and Basketball: Retooling the YMCA," pp111-135.

⁵⁷ For a succinct description of student culture, see Christopher Lucas, *American Higher Education: A History* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1994), pp200-204.

⁵⁸ Hopkins, p278.

movement. Students first ran YMCAs at the University of Virginia and the University of Michigan, and Howard University, Cornell, Lawrence College, and the University of Wisconsin at Madison were quick to follow.⁵⁹ Although activities of these chapters principally promoted spiritual growth, they also made inroads into the social life of campus. In an activity categorized as “individual work,” older students would concentrate on integrating freshmen into the YMCA network. Instead of Bible study, returning students would welcome new students with hearty handshakes and introduce them to rooms and to one another.⁶⁰ Students at the University of California, Berkeley, for example, would greet trains downtown before new arrivals had a chance to set foot on campus.⁶¹ Many student YMCA chapters would place booklets in the hands of every new student, thus arming them with resourceful tips about the YMCA, religious meetings, the campus, and local surroundings. Some booklets even contained maps and building plans.

The handbooks published by the YMCAs at the University of Wisconsin and the University of California were slim, pocket-sized pamphlets of finely printed pages. Because they fit easily into a coat or purse, they served as handy guides. For the newcomer, these books contained valuable social information. At the University of Wisconsin, male freshmen would be forewarned about conduct and class dress and prompted to dutifully read bulletin boards, learn school chants, and buy merchandise with school colors. In contrast, Wisconsin’s handbook prompted women to choose activities carefully and to participate only in activities in which they did well. The University of California’s handbook published school yells and colors, the athletic record, and a list of local private boarding and rooming houses. Local churches and descriptions of YMCA activities were also judiciously provided, but the handbooks put a strong emphasis on the secular side of student life. For a character like “Speedy” in the 1925 Harold Lloyd film *The Freshman*, these publications primed new students with school yells and demystified what would have been an unfamiliar environment to many incoming freshmen. The handbooks recorded for perpetuity the standards of conduct and traditions that the administration and the students agreed on. In the spirit of volunteerism and under the guise of “individual work,” the Y became the de facto institution and guardian of student culture at the turn of the twentieth century.

While YMCAs on college campuses printed handbooks, welcomed students, and recruited new members, they also sought space on campus. Hopkins writes that “like city Associations, college YMCAs learned the value of attractive surroundings.”⁶² Instead of dingy classrooms with blackboards and hard benches, energetic college Associations sought to emulate student literary, debating, and fraternal societies by securing more beautifully furnished and strategically located rooms. When possible, YMCA chapters constructed new buildings, which was a popular and much sought after option.⁶³ The

⁵⁹ Howard Hopkins, pp37, 38, 271, 275. See also history of Stiles Hall, Dorothy Thelen Clemens, *Standing Ground and Starting Point: One Hundred Years of the YWCA* (Berkeley: University YWCA, 1990), p7, which describes the first Ys as originating in the Midwest at the Normal School in Normal, Illinois.

⁶⁰ Hopkins, p284.

⁶¹ Dorothy Thelen Clemens, *Standing Ground and Starting Point: One Hundred Years of the YWCA* (Berkeley: University YWCA, 1990).

⁶² Hopkins, p288.

⁶³ Hopkins, p288.

student YMCA at Princeton was the first to construct a building. In 1879, Princeton's facilities consisted of two rooms with space in between that doubled as a coatroom and a hallway. One room served as the library and reading room, while the second provided space for meetings.⁶⁴ Other colleges – including Hanover, Yale, the University of Toronto, Cornell, and Hamilton – quickly built their own Ys, sparking a YMCA building boom on college campuses. Like the religious fervor of revivals, the construction of campus YMCAs spread quickly.

The University of California, Berkeley, constructed its Y in 1882 when Mrs. Anson Stiles gave the young organization funds to build a structure that became known as Stiles Hall. Located near an entrance on the south side of campus, the Y held a prominent position by serving as a welcoming and vibrant community center that bridged the academic and social lives of students.⁶⁵ Faculty showed interest when Y leaders campaigned for student financial aid.⁶⁶ Students flooded the lounges and large assembly rooms for extracurricular activities and study. Furthermore, as with many young college associations, the Berkeley YMCA and Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) shared the two-story masonry building with each other and with a variety of university activities. The YWCA, with fewer student members, used the rooms on the second floor adjacent to the large auditorium, which the Glee Club, Berkeley professors, and outside groups happily used, sometimes for a small fee.⁶⁷ The YMCA occupied rooms on the ground floor, where the organization maintained a library and several lounges. Although separated by floor, men and women shared resources. Inside, students enjoyed a basement-level lunchroom. Upstairs, students found much-needed information about employment and local boarding and rooming houses, many of which were nearby on the south side of campus.⁶⁸ The most frequent social engagements were segregated board meetings, teas, and open houses, but students also collaborated on coed events such as costume parties on Halloween.⁶⁹ Between Bible study and committee meetings, students filled rooms with activity, establishing Stiles Hall as the unofficial student center on campus.⁷⁰

The general secretary of the Y at the University of Wisconsin, inspired by the burgeoning population of students at the turn of the century, led the campaign to build a university YMCA at Madison through alumni subscriptions.⁷¹ Completed in 1905, the five-story brick building on Langdon Street had an equally prime location next to the campus gymnasium and Lake Mendota. However, Wisconsin's building had a greater

⁶⁴ Hopkins, pp288, 289.

⁶⁵ Dorothy Thelen Clemens, *Standing Ground and Starting Point: One Hundred Years of the YWCA* (Berkeley: University YWCA, 1990), pp8, 26.

⁶⁶ Clemens, p27.

⁶⁷ Clemens, p9.

⁶⁸ See Sanborn maps of Berkeley in 1914.

⁶⁹ Clemens, p68.

⁷⁰ There was another layer to UC Berkeley's social scene: North Hall and the Senior Women's Building. At a glance, these buildings served the men's and women's governing bodies, but their relationship to Stiles Hall is not clear. It is important to acknowledge, however, that Stephens Hall replaced the YMCA as well as North Hall and certain activities in Senior Women's Hall.

⁷¹ *University of Wisconsin Handbook*, published by the YMCA, 1922-1923, p27 (University Archives, University of Wisconsin, Madison).

variety of rooms for its members than did the Y at Berkeley. In 1916, the main floor had an open lobby, a billiards room, a newspaper and magazine room, an auditorium, and offices for the daily newspaper and the YMCA administration. By 1922, leaders had built an information desk and made provisions for a public typewriter, a post office, school supplies, telephones, and a refreshment counter (Figure 11).⁷² Volumes of fiction and current magazines were kept on file for members to browse, and a piano and writing desks were readily available for use.⁷³ The main first-floor parlor, visible from the main entry hall, faced Lake Mendota (Figure 12). For the men who read, socialized, and played games there, it was handsomely furnished with reading lamps, davenports, and easy chairs. Small details – ferns, rubber plants, canaries, and decorative moldings – alluded to home and gave men subtle cues regarding the behavioral norms expected by Association leaders (Figure 13).⁷⁴

Like Stiles Hall at the University of California, Berkeley, Madison's building provided food, recreation, and basic necessities. As early as 1907, a three-lane bowling alley and lunchroom occupied the basement.⁷⁵ This space was used principally for daily meals but was turned over to more refined celebrations on special occasions. Beneath the water and steam pipes, men and women would attend banquets together (Figure 14). Upstairs on the second floor, members used a 600-person auditorium and several committee rooms for play performances and regular business. By the 1920s, however, YMCA leaders had divided the second floor into a Cabinet room and a Green room, as well as a ladies' washroom, signaling a shift in clientele and types of social activities.⁷⁶ The remaining portion of the second floor, as well as the third, fourth, and fifth floors, had dormitories for men, which was Madison's way of addressing student housing needs.⁷⁷ Because leadership adapted the spaces to meet the needs of the campus community, the university Y at Madison remained the center of campus activities.

⁷² *University of Wisconsin Handbook*, published by the YMCA, 1922-1923, p28 (University Archives, University of Wisconsin, Madison).

⁷³ *University of Wisconsin Handbook*, published by the YMCA, 1922-1923, p29 (University Archives, University of Wisconsin, Madison).

⁷⁴ *University of Wisconsin Handbook*, published by the YMCA, 1922-1923, p29 (University Archives, University of Wisconsin, Madison).

⁷⁵ *University of Wisconsin Handbook*, published by the YMCA, 1907, p42. In 1922, the bowling alley gave way to a larger public cafeteria (1922, p29) (University Archives, University of Wisconsin, Madison).

⁷⁶ *University of Wisconsin Handbook*, published by the YMCA, 1907, p42, and 1922, p29 (University Archives, University of Wisconsin, Madison).

⁷⁷ *University of Wisconsin Handbook*, published by the YMCA, 1924-1925, p29 (University Archives, University of Wisconsin, Madison).



Figure 11. The front desk of the YMCA building at the University of Wisconsin (source: courtesy of the University Archives, University of Wisconsin, Madison).

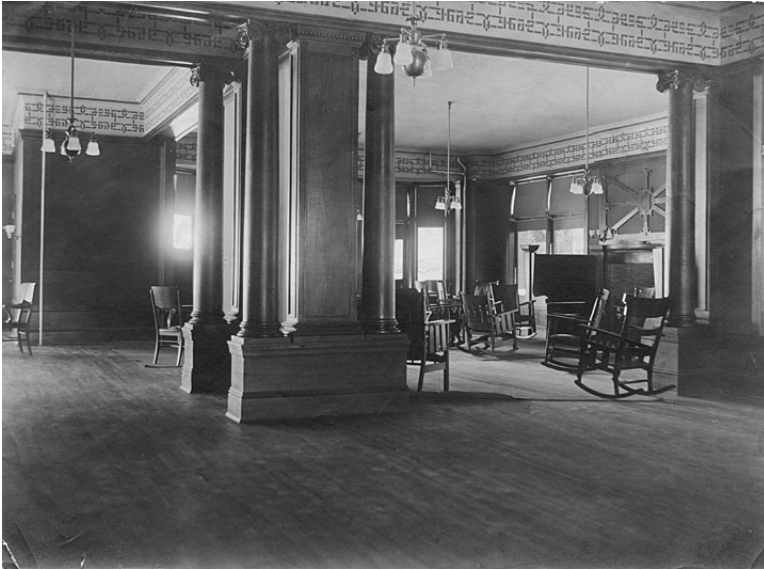


Figure 12. The first floor of the YMCA building at the University of Wisconsin resembles the open foyer of the Brooklyn YMCA (source: courtesy of the University Archives, University of Wisconsin, Madison).



Figure 13. Men playing games and reading on the first floor of the University of Wisconsin YMCA, circa 1919 (source: courtesy of the University Archives, University of Wisconsin, Madison).



Figure 14. The basement cafeteria during a formal luncheon in 1914, University of Wisconsin YMCA (source: courtesy of the University Archives, University of Wisconsin, Madison).

In addition to Bible study and board meetings – typical activities of YMCA chapters – the Y at Madison opened its doors to secular student activities. The upstairs meeting rooms were lent to campus organizations upon application, and the first floor was eventually rented to the Student Union.⁷⁸ Moreover, at the Y, the student-run newspaper produced each edition, athletic trophies were put on display, and theatrical societies staged plays. Thus, the Y at Madison served the secular interests of students as much as it did their religious needs. Socials for men, coed dances, and a litany of student groups were organized under the supervision of the YMCA leadership. The Y at the University of Wisconsin served as the de facto Student Union.

YMCA leaders at the University of Wisconsin were astutely aware of the students' recreational needs and had stretched programs far beyond Bible study to accommodate the diverse, dynamic interests of student groups. During the 1920s, the leaders of the YMCA even mapped out how a new building could provide a larger cafeteria, housing for international students, rooms for visiting parents, clubrooms, and a

⁷⁸ *University of Wisconsin Handbook*, 1922, but many other YMCA buildings lent space to student groups (University Archives, University of Wisconsin, Madison).

movie theater.⁷⁹ But while the YMCA was making its plans, Student Union leaders were developing their own.

Union proponents certainly looked to Oxford and Cambridge for their institutional origins, but Unions built in North America and campus YMCA buildings offered Union proponents a wide range of ideas as well. Pioneer Union buildings like Hart House, Houston Hall, and the Ohio Union gave the Association clear examples to broadcast and discuss, but the campus YMCA, whose Intercollegiate Association helped establish chapters and construct buildings, gave students and administrators in their local settings a tangible model to follow. Because Ys often served as de facto Student Unions, offering food, a place to read or play games, and space for student organizations, many of the Union buildings of the 1920s and 1930s were merely larger versions of the YMCA.

In Wisconsin and California, the secular programs and activities of the Y would find a new institutional home in Student Unions. This shift would cement the discourse of social education, not religious moral codes of conduct, as the model for student behavior and culture. The shift would also give Student Unions a foothold on campus as social institutions and buildings in their own right.

1.3 Student Union Buildings in the 1920s and 1930s

Berkeley and Madison modeled their Student Union buildings on YMCAs and the pioneer Union buildings, but the spaces of the Student Union were far from being set. Student Union directors and university presidents deliberated about the form and program of buildings throughout the 1920s and 1930s, striving to define the ideal architectural type. Representatives from several Student Unions responded to a survey about the programs, policies, and spaces afforded by their Student Unions in 1923.⁸⁰ Because many schools built their Unions without the direct knowledge of other buildings, or cobbled together existing buildings to make a Union program, the survey asked a variety of candid questions about activities, costs, and facilities. In earnest, and with a strong belief in the social sciences, members of the Association of Student Unions sought to understand the reciprocity between social education and architecture.

The twenty participating schools were not hesitant to critique the shortcomings of their facilities. The leadership at the Ohio Union claimed the design of the building suffered from having no architectural precedents in North America. They thought that, similar to many other universities, a large banquet hall and more offices would benefit the student body. The Faunce House at Brown, another old Union, had a cafeteria and a grill on the same floor. Leaders there thought that separating the dining facilities would be a more suitable arrangement and that students should also have a large auditorium. Stephens Hall at the University of California, which in 1923 had not yet been open a full year, already needed more space for the cafeteria and student activities offices. Regardless of the specific complaint, the small sizes of Unions were universally

⁷⁹ *University of Wisconsin Handbook*, published by the YMCA, 1922-1923, p29 (University Archives, University of Wisconsin, Madison).

⁸⁰ Twenty schools responded for publication in the 1923 Association of College Unions Convention Proceedings.

criticized. However, none of the Union representatives desired anything out of the ordinary, sticking instead to the familiar lounges, offices, game rooms, ballrooms, and cafeterias afforded by many YMCA buildings.

The questionnaire also asked schools what they considered to be the most essential features of their Union buildings. California thought committee rooms, lounging rooms, game rooms, and a large open space for dances were the most important attributes of Stephens Hall. The University of Illinois and the University of Chicago listed large reading rooms as necessary components and thought that separate areas for women and billiards rooms made Unions function better. Others, such as Purdue and Ohio, reiterated the need for billiards and game rooms but added the cafeteria as one of the most important parts of the building and program. Only one school mentioned tobacco and candy stands, and another mentioned an art studio. Despite a few deviations, the results of this survey signaled a fairly well established national pattern. But the process of establishing a building type for Unions was far from finished.

In 1925, the Association of College Unions went further and published desirable activities for the complete Union.⁸¹ Compiled from lists of all activities that any Union deemed advisable or that it actually offered, the Association crafted an ideal, although fictional, program for a Union. But to properly and completely perform and care for essential social activities on campus, a Union building would need more than forty types of spaces! These rooms ranged in size and purpose from alumni offices to barber shops, candy counters, dance halls, locker rooms, music rooms, post offices, radio broadcasting rooms, smoking rooms, and trophy rooms.⁸² With art rooms and bowling alleys on the list, the scale and scope of Unions had far surpassed Unions in England, which at most, by 1925, had only seven types of spaces.⁸³ By thinking large, North American Union leadership created a substantial design problem for campus visionaries and architects.

Reports of renovations and updates peppered the pages of the Association Bulletin, where schools celebrated milestones. Many established Unions revamped and brightened interior rooms by replacing carpet, upholstery, and drapes and by adding a fresh coat of paint. Others replaced and regrouped furniture to make the Union rooms more informal, transforming the dreary study room into a lively magazine and game room.⁸⁴ Leaders hoped to keep students interested in the Unions. Even President Van Hise of the University of Wisconsin thought the Union should be “commodious and

⁸¹ See Association of College Unions Convention Proceedings, 1925, p30 (National Student Affairs Archives, Bowling Green State University).

⁸² President J.E. Walters' complete list: alumni offices, art room, union administrative offices, banquet rooms, bowling alleys, barbershop and tailor shop, cafeteria, committee and conference rooms, cigar, candy and news counters, co-operative student store, chapel and meditation room, dining hall, dance hall, debating hall, faculty rooms, game room for cards, chess, checkers, hotel rooms, information and employment bureau, library, locker room and check room, general lounge room, men's lounge room, women's lounge room, magazine and newspaper room, music room, organization offices for activities headquarters, pool and billiards room, branch post office, reading room, reception rooms, restrooms, radio broadcasting room, soda fountain, shoe shining stand, smoking room, show and bath rooms, theater, toilets, writing room, YMCA rooms, and athletics not otherwise provided for.

⁸³ English Unions surveyed included the Cambridge Union Society, Glasgow Union, Belfast Union, The Dublin Historical Society, and the Oxford Union (The Association of College Unions Convention Proceedings, 1925, National Student Affairs Archives, Bowling Green State University).

⁸⁴ *The Bulletin of Association of College Unions*, January, 1933, p2.

beautiful, comfortable, even artistically furnished” because these interior qualities would steer students away from the coarse attractions of town and lure them into productive leisure. With such noteworthy reports and professed opinions, Student Union proponents and designers were mindful of interior decor and of the use of each room.

Irving Pond, who designed the Union at Purdue and the Women’s League at the University of Michigan, published the first professional article on planning a Union in 1931. As an architect, he was primarily concerned with program and how to reconcile conflicting interests concerning the allocation of rooms and spaces.⁸⁵ In his analysis, he expressed that it was always difficult for a university administration to determine which aspects of the program would be income producing or which aspects of the architecture would give character to the building. Therefore, he contended that any university serious about the success of its Union should hire an architect versed in the sciences of psychology, sociology, economics, and in his words, “the art of living.”⁸⁶

If living were an art on campus, it came from scrupulous planning and a basic set of spaces. In his essay “The College Union,” Pond authoritatively discussed the use and potential of lobbies, offices, check and toilet rooms, lounges, cafeterias, dining rooms, committee rooms, assembly rooms, kitchens, libraries, game rooms, barber shops and beauty parlors, quiet rooms, storage rooms, and theater facilities. Through these environments, he painted a backdrop for the everyday and upscale celebrations that would reinforce social norms. Upholstery and wood paneling, much like the formal spaces of the Hart House, covered the furniture and walls of the lounges and large gathering spaces. These rooms, often with double-height ceilings, hosted formal occasions. Cafeterias and game rooms were stripped of expensive materials but not their power to foster collegial socialization. Informal spaces only reinforced social expectations harbored in more opulent settings. Thus, for Pond, it was the suite of spaces, not a single room, that bore the burden of social education. And it was from this that a particular combination of rooms became the signature of early Student Union buildings: lounges, game rooms, cafeterias or lunch stands, and sometimes a ballroom.⁸⁷

Careful analysis of student Union buildings constructed during the 1920s and early 1930s reveals the underlying logic for social education. Pond’s first concern centered on gender segregation. Billiards rooms were for men. Ballrooms were for upstanding social occasions in which chaperones would uphold appropriate social exchanges. Lounges were for a variety of activities, including reading, music, small lectures, a quiet game of cards, and meetings. Pond believed that coeducational Unions should provide separate lounges for men and women as well as appropriate spaces for them to mingle, such as a concourse or a lobby. Ideas about gender specificity and segregation reached all aspects of the program. Pond observed that women naturally congregated in the restroom, and for this reason, restrooms should not only be made available on each floor adjacent to a main lobby but be made ample for rest and informal socialization. Similarly, in his view, men naturally gravitated toward game rooms. This recapitulated the way many institutions segregated gender and reinforced gender norms.

⁸⁵ Irving Pond, “The College Union” in *Architectural Forum*, June 1931, pp771-778.

⁸⁶ Pond, p771.

⁸⁷ Understandably, the ideal Student Union was rarely achieved because of practical constraints, but schools likened variability to a well-tailored suit designed for a specific student body.

A perfectly sensible plan for Union builders would be to divide the building in half, with dedicated rooms on one side for women’s activities and on the other side for men’s activities (Figure 15 and 16).

Along with Pond, university administrators and Union directors were concerned about the most appropriate way to mix the sexes. Earlier College Unions had largely been men’s Unions, but the number of Unions on campus was rising and women increasingly found enjoyment being among men. With men and women segregated into different rooms, Union staff and university administrators believed they could better oversee the development of coed social conduct as though they were parents tending to child development.

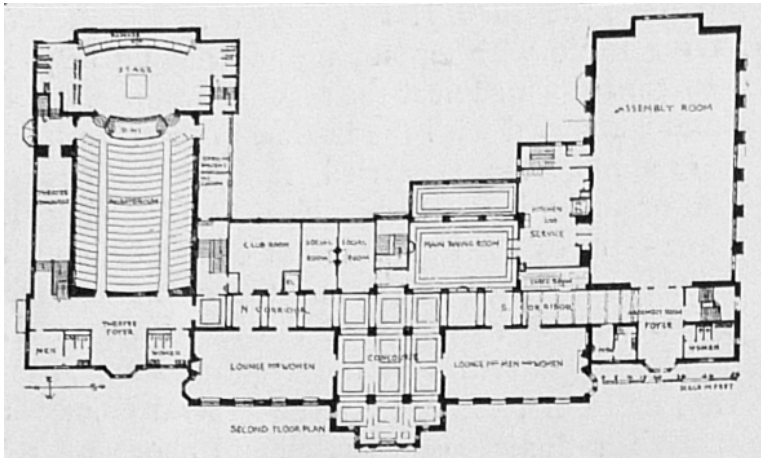


Figure 15. First-floor plan of the Women’s League Building at the University of Michigan, completed in 1931 by Pond and Pond, gave women a lounge (left), men a suite of rooms, and provided a separate entrance near the assembly room (far right) (source: Irving Pond, *Architectural Forum*, June 1931, p774).



Figure 16. The women’s lounge in the Women’s League Building at the University of Michigan appointed with upholstered furniture and showing direct access to the foyer (source: Irving Pond, *Architectural Forum*, June 1931, p776).

Pond’s manifesto also labored over the social divisions between the staff and students, as well as the use of the Union by non-members or outsiders. For example, Pond thought non-members would be most welcome when they used a separate entrance to the dining room or theater. Under this arrangement, they would not intrude on

members-only spaces (Figure 15). Similarly, support staff, such as cafeteria cashiers, line servers, and cooks, should have their own offices, storage, and amenities near the kitchen. This physical separation kept a clear division between white-collar staff who attended to the psychological and social well-being of students and blue-collar staff who cooked, cleaned, and performed maintenance. The making of these divisions – between men and women, staff, and outsiders – was the reinforcement of a social hierarchy found in upper-class homes of the nineteenth century.

But because women were new and increasingly frequent users of Student Union buildings, Union directors and their architects adapted the program to suit both men and women and the needs of individual campuses. At Purdue, for example, Pond and Pond designed a union with few but well-planned amenities for male undergraduates. Completed in 1930, the building did not have gym facilities, a great dining hall, or a quadrangle as found in the Hart House. Instead, the building had a large commercial kitchen and cafeteria, a barbershop, a billiards room, and guest rooms on a basement level and a ballroom, additional guest rooms, and an open lobby on the first floor. These first-floor rooms created a three-sided exterior courtyard that was casually open to the campus. The reduction of the interior volume and program also gave way to new spatial arrangements. With an open first-floor plan, similar to the Brooklyn YMCA lobby, Pond and Pond created a layered set of spaces that allowed the visual supervision of activities by staff positioned at the central desk (Figure 17). Thus, the grandeur of Purdue's colonnade and double-height space, a simplification of the Hart House's varied rooms, served a dual purpose: to elevate and supervise men's leisure activities, especially in the company of women (Figure 17 and 18).⁸⁸

⁸⁸ "Purdue University Memorial Union Building" in *Architectural Forum*, June 1931, pp713-16.

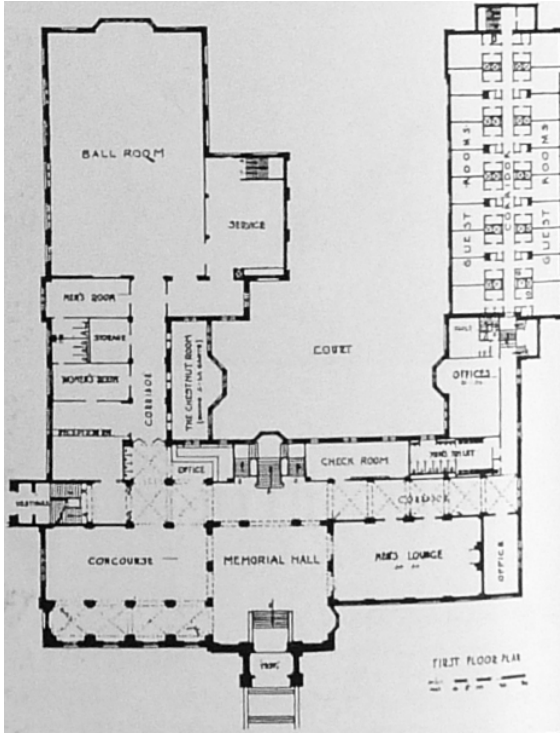


Figure 17. First-floor plan of the Purdue Union by architects Pond and Pond showing the open concourse and possibilities for visual surveillance from the main desk (source: Irving Pond, *Architectural Forum*, June 1931, p714).



Figure 18. Main lounge of the Purdue Union looking into the concourse (source: Irving Pond, *Architectural Forum*, June 1931, p716).

In contrast, the Memorial Union at the University of Wisconsin allocated the bulk of its spaces to men but acknowledged the presence and interest of women by including a lounge and tearoom. Thus, like the Women’s League Building, the state architect, Arthur

Peabody, integrated women into the building program by accommodating them in separate spaces. All of this meant that schools were grappling with the socialization of male and female students as they developed the architecture for Student Unions. Any amount or arrangement of discrete social spaces for men and women was borrowed from familiar social institutions. The most familiar setting was home.

The Union architecture at Wisconsin bore the signs of what Union proponents would call the “campus living room.” Thus, despite Peabody’s intention to build a lighthearted interpretation of a great Italian palazzo that harkened back to the buildings and interiors of the wealthy society of Venice, the monumental building was “home.”⁸⁹ Lake Mendota was by no means a Venetian canal nor were the terrazzo floors marble, but the symmetrical design of the three-part plan and the grand staircase gave way to homey interiors, thanks to Wisconsin’s interior decorator, Leon Pescheret.

Pescheret, a leading Chicago interior designer, formed a professional perspective on Union buildings while working on the Wisconsin Union. Instead of creating an environment that reflected the personality of a single client, he designed for a complex institution whose membership included administrators, faculty, staff, and students he found to be especially congenial, friendly, and unostentatious. Orchestrating the institutional identity, history, and personalities of students guided Pescheret’s decisions about drapes, furniture, and fixtures.⁹⁰ When speaking at Association conventions, he described his professional approach as he educated Union proponents about the merits of interior design.⁹¹

For Wisconsin, Pescheret sought to counter Peabody’s formal Italianate building with bright colors and themed rooms. The main rooms had the most formal and refined interiors. The exterior grand staircase led Union members to the large lounge, library, and music room. Above this, Peabody had placed the great alumni hall, which was intended for banquets, balls, and special occasions. But beyond these rooms, Pescheret exercised his sensibilities about designing what he thought should be playful and comfortable environments. The tearoom, with flat marble pilasters and sea green walls, for example, suited feminine tastes, while the spacious double-height dining room, treated with high-paneled wainscoting, served masculine tastes (Figure 19). Moreover, a space called the Rathskeller was tucked in on the ground floor and had vaulted ceilings painted in what Pescheret called “Alte Deutsch.” Dimly lit and exclusively for men, the Rathskeller had a tap room, a billiards and card room, a trophy hall, and a cafeteria (Figure 20). These unique spaces, which departed from Peabody’s formal design, linked social behavior and gender identity to architecture, leaving the formal environments for supervised coed socialization.

The mixture of German and Italianate styles was a distinctly American way of handling a mixture of cultures. At Wisconsin, these styles helped code rooms for specific social behaviors. When these styles are considered in combination with the other rooms,

⁸⁹ Arthur Peabody, “The Memorial Union Building, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin” in *The American Architect*, July 5, 1929, Vol CXXXVI No 2572, pp1-8, (p6).

⁹⁰ *The Bulletin of the Association of College Unions*, January 1933, p2.

⁹¹ The Association of College Unions Convention Proceedings, 1929, p13 (National Student Affairs Archives, Bowling Green State University).

the overall effect of the interior design was of a fantastical yet home-like environment.⁹² The Old Madison Room, for example, was decorated with exact replicas of engravings and watercolors of Madison and the university from 1857 to 1870, and its historical scenes framed banquets, dances, conferences, and bridge parties. In contrast, the Paul Bunyan Room, timbered in weathered Wisconsin oak with pegged-wood framing, created a casual and comfortable game room. The variety of room sizes and furnishings cast a wide net of familiarity for students to absorb and settle into. References to local history built up community identity and individual comfort in Union facilities. With generous and eclectic cultural references, the visionaries hoped that the familiarity and ease of use of the Union would instill feelings of belonging and “home” while instructing students on appropriate social behavior.



Figure 19. Tripp Commons at the Wisconsin Union circa 1950 (source: courtesy of the University Archives, University of Wisconsin, Madison).

⁹² See “Short History of Memorial Union” (University Archives, University of Wisconsin, General Files of Porter Butts [Series 26 11 1 Box 1]).



Figure 20. The Rathskeller pictured in 1933 as men gather for drink, conversation, and games (source: courtesy of the University Archives, University of Wisconsin, Madison).

1.4 The “Campus Living Room” in California

Through the use and decoration of each space, early Student Unions in California similarly instructed students on appropriate social behavior, although their size paled in comparison to buildings constructed elsewhere. Instead of grand ballrooms and impressive memorial halls for large dances and reunions, the architecture of California’s Unions made good use of both the finest materials and the outdoors. In California, they also, unlike their Midwestern counterparts, catered to commuting students, who represented the largest population of students on campus. Commuting students posed different problems for the guardians of social behavior.

At UCLA, a wealthy and self-appointed guardian of student culture, Mrs. William G. Kerckhoff, gifted the design, construction, and building furnishings of the Student Union in memory of her late husband, who had recognized the need for a non-academic building on the young Westwood campus. Boosters of the budding Los Angeles branch university courted the patronage of the Kerckhoffs, who had made their fortune in oil and utilities in the Los Angeles area. The campus of the southern branch of the University of California was in its infancy when the Kerckhoffs first toured the campus, and they thought that the upscale Westwood neighborhood would fail to provide the necessary

provisions for students. They believed that students needed a place to socialize between classes, get food, buy school supplies, and meet as a student government and social body.

Kerckhoff was granted free rein over the design of the project, as were the donors of many wholesale gifts. She selected the architect and oversaw the construction of the Student Union building in its entirety. She intended that the new Union, located adjacent to the Education building, would provide students with the finest of interior spaces. When faculty and administrators objected to the quality of the building, claiming that such environments were unattainable for students, Kerckhoff replied that “nothing is more important than to surround the young with objects of beauty that they may, when leaving college, insist on making for themselves, and having, surroundings which are fine.”⁹³ With Mrs. Kerckhoff’s fine taste, the Union bore all the signs of an elegant social club. Terracotta tile paved the main floors, while wood paneling covered the walls of the men’s and women’s lounges, lobby areas and stairs, and dining rooms. Unique light fixtures and carpets gave ambiance to each room, but the most telling signs of Kerckhoff’s educational approach were in the windows.

In the men’s lounge, the canon of leisure activities and English universities glowed in the leaded glass windows. Medieval arms met billiards, bowling, and archery, tying the history of men’s social sports to modern recreation (Figures 21 and 22). The windows of the women’s lounge similarly displayed medallions of the first women’s colleges but also showed womanly pursuits that ranged from studying to archery (Figure 23). While the leaded windows in the lounges instructed students, didactic notes about gender ended with these windows. The surviving exterior windows share greater lessons in civilization. Nursery rhymes about food, for example, had a prominent position in the dining room. As instructions, these windows playfully educated students.

⁹³ Ernest Carroll Moore, *I Helped Make a University* (Los Angeles: Anderson and Ritchie, 1952), p127.



Figure 21. Windows of the men's lounge in Kerckhoff Hall depicting bowling, billiards, and archery (photograph by author, August 2010).

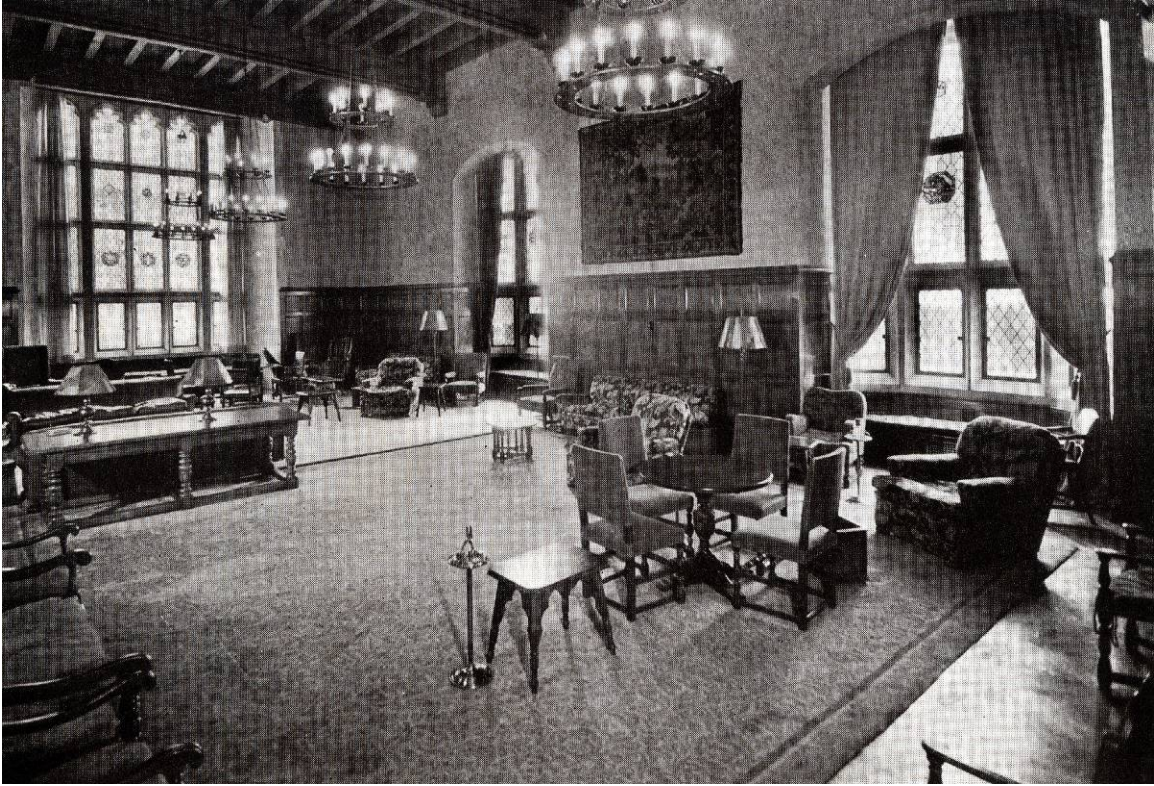


Figure 22. Men's lounge in Kerckhoff Hall (source: *Architectural Digest*, 1931-1933, Vol 8 No 2, p34).



Figure 23. Women's lounge in Kerckhoff Hall, circa 1940, showing leaded glass medallions and the popularity of the room as a study space (source: courtesy of the University Archives, University of California, Los Angeles).

Aside from Kerckhoff's instructive ornamentation, her architects, the firm of Allison and Allison, crafted a building that seamlessly combined interior and exterior spaces. David Clark Allison completed his architectural education at the University of Pennsylvania and dabbled in coursework before taking classes at the Ecole des Beaux-

Arts in Paris. In contrast, James Edward Allison gained hands-on building experience in Pittsburgh before partnering with his brother. In practice together between 1904 and 1942, they had established themselves as school builders by constructing several grammar schools and high schools for districts in Southern and Central California.⁹⁴ They also designed campus buildings for the State Normal School in Los Angeles, the original site for the Southern Branch of the University of California.⁹⁵ And just prior to the commission for Kerckhoff Hall, the firm completed the Friday Morning Club and the University Club in Los Angeles, two private clubs with refined social interiors. With varied experience in brick, adobe, and concrete construction, the firm was an obvious choice for the new UCLA campus in Westwood Village.

In UCLA's Student Union, the lowest floor contained the messiest of activities: cooking and eating. Students could find sustenance here in the cafeteria and grill. This floor also contained the lower level of the student-run bookstore, where students could replenish their supplies of ink and paper. The second floor contained the mezzanine level for the bookstore and the cafeteria as well as a trophy room and the men's lounge. The men's lounge and bookstore spilled onto a terrace nestled between wings of the Union and Education building, effectively linking these rooms by way of the exterior. The most prominent rooms on the third floor were the women's lounge and the faculty dining rooms. The former, like other spaces in the building, connected to a mezzanine in the men's lounge, thus completing the pattern of interlocking rooms. The exterior played a part as well. Below any exterior balcony were colonnades that shaded walkways and linked rooms together. Students entering the double-height bookstore from the main level could browse their way upstairs and reach a patio on the second floor (Figure 24). Similarly, men making use of the men's lounge could go upstairs to a terrace that was adjacent to a women's lounge. Thus, the daily use of the building might involve stepping in and out of the building at various places. As Allison and Allison predicted, the members of the Student Union opened the doors between the spaces to create a series of interconnected rooms for large socials and dances.

⁹⁴ See "Polytechnic High School and Manual Arts Building, Monrovia California," in *American Architect* (July 15, 1914, Vol 106); "High School, Santa Paula, California," in *American Architect* (August 5, 1914, Vol 106); "High School Group, Santa Monica, California," in *American Architect* (October 28, 1914, Vol 106); "Grammar School Building, Monrovia, California," in *American Architect* (December 2, 1914, Vol 106); "High School, Van Nuys, California," in *American Architect* (November 15, 1916, Vol 110); "Merced Union High School, Merced, California," in *American Architect* (January 23, 1918, Vol 113, pp47-48); "Grammar School, Glendora, California," in *Western Architect* (June 1918, Vol 27, pp48, 52); "High School at Santa Monica, California," in *Western Architect* (June 1918, Vol 27, pp46, 52, 11-15); "Grammar School, La Canada district, Los Angeles, California," in *American Architect* (August 14, 1918, Vol 114); and "Malaga Cove School, Palo Verdes Estates, California," in *Western Architect* (April 1928, Vol 37, pp65-66).

⁹⁵ See *American Architect* (July 15, 1914, Vol 106); *Architectural Forum* (April 1917, Vol 26, pp66-68); *Architect* (April 1918, Vol 15, pp68-69); and the Pacific Coast Architecture Database (PCAD).

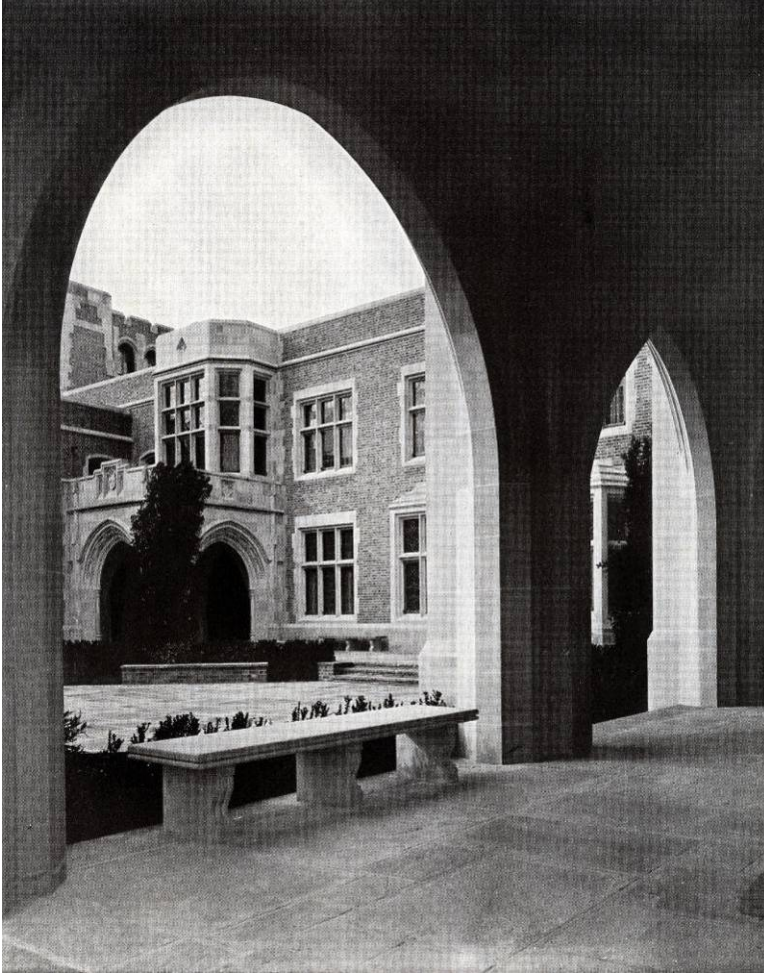


Figure 24. Courtyard of Kerckhoff Hall from the bookstore wing (source: *Architectural Digest*, 1931-1933, Vol 8 No 2, p30).

The porosity of UCLA's Kerckhoff Hall matched that of Stephens Union at Berkeley, but the latter's didactic strategy was less overt. Designed by John Galen Howard, Stephens Union negotiated a hillside site. The lowest level closest to Strawberry Creek contained the student bookstore and a mezzanine that connected the interior space to an exterior terrace. This terrace, used principally by men, was connected to the men's lounge (Figure 25). The women had a lounge of their own on the top floor. The north side of the building contained much-needed office space and a memorial lounge. This half of the building was used by alumni, student organizations, and Union staff. The passageway between the buildings organized the building into two volumes, one for the student lounges and the bookstore and the other for offices and the memorial lounge. The to and fro across the interior and exterior spaces displaced formality in the social life of its architecture, but it did not mean that Howard had assembled the building without a formal plan.



Figure 25. Men play chess on the terrace of Stephens Union circa 1928 (photograph by George E. Stone, courtesy of the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley [UARC PIC 10Y:28]).

Howard, like his counterparts back east, did not build his career as an architect of Student Union buildings. Rather, he was a campus architect who was versed in Beaux-Arts campus planning and a wide-ranging palette of building materials. His most celebrated buildings on the Berkeley campus – the Hearst Memorial Mining Building and Doe Memorial Library – are crafted of steel and stone, but Howard could also design with cheaper materials such as concrete and wood. He was, in other words, capable of working in a range from the high styles of Europe to the rustic Bay Area vernacular.⁹⁶ Trained at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, and in the offices of H. H. Richardson and McKim, Mead, and White, Howard arrived at Berkeley with a strong vision for the campus and its buildings. Although his first task was to make the winning scheme of Phoebe Hearst’s 1895 Campus Design Competition workable, by adapting the plan to Berkeley’s hilly terrain, Howard ultimately made his own mark, establishing a central core and constructing buildings in various architectural styles. The buildings lining the main axis were in a Beaux-Arts style. Buildings lining the creek, however, were typically in the Bay Region Style. With these styles came programmatic distinctions. High-style buildings were auditorium, classroom, and central administration buildings. Vernacular buildings often had social or utilitarian purposes. The Stephens Union building, by necessity of its site, bridged these approaches.

For Howard, buildings on campus were organized by symbolic and institutional importance. Wheeler Hall, because of its auditorium, and Doe Library, because of its collection, figured prominently in the plan. The faculty club, the men’s gymnasium, the women’s gymnasium, and the powerhouse were all located south of the creek near the edge of campus. Although Howard’s campus plan of 1914 dutifully described the YMCA as a “campus” building, the plan did not indicate the location of a Student Union.⁹⁷ Thus, because students and administrators identified a Student Union building as a pressing need, the campus community had to find a site.⁹⁸

Not unlike Student Union buildings in the Midwest, centrality was a key factor. Original ideas about the location for Berkeley’s Student Union building lost to its placement near the center of campus, in the vicinity of Old North Hall, where students had set up offices and a co-op in the basement of the building. In a compromise between faculty glade and the Campanile, Stephens Union found a home on the north bank of Strawberry Creek. Located between the classical core of campus and the informal areas, the architecture of Stephens Union was beholden to its site. Early sketches by Howard show an architect enthralled by the civic promise of student government. As elaborate as a distinguished city hall, this version envisioned the Student Union as a Baroque exercise in citizenship, flamboyant but suitable for the Beaux-Arts part of campus (Figure 26). The final building by Howard was less theatrical but equally attuned to architectural detail (Figure 27).

⁹⁶ Loren W. Partridge. *John Galen Howard and the Berkeley Campus: Beaux-Arts Architecture in the “Athens of the West”* (Berkeley: Berkeley Architectural Heritage Association, 1978), p5.

⁹⁷ Partridge, pp46-47.

⁹⁸ The administration formally celebrated the strength of the student government in the *Blue and Gold* in 1916 but did not mention a Student Union until the 1918 issue.



Figure 26. John Galen Howard’s preliminary sketch for UC Berkeley’s Student Union building, circa 1916 (source: John Galen Howard Collection, courtesy of the Environmental Design Archives, University of California, Berkeley).



Figure 27. View from the top of Doe Library shows Stephens Hall beside the Campanile shortly after its completion, circa 1924 (source: courtesy of the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley [UARC PIC 03:14]).

The final version of the Stephens Union design addressed first its prominent location on campus and then its program. One side of the building framed the Campanile, its quadrangle, and the principal academic areas of campus. The other side abutted the creek and faculty glade. Thus, its style – English Tudor – acknowledged the building’s formal role in the campus plan. While its impressive façade and substantial appearance addressed the solidity of Beaux-Arts architecture, the material and siting of the Union on

the banks of Strawberry Creek gave credence to its social function on campus. From the perspective of the campus plan, the design was an elegant solution.⁹⁹

The interior of the building was an opportunity for students and administrators to update the appearance of older student leisure spaces. Prior to the opening of Stephens Union, student government activities had been relegated to the basement of North Hall and more modest buildings like Senior Women's Hall, where women socialized and practiced the art of self-government.¹⁰⁰ These older buildings were the best solution of their time. Senior Women's Hall, in particular, made of wood, framed recreation as rustic, informal, and close to nature. Stephens Union, made of concrete in a Tudor Gothic style, was thus a radical departure from the intimacy students might have found in their older makeshift spaces or buildings. Although the lounges of Stephens were modestly decorated, the grandeur of the spaces celebrated student government and socialization. With more room, the men's and women's lounges served as both formal spaces – for meetings or banquets – and informal spaces for daily conversation and recreation (Figures 28, 29, and 30). The interiors made student government more visible.



Figure 28. The men's lounge decorated for the Junior Prom in 1925 (source: *The Blue and Gold*, p99).

⁹⁹ In the early 1920s, Howard's relationship to the university became tenuous, with Howard claiming that the administration was constructing buildings behind his back or by changing the location of buildings without his approval. In 1923, he attempted to resign. By 1924, the university terminated his position as supervising campus architect (refer to Howard's professional files in the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley and Sally Woodbridge, *John Galen Howard and the University of California: the Design of a Great Public University Campus* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002)).

¹⁰⁰ Margaretta Darnall, "Girton Hall: The Gift of Julia Morgan" in the *Chronicle of University of California*, Fall 1998 (p62) and pictured in *The Blue and Gold* (1913).



Figure 29. The men's lounge used as a banquet hall in 1929 (source: *The Blue and Gold*, p148).



Figure 30. The men's lounge used for a "senior singing" in 1935 (source: *The Blue and Gold*, p50).

Institutionalizing the food service was another key aspect of Stephens. Prior to the opening of Stephens Union, students operated "the joint," a co-op cafeteria and soda fountain complete with coffee and doughnuts. Somewhat makeshift in decor and campus location, it was a popular place for students to gather between classes.¹⁰¹ In Stephens students and their Union manager modernized the eating facilities. Patrons enjoyed light

¹⁰¹ *The Daily Californian*, January 13, 1922, p6.

lunches in the tearoom, which was carefully appointed with battleship linoleum in verdugray with a green border that when waxed looks like a hardwood floor, curtains, and tables painted gray with a red-and-blue stripe around the edges.¹⁰² The soda fountain, most popular for quick food service, was a separate food establishment that was located near the entrance of the bookstore. It accommodated thirty-eight patrons on white porcelain stools with oak seats and nickel trim. Soda jerks passed refreshments, a specialty being hot drinks, across a Tennessee marble counter made to harmonize with the Union's fixtures.¹⁰³ With more modern conveniences – ovens and steam kettles; dishwasher and sterilizer; and a combination mixer for mayonnaise, whipped cream, and French dressing – and a robust staff, the Union drew students in.¹⁰⁴ By the fall of 1922, the soda fountain and cafeteria were functioning at capacity during the noon hour, and plans were under way to improve the circulation through the food service areas.

Staff also kept a close watch over student behavior by monitoring room reservations and the daily wear and tear on the building. Groups like the University Bible Club and Young Communists League found little support for their activities as Union leadership at Berkeley held fast to university policies barring sponsorship of political and religious organizations.¹⁰⁵ These types of groups threatened the social order established by the student government and the general manager. But the biggest concern of the Union's general manager was the condition of the rooms, which he believed reflected and guided student behavior. General complaints during the 1930s pointed to the uninviting appearance of the building. Overuse of the women's restroom during lunch hours, for example, prompted staff to place an attendant in the room.¹⁰⁶ The advisory board also saw the building deteriorate from the lack of proper upkeep, believing that increased janitor service would alleviate the dirt and debris found on the stairs and floor, improve the appearance of furniture and windows, and keep the clubrooms free of old newspapers.¹⁰⁷ According to the advisory board, the building lacked overall, personality, life, and good housekeeping.¹⁰⁸ Although the advisory board did not think that large-scale renovations were necessary, they did propose small ways that staff might make the building more "home-like." Flowers cut from the university botanical gardens, indoor plants, and fires in the fireplace would suffice. These details, coupled with close supervision, would insure correct social behavior in the halls and terraces of Stephens Union.

¹⁰² *The Daily Californian*, November 7, 1922, p3, and August 25, 1922, p7.

¹⁰³ *The Daily Californian*, October, 18, 1922, p1.

¹⁰⁴ *The Daily Californian*, September 12, 1922, p1, reports four men on steam tables, eight cooks in kitchen.

¹⁰⁵ See series of memos from University of California President Papers, University Archives, Bancroft Library [CU-5 Series 2 1938:490].

¹⁰⁶ Letter to General Manager William Monahan from Dean of Women Lucy Ward Stebbins, March 12, 1936 (University of California President Papers, University Archives, Bancroft Library [CU5-5 Series 21935:490]).

¹⁰⁷ Letter to the Superintendent of Grounds and Buildings from Union General Manager, March 16, 1935 (University of California President Papers, University Archives, Bancroft Library [CU5-5 Series 21935:490]).

¹⁰⁸ Letter to President Sproul from Emily Eaton, chair the Stephens Union Advisory Board, March 8, 1935 (University of California President Papers, University Archives, Bancroft Library [CU5-5 Series 21935:490]).

Although Allison and Allison, with Mrs. Kerckhoff, and John Galen Howard had different approaches to the design of Student Unions, the buildings shared programs and the intention to guide and monitor student behavior. The thinking was in California and across the Midwest and Northeast that students should have a proper place to convene, whether it be for student government, cultural activities, or leisurely pursuits. This proper place bore the signs of the clubhouse in the 1920s and 1930s, which was a bourgeois or upper-class house transformed into an institutional setting.

1.5 The Student Union as a Home Away from Home

What was it about a club or a home-like atmosphere that made the “campus living room” so appealing to Student Union proponents? As architects, campus administrators, and Union professionals experimented with architectural form, an early idea about the Student Union building persisted. Professionals perennially described the Student Union building, no matter what form it took, as the campus living room. President Glenn Frank at the University of Wisconsin first uttered these words in 1904, when he made plain an idea that had probably already occurred to many other administrators. In Frank’s mind, if a Student Union were a “campus living room,” then the building would readily transform the university from a “house” into a “home of learning.”¹⁰⁹ In a similar vein, in 1925, Association President J. E. Walters would describe the Union as the “home” for the “university family.”¹¹⁰

The dissemination and widespread acceptance of the idea of the Union as home was crucial to Union builders and practitioners like Porter Butts, who enthusiastically promoted the idea as editor of Association publications and, as a College Union planning consultant, championed the idea. Professionals in the Union business, old and new, would thus read about the importance of the campus living room in the Association’s quarterly bulletin and perhaps repeat the idea at national conventions. In no place – bulletins or convention proceedings – did professionals debate the merit of “home” or “campus living room” as a guide for planning, building, and running a Student Union. No one openly challenged the viability of the living room as a metaphor. Instead, as later chapters of this study reveal, campus visionaries updated the idea of the living room as they updated Student Union buildings.

But the introduction of “home” and “living room” into the discourse of Student Union buildings is worth exploring. When Frank, and then Walters, made the fine-grained distinction between house and home, they called out the difference between a practical structure that shelters a family and the emotional feelings that bind a family together. If the university is conceived as a house, it is measured by the suitability of its physical plant for scholarly endeavors. If, however, the university is conceived as a home, it is measured by the quality of human relationships and emotional bonds that members of the academic community have with each other and to the campus. The shift

¹⁰⁹ President Glen Frank, n.d. (General Files of Porter Butts, University Archives, University of Wisconsin [series 26 11 1 box 1]).

¹¹⁰ Association of College Unions Convention Proceedings, 1925, p11 (National Student Affairs Archives, Bowling Green State University).

plainly, and astutely, gave credence to the social life and experience of college, and to the coed redefinition of campus life. And it gave administrators reason to dwell on social education.

Gwendolyn Wright, in *Moralism and the Model Home*, explores the moral underpinnings of domestic activities and home design.¹¹¹ In her analysis, gender plays a defining role in the social and spatial order of the house and household. But despite distinctions among the housewife, the husband, and the children, Wright recounts how the home was the site of social instruction and the rehearsal and definition of social norms. It is no surprise that college administrators at the turn of the twentieth century, brought up in proper Victorian homes, would liken the endeavors of the university to those they understood in childhood. The university, by the 1920s, had accepted its role of teaching not only arithmetic but also social skills deemed necessary in the world at large. But why single out the living room? Why this homey space and not another, such as the yard or the kitchen?

At the turn of the twentieth century, the middle and upper classes embraced smaller homes. These houses were technologically more complex and costly and had more invested in kitchen appliances and furnishings but were simpler in outline and ornament than their Victorian counterparts. The interiors of these smaller houses were also spatially more connected and alike in plan and appearance, especially compared with the larger, individualistic middle- and upper-class dwellings of the nineteenth century.¹¹² Although the rejection of large family homes was not wholesale, the majority of families, architects, builders, and social reformers accepted small homes as socially appropriate because these houses, in contrast, for example, with the bravado of Queen Anne detailing, symbolized a new social order. The home, along with the uniform aesthetics of new suburban neighborhoods, denoted an egalitarian social life for the community and ostensibly placed architecture and its upkeep, production, and social life at the social center of the modern industrialized world.¹¹³

The decrease in house size reconfigured the interior spaces. By 1900, small houses typically had only three rooms on the first floor: a living room, a dining room, and a kitchen. Thus, the front hall – the formal presentation and living area – was omitted from the spatial scheme, leaving the stairs directly in the living room.¹¹⁴ With the dining room sized to suit the average dining table and a kitchen designed to work as an efficient machine, the functions of rooms changed. There were no longer dedicated parlors to display prize possessions. Instead, furnishings not only reflected the latest department

¹¹¹ Gwendolyn Wright, *Moralism and the Model Home* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980).

¹¹² See also Katherine Grier's work, "Victorianism in the Modern Era: At Home in the Living Room, 1910-1930," in *Culture and Comfort: People Parlors, and Upholstery 1850-1930* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1988), p288, and "The Decline of the Memory Palace: The Parlor after 1890," in *American Home Life 1880-1930: A Social History of Spaces and Services* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1992), p66.

¹¹³ Wright, pp150, 247.

¹¹⁴ Wright, p244.

store catalogue but were also useful and comfortable.¹¹⁵ Consequently, entertaining took place in a combined set of spaces, open to one another, or was conducted outdoors.¹¹⁶

Katherine Grier observes that the parlors of the nineteenth century, once obtained by the middle class, were quickly critiqued as sacrificial space. They represented memory palaces, empty of life except on special occasions, and required a significant investment on the part of families.¹¹⁷ After 1900, as families opted to invest a large part of their discretionary income on automobiles, they literally took themselves outside, moving around in what Grier calls a portable façade. Thus, the rise of the living room as a middle-class environment coincided with new forms of leisure and socialization outside of the home. Rites of passage were professionalized as in, for example, “funeral directors” operating “funeral parlors.”¹¹⁸ Genteel rituals once reserved for parlors gradually diminished.

Even though the multipurpose “living room” harkened back to the all-purpose room of working-class families living in tenements or cottages, reformers, who disapproved of parlors, kept living rooms respectable.¹¹⁹ Advice magazines and books assisted the modern housewife by helping her select mass-produced home furnishings that showed the personality and aspirations of the family. The living room was to reflect the true character, rather than the social façade, of the individual family. Because design reformers were often progressives with ties to the Arts and Crafts movement, they offered a functional critique of parlors. Without observing that furnishings had a symbolic function, reformers pushed for rooms that were actually used daily by families.¹²⁰ The adoption of living rooms was not a wholesale rejection of the parlor. Furnishings carried meaning, and the social rituals of families, which defined men, women, boys, and girls, continued. The difference was that these rooms hosted formal and informal social activities in a variety of forms, much like Student Union buildings.

Edith Humphreys, in the first and long influential book on College Union planning, captured the variety and abundance of activity in “campus living rooms” in the opening paragraphs of her treatise:

In the beauty and comfort of men’s and women’s or common lounges casual but friendly groups sitting quietly, chatting, reading, playing chess or checkers or perhaps a rubber or two of bridge. In a private dining room a luncheon discussion by students and faculty. Hundreds in cafeteria lines, at soda fountains or sandwich shops. Students entertaining parents or friends in tea rooms or formal dining rooms. Faculty and students on their way to bowling alleys. Billiard tournaments underway. Teas, receptions and dances ranging from the informality of a dime dance to the formality of an inaugural reception. Alumni, parents and friends registering for over-night accommodations in the union guest department.

¹¹⁵ Wright, p245.

¹¹⁶ See Christopher Grampp, *From Yard to Garden: The Domestication of America's Home Grounds* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008).

¹¹⁷ Grier, 1992, pp51-57.

¹¹⁸ Grier, 1992, p67.

¹¹⁹ Grier, 1988, p291, and 1992, pp67-68.

¹²⁰ Grier, 1988, pp290-291, and 1992, pp67-8.

Students and faculty getting haircuts, shoe shines and manicures in barber shops or beauty parlors. Committees, clubs and organizations holding meetings in activity rooms or using offices provided by the union.¹²¹

Union proponents would not have called Unions parlors, even if the architecture and interior design were suggestive of the elegant upper-class spaces where teas, musicals, and amateur theatrics took place. Instead, joining middle-class Americans, Union proponents took the idea of a living room understood as a respectable multipurpose space and placed it on campus. Union proponents hoped that, like actual living rooms, the “campus living room” – as a metaphor and a physical space – would parlay and teach appropriate social behavior. Thus, like home, the architecture and interiors of early Student Unions engendered a sense of belonging and a dutiful role, but in this case to a larger university family.

¹²¹ Humphreys, p2.

Chapter 2

Food and the Postwar Student Union

No one in the 1930s could have anticipated how much the war experience would alter food culture and how this, in turn, would shape the Student Union. Leading up to World War II, commercial food establishments, such as diners and lunch counters of old central business and factory districts, quickly served meals at low prices, especially during lunch hour. After World War II, food proprietors adapted to the new commercial strips and suburban shopping centers by placing restaurants and fast food chains near new work as well as recreation locations. Commercially prepared food remained affordable, and eating it became increasingly social. Commercial food establishments were also, according to university administrators and Student Union leaders, an essential part of campus life. By adding the latest kitchen equipment and food service lines, Columbia University was one of the first schools to modernize a dormitory cafeteria.¹²² Columbia's achievement coalesced with the professionalization of quantity cooking, which championed economy, efficiency, and nutrition. But the prevalence of cheap, quick food cooked in modern ovens and steam counters and served by food stands, car hops, and diners does not adequately explain the importance of quantity food preparation and the sale of affordable meals on college campuses after the war. College Union leaders would, as they had in the 1920s, debate the form and program of Student Union buildings. Food and dining rooms were discussed among Union leaders, but the commitment to provide cheap, wholesome food on campus originated in G.I. culture and the scarcity of food on the home front during World War II.

As the war came to a close, Union leaders and college administrators had only one seminal source. In 1946, Edith Ouzts Humphreys and her colleagues in the Union business widely publicized the Union movement in her first-of-a-kind book, *College Unions: A Handbook on Campus Community Centers*.¹²³ Her study, largely undertaken in 1936 and 1937, depicted the growing number, spirit, and purpose of College Unions during these years and during the World War II. For these reasons, Humphreys proclaimed the Union building the symbol and physical instrument for attaining the goals of a good community life. She reported that between 1930 and 1940, colleges and

¹²² Mary deGarmo Bryan, "Planning for Dormitory Food Service" *Architectural Record*, April 1946, Vol 99, pp118-121.

¹²³ Edith Ouzts Humphreys, *College Unions: A Handbook on Campus Community Centers* (Association of College Unions, 1946); see acknowledgments. Reprinted in 1951 and 1960.

universities built more than seventy new Union buildings, doubling the number of Unions in the United States. In 1946, seventy more institutions were making plans for new community centers.¹²⁴ The number of Unions built and in the planning stages, Humphreys argued, underscored the growing importance of this building type on college campuses.

Humphreys came from a young group of student affairs professionals who were trained on the job to attend to the personal development of students, both in and outside the classroom. As a classroom teacher, student counselor, and personnel officer, Humphreys approached her project with educational concepts and techniques learned in the 1920s. Humphreys had worked as Student Union staff in Willard Straight Hall at Cornell University for ten years and believed that she, like her fellow workers, recognized the College Union as a unique social laboratory. Thus, she claimed, the impetus for her study was to understand the Union movement in its entirety and to lay ground for its future.

Several institutions and individuals made Humphreys' study possible and well known among Student Union professionals. Institutional support for *College Unions* came from the Association of College Unions, the Teachers College at Columbia University, and the William C. Whitney Foundation, which represented the interests of Mrs. Leonard K. Elmhirst, donor of Cornell's Willard Straight Hall, Humphreys' professional home. Combined, these entities assumed the cost of Humphreys' project, allowing her to produce, distribute, and analyze questionnaires as well as make personal visits to fifty-five institutions in the United States. Individuals who advised Humphreys included active members of the Association of College Unions and especially Porter Butts, who was the director of Wisconsin's Memorial Union and oversaw the publication of *College Unions* as a close ally and editor of Humphreys' work. Butts, who later became the long-standing publications director and a prolific union consultant, offered the most constructive criticism. Humphreys' study thus reflects her own vision as well as ideas held by Butts and the Association.¹²⁵

The principal purpose of Humphreys' handbook was to suggest procedures for fulfilling the university's educational goals after the war. Instead of relying on lists, costs, salaries, and annual expenditures, Humphreys believed these facts and figures, sometimes quite specific to different institutional contexts, should not appear to be more important than the people for whom Student Union buildings were created.¹²⁶ The common belief among Humphreys' colleagues was that informal education enhanced the value of the Union as an educational medium in an academic setting.¹²⁷ Humphreys argued that since 1930, College Unions had evolved from democratic social clubs into community recreation centers whose principal distinction was in approach. "Whereas the democracy of the preceding period was largely in terms of equal enjoyment of physical club services," she wrote, "now it is in terms of experiencing the democratic way of life."¹²⁸

¹²⁴ Ibid., p29.

¹²⁵ See the papers of Porter Butts, University Archives, University of Wisconsin, Madison.

¹²⁶ Humphreys, p8.

¹²⁷ Ibid., p7.

¹²⁸ Ibid., p28.

Thus, the experience of citizenship defined the goals of College Union staff as it had in the 1920s and 1930s.

According to Humphreys, the provision of lounges and dining rooms alone did not guarantee humanizing and unifying goals. Imagining the building as merely a place to meet, dance, have tea, or eat missed the potential of the Union building as an environment for life-changing experiences. Instead of viewing the Union as an unnecessary place for loafing or “bull,” she argued that faculty and other members of the university community appreciated how the Unions of the 1940s could enable personal development and connections among fellow students. She also observed how Union staff no longer boasted about the beauty and grandeur of their building but instead prided themselves on how well the building served the recreational needs of its members.

Humphreys believed that recreation had broad social and cultural consequences. In the recreation center, activities and experiences were best if they were planned around the interests and needs of community members. In her view, individual participants were more important than the activities themselves. Therefore, she believed that programs must be flexible, adapt to students, and offer choice in leisure activities. For these reasons, it was essential that the Union staff maintain an informal and “human approach,” not by chance, but by tactful and wise direction and oversight. The varied activities, ranging from casual cokes at the soda fountain, to lunch and dinner in the cafeteria, to lectures in the lounge, needed not only the space but also the personnel to promote the desired values of the university.

Administrators believed that Student Unions encouraged the development of the whole individual, not just the intellect, by orchestrating wholesome social activities.¹²⁹ Because the merit of the whole individual lay in his or her social capacity to make friends, participate in group activities, and uphold civic as well as academic expectations of the campus community at large, the Student Union, Humphreys argued, was well equipped to help. Administrators observed in Madison, Wisconsin, that students who used the Union earned higher grades than those who did not.¹³⁰ Thus, Humphreys, Butts, and their colleagues believed that social activities in the Student Union would not only socialize students but also boost academic achievement.¹³¹

However, the questionnaires that Humphreys distributed during the 1930s did not and could not anticipate the effects of World War II on College Union buildings or the ways in which military and civilian food culture would become integral to the campus scene. Moreover, her surveys could not anticipate how food facilities cobbled together during and immediately after the war would change conceptions of the “campus living room” that Humphreys and her colleagues labored to define. Thus, new attitudes about food preparation and service permanently changed what it meant to be “at home” in the Student Union on college campuses, well-fed, and satiated.

¹²⁹ Ibid., p7.

¹³⁰ See survey in Porter Butts papers, University Archives, University of Wisconsin, Madison.

¹³¹ Humphreys, p8.

2.1 The State of the Student Union During World War II

During World War II, Student Union staff and student governments made the most of what they had. Wartime construction policies and available building materials diverted funds for large capital projects, especially those in the Student Union. But even with overall decreases in enrollment, Union staff and university administrations added wartime activities. Military dances and social mixers filled Union calendars. Thus, by design, prewar Student Union buildings remained crowded.

At UCLA, students frequented the Union, and it was a popular place to meet indoors. In 1939, Kerckhoff Hall hosted more than 700 events with a total of about 26,000 participants, four times the number of students enrolled at that time. By 1941, the staff of Kerckhoff Hall reported 1,125 events attended by a total number of participants that was five times the number of students. Luncheons, dinners, teas, and breakfasts continued as special events, while meetings, recitals, and exhibits enlivened the daily use of lounges, halls, offices, the bookstore, the coffee shop, and cafeteria rooms.¹³² The old familiar walls of Kerckhoff Hall closely bound wartime students together in prewar quarters (Figure 1).



Figure 1: Students eating in the coffee shop of Kerckhoff Hall, circa 1940 (source: courtesy of the University Archives, University of California, Los Angeles).

Jammed tightly together, students at UCLA tolerated the lounges but complained about the length of time necessary to get something to eat in Kerckhoff's coffee shop or cafeteria. With a total of only 825 seats in the main cafeteria, the annex, and the coffee shop, students at UCLA often did not have the time to wait and therefore did not sit down to eat in the Union.¹³³ Students found food to be a principal necessity, but funds allowing for extensive expansion of the Union kept the student government and staff from making any significant change. Instead, they maintained food service facilities as is, by replacing

¹³² Chancellor's Office Records, University Archives, UCLA.

¹³³ Velma Pickett, *The Daily Bruin*, 1934.

equipment in the cafeteria and coffee shop as needed and tolerating the shortfall of space in the dining facilities.

The nation's intense focus on the war effort, however, did not prevent administrators from improvising solutions within existing facilities. Students wanted sustenance between classes, and administrators believed that it should be of high quality. Typical complaints thus ranged from the quality of space to the nutritional value of food served in the Student Union. When food fell below expectations, faculty and administrators fervently discussed the problem. When faculty and students enlisted in the war effort, more members of the campus community had official ties to the U.S. armed forces. This meant that universities who bolstered Reserve Officer Training Corps (ROTC) programs on campus also bolstered the flow of cash into student services, such as food. Armed with federal aid, administrators fed ROTC recruits on campus en masse.¹³⁴

Feeding men in uniform upended the social life of Student Union buildings. Unions with extensive dining facilities, such as the one at the University of Wisconsin in Madison, were repurposed by the administration to feed men in the Army and the Navy (Figure 2). Using existing spaces, the main and private dining rooms, once open to women and faculty, were dedicated to feeding hungry trainees.¹³⁵ The change in patronage dramatically reframed the interests and efforts of campus community members. While ROTC recruits built friendships over meals, cooks and line servers labored to serve hot, filling food to a large group of hungry students. The Student Union building bore witness to life on the campus home front, and its inhabitants took note of the change.¹³⁶

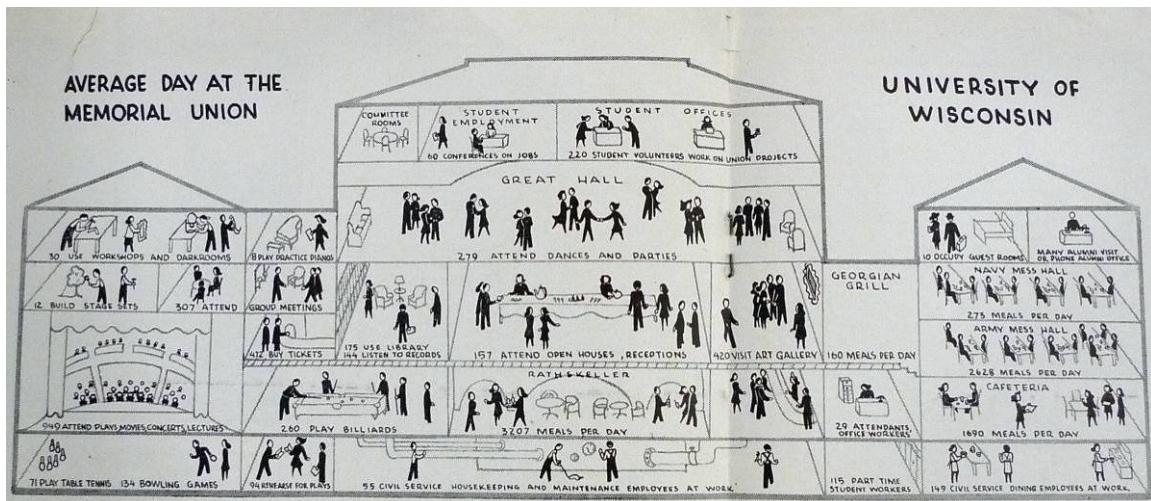


Figure 2: A drawing of the Memorial Union at the University of Wisconsin during the war depicts a variety of activities, and on the left are the Army and Navy mess halls and

¹³⁴ The college-based officer commissioning program began with the Morrill Act of 1862, the Naval ROTC (NROTC) was established in 1926, and Air ROTC was established at UC Berkeley (and other schools) in 1920. In some instances, ROTC was compulsory.

¹³⁵ Porter Butts papers, University Archives, University of Madison, Wisconsin.

¹³⁶ Porter Butts papers, University Archives, University of Madison, Wisconsin.

civil service dining employees eating and at work, circa 1944 (source: courtesy of the University Archives, University of Wisconsin, Madison).

At Berkeley, President Robert Sproul noted that World War II provoked new social circumstances. Fewer students were on campus at any one time but, with the wartime academic calendar, attended classes for a longer period during the year. Foreseeing a decline in student activities, Sproul personally encouraged students to join the student government.¹³⁷ Membership in the Associated Students of the University of California (ASUC) granted social privileges, such as free access to sporting events and theatrical productions, as well as a copy of the student newspaper, *The Daily Californian*. It also gave students full use of Stephens Union and the original Eshleman Hall, which housed student clubrooms and the popular Tap Room.¹³⁸ The clubrooms, where men and women socialized separately, were furnished with comfortable chairs and lounges, pianos, and tables for studying and recreation, whereas the interior of the Tap Room, approved for coed socialization during the war, celebrated sporting events and the knockabout side of campus culture. But most students involved themselves in the war effort by enlisting in the armed services. The rise in ROTC training on campus created a bifurcated social life, as student activities split around civilians and members of the armed forces. Sproul's effort to bolster student participation in social activities did little to offset the decline in ASUC membership or its financial reserves.

The Union staff and the ASUC made the best of their financial situation and leased the space of the Union bookstore to the Army as a cafeteria.¹³⁹ The creation of the dining hall was no small feat. Students found funding from the Regents to construct a temporary kitchen to the side of Stephens and packed up the bookstore, storing furniture, display cases, bookshelves, and kitchen supplies under the Edwards Field and Track Stadium bleachers and in Eshleman Hall.¹⁴⁰ Like the dining rooms at the University of Wisconsin in Madison, the adaptation of Stephens left a lasting impression on the campus community. Even with a limited number of eating facilities for civilians on campus, students celebrated the plentitude of good, hot food in Stephens Union and joked that it was the only place on campus where more men than women could be found. It was a social hub of activity. And with men in uniform lined end to end on benches at long tables, it looked much like training camps elsewhere in the United States, where men devoured the cook's hearty portions as rapidly as they were served in makeshift spaces (Figure 3).¹⁴¹

¹³⁷ Robert Sproul, letter in registration envelope, July 1, 1942, University Archives, Bancroft Library, University of California Berkeley [CU-5 series 2, 1943:325].

¹³⁸ Invitation for Membership, November 10, 1943, University Archives, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley [CU-5 series 2, 1943:325]. The original Eshleman Hall was renamed Moses Hall when the postwar Eshleman Hall was built as part of the Student Union complex.

¹³⁹ UC President papers, University Archives, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley [see CU-5 series 2, 1943 and 1944:325].

¹⁴⁰ Internal ASUC memo, University Archives, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley [CU-5 series 2, 1944:325].

¹⁴¹ *The Blue and Gold*, 1944.



Figure 3: Army ROTC men eating in Stephens Cafeteria (source: *The Blue and Gold*, 1944).

The financial partnership between the ASUC and the Army left a lasting impression as well. From the perspective of the student government, the relationship was a boon because the ASUC could charge rent and utilities while relinquishing the responsibility of producing large quantities of food. Simultaneously, university administrators saw cooking in quantity as a profitable enterprise. Thus, as Union staff, student governments, and university administrators created programs and services to nurture the bodies of military men, they established expectations for the postwar years. The wartime habit of feeding the military and the arrival of G.I.s, who had messed during the war, tipped postwar campus policy toward maintaining large-scale cafeterias and made food the principal programmatic element of postwar Student Union buildings.¹⁴²

2.2 Bringing the Postwar G.I. to Campus

After the war, the United States government dispatched policies on college and university education in the United States.¹⁴³ From the perspective of the government, education would not only guarantee democracy and a better nation and world, but would also be best if it were affordable for all. In many ways, the work of the government reconstituted the ideas of John Dewey for the postwar audience by emphasizing how democracy and education are interdependent and essentially *social* activities. But the federal efforts were

¹⁴² At UC Berkeley, the Navy ROTC was eating in Callaghan cafeteria in the International House, another social center on campus.

¹⁴³ *Higher Education for American Democracy: A Report of The President's Commission on Higher Education, Vol. 1. Establishing the Goals* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1947).

inherently more political. The government believed the responsibilities of instilling ethical values, not just teaching, were essential to upholding the political system in the United States and fell on institutions of higher education. Thus, like Dewey's educational philosophy, education was more than memorization. Education encompassed the whole of society. The government's rationale was that if more people obtained college degrees, then the United States would more likely enjoy freedom from fascism, tyranny, and authoritarian regimes.¹⁴⁴

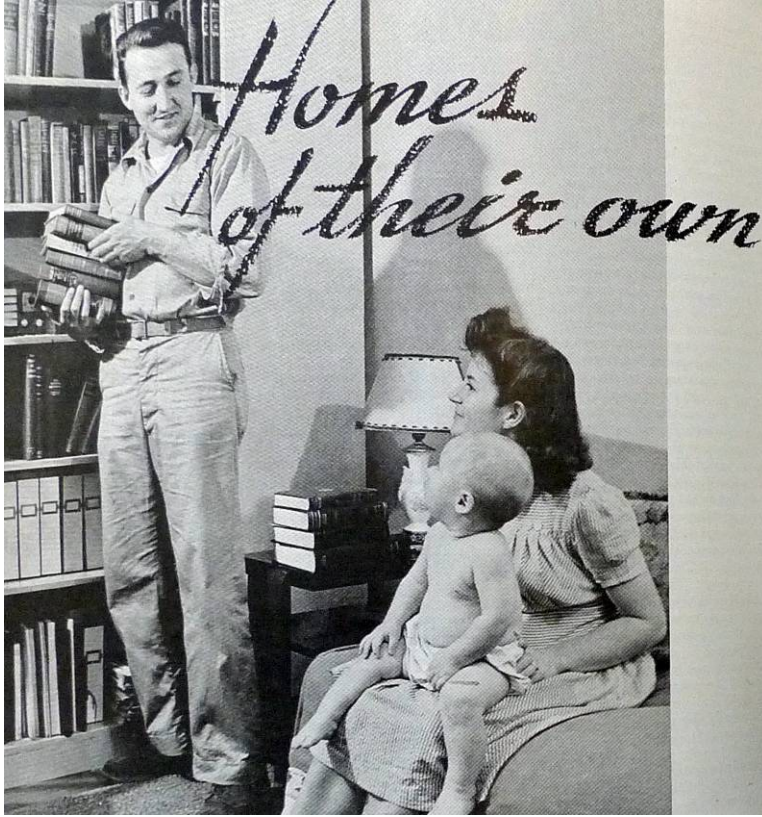
By touting the national benefits of education, presidential policy then had to follow through on giving Americans access to higher education. The U.S. Serviceman's Readjustment Act of 1945 (G.I. Bill) was just one piece of the government's vision. Although the Bill introduced a hiccup in the government's tidy enrollment projections, it made vivid the expansion of higher education. No one had previously imagined that students of untraditional age would attend college in such great numbers because at no time in U.S. history had so many young men been called to war and then guaranteed money for college education. And although education and war had entangled the choices and lives of young men in the past, at no time did national policy link them and enable men of middling or no means to earn a college degree. Thus, just as the FHA-backed home loans allowed veterans to purchase homes, the G.I. Bill put higher education within reach of the masses and at bargain prices.

Muriel C. Clausen, a veteran's wife, explained her goals and the pleasure of attaining them on a tight G.I. student budget. "Thanks to the G.I. Bill," she exclaimed, she and her husband spent only seventy-five dollars of their savings in two and a half years. With federal aid, her husband, Bert, could finish school while they built a life together. They rented an apartment, took short vacations, purchased a car, and had a baby. The only challenge, she reported, was the rising cost of living, which Muriel met by shopping carefully for food.¹⁴⁵

The G.I.s who attended college after the war tended to be like Bert – middle income with substantial goals of having a family, job, and home (Figure 4). Bert and tens of thousands of others like him arrived on campus with a set of financial and social concerns that college men a generation earlier would not have had. Because these men had deferred their education, they were more mature and worldly. They had typically acquired technical training in service and experienced the human cost and brutality of war firsthand. They also came from all rungs of the socio-economic ladder. Without family assistance, the single student G.I., like the married one, paid for room, board, books, and recreation on a stipend and invented ways to make do (Figure 5).

¹⁴⁴ Ibid.

¹⁴⁵ Muriel Clausen, "Thanks to the GI Bill: how a veteran finished college on \$75" *California Monthly*, November 1948.



(Figure 4: A G.I. with his wife and child showing off UC Berkeley's veteran student housing in Albany (source: *California Monthly*, April 1947).



Figure 5: Married G.I. students living in university housing at the University of California, Berkeley, sorting food bought in bulk (source: *California Monthly*, September 1947).

More obvious were the sheer numbers of G.I.s attending college. Under the stimulus of the G.I. Bill, more and more Americans attended college, which showed university administrators and policy makers the potential of the U.S. educational system. As schools capably added emergency facilities and staff to meet the demands of postwar education, they also envisioned permanent campus development and expansion. Planning expansion after the war, when the ideologies of Dewey, translated into government documents, pressed up against an urgent call for education and welfare, absorbed the lofty visions of democracy and citizenship. University administrators commenced a building boom that would change the face of college campuses.¹⁴⁶ The Student Union had a special role in campus planning efforts precisely because of the demographic shift.

2.3 The Building Boom on Campuses in California

Carl Abbott surmises in *The Metropolitan Frontier* that World War II was less important as a break with the past than as an introduction to the future growth and prosperity of Western cities in the United States.¹⁴⁷ He and others argue that the war permanently altered the everyday landscape of industrial, urban, and suburban neighborhoods in long-lasting ways.¹⁴⁸ As war money flooded Los Angeles, San Francisco, and San Diego in the form of military contracts and facilities, workers migrated, companies prospered, and cities grew. Although wartime industries and jobs would last in some form through the postwar years – establishing high expectations for college education and enrollment – effects were immediate. John Findlay in *Magic Lands* observes that military bases and defense industries dominated local, civilian development.¹⁴⁹ But everyday citizens felt a crunch on available resources (Figure 6).

¹⁴⁶ For a discussion of Berkeley campus expansion, see Peter Allen, “The End of Modernism? People’s Park, Urban Renewal, and Community Design” *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, September 2011, Vol 70 No 3, pp354-374.

¹⁴⁷ Carl Abbot, *The Metropolitan Frontier: Cities in the Modern American West* (Tuscan: University of Arizona Press, 1998), p27.

¹⁴⁸ See John Findlay, *Magic Lands: Western Cityscapes and American Culture after 1940* (University of California Press, 1992); Marilyn Johnson, *The Second Gold Rush: Oakland and the East Bay in World War II* (University of California Press, 1993); and Greg Hise, *Magnetic Los Angeles: Planning the Twentieth Century Metropolis* (John Hopkins University Press, 1997), for example.

¹⁴⁹ Findlay, p18.



Figure 6: G.I.s living in tents at the University of Wisconsin, Madison, circa 1948 (source: courtesy of the University Archives, University of Wisconsin, Madison).

The people of any city with military contracts might have crowded into available housing and stressed existing public services.¹⁵⁰ With cities like San Diego recording the highest population growth rate between April 1940 and October 1941 – a 17-month period – war industries made cities “congested war production areas.”¹⁵¹ The staggering number of people who arrived in Los Angeles and Oakland pressed local authorities and developers into action building communities and infrastructure. Although New Deal programs laid the foundation for defense work, with dams, power lines, bridges, and roads, the scale of wartime change was unprecedented.¹⁵²

The scale and breadth of building projects caught the attention of university administrators. Before soldiers returned home from Europe or the South Pacific, UC system-wide President Sproul foretold of postwar campus growth. He announced to members of the twenty-fifth-year anniversary homecoming audience in June of 1944 that \$8 million had been earmarked for postwar construction at UCLA. He declared that immediate plans were afoot for an engineering and mechanical arts building, a life sciences building, a library, men’s and women’s gymnasiums, an administration building, and a student hospital. These units had increased the public usefulness of institutions before and during the war, but because of wartime restrictions, they did not have buildings of their own. Sproul claimed that only because the UC administration had clung so tenaciously to its vision did its dreams of expanding the UCLA campus survive.¹⁵³

By 1944, UCLA had an enrollment of more than 6,000, but the G.I. Bill would double the number of students in just one year. Thus, enrollment broadened the magnitude and scope of postwar construction. The UC Regents soon found themselves considering campus improvements across the state but gave UCLA the greatest share.

¹⁵⁰ Abbott, p12.

¹⁵¹ Abbott, p13; Findlay, pp33-35.

¹⁵² Findlay, p18.

¹⁵³ From “\$8,000,000 appropriated for UCLA Building Program” in *The UCLA Magazine*, June 1944, Vol XVIII No 6, pp406, 14.

Instead of \$8 million, the young Westwood campus would receive just over \$23 million in the short term and \$40 million over a fifteen-year period. Upper-level administrators believed that the campus was years behind in its building program and that the boost from the state government would offset the pressing need for building equipment.¹⁵⁴



Figure 7: “As the architect sees it,” a vision of the UCLA campus for 1960, Allison and Allison (source: *The UCLA Magazine*, January 1946, p5).

Although the College of Engineering and the Medical School would end up being the crown jewels of the postwar years, Sproul savored the vision of a new intellectual center in Los Angeles. He cautioned, however, that even though “the environment of UCLA is peculiarly favorable for the rise of a very great university,” those who shape its destiny must “keep their eyes on the distant and shining goal,” not on “quick easy, and cheap rewards of the moment.”¹⁵⁵ He hoped the administration, faculty, and students would be able to guide the growth of the university in those remarkable postwar times.

The campus in Berkeley also staged a postwar building program. In 1948, negotiations were under way for the university to purchase land south of campus on Telegraph Avenue between Sather Gate and Bancroft Way, establishing a precedent for campus expansion. On campus, new Chemistry and Forestry buildings were nearly complete. The construction site of the library annex on the east side of the main library was a gaping hole, but it would eventually become an intellectual warehouse for the departments by housing the Bancroft Library, the Institute for Industrial Relations, the Bureau of Public Administration, and the Bureau of International Relations and nearly

¹⁵⁴ From “Building Program Inaugurated” in *The UCLA Magazine*, January 1946, Vol XX No 14, pp18, 45.

¹⁵⁵ Paraphrased from *The UCLA Magazine*, June 1944, Vol XVIII No 6, pp4-6, 14 (p6).

double the size of the current library building. Construction, coupled with future laboratories and transportation and traffic engineering buildings, created excitement among members of the campus community.¹⁵⁶

2.4 Building on Wartime Habits

Although Unions had squarely established themselves as recreational community centers between World War I and World War II, postwar educational policy brought special challenges to the university. While educators gave science, engineering, and practical training more importance in the curriculum, Union staff adapted social programs and services for the postwar campus scene. Student Union programs were well equipped to respond to the goals of government policy because a generation of Union staff had already built social programs that fostered the whole student. Programmed activities, Union staff thought, made informal education possible and therefore positioned the Union building as a valuable educational medium in an academic setting.¹⁵⁷ The spaces of the College Union could not only foster personal development and strong social ties among students, but more important, they could also allow students to experience democracy firsthand. Thus, amid campus construction, students, Union staff, and administrators, who were acutely aware of G.I. students and the inadequacy of prewar Union buildings, immediately began to plan and implement postwar programs.

At Berkeley, the first things to change were the patrons of the Stephens Union cafeteria. In 1946, 2,630 or 12% of students were eating in university-operated halls.¹⁵⁸ Nearly all of them lived in the Richmond Veterans Dormitory and took their meals in the Stephens Union cafeteria, which had been used by ROTC during the war (Figure 8).¹⁵⁹ The adaptation was easy – the student government and administration had already retrofitted this space for food preparation and cafeteria-style service in 1943 – but owning and operating the establishment was not so simple.

¹⁵⁶ “University Plans to Expand South” in *California Monthly*, September 1948, vol 59, p7.

¹⁵⁷ Humphreys, *College Unions*, p7.

¹⁵⁸ “You think YOU Have an Eating Problem: read how 22,000 Berkeley Students Get Their “Three Squares” Daily”, *California Monthly*, December 1946, pp20-22.

¹⁵⁹ The Richmond dorms, not to be confused with Richmond, CA, were near Berkeley’s campus.

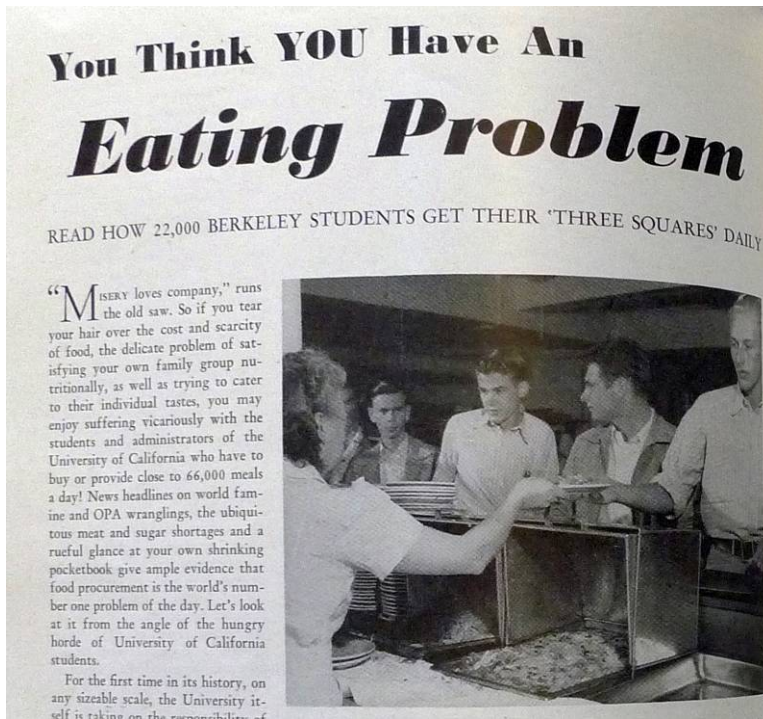


Figure 8: Veterans living in the Richmond dormitory receiving plates full of food in the Stephens Union cafeteria (source: *California Monthly*, December 1946).

To manage the prospect of feeding more members of the university community, the administration appointed a graduate of UC Berkeley, a veteran who had fed his infantry during the war, to oversee the entire food service operation.¹⁶⁰ His expertise and experience allowed the university to step into a new field, to add food service to its list of education-related tasks. Thus, for the first time, the university sorted out the details of being in the food business.

With the persistence of food rationing and soaring food costs, serving nutritious and filling meals three times a day on a budget set at the beginning of the school year proved challenging for cafeteria managers and the university administration.¹⁶¹ In a gentle gibe, staff writers for the *California Monthly* poked fun at the concerns of the postwar housewife. Feeding four people three square meals a day paled in comparison to the prospect of feeding 22,000 students or 66,000 meals a day.¹⁶² The writers suggested the problems of home economics were no match for quantity food service on postwar campuses. If students were soldiers in education, administrators must have thought quantity food service was akin to strategic operations during the war, like rushing much-needed supplies to hungry minds on the campus battlefield.

With most students living in non-university housing, all students besieged the food services at Stephens Union between 11 am and 1 pm each school day, devouring food, milk, coffee, and cokes. For about \$25 per month, students could purchase meals from the Stephens Cafeteria, where the Richmond men ate. Alternatively, students could

¹⁶⁰ Ibid, p20.

¹⁶¹ Evidence of food rationing in university archives (see Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley [CU-5 Series 2, 1946:329]).

¹⁶² *The Daily Californian*, December 1946, p22.

partake of the offerings at the ASUC Tap Room, which remained open to women until 4:45 pm, and the Coffee Shop, where workers served milk, coffee, coke, pie, donuts, and one hot dish.¹⁶³ The midday meal on and around campus looked like a social feeding frenzy. With more than 20,000 students fending for food on a campus designed for fewer, students rushed to meet friends, fill their stomachs without emptying their wallets, and enjoy the only moments they might have to relax between classes.

Students in the cafeteria were not as obedient as soldiers in the mess hall. Managers struggled to satisfy students' food cravings. They complained that cut-up meats and creamed dishes were unpopular and caused serious leftover problems. Also, squash, eggplant, cooked cabbage, and turnips were "out," which meant that the university spent more money on vegetables like peas, beans, and corn. Managers also reported that the women preferred salads but everyone liked the sweets, especially pie and upside-down cake. The immediate solution to the twin problems of waste and taste led cafeteria managers to create demand during the week and make Wednesday the big night.¹⁶⁴ As an instrument of socialization, food service, like long-standing uses of the student union, was an important, if not essential, element of campus life.

The old and outdated equipment of the Student Union bore the abuses of overuse and leisure. As with any crisis, administrators attempted to adapt the facilities they had to better serve the postwar campus community. But the cooking facilities in Stephens Union were as old as, if not older than, those in UCLA's Kerckhoff Hall. Thus, campus administrators, in response to student concerns about the availability of inexpensive, wholesome food, made bigger plans. Plans implemented immediately after the war were temporary, but they allowed students, Union staff, and administration to rehearse for more permanent solutions in the future.

2.5 The Nation's Food During World War II

The most critical service provided by the Union was food, but dissatisfaction with the food service was rampant. Long food lines before World War II were even longer after G.I.s arrived on campus, and the overuse of facilities battered outdated furnishings and equipment. A student at UCLA described the daily problem of having only ten minutes between classes to wait in a food line that typically took fifteen minutes. Students would thus choose between being late to class or waiting to eat until the end of their next class. Moreover, the food was so poorly prepared that the words one student published to describe it were unprintable.¹⁶⁵ Administrators believed that quick, convenient, and nutritious food service was the best way to provide for students. Thus, immediate solutions addressed the issue of food and this issue alone. But why did administrators heed the call and take to heart the responsibility of feeding the study body?

Preparing and serving large quantities of food is an activity as old as civilization itself, and food service professionals of the 1930s and 1940s often claimed ancient and

¹⁶³ Ibid, p22.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid., p22.

¹⁶⁵ *Daily Bruin*, Friday October 19, 1956. Berkeley had a food poisoning scare in January 1946 (see Student Union records, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley [CU-5 Series 2, 1946:329]).

medieval practices of royal palaces, monasteries, and military camps as readily as modern commercial enterprises as important parts of their profession. Employee cafeterias arising during industrialization, hotels and restaurants, military food service overseas during World Wars I and II, hospitals, schools, and colleges fell under the direct purview of food professionals. These institutions, in the minds of Bessie Brooks West and LeVelle Wood, professors from the Division of Home Economics at Kansas State University, were the environments in which to establish best food preparation practices.

Prior to the nineteenth century, quantity cooking existed as a practical and social art. Cooks fed monks, soldiers, workers, and students in much the same way: using local food traditions and available food sources. But by the beginning of the twentieth century, food producers and processors had harnessed the economic rules of scale and mechanization.¹⁶⁶ With larger fields, bigger machinery, consolidated processing plants, and refrigeration, food producers could ship meat and perishable and preserved foods vast distances at competitive prices. Thus, local food resources joined a much larger political and economic context.

The technological bravado of food producers and their machines helped students and practitioners of home economics gain a foothold in the national food culture. As the food professionals cemented a field for themselves, generations of college students read from texts such as West and Wood's *Food Service in Institutions*, first published in 1938 (and republished numerous times), in which meal planning, the selection of foods, the physical plant and equipment, and the human organization of food preparation and service comprised the breadth of topics covered.¹⁶⁷ Through this education, practitioners spread standardized approaches to food preparation and service.

As textbook authors and faculty, West and Wood's principal concern was not to question the origin of quantity food service nor change the diets of Americans but to assume the legitimacy of quantity cooking as a serious discipline. They wrote that "evidence has long since shown that the organization and administration of any ... food services in our present complex economic order cannot be trusted to untrained persons."¹⁶⁸ Students of West and Woods would then learn the importance of management, the value of cost control, and the grades of different perishable fruits and vegetables. They would also learn how to calculate the carbohydrate content of vegetables, an obligation in hospital settings, and predict the shrinkage of meat, a factor in appearance and subsequent sales. If students of nutrition and food preparation did not know the fat content of roast beef or how the steaming of vegetables affected flavor, they would learn in school. As written and taught, *Food Service in Institutions* helped to establish an industry of professionals ready to knowledgeably organize, prepare, and serve many people at once.

By 1938, there were already six different types of food service. By 1945, the list had grown. Practitioners built categories of food service around the type of clientele, not strictly the scale of the operation or the economic model under which food was ordered, prepared, and sold. In this way, practitioners imagined food service as having an audience

¹⁶⁶ Waverly Root, *Eating in America: A History* (New York: Ecco Press, 1981).

¹⁶⁷ Bessie Brooks West and LeVelle Wood, *Food Service in Institutions*, (New York: J. Wiley and Sons, 1938).

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid*, p9.

and therefore a set of criteria by which they could evaluate the successes and shortcomings of each operation. West and Woods strove to clarify how college food service, for example, differed from school lunch programs and hospitals or social clubs and philanthropic organizations. Unlike primary schools, colleges often served three full meals a day in residence halls; provided a variety of food venues, such as a coffee house or lunchroom in the Student Union; and offered a choice of food in each venue. Social clubs bore some resemblance to college services, although college services often had a more predictable income. Practitioners thus weighed the success of college dining by the appropriateness of the services provided in the collegiate community and the steady but low profit generated by operations.

Despite the range of food venues, food service practitioners largely agreed on a broad set of objectives that solidified during the postwar period. The goals of institutional feeding included offering good quality food, prompt and courteous service, well-balanced and varied menus, reasonable prices consistent with the service provided, adequate facilities, and a high standard of cleanliness.¹⁶⁹ But the rise of this industry alone does not explain why colleges and universities assumed responsibility for feeding the campus community.

According to Harvey Levenstein, author of *Paradox of Plenty: A Social History of Eating in Modern America*, Americans experienced a volatile food market during World War II.¹⁷⁰ Rapid changes in government policies rationed certain types of food, set food prices, and responded to both real and imagined scarcity. No one was going to starve in the United States, but consumers may not have been able to buy fresh meat, milk, and sugar when they wanted.¹⁷¹ Perhaps more important, regulatory policies effectively flattened distinctions between classes, particularly in the way food was prepared. Although high-class dining environments mattered to the wealthy, rationing and limited availability of fine foods made eating well difficult and appear to be unpatriotic.¹⁷² Thus, Americans at home shared a modest and more humble cuisine during the war and lined up for ration books to obtain their small portion of the most desirable foods on the regulated food market.

Servicemen, in contrast, ate an abundance of food (Figure 9). In 1943, New York City's Commissioner of Markets calculated that military trainees at base camps in the U.S. ate approximately eleven pounds of food per day, whereas the average citizen ate only four.¹⁷³ At breakfast, servicemen might eat fruit, cereal, bacon, eggs, toast, syrup, butter, and coffee or milk. At midday, trainees were typically fed roast turkey and cranberry jam, mashed potatoes, raisin dressing, giblet gravy, buttered jumbo asparagus, creamed cauliflower, lemon custard or ice cream, rolls, butter, cake, preserves, and coffee or tea. Assuming they were still hungry by suppertime, men ate more vegetables, round steak, scalloped potatoes, ice cream, cake, bread and butter, and coffee or milk.¹⁷⁴

¹⁶⁹ John Stokes, *Food Service in Industry and Institutions*, (Dubuque, IA: W.C. Brown Company, 1960).

¹⁷⁰ Harvey Levenstein, *Paradox of Plenty: A Social History of Eating in Modern America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003).

¹⁷¹ Levenstein, Chap. 6.

¹⁷² Levenstein, p89.

¹⁷³ Levenstein, pp89-90.

¹⁷⁴ Levenstein, p90.

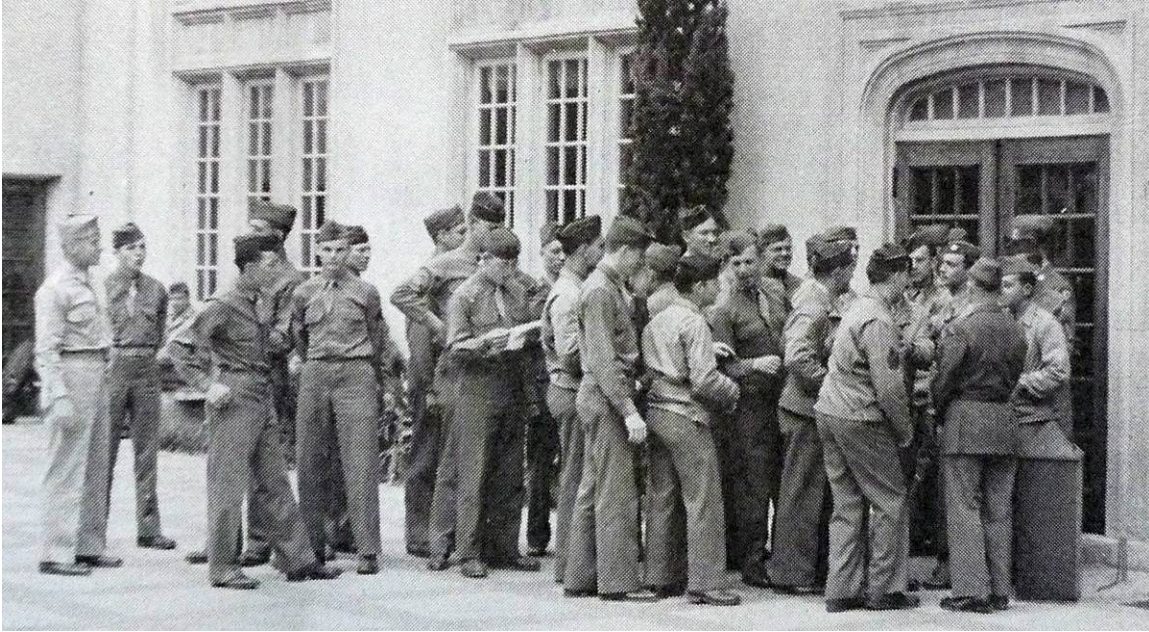


Figure 9: Army ROTC men lined up outside Stephens Union cafeteria (source: *California Monthly*, June 1943).

Contrary to popular belief, soldiers overseas did not taste much local cuisine. Instead, servicemen were inculcated into the military's version of a food regimen. The belief among top military personnel was that enlisted soldiers would want to eat something familiar. Thus, military chefs cooked up "all-American" dishes.¹⁷⁵ This practice had a profound impact on diets after the war. Levenstein writes that "the men in white T-shirts standing over enormous pots and pans cooking essentially the same foods in mess kitchens throughout the world did more than undermine regionalism; they [also] helped mute class differences."¹⁷⁶ Thus, being served the same food everywhere diminished class differences among soldiers.

While military personnel boasted about their wartime food program, civilians at home grew envious.¹⁷⁷ Food shortages prompted enthusiasm for victory gardens and agriculture, as shown by a coed at Berkeley in 1944 (Figure 10). But shortages also conditioned Americans to desire scarce foods that were unavailable in stores. According to Levenstein, this is why Americans ate more after the war, shrugged off government pleas to reduce consumption, and showed indifference to the plight of Europe.¹⁷⁸ If nutritious quantity cooking could be brought home and implemented among the civilian population, most Americans would be pleased to fill their stomachs. But from the perspective of policy makers on campus, who scrambled to assimilate the war-ravaged G.I. into civilian life, food would mollify the soldier and his warrior instincts. Thus, administrators dedicated campus infrastructure and resources to building makeshift food establishments for the student body.

¹⁷⁵ Levenstein, p91.

¹⁷⁶ Levenstein, pp91-92.

¹⁷⁷ Good nutrition taught during the war, Levenstein, p95.

¹⁷⁸ Levenstein, p95.



Figure 10: UC Berkeley coed holds her bounty for the camera (source: *The Blue and Gold*, 1944).

2.6 The Cafeteria Situation at Berkeley and UCLA

Postwar G.I.s posed a special threat to the calm and social order of prewar campus life. Embattled by war, G.I.s might be unschooled for finer social exchanges and experience anxiety or trauma in their new collegiate environment. As institutional “parents” of these young men, the university administration strove to provide necessary and affordable services, such as housing. But mess, the binding experience of training and camp, prompted university administrators to build campus-wide eating establishments.

Cafeterias were increasingly common on college campuses. Edith Humphreys reported that 80% of the Unions she surveyed had cafeterias and that these, with soda fountains and tearooms, met the needs of most students.¹⁷⁹ But only a few cafeterias, she

¹⁷⁹ Humphreys, pp77, 96-102.

wrote, were adequately sized. New Student Unions, built by Michigan Tech, Ohio State, and Oklahoma A&M after World War II, contained a range of substantial food services. Union managers and publicity offices bragged about their snack and cafeteria rooms, dining terraces, and banquet halls, which supported nearly any type of informal or formal social activity.¹⁸⁰ Modern kitchens and cafeteria lines, like those in Johnson Hall at Columbia University, glistened with polished stainless steel fixtures and clean glass sneeze guards. These were projects in which universities took pride.

When Berkeley opened a temporary university-owned and -operated cafeteria in 1948, a staff writer for the alumni magazine wrote that it was “[t]he biggest thing to hit campus since the cyclotron.”¹⁸¹ Even the *Daily Californian* deemed it “one of the best things done for the general benefit of students on this campus in quite some time.”¹⁸² Food had a greater impact on students than extraordinary scientific research. Nestled between the art building and tennis courts near the Hearst Gymnasium (approximately where Wurster Hall sits today), the cafeteria served food sixteen hours each day, from 7 am until 11 pm.¹⁸³ Dedicated to serving the “University family,” food service directors planned delicious, nutritious, filling, and affordable meals for up to 800 people at one time. The comforts of home had arrived on campus, but unlike the “campus living room” of the prewar years, the analogy of home was more far reaching than any Union leader from the 1920s could have imagined. Food, not comfortable lounges, drove the need to add or expand dining rooms on campus.

¹⁸⁰ Frank Harwood “Union Building at Michigan Tech Serves Dual Purpose” in *College and University Business*, July 1953, Vol 15, No 1, pp36-40; “Recreation Center with Modern Interiors” in *Architectural Record*, October 1952, Vol 112, pp147-153; Richard Caldwell, “College Union is Convention Center” in *College and University Business*, April 1952, Vol 12, No 4, pp30-33.

¹⁸¹ “Campus Cafeteria” in *California Monthly*, November 1948, pp22-23.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*

¹⁸³ “Enrollment Levels Off – But not Construction” in *California Monthly*, October 1948, p7.

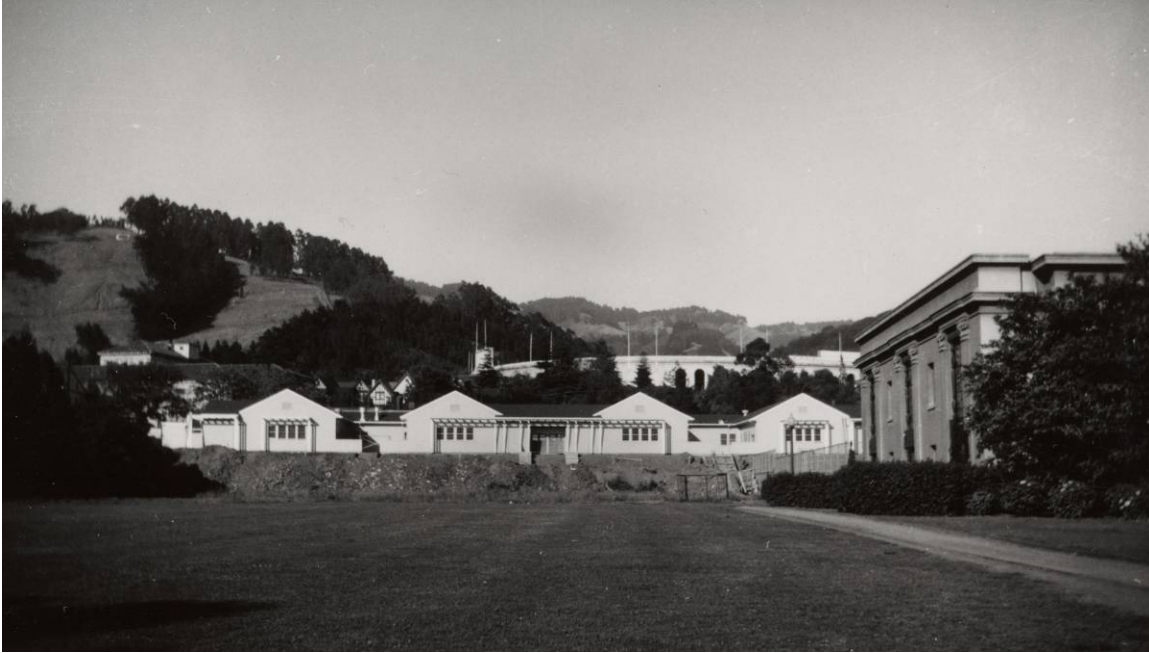


Figure 11: Exterior view of UC Berkeley's temporary cafeteria with Hearst Gymnasium for Women (right) (source: courtesy of the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley [UARC PIC 03:416]).

Because money and time were tight, the Regents and administrators at Berkeley patched the project together with several Army surplus buildings at Camp Parks that had served as mess halls for military trainees during World War II. Despite the used condition of Army surplus materials and the compressed construction schedule, the local architectural firm of Miller and Warnecke managed to give UC Berkeley a tidy-looking campus cafeteria with the latest modern amenities (Figure 11). Instead of gray and army green interiors, Miller and Warnecke painted each of the four dining rooms different cheerful colors: camellia, surf, sunlight, and turquoise. Also, because the principal users of the building were students, the firm designed bookshelves at the entrance for students to leave and then easily retrieve their belongings after a meal. Architects outfitted the food service areas with the latest cafeteria technology: hungry patrons would glide their plastic trays along a stainless steel rack, past the cold salads and side dishes, bread, a steam table with hot and wholesome meals, desserts and cold drinks, and coffee. Tables were large enough for tray-carrying customers, and with busboys to clear away used dishes, cups, and flatware, service was high-style and above that of mess protocol. With a robust kitchen staff and full plates of food, the operation bore all the signs of a modern cafeteria (Figure 12). More important, as a staff writer for the *California Monthly* explained, “[T]he success of the venture bears out the wisdom of a postwar change in Regent policy ... Instead of relying upon the neighboring community to meet student living needs,” the Regents and administrators at the university harnessed the help of the FWA and the United States Office of Education to provide essential services to members of the campus community.¹⁸⁴

¹⁸⁴ “Campus Cafeteria” in *California Monthly*, November 1948.



Figure 12: Interior views of UC Berkeley's temporary cafeteria (source: *California Monthly*, November 1948).

Students, faculty, and staff appreciated the convenience and price of food, but local business owners on Telegraph Avenue did not. Restaurant owners, who claimed to have lost 25 to 30 percent of their business, campaigned to change how the university cafeteria operated. First, they mistrusted the economics of the cafeteria enterprise. They contested the food prices at the university cafeteria, insisting that they should include all the normal costs of operation, including rent, interest on borrowed capital, maintenance, and salaries. Based on their own knowledge of food costs and operating expenses, they questioned the unusually low prices set by the university. Second, they claimed that members of the general public were dining at the university facility, where students should be the principal if not the only group of patrons, and that this accounted for the more significant decrease in their own sales. Moreover, because “outsiders” were using the facilities, businessmen questioned the right of the university to waive sales tax on food.¹⁸⁵ With low-cost, tax-free food, restaurant owners felt the university had put them at a serious disadvantage. To save their enterprises, Telegraph Avenue business owners wanted the university to raise cafeteria prices and keep outsiders from dining in campus facilities.

Administrators at Berkeley understood the restaurateurs' concerns because both the university and businessmen were in business, but campus policy makers did not respond to all of the demands from the Berkeley Restaurant Association. Campus administrators believed that the cafeteria should service not only students but also faculty and staff, and that three meals a day was not only financially more sound, from a business point of view, but also more agreeable, from a student point of view.¹⁸⁶ Evening meals served from the cafeteria averaged 1,200 per night. Typically fewer than 100 were consumed by faculty, employees of the university, and others, who were often spouses of married students.¹⁸⁷ Thus, the evening meal was substantial, but it paled in comparison with the number of meals served at lunchtime, when students were the principal patrons. In a compromise with the business community, the university agreed to raise prices

¹⁸⁵ See letter to President Sproul from Jules Voerge, President of the Berkeley Restaurant Association, November 4, 1948, University Archives Bancroft Library [CU-5 Ser 2, 2:16].

¹⁸⁶ See letter from Norton to Corley, December 8, 1948 [CU-5 Series 2, 2:16].

¹⁸⁷ Ibid.

approximately 10 percent across the board, discontinue fountain service, close the cafeteria at 8 pm instead of 11 pm, and make every effort to exclude outsiders.¹⁸⁸

The exclusion of outsiders proved to be a challenging if not impossible task. In an effort to further appease the business community, the University pre-sold meals to members of the University community at untaxed rates and charged tax to cash-paying customers in the cafeteria line. But despite this valiant effort, the business community complained that scrip meals did not prevent students from selling their credits to an outsider.¹⁸⁹ The University also considered checking identification, but this approach only generated complaints from the cafeteria staff and its patrons.¹⁹⁰ If each cashier were to check an identification card, food lines would be longer. In addition, faculty and staff were not issued identification, and thus the cost of producing identification for every member of the campus community would cut into any profits the cafeteria might make. From the perspective of business owners, the identification of outsiders was their only defense against university operations. From the perspective of the university, who believed outsiders represented an insignificant number of patrons, the identification of outsiders only helped them solidify institutional conventions about food service on campus.

Between the meetings and letters among concerned members of the business community and administrators at Berkeley, the university voiced its intent in the food service business. As Comptroller James Corley wrote, “[T]he University Cafeteria represents a continuation of policy which was established on this Campus many years ago” when the Regents approved a cafeteria and coffee shop in Stephens Union at its opening in 1923.¹⁹¹ Thus, from the perspective of campus administrators, the postwar cafeteria is a natural outgrowth of previous provisions by student government associations. Corley claimed that with the termination of the war (actually, the adoption of the G.I. Bill), the university was faced with the problem of feeding students, faculty, and employees, and the rapid expansion of dining facilities was in fact a belated attempt to keep the campus dining facilities in line with the number of students. The Student Union had operated at capacity long before the war. Thus, the war and the arrival of G.I.s on the postwar campus pushed campus administrators into action.

Moreover, administrators deemed healthful food, a combination of healthy and filling, as the principal concern. Corley made clear to local restaurateurs that the pressure to expand food service operations came from students, many of whom were away from home for the first time, and parents, who were concerned about the health and well-being of their children. He bluntly pointed out that local businesses were not adequate for the 25,000 to 30,000 students and staff nor affordable enough for the growing appetites and shrinking pocketbooks of the postwar student.¹⁹² Thus, balanced budget aside, Corley

¹⁸⁸ Memo to Corley from Norton, December 29, 1948, University Archives, Bancroft Library [CU-5 Series 2, 2:16]. Also see letter to Voerge from Corley, February 18, 1949.

¹⁸⁹ University Archives, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley [CU-5 series 2, 2:16].

¹⁹⁰ University Archives, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley [CU-5 series 2, 2:16].

¹⁹¹ Letter to Jules Voerge, January 7, 1949, University Archives, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley [CU-5 Series 2, 2:16].

¹⁹² Draft letter from Corley to Voerge, February 2, 1949 (Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley [CU-5 series 2, 2:16]).

identified the primary purpose of the university cafeteria as “to make adequate amounts of healthful food available to students at the lowest cost which volume buying and serving [would] make possible.”¹⁹³ He wrote that “it is the usual rather than the exception for the great universities of this country to provide adequate feeding facilities for its students, teaching staff, and personnel.”¹⁹⁴ “The needs and demands of students,” he continued, “are primary concerns to us.”¹⁹⁵ With these firm but polite words, the administration at Berkeley solidified its role of nurturing not only the minds but also the stomachs of its community members.

Administrators and planners at UCLA, who received a pledge of \$500,000 from the Regents for the purposes of improving the Student Union food service, took a different approach. Complaints from students about the facilities in Kerckhoff Hall continued during the postwar years. With an average of 9,000 meals served each day in the fall of 1954, the single kitchen with four dining rooms seating 825 left little space for proper food storage and service.¹⁹⁶ Equipment was also antiquated and expensive to maintain, leaving a Preliminary Planning Committee appointed by the administration to question whether the facilities in Kerckhoff Hall could be sufficiently improved.¹⁹⁷ Although this committee dreamed of a new building, equipped with a spacious central kitchen, ample storage area, and a roomy cafeteria, their principal charge was to evaluate the various problems and offer a range of more modest solutions.

The design and location of Kerckhoff Hall limited the placement and scale of any building addition. Expansion could occur downhill to the west or south, which would have required the removal or renovation of the Annex, but no other side of the building allowed for a sizable addition. The walkway and steps to the north were monumental, and the Education building to the east was too near. And unlike planners at UC Berkeley, administrators at UCLA did not want a separate cafeteria facility on a different site. Kerckhoff, they thought, sat in the best possible place between the commuter parking lots and the academic buildings. Thus, if UCLA were to have a large cafeteria, it would be adjacent to the existing Student Union building.

Construction cost was also a principal concern, but cost estimates did not deter the Preliminary Planning Committee from proceeding. On the one hand, they pondered practical questions: should the university use the funds made available by the Regents immediately, should the Associated Students on the UCLA campus increase membership fees, and should these fees cover only a cafeteria expansion or a full Student Union building?¹⁹⁸ On the other hand, the committee was aware of a multitude of possible income-producing projects that could offset construction costs. If UCLA could build a

¹⁹³ Letter from Corley to Voerge, January 7, 1949 (Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley) [CU-5 series 2, 2:16].

¹⁹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁹⁵ Draft letter from Corley to Voerge, February 2, 1949 (Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley) [CU-5 series 2, 2:16].

¹⁹⁶ The existing cafeteria space totaled 20,000 square feet (quite large), but it was broken up into smaller spaces.

¹⁹⁷ Minutes of the special preliminary planning committee on cafeteria expansion, n.d. but circa 1954 (Chancellor’s Office Records, University Archives, UCLA [Series 539 Box 276 F88]).

¹⁹⁸ Special Committee on Planning For Cafeteria Expansion, October 1, 1954 (Chancellor’s Office Records, University Archives, UCLA [Series 359 Box 276 F88]).

new cafeteria, why not bowling alleys, pool tables, and a barber or gift shop? Although their visions were grand, the committee weighed the options carefully, balancing best-case scenarios with practical approaches and prevailing attitudes about food service.

In the process, the Preliminary Planning Committee placed efficiency, cost, and space as the three most important facets of food service. If space were made available to serve a student body of 20,000, then an estimated 7,100 meals or 800 seats should be adequate. These figures, lower than those previously described, suggested that existing facilities might have been sufficient. By 1954, however, the Committee showed an investment, if not a wholesale belief, in continuous, visible, modern space. Rather than the previous 20,000 square feet in Kerckhoff Hall, which were scattered throughout the building, UCLA needed 22,000 new, contiguous square feet to serve 7,000 meals per day at an acceptable, efficient rate. Although this estimate excluded faculty, who would have been included in Kerckhoff Hall, the idea of a new, clean, ample space captured the committee's imagination.

The committee's propensity to imagine spacious eating facilities was coupled with a sense of obligation to provide affordable meal prices.¹⁹⁹ Thus, in addition to roominess, the cost of meals was another principal concern. Low-cost meals could mean smaller profits, but all agreed that the administration, like its counterpart at Berkeley, was obliged to provide this amenity. Although students often brought their lunches from home, many supplemented homemade food with food purchased in the cafeteria. Other students bought full hot meals. Inexpensive food and efficient service during lunch hours were hallmarks of postwar cafeteria planning.²⁰⁰

Although Kerckhoff Hall contained nearly enough dedicated square feet for food service, committee members felt that the space was woefully inadequate. From their perspective, the dining rooms were too small and decentralized, and the kitchen was overcrowded. Moreover, they believed that with pressure for space from other student services and the expectation that enrollment would continue to climb, money spent on the existing facility would not be a wise investment in the long term.²⁰¹ Thus, even with a mandate and money from the Regents, the Preliminary Planning Committee eschewed improving the older facilities of Kerckhoff Hall.

The more favorable solutions involved adding a new wing to Kerckhoff or erecting an entirely new cafeteria building. These, the committee thought, would best accommodate projected student feeding needs. A new structure would be ample to start but could also be renovated to accommodate other groups on campus, such as faculty. In addition, this would free space in Kerckhoff Hall for other student services and activities. Of course, the immediate drawback to building a new annex or building was cost. The Preliminary Planning Committee thought demolition, site preparation, and construction would require \$1 million, considerably more than the Regents' pledge of \$500,000. Although student fees and revenue from food sales could help pay off a loan, the

¹⁹⁹ See memo to Chancellor Allen from Preliminary Planning Committee, November 18, 1954 (Chancellor's Office Records, University Archives, UCLA [Series 359 Box 276 F88]).

²⁰⁰ Absent from these discussions are concerns about taste.

²⁰¹ See memo to Chancellor Allen from Preliminary Planning Committee, November 18, 1954 (Chancellor's Office Records, University Archives, UCLA [Series 359 Box 276 F88]).

Committee favored postponing plans and renegotiating with the Regents a large sum for a larger, more comprehensive project.²⁰²

Even as plans to improve the food service in Kerckhoff Hall were eclipsed, the committee made an imprint on the future. Their vision to think large, coupled with careful analysis and consideration, later impressed the Regents. More important, however, the committee made an off-hand astute remark about food service at UCLA. They acknowledged the trend toward decentralization, in residence hall dormitories as well as campus food stands owned and operated by students. As a result, they opted to renovate Kerckhoff and invest in temporary food stands.

2.7 Food Stands at UCLA

In contrast with UC Berkeley, outdoor food stands had been an early solution to UCLA's food service problem. They fed the hungry snack-seeker tasty treats at an adequate speed. However, as soon as outdoor food stands were in place, they became the topic of a heated debate among campus administrators, students, and UCLA's consulting architect, Welton Becket, after World War II. Referred to as walk-ins, hot dog stands, eating stands, lunch stands, and snack shacks, food stands prompted the campus community at UCLA to contemplate the necessary but unsightly presence of food stands on campus.

Administrators believed that pressures for lunch stands stemmed from inadequate Student Union facilities and UCLA's isolated location in Westwood Village. Unlike students at Berkeley, who could find reasonably priced food in nearby commercial districts north and south of campus, students at UCLA had few commercial facilities at hand. The shortage of cheap, convenient food invited informal individually owned and operated business ventures otherwise known as "walk-ins."²⁰³ Regulating these businesses posed special challenges: the campus community clearly needed them, but the stands often fell below the sanitary standards of the administration, who might have to explain them to parents or visitors.

Officially sanctioned food stands would subcontract with the Associated Students, although the sanitary conditions of these food stands had their own problems. The Chemistry building stand, known as the Free-Bo Shack, had old equipment and a ramshackle appearance. Owners left food for sale out in the open, exposing edibles such as donuts to dust in the area. Administrators believed that food left exposed should not be sold or that the whole operation should be relocated to another area on campus.²⁰⁴ Moreover, by the end of the day, these sites were invariably littered with trash.

When surveyed, students indicated that they purchased food from lunch stands regularly. Of about 900 students polled at the old Royce Hall stand, one-third said that

²⁰² Memo to Chancellor Allen from Preliminary Planning Committee, November 18, 1954 (Chancellor's Office Records, University Archives, UCLA [Series 359 Box 276 F88]).

²⁰³ Memo to J. H. Corley from R. J. Evans, February, 21, 1952 (Chancellor's Office Records, University Archives, UCLA [Series 401 Box 122]).

²⁰⁴ Memo to Ackerman from George Taylor, October 15, 1947 (Chancellor's Office Records, University Archives, UCLA [Series 401 Box 122]). For more concerns about the Chemistry and Royce Hall food stands see memo from George Taylor to Ackerman, April 13, 1949.

they ate at the stand three times a week, whereas another third said that they ate there five times a week, an average of once a day. Moreover, two-thirds of the students polled said that the principal reason they patronized the stand was convenience; however, over half preferred the stand because it was significantly less crowded than the cafeteria and the coffee shop in Kerckhoff Hall. Nearly 100 percent of the respondents thought that if the stand were improved, more students would patronize the stand more often. If the Royce Hall lunch stand were removed, over half of the students polled declared they would not eat at Kerckhoff Hall, which was more than those who said they brought their own lunch. In other words, a good number of students would rather starve than enter the cafeteria of Kerckhoff Hall!

Administrators believed that better Student Union facilities would minimize demands for food stands but recognized the need for a decentralized approach. A formal committee, representing the administration, students, and Office of Architects and Engineers, recommended three sites for future eating stands.²⁰⁵ A stand near the Art, Business Administration, and Law buildings would supplant the Free-Bo Shack near the old Chemistry building and Royce Hall. A stand on the east side of Franz Hall would serve its occupants as well as those in the new Chemistry and Geology buildings. Finally, a stand near Kerckhoff Hall would replace an old stand, which had been established immediately after the war, and would continue to alleviate pressure placed on the central Student Union dining facilities.²⁰⁶ Over a ten-year period, the committee posited that these sites would be sufficient. The only obstacles implementing proper food stands at the sites would be utilities and the additional cost of constructing rain shelters for patrons.²⁰⁷

If the University, rather than entrepreneurial individuals, owned and operated the stands, the student government stood the chance of increasing profits and therefore contributing to the funding of student activities on campus. Thus, regarding continued use, potential revenue, and ongoing concerns about the appearance of such snack shacks, the design and placement of lunch stands furthered discussion among campus architects and engineers.

Postwar building construction was rapidly changing the social and physical dynamics of the campus so much that UCLA's in-house architect, Carl McElvy, suggested an innovative solution. He thought an outdoor lunch stand designed to rest on skids would provide the greatest amount of flexibility and therefore satisfaction among members of the campus community. Although he imagined the solution as temporary, he argued that a portable snack stand could be installed immediately but then be moved to another location if its site were to become a desirable place for a permanent academic building. The director of the Student Union, who witnessed Kerckhoff each day, saw the pressing need to provide food for the Art, Business Administration, Law, and Social

²⁰⁵ Committee members included William Ackerman, Paul Hannum, Harry Bliss, Laurance Sweeney, Roy Cullison, Carl McElvy, and Fred Thornley.

²⁰⁶ Memo to James Corley from George Taylor, January 3, 1952 (Chancellor's Office Records, University Archives, UCLA [Series 401 Box 122]). For discussion of Kerckhoff's proposed stand, see memo from George Taylor to Dean Vern Knudsen, March 12, 1951.

²⁰⁷ Memo to James Corley from George Taylor, January 3, 1952, and meeting minutes of the outdoor eating stand committee, May 25, 1951 (Chancellor's Office Records, University Archives, UCLA [Series 401 Box 122]).

Science buildings. He felt that quick, temporary buildings met real needs on campus and therefore supported McElvy's plan. Naysayers, however, included those more invested in the beauty and order of the architecture.

James Corley, then Vice President of Business Affairs, wrote from Berkeley about the increased numbers of food stands on campuses throughout California. He acknowledged the thriving economic niche for sandwiches and soft drinks among students who did not wish to make use of the Student Union but cautioned that campuses needed to plan carefully. Lunch stands have a tendency to grow in number, and none, he wrote, "have generally been recognized as structures of 'architectural beauty'."²⁰⁸ He felt that campuses with food stands should establish and control the number and type of facilities, including uniform dimensions and specifications. Despite his skepticism about having an efficient and proper facility that is architecturally satisfactory and economically feasible, he accepted the stands as new fixtures on campus and speculated that "recent improvement in the construction of 'drive-ins' might provide a basis for economical and efficient food-dispensing facilities."²⁰⁹ However, rather than design the structure himself, he asked representatives from each campus to brainstorm ways of addressing the problem.

UCLA's answer to the problem of food stands came from the Office of Architects and Engineers. Instead of McElvy's moveable food shack, the office officially proposed plans for a single-story, free-standing lunch stand (Figure 13) made of wood. Food service staff would prepare and serve snacks to customers on one side, under an open-air cantilevered roof. The Office of Architects and Engineers imagined these low-slung and modern structures permanently situated among the campus buildings. However, as with any quick and economically founded project, there was a risk of upsetting those who valued the congruity of architectural styles and the campus plan. In the imagination of Welton Becket, who served as UCLA's Master Planner and Supervising Architect from 1949 to 1969, the proposal upended the logic of campus and the traditional building materials of its architecture.

²⁰⁸ Memo from Corley, May 4, 1951 (Chancellor's Office Records, University Archives, UCLA [Series 401 Box 122]).

²⁰⁹ Ibid.

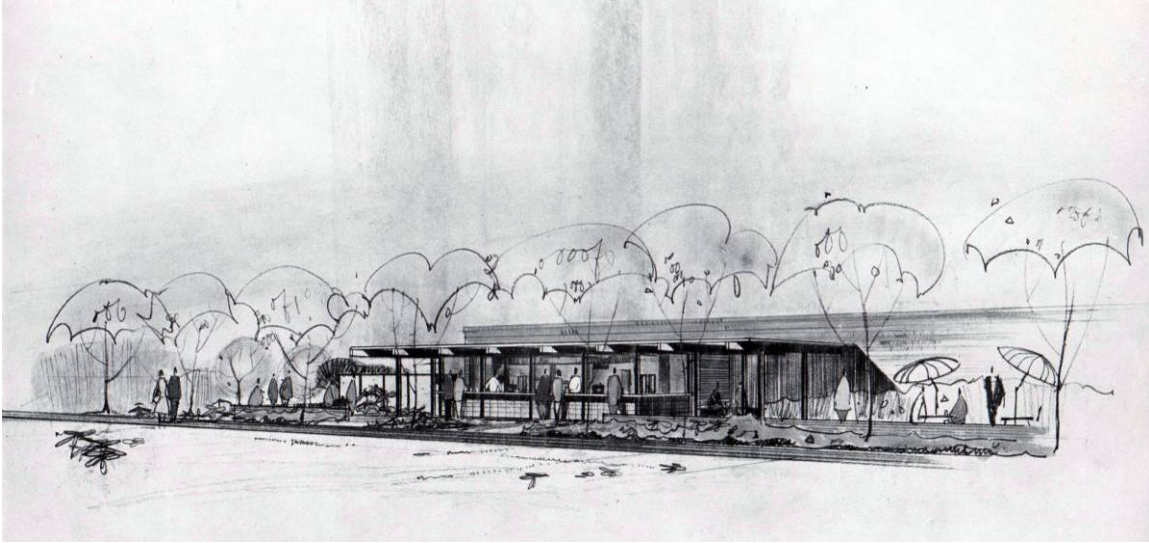


Figure 13: Food Stand proposed by the Office of Architects and Engineers (source: courtesy of the University Archives, University of California, Los Angeles).

Committed to the international style of architecture and his duties as Supervising Architect as UCLA, Becket dutifully opposed food stands on campus. Born in Seattle in 1902, he earned his degree in architecture from the University of Washington before studying in Europe at the Fontainebleau School of Fine Arts in Paris. When he returned to the United States in 1928, Becket found work in Los Angeles with the firm of C. Waldo Powers, who provided local architecture and engineering services. When the depression hit, Becket returned to Seattle and worked for and by himself until he obtained a substantial commission from the American Wholesale Grocery Company. Faced with such a large project, Becket contacted his friend and classmate Walter Wurdeman and proposed that the two of them form a partnership. By 1948, when the firm of Becket and Wurdeman accepted the position as Supervising Architect at UCLA, their office employed a fifty-person staff and occupied its own building near the Prudential Building of its design on Wilshire Boulevard. But shortly after the firm agreed to succeed David Allison as the Supervising Architect for the UCLA campus, Wurdeman died, leaving Becket to carry out the job alone.²¹⁰

Becket's principal role with food stands was to establish the best possible location for them. Although he was adamantly opposed to portable "hot dog" stands, as he called them, he agreed to recommend the least objectionable places. "Whenever possible," he stated, "I would like to see these a part of or adjoining a structure, rather than a free-standing unit in the open, or between buildings."²¹¹ He preferred maintaining a stand near the Chemistry building rather than building a new one adjoining the Art or Home Economics buildings. Moreover, he opposed placing a food stand near Kerckhoff Hall,

²¹⁰ Nystrom, Richard Kent. *UCLA: an Interpretation Considering Architecture and Site* (University of Los Angeles, 1968 (dissertation)), p123. Becket confirmed in 1968 that he thought the University Regents wanted "young blood" and "new ideas" that contrasted with the length of tenure of Allison's vision.

²¹¹ Memo to Carl McElvy, June 6, 1952 (Chancellor's Office Records, University Archives, UCLA [Series 401 Box 122]).

objecting to the suitability of the site because he considered contrasting architectural styles so near each other displeasing. In contrast to the Gothic grandeur of Kerckhoff Hall, snack shacks were mass-produced modern buildings small and low to the ground.²¹² Apparently unsympathetic to the problem of providing affordable healthful food, Beckett celebrated the logic of UCLA's campus architecture and campus plan. But despite his valiant effort to keep food stands from appearing, the sprawling campus and predictable warmth of Los Angeles made the campus ripe for outdoor eating.

2.8 Quantity Feeding and the Student Union

The architecture of food immediately after the war at the University of California at Los Angeles and Berkeley was fairly unremarkable. Food stands and Army surplus mess halls were part of the everyday postwar landscape. These temporary postwar solutions, in which food was abundant and cheap, however, altered access to food and the policies that supported its availability and abundance. With an unruly group of war veterans on campus, it was as if food conquered the stomachs of students and the rhetoric of efficiency, abundance, and affordability used by administrators transitioned the war-struck G.I. to campus.

Although modern cafeterias and convenient snack shacks supplanted the outdated food services in prewar Student Union buildings on California campuses, the importance of Student Union buildings did not fade. At Berkeley, postwar Union staff re-segregated the Tap Room by banishing women, opened the Coffee Shop to all members, and found space for the bookstore. The men's clubrooms were outfitted with new furniture, a game room, and a record player. The women's clubrooms were redecorated. For all, a new recreation room was created on the ground floor.²¹³ As the epicenter of student publications and politics, its walls bore the abuse of student activities as it had before the war. The difference was that for the first time, universities wholly prepared and served or simply provided access to unprecedented amounts of affordable food. As with any trial run, administrators witnessed just how important food was to the life and community of campus. Because initial changes to postwar food production and service grew out of wartime practices, solutions reflected a grave concern for the G.I. as well as experiences of food shortages on the home front. Abundant food meant and felt like victory.

Unlike Edith Humphreys' belief that the gradual transformation of Student Unions was the natural course of Union development, activities on campus during World War II ruptured traditional patterns of socialization. Civilians and military trainees defined social activities and dining areas. In addition, hasty postwar solutions surreptitiously established food as a legitimate concern and responsibility of the administration. Although postwar physical changes to campus were temporary, they permanently reshaped community expectations about what services a new Student Union could provide and allowed students, Union staff, and administrators to plan long-term solutions.

²¹² Memo to James Corley from George Taylor, January 3, 1952 (Chancellor's Office Records, University Archives UCLA [Series 401 Box 122]).

²¹³ "Enrollment Levels Off – But not Construction" in *California Monthly*, October 1948, p7.

With quantity feeding in place, the older view of the Student Union as a clubhouse failed because this model of socialization could not match the scale of activities on the postwar campus. Clubrooms were clubrooms if they were intimate and elite. Cafeterias were for the masses. The G.I. Bill not only doubled the number of students on campus but brought middle-class tastes and expectations. More subtle, but equally important, students welcomed the cafeteria as a site of affordable quantity consumption. Staff, student governments, alumni, and administration forged ahead by envisioning the next generation of the Student Union. Thus, Student Unions, touted as the “campus living room” in the 1920s and 1930s, were to be adapted. The experience of “home” on campus stretched beyond socialization in lounges and billiard halls to encompass not only soda fountains but also quick-service snack shacks and industrial-sized kitchens and cafeterias.

Chapter 3

Postwar Student Unions as Crucibles for a Middle-Class Art of Living

The sudden deluge of G.I.s on college campuses in 1946 and 1947 forced College Unions into austerity programs that juggled demand, labor shortages, and food prices. But in those years the war veteran, whether a student whose college career was interrupted by war or a G.I. who had never before been to campus, was the primary concern of Student Union leaders. No college administrator had seen so many students enter campus or the College Union, and Union leaders were unsure whether they should segregate, integrate, or assimilate the veteran.²¹⁴ Although leaders chose the last route, the war irreversibly changed the social and educational priorities of colleges and the subsequent planning and construction of campus buildings.

Wartime officer training programs and postwar college enrollments had pressed campus administrators to devise temporary dining solutions, but all administrators agreed that campuses needed more permanent facilities for food service, extracurricular activities, and leisure. Thus, schools increasingly desired new or larger Union buildings that would accommodate the large student body that administrators expected to continue to grow. Concerns about war veterans and unprecedented levels of student enrollments attracted Association membership faster than most schools could build facilities. In 1946, 34 of the 84 members of the Association of College Unions were considering construction. In 1947, membership in the Association was up, and the number of schools that wanted to build had also increased. By 1948, 60 of the 132 members had no facility, and by 1949, 66 of 162 members had not yet secured facilities.²¹⁵

Underlying all of this activity was a serious concern to insure the development of a democratic and prosperous postwar middle-class society. The middle majority, a heterogeneous group created by marketing mavens, would guide the decisions Union leaders made about programs, activities, and facilities. Student Union proponents would uphold the idea of a middle-class postwar society.

With interest in Student Union buildings high, the Association hosted sessions on the topic at the Association of College Unions conventions between 1946 and 1950. Drawing from seasoned Union leadership across the country, members reaffirmed that

²¹⁴ See convention notes prepared by Harold E. Pride, "History of the Association of College Unions," in *College Unions – Year Fifty*, Chester Berry, ed. (Stanford: Association of College Unions, 1965), p30.

²¹⁵ Harold Pride, "History of the Association of College Unions," in *College Unions – Year Fifty*, Chester Berry, ed. (Stanford University: Association of College Unions, circa 1965), pp30, 31, 33, 35.

the Association would be the principal resource for College Union planning and operation. Two individuals – Porter Butts and Michael Hare – rose as official Association consultants for the planning and design of new Union buildings. Because campus administrators and Union leaders hoped to accommodate *all* members of the postwar campus community, including commuting students, international students, traditional-aged students, married students, veteran students, wives, husbands, faculty, staff, alumni, and the public, by proposing new and ample space for leisure and student government activities, Butts and Hare promoted community recreation centers with broad appeal.

However, establishing broad appeal was not a straightforward process. Student Union leaders navigated a set of reciprocal forces that included prevalent ideas about recreation, Cold War politics, student experiences of campus, and campus-planning techniques defined by architects and the administration. Broadening the audience of Student Unions was, on one hand, a savvy approach to planning new campus buildings because it established shared community space while implementing income-producing activities on campus. As many scholars of the postwar period note, developers built new commercial centers in suburban communities that provided public space and served private investments.²¹⁶ Although these environments were carefully policed to keep vagrants and other undesired members of the population out, these centers were celebrated by many of the families that used them.²¹⁷ In a similar spirit, college administrators sought ways to build Unions that would serve the campus community, which had changed radically since the 1930s, and support itself, through book sales, food service, special events, and student fees. The economic model was no secret – land was expensive, buildings were costly to erect, and programs and activities needed funding – but financing made students and the college community consumers of food and leisure and necessary cogs in an economic machine.

On the other hand, Student Union leaders saw the broadening and leveling of social and economic differences as culturally advantageous because it meant bringing the bottom up and the top down so that the majority of students shared a common set of leisure activities. The result was a genuine attempt to match in Student Union programs the standard of living promised by federal housing loans programs and community builders around cities, and thereby instilling a standard of living on college campuses. Student Unions retained billiards and game rooms, bookstores, and soda fountains; eliminated separate lounges for men and women; and added programs such as music-listening rooms, bowling alleys, and flexible large ballrooms that could double as banquet halls and conference rooms. From the vantage point of Union leaders, the Union would serve and maintain the campus community in much the same way that churches, neighborhood community centers, and retail spaces did in cities.

²¹⁶ Middle-class white families benefited the most from these quasi-public spaces. See Lizabeth Cohen, *A Consumer's Republic: The Politics of Mass Consumption in Postwar America* (New York: Vintage Books, 2003); Dolores Hayden's account of Park Forest Illinois in "Sitcom Suburbs" in *Building Suburbia: Green Fields and Urban Growth 1820-2000* (New York: Pantheon, 2003); and Margaret Crawford, "The World in a Shopping Mall" in *Variations on a Theme Park: The New American City and the End of Public Space*, Michael Sorkin, ed. (New York: Noonday Press, 1992).

²¹⁷ See especially Lizabeth Cohen, *A Consumer's Republic: The Politics of Mass Consumption in Postwar America* (New York: Vintage Books, 2003).

To achieve these significant changes, architects adopted modern materials and allowed spatial flexibility and coed socialization. Areas for recreation and dining, especially, used moveable partition walls, columns, and glass partitions to create dynamic spaces for student consumption and socialization. As described below, the ground and first-floor plans of the Wilson Compton Student Union building at Washington State College in Pullman, for example, used modern architecture to create spaces that were visual permeability and spatially connected. The programmatic relationships among activities took on a new form as well. Dining and recreation each had its own floor, which effectively shifted control through surveillance from a single checkpoint to the establishment of tacit rules of conduct associated with each activity group. The clustering of similar activities and the visual connections between them highlighted even the smallest activity that would enliven the Union.

Building a Student Union for *all* meant expanding Union services to address student needs, a growing body of interested alumni, and the public, but it also meant that underlying the activities and architecture of Unions was a hope of spreading middle-class values, democracy, citizenship, and freedom for a broad group of middle-class Americans. Seasoned Student Union leaders, however, did not consider soldiers, who were more worldly than their younger classmates, to be ready for civilian life. Soldiers had trained to use weaponry in tough, homo-social environments. With their behavior unchecked during war, in the postwar period veterans openly exhibited what some observers felt was a general degradation of personal character. For this reason, Student Union proponents ensured that Unions played an important role in shaping student cultural values. Like programs at neighborhood community centers, Union-sponsored programs modeled middle-class lifestyles and acceptable forms of leisure activities, making student personalities and the traits of the community crucial aspects of the architectural design.

3.1 Student Character and the Student Union

Many leaders in higher education believed that campus programs should help students develop social skills. Provost Clarence Dykstra at UCLA, for example, recommended that students take part in student activities and campus social life to build a more rounded personality.²¹⁸ Even President Robert Sproul of UC Berkeley, who was a student conduct watchdog, suggested that students meter their studies to ensure they have time to participate in athletics, student activities, concerts, and plays – all of which were principally sponsored by the Student Union.²¹⁹ Articles collected by university administrators on the topic of student development showed they had a studied concern for

²¹⁸ Speech made by Provost Clarence Dykstra in 1946 (Chancellor's Office Records, University Archives, UCLA [Series 359 Box 241 F277]). Dykstra served as President of the University of Wisconsin, Madison, between 1937 and 1944, while Porter Butts served as the Union Director.

²¹⁹ See speech made by President Robert Sproul in 1947 (Chancellor's Office Records, University Archives, UCLA [Series 359 Box 241 F40]).

the personality and character of college graduates.²²⁰ One such article by Dwayne Orton, Director of Education at the International Business Machines Corporation, pondered key traits major corporations sought in their applicants.²²¹ Intelligence ranked high but so did the ability to meet, talk with, and get along with people; honesty, loyalty, a well-groomed appearance, dependability, humor, confidence, and general courtesy were also on the list. Because business placed a premium on personality, Orton thought character should be taught in American colleges. Good character, some believed, would insure a stable and content postwar society.²²² But according to Orton, character-education was not a curricular problem. Instead, colleges should nurture and cultivate the growth of a wholesome personality through activities. But how?

As if Student Unions alone would save people from themselves, Porter Butts, Director of the Wisconsin Union and editor of Association publications, believed that Unions should be laboratories for citizenship. “Good citizens,” he wrote, “are not made through the advancement of science or by reading the history of our democratic past” but are made “when men begin to feel a responsibility for their general welfare, when their interests include not merely vocational matters, or personal gains, but the destiny of the group to which they belong.”²²³ In other words, citizens were made through citizenship. Butts’ concept, however, consisted of many layers that, in practice, shaped a collegiate community that celebrated self-discovery, self-expression, and the development of whole individuals, complete with the characteristics celebrated by authors like Dwayne Orton.²²⁴

With individual development a widely held goal of student Union programs, Michael Hare vehemently argued that new Student Unions buildings were the architectural answer and tried to persuade readers about the value of their thoughtful design. Hare, the official consulting architect for the Association, began attending Association conventions when he signed on as the designing architect for the elegant, modern Wisconsin Union theater addition in Madison.²²⁵ Befriending Porter Butts,

²²⁰ See articles on file, University of California President files, Bancroft Library, University of California Berkeley [CU-5 Series 2, 1945:755].

²²¹ Dwayne Orton, “What Does Industry Require?” pp10-11, University of California President files, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley [CU-5 Series 2, 1945:755].

²²² See Orton and also Rev. Paul Austin Wolfe “Character-education in the Post-War World” in University of California President files, Bancroft Library, University of California Berkeley [CU-5 Series 2, 1945:755].

²²³ See University of Wisconsin archives and also concise summary in Bancroft Library, “Student Unions at Some Universities” compiled by Wm. J. Norton, business manager [CU-5 Series 2, 1949:120]. Provost Dykstra of UCLA and President Sproul of UC Berkeley joined Butts as proponents of citizenship in public addresses and official welcome statements.

²²⁴ See Edith Ouzts Humphreys, *College Unions: A Handbook on Campus Community Centers* (Association of College Unions, 1946) and concise summary in Bancroft Library, “Student Unions at Some Universities” compiled by Wm. J. Norton, Business Manager [CU-5 Series 2, 1949:120].

²²⁵ Hare attended Groton and the Yale School of Architecture, studied at the Atelier de Frasse in Paris, and received his bachelor degree in architecture from Columbia. He started his practice as an Associate at the firm of Corbett and MacMurray, designers of Radio City Music Hall, and worked with the industrial designer Russel Wright and architect Howard Battin. He was vice president of America Designs, Inc., and by 1940 had designed commercial and residential interiors including one of the model apartments in the 1939 New York World’s Fair (*The Bulletin of the Association of College Unions*, March 1941, p2).

publications editor for *The Bulletin of the Association of College Unions*, Hare published articles about Student Union architecture. His articles, published in the *Bulletin* as well as in the journal of *College and University Business*, codified ideas about the building type for laypeople outside of the architectural profession.²²⁶ Members of the campus administration as well as Union directors would have read his portrayal of the power of architecture.

Hare feared that after World War II, men and boys no longer knew how to think or live, and to his dismay, he saw them find extraordinary pleasure in meat, girls, and wages.²²⁷ He also thought that the years preceding World War II witnessed the construction of too many buildings without enough thinking. Great architecture, Hare imagined, was not just plumbing, wiring, brick, and stone but a philosophy of life made manifest in physical form. Cautioning architects against trivial matters, he asserted that woodshops and dining halls served a purpose in Unions but that Unions were not built to provide schools with these facilities. Instead, Hare proposed that the program of the Union, especially after the war, could and should teach students that there is more to life than steak, dates, and jobs. He argued that if administrators wanted students to appreciate the pleasures of life, students must be taught what those pleasures in life were. Thus, any architect and college should weigh what is important in living – during college and after graduation – before determining the program of Union buildings.

3.2 Re-establishing the Link Between the Student Union Building and “Home”

Although Hare admitted that buildings themselves cannot teach social ideals, he argued that buildings aided social instruction. Buildings, he believed, offered a meaningful backdrop to human exchange and interaction. Asserting that classrooms could not teach the understanding of others, humor, or humility (qualities he carefully outlined), Hare assumed that a home-like atmosphere would. Home, he thought, was where one found intimate give and take.²²⁸ Hare asserted that the simple-minded pleasures that veterans pursue needed domestication.²²⁹

But the campus “living room,” championed by Student Union leaders before World War II, took on a different meaning after the war. The Union as living room originally allowed administrators to cast the university as home and as a socially respectable coed environment. The concept grew out of the interest of the middle class in

²²⁶ As an aside, Porter Butts not only edited the *Association Bulletin* but was appointed to the editorial advisory board of the new journal of *College and University Business* in 1946. His influence reached beyond the circle of Student Union enthusiasts to a growing group of college business professions generally responsible for the “bottom line” in college development and planning. From 1946 onward, the Union and business industry on campus grew in parallel and set a tone for fiscal responsibility and capital planning.

²²⁷ Michael Hare, “Thoughts on Union Architecture” in *The Bulletin of the Association of College Unions*, February 1945, Vol XIII No 1, p1.

²²⁸ Michael Hare, “Thoughts on Architecture” in *The Bulletin of the Association of College Unions*, February 1945, Vol XIII No 1, p8.

²²⁹ The pursuit of student domestication is part of a long trajectory in institutional architecture. See Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, *Alma Mater: Design and Experience in the Women’s Colleges from Their Nineteenth-Century Beginnings to the 1930s* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1984).

the economy of home life. Pared down, less formal, and included in smaller homes, the living room freed families from the burden of maintaining parlors. It also enabled families to present a more personal or individualistic rendition of themselves.²³⁰ By World War II, Union leaders had established the living room as a metaphor for Student Union buildings. The living room conjured images of comfort, sociability, and wholesome leisure. In practice, the living room reproduced domestic ideals about male and female roles and relationships on campus and in public life. The programs of Student Unions after World War II aimed to teach additional essential life skills.

Union leaders had long understood that Union buildings played a crucial role in human development and renewed their conviction that Union buildings and programs would usher students through the rites of college years by supporting and guiding student development. The same leaders believed that, upon graduation, students who had participated fully in Union programs would be well prepared for adult life. All of this makes sense. As Katherine Grier points out, one reason the living room gained popularity in homes during the 1930s was the gradual professionalization of social activities that had depended on the formalities of the parlor.²³¹ Thus, as funerals, weddings, and holiday celebrations moved into the public realm, so did leisure and the onerous task of providing social education. Therefore, like Unions after the First World War, Unions after the Second World War were places where young adults would learn acceptable social conventions (if they had not already).

But Michael Hare took the connection further by explicitly arguing that Union buildings should relate to the future homes of alumni.²³² As the Association's consulting architect, he boldly asserted in the Association *Bulletin* that "great men have their counterparts in great buildings" and outlined a connection between the minds of students and the campus environment. In this way, he imagined the architecture of the campus living room as a consequential preface to the built environment of graduates. He knew that drill presses were not essential to enjoy the pleasure of woodwork. He also knew that the activities and grandeur of Student Union facilities might be absent from the neighborhoods and communities of alumni. Nonetheless, he saw the principal purpose of the Union as showing students how to live during *and* after college.²³³ Student Unions, Hare thought, needed to have "the qualities ... necessary to practice the art of living" on campus, at home, and around the neighborhood that would secure a congenial postwar society.²³⁴ The concept of home provided Union proponents grounds for the rhetorical and architectural invention of campus life.

²³⁰ Katherine Grier, *Culture and Comfort: People, Parlors, and Upholstery: 1850-1930* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1988); see Chap. 10, "Victorian in the Modern Era," pp287-300.

²³¹ Katherine Grier, "The Decline of the Memory Palace: The Parlor after 1890" in *American Home Life, 1880-1930: A Social History of Spaces and Services*, Jessica Foy and Thomas Schlereth, eds. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1992), p67.

²³² Michael Hare, "Thoughts on Architecture" in *The Bulletin of the Association of College Unions*, February 1945, p8.

²³³ Michael Hare, "Thoughts on Architecture" in *The Bulletin of the Association of College Unions*, February 1945, p8.

²³⁴ Michael Hare, "Thoughts on Architecture" in *The Bulletin of the Association of College Unions*, February 1945, p8.

The art of living was a formative concept for postwar Union leaders. The concept had traction for national policy makers and merchants as well, who saw the return to home as a return to normalcy.²³⁵ Likewise, Union proponents made “home” central to college planning, as if the Student Union were “home” for the entire collegiate family. After the war, advertisements for new single-family homes typically pictured a happy, middle-class family surrounded by modern amenities that were available because of the growing postwar economy. Implied in these images was that wives labored at home cooking, cleaning, and nurturing children while husbands commuted to work by car. Although many scholars have studied the suburbs and domesticity, few have examined leisure time.²³⁶ In the afternoons, kids might have played outside in the yard with their neighborhood friends. In the evening, the ideal middle-class family might have gathered together after dinner to play cards, board games, or charades, listen to music, or watch television in the living room.²³⁷ But what became of dad, the kids, and mom on the weekend? Home builders imagined home life as fulfilling for everyone (Figure 1). Thus, the art of living, which centered around family life, was the pursuit of wholesome leisurely activities.

²³⁵ The “art of living” is tied to larger discourse about home in the postwar period, when home buying was seen as a solution to the social rupture caused by depression and war. Home became, for returning soldiers and new families, the locus of debates about design, planning, and normalcy (see especially “The End of Planning: The Building Boom and the Return to Normalcy” in Andrew Shanken, *194X: Architecture, Planning, and Consumer Culture on the American Home Front* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009), pp159-195).

²³⁶ Dolores Hayden and Gwendolyn Wright have produced authoritative studies on twentieth-century suburban landscapes. Scholarship about leisure exists, but topics vary from vacations (see work by Orvar Löfgren and Cindy Aron), camping (see work by Abigail Van Slyck), sports (see work by Harold Seymour, Steven Riess, and Phil Gruen), parks and theme parks (see work by Galen Cranz, Roy Rosenzweig, Elizabeth Blackmar, Terence Young, and John Findlay), shopping (see work by William Leach and Margaret Crawford), and hobbies (see work by Steven Gelber).

²³⁷ Donna Braden’s essay “The Family that Plays Together Stays Together” in *American Home Life, 1880-1930: A Social History of Spaces and Services*, Jessica Foy and Thomas Schlereth, eds. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1992) argues that family recreation was a part of social reform as play was seen as an antidote to cultural ills. Its connection to consumer culture led to the proliferation of family-oriented pastimes at home. After World War II, proponents of play continued to link leisure with consumer culture. See Steven Gelber’s *Hobbies: Leisure and the Culture of Work in America* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999).



Figure 1. Promotional Eichler Home photograph by Ernie Braun captures two generations of artists enjoying leisure time in the courtyard, circa 1959 (photograph by Ernie Braun, courtesy of the Eichler Network Archives).

For Steven Gelber, these leisure activities included hobby kits and do-it-yourself projects, which found their way into Union programs. In *Hobbies: Leisure and the Culture of Work in America*, Gelber argues that the do-it-yourself movement of home hobbies was a critical component of commercial marketing and family propaganda after World War II. Doing crafts together, specifically home improvement projects, built family bonds and nurtured gender roles. Dad, along with taking out the garbage, servicing the car, and mowing the lawn, would perform household maintenance and repair. Mom, in turn, glued and painted furniture or smaller decorative objects. These activities, according to Gelber, allowed fathers to “stay at home without feeling emasculated or being subsumed into an undifferentiated entity with his wife” and, more important, gave

fathers wholesome leisure-like activities to do with their sons and family.²³⁸ Although the modern homes constructed by Joseph Eichler (pictured above) had no place other than the garage to put a workbench, most postwar homes had them. Homes in places like Levittown, for example, were sold with unfinished attics that were not only fit for tools but were also the objects of home improvement. Even though magazine ads for power tools, do-it-yourself fashion, and whisky portrayed male sociability as an important component of leisure activities taking place in the postwar home, women contributed to the art of living as well by decorating or sewing final touches.²³⁹ Hare saw Student Unions as well equipped to teach these skills and habits. In this way, Student Union buildings were to emulate domestic environments.

Families spent leisure time together outside the home as well, which made the programs of Unions even more important. Suburbs, as Margaret Crawford argues, depended on innovative products and new ways of consuming, and postwar shopping center developers readied themselves for families with wartime savings.²⁴⁰ More important, as Lizabeth Cohen points out, was that suburban department stores experienced most sales at night and on the weekends, which signaled that families shopped for clothes, appliances, and furnishings together with the car.²⁴¹ Regional shopping centers were then a practical and recreational destination for the whole family. Architects, most notably Victor Gruen, built careers promoting, planning, and designing shopping centers for family and community use.²⁴² For Gruen, “the regional shopping center must, besides performing its commercial function, fill the vacuum created by the absence of social, cultural, and civic crystallization points in our vast suburban areas.”²⁴³ With free parking and careful landscaping, these buildings served as satellite downtown areas and provided social and cultural amenities needed in new suburban neighborhoods. Thus, in addition to anchor department stores, variety stores, and restaurants, regional shopping centers might also have auditoriums, lecture rooms, libraries, children’s day nurseries, and Boy and Girl Scout dens.²⁴⁴ All of these amenities promised a mixture of commercial and non-commercial forms of relaxation and amusement for suburban dwellers. Thus, like Union buildings, shopping centers were instrumental in shaping postwar culture.

²³⁸ Steven Gelber *Hobbies: Leisure and the Culture of Work in America* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), p209.

²³⁹ See Gelber, pp283-4, 288-289.

²⁴⁰ Margaret Crawford, “The World in a Shopping Mall” in *Variation on a Theme Park: the New American City and the End of Public Space*, Michael Sorkin, ed. (New York: Noonday Press, 1992).

²⁴¹ See Lizabeth Cohen, “Commerce: Reconfiguring Community Marketplaces” in *A Consumer’s Republic* (New York: Vintage Books, 2003).

²⁴² See especially Victor Gruen and Larry Smith’s, who in their seminal book, *Shopping Towns USA: The Planning of Shopping Centers* (New York: Reinhold Publishing Corporation, 1960), labored to define the shopping center as an architectural type, but also M. Jeffrey Hardwick, who in “A ‘Shoppers’ Paradise’ for Suburbia” in *Mall Maker: Victor Gruen, Architect of an American Dream* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004, pp118-141), details Gruen’s vision for social connections and community in American malls.

²⁴³ Victor Gruen and Lawrence Smith, “Shopping Centers: The New Building Type” in *Progressive Architecture*, June 1952, Vol 33, entire issue (p67).

²⁴⁴ *Ibid*, pp68-9.

Families also spent discretionary income directly on sports and recreational activities. In an effort to build business after the war, bowling alley owners moved or spruced up their facilities for family bowling leagues.²⁴⁵ Alley owners replaced bars with restaurants, day care centers, or community rooms. Some created fantastical environments for memorable family outings; others promoted merchant leagues for women or advertised themselves as safe places for teens to spend their afternoons after school.²⁴⁶ Even the alley, whose reputation once rested on working class and pin boy culture, was a backdrop for the art of living. Places like shopping malls and bowling alleys not only allowed middle-class families to recreate together but also reinforced their middle-class image and purchasing power. Union leaders picked up on the larger cultural shift and subsequently promoted ample space for cafeterias, bookstores, and bowling alleys in Unions. Student Union buildings upheld middle-class aspirations and pitched the idea of home as an environment as well as a normative set of leisure activities.

All of this was happening as the Cold War set in, when home became a trope of progress and national security and when institutions of higher education began to tinker with postwar curriculums. According to Christopher Lucas in *American Higher Education*, the end of World War II renewed interest in general education. As in the 1920s, educators believed that general training effectively countered vocationalism and overspecialization and subsequently resurrected familiar themes of public responsibility, common cultural heritage, and self-realization.²⁴⁷ Crafted during the war years, Harvard University's "Redbook" or *General Education in a Free Society* of 1945 set a precedent for universities in the United States. And although Harvard's book did not specify the framework for undergraduate learning, it plainly described two educational objectives: to prepare people for their unique and personal functions in life and to prepare them to share common spheres as citizens and heirs of a joint culture.²⁴⁸ Other influential texts, such as Horace Kallen's *The Education of Free Men* of 1949, signaled a cultural imperative for freedom.²⁴⁹ The typical American academic institution would, with funding from the federal government, implement long-lasting changes to curriculums and research. The Union leaders, who saw the Student Union sandwiched between academic and real life, believed that the socialization of students – as consumers and as citizens – was crucial.

Porter Butts, the Association's long-time editor of publications, frequently wrote about the College Union's purpose, but his essay published in May of 1946 linked the tyranny of Hitler's regime to the failure of Germany's education system.²⁵⁰ Butts saw war as a result of the failure of German universities to not only teach but also promote community life. Because he and his colleagues (principally Hare) at the Association of

²⁴⁵ See Andrew Hurley, "Bowling Alleys" in *Diners, Bowling Alleys, and Trailer Parks: Chasing the American Dream in the Postwar Consumer Culture* (New York: Basic Books, 2001).

²⁴⁶ For bowling palaces, see Hurley's discussion about the California architectural firm of Powers, Daly, and DeRosa, pp152-159.

²⁴⁷ Christopher Lucas, *American Higher Education: A History* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1994), pp249-250.

²⁴⁸ Lucas, p250.

²⁴⁹ Horace Kallen, *The Education of Free Men, An Essay Toward the Philosophy of Education for Americans* (New York: Farrar, Straus, 1949).

²⁵⁰ Porter Butts, "Background on the Union's Purpose" in *The Bulletin of the Association of College Unions*, May 1946, pp1, 6.

College Unions viewed the U.S. soldier as in desperate need of civilization and feared the threat of communism and the onset of the Cold War, they wholeheartedly and openly celebrated the merits of Student Union buildings. If the American way of life were in danger, the Student Union building would come to the rescue by gallantly providing living rooms for the collegiate family.

3.3 Alumni, War Memorials, and Community Planning

With the G.I. bill implemented, alumni became the fastest growing community for colleges and universities. Although individual investment was uneven, as a group, alumni forged a powerful sphere of influence over college life and postwar campus planning. Much like the generation of students before them, postwar college students forged close relationships with classmates, staff, and faculty in and around the campus environment such that the campus itself was, as it had always been, evocative of college memories. But unlike students before World War II, postwar students crowded onto prewar campuses with wartime hangovers. Both the ill-prepared campus facilities and the vivid military experiences of servicemen and -women framed expectations about the quality, upkeep, and services provided by academic institutions after World War II. Alumni often used an office in the Union as their headquarters, but World War II expanded the key stakeholders for Student Union planning from Union leaders and students to include alumni because the latter group had force and carried the vision of the middle majority.

Military service colored expectations in several ways. First, with World War II as a celebrated national effort, veteran alums and students sought ways to remember the war within the campus community. Campus memorials date back to the revolutionary war, but beginning largely with World War I, universities built living memorials for campus communities. Talk about memorialization began before the close of the World War I but, more important, incited public debate about the merits of living memorials.²⁵¹ At that time, most living memorials adapted the programs of wartime community centers, whose principal purpose was to encourage social interaction between soldiers and civilians to suit civilian life.²⁵² Thus, civic centers, designed with theaters, were among the first and most common living memorials.²⁵³ Imagined as an antidote to traditional memorials by proponents, living memorials could not only represent social ideals for future generations but also enable them through social programs. As a type of memorial, living memorials offered a way to fold “the sacrifices of war into the pattern of democratic community life” and effectively alter the relationship between public space and memory.²⁵⁴

Student Union buildings dedicated to World War I, such as Wisconsin’s Memorial Union, are exemplary living memorials. Unlike traditional monuments, Student Unions contained space for meaningful social interaction. Even Michael Hare, consulting architect for the Association of College Unions, joined the debate. He was quick to point

²⁵¹ See Andrew Shanken, “Planning Memory: Living Memorials in the United States During World War II” in *Art Bulletin*, March 2002, Vol LXXXIV No 1, pp130-147.

²⁵² Shanken, p132.

²⁵³ Shanken, pp130-131, discusses the Onondaga County War Memorial in Syracuse, New York.

²⁵⁴ Shanken, p130.

out that the worst war memorial “is one that immobilizes in stone only the vacant pretensions of a world gone by” and the best war memorial “a program and a building which teaches the art of living.”²⁵⁵ With a widening definition of war memorials and a growing recreation movement, Student Unions were ready vessels for democratic community life on college campuses.

While talk about living memorials had reached Michael Hare and his colleagues at the Association of College Unions, alumni pushed projects forward. Thus, the will to memorialize World War II in the form of living memorials found fertile ground on college campuses, especially at large public universities like UC Berkeley. At Berkeley, the idea for a postwar Memorial Student Union building originated when rumor spread about the availability of State funds for war memorials. Alumni favored constructing a living memorial that could instill the values and activities necessary for the future of American democracy and serve as a leisure center that taught citizenship.

But alumni also envisioned a campus plan that responded to the needs of students and a Union that was carefully placed within the fabric of the campus that served them and the whole campus community. Because military personnel worked in a variety of settings and upheld operational standards associated with the creation and maintenance of these spaces, military experience colored observations and critiques of campus facilities. Military bases especially exhibited a functional and aesthetic order. Dutiful upkeep by residents blanketed barracks, kitchens, mess halls, administration buildings, machine shops, armories, and hangars with a similar managerial approach and functional style. Except for a few examples, most of these facilities were built or enlarged quickly as the United States expanded military operations during war. Thus, any campus without the procedures in place to plan and execute building campaigns at military speed would appear to be ill prepared for the onslaught of G.I.s and would fail to operate optimally if it did not appear to be in tip-top shape. At Berkeley, lawns turned to dirt as students trespassed across them, trashcans filled up faster than maintenance crews could empty them, and commuter cars clogged every lot, path, and alley.²⁵⁶ When it rained, students found few interior spaces that were adequate for refuge during lunch and breaks between classes. To accommodate the number of students, many campuses like UC Berkeley offered evening classes and erected temporary classrooms, dining facilities, and dormitories. But despite gallant efforts, universities largely failed to provide the most basic student needs, such as housing, as well as space for the leisure activities that were increasingly seen as essential. Because the military operations that built, maintained, and trained thousands of military personnel were not intrinsically part of the university environment, the visual debris and lack of campus amenities offended discerning military veterans who had experienced and maintained far more orderly environments.

Thus, at least at UC Berkeley, the will to create a Memorial Student Union building was inextricably linked to campus planning. Preliminary studies conducted by an alumni council whose membership sought a suitable memorial for World War II were the first to address extracurricular activities on the Berkeley campus. The studies aimed

²⁵⁵ Michael Hare, 1945, p8.

²⁵⁶ *Students at Berkeley*, especially pp145-164.

to provide “the greatest living good for the students.”²⁵⁷ With money from a single alumni donor, the California Alumni Association surveyed students, studied the campus environment, and printed concluding recommendations in a book, *Students at Berkeley: A Study of Their Extracurricular Activities with Suggestions for Improvements On and Off Campus to Broaden Their Preparation for Citizenship*.²⁵⁸ Prepared by members of the graduating classes of 1948 and 1949, the publication did not make a Memorial Student Union at Berkeley a foregone conclusion, although an entire chapter was dedicated to the idea and paved the way for its planning and construction.

Embodying postwar social education paradigms, the report asserted that students *were* the university, that a “great university will be concerned with the living problems of its students,” and that the Berkeley campus “must be orderly, with ample space for all essential academic structures and related amenities, and for the many types of outdoor activities that absorb the free time of students.”²⁵⁹ More important, the report declared that a new Student Union could be “the college living room or hearthstone and the center of education in human relationships” and that such a project could perform educational, social, cultural, and recreational services and promote public relations.²⁶⁰ *Students at Berkeley*, in this way, called for purposeful planning with particular attention to student needs beyond academic learning. Thus, like a suitable living memorial, the Student Union building would be thoughtfully knit into the campus plan as an environment for “living.”²⁶¹

Arguments made in favor of a new Student Union at Berkeley were, on one hand, about space and student capacity. *Students at Berkeley* illustrated the seating capacities of lecture halls in 1948 and determined all auditoriums to be woefully inadequate.²⁶² On the other hand, the report appealed to a type of student that was or should be socially and comfortably at “home.” The remedy for Berkeley’s inadequate campus facilities included a modern Union that addressed the daily needs of the campus population, which included commuters, who needed space to spend free time between classes, and foreign students, who “should be drawn into the characteristic activities of American life.” The remedy also promoted unity among otherwise disparate social groups such as fraternities and sororities.²⁶³ Like Michael Hare and Porter Butts, alumni at Berkeley saw the Student Union building as a physical solution for social problems on campus. It was also a way for the university to foster a common culture.

²⁵⁷ See letter from President of Alumni Counsel W.M. Hale to President Sproul, January 7, 1949, and minutes from meeting of the Special Committee on the Alumni War memorial Project, February 24, 1949 (University of California President files, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley [CU-5 Series 3, 20:11]).

²⁵⁸ California Alumni Association, *Students at Berkeley: A Study of Their Extracurricular Activities with Suggestions for Improvements On and Off Campus to Broaden Their Preparation for Citizenship* (Berkeley: California Alumni Association, 1948).

²⁵⁹ *Students at Berkeley*, p9.

²⁶⁰ *Students at Berkeley*, pp83-84.

²⁶¹ Shanken, p137.

²⁶² *Ibid.*, pp84, 92-93. The largest space on campus was in Wheeler Hall, which sat 5,024 people, a fraction of the total student body. Later, administrators would compare the square footage per capita in Student Union buildings.

²⁶³ *Ibid.*, pp95, 96.

Moreover, alumni positioned themselves as important planners and creators of the common culture. As a document primarily designed to convey student needs, campus problems, and possible solutions, *Students at Berkeley* smartly concluded with suggestions of *how* campus projects could come to fruition. Key constituents fell into four categories: the University, the Berkeley City Planning Commission, the Alumni Association, and the student government. Although *Students at Berkeley* saddled the University and Planning Commission with the problems of recreation, transportation, and campus development and posited that the University alone had to address the problem of housing, the only project that the University, students, and alumni were well suited to plan *together* was the new Student Union building.²⁶⁴ It was from this triad – the University, the Alumni Association, and the Associated Students – that Berkeley’s postwar Student Union building emerged.

The California Alumni Association played a crucial role in spreading news and raising funds among alumni donors. Relying on the moral sensibilities of alumni, one brochure published by the Alumni Association posed the question, “Where will they go?” The question referred to the accommodation of students when classes were out and was placed alongside a photograph of students spilling through the main gates of campus toward a commercial area of town known as Telegraph Avenue. Alumni were then familiarized with university concerns regarding the out-of-classroom experience and prompted to consider the problems that “if student facilities are inadequate, many will search elsewhere” and “even if they should succeed in finding rewarding alternative diversions off-campus, their identification with their fellow students suffers tremendously.” In short, the Alumni Association pleaded with alumni donors that “students need[ed] a ‘home on campus’” that would help them make good, quality decisions about leisure time.²⁶⁵

With social problems a core concern of students, alumni, and administrators, Student Union buildings became instrumental for campus communities after the war. Although Union buildings did not always prompt campus planning and expansion, they represented ideas about social and leisure time and were a central part of campus life. At Berkeley, plans for a new Union placed the social center at the south edge of campus where alumni observed that students entered campus in the largest numbers each day. The site, acquired over several years, played into the university’s vision for campus expansion and represented a significant financial investment and also signaled an important conceptual shift in the purpose of Student Union buildings. The social programs run by the Student Union addressed needs of commuting students as well as the community at large. At Berkeley, and also at schools such as Kansas State and Ohio State, Unions were imagined as conference centers that provided activities for students as well as the public and that would generate revenue by opening the Union to outsiders.²⁶⁶

²⁶⁴ *Students at Berkeley*, p176.

²⁶⁵ “Classes are out, where will they go now?” published by the California Alumni Association, n.d. (Vernon DeMars Collection, Environmental Design Archives, University of California, Berkeley).

²⁶⁶ See Loren Kottner, “Thorough Planning Makes a Union” in *College and University Business*, September 1958, Vol 25 No 3, pp28-31, and “Recreation Center with Modern Interiors” in *Architectural Record*, October 1952, Vol 112, pp147-153.

The earliest visualization of UC Berkeley's new Student Union filled an entire city block (Figure 2). Alumni imagined an agglomeration of amenities inside, including public telephones, writing rooms, lockers, a post office, candy and cigarette counters, a snack bar, a cafeteria, banquet rooms, a student store, a hotel, and a parking garage, as well as social, recreational, and cultural spaces, including offices for student government, a dance hall, card rooms, bowling alleys, a hobby shop, an auditorium, a chapel, an art gallery, and a radio station.²⁶⁷ Compared with the old Stephens Union, the new Union had nearly everything a student would want or need. The shift from the old Union program to the new cemented the possibility that the postwar Student Union would function much like a neighborhood shopping center, especially those designed with community services.²⁶⁸ Student Unions would be public, principally commercial, and convenient and, through careful management on the part of directors, would help create a homogeneous, happy group of students constructively involved in extracurricular and leisure activities.

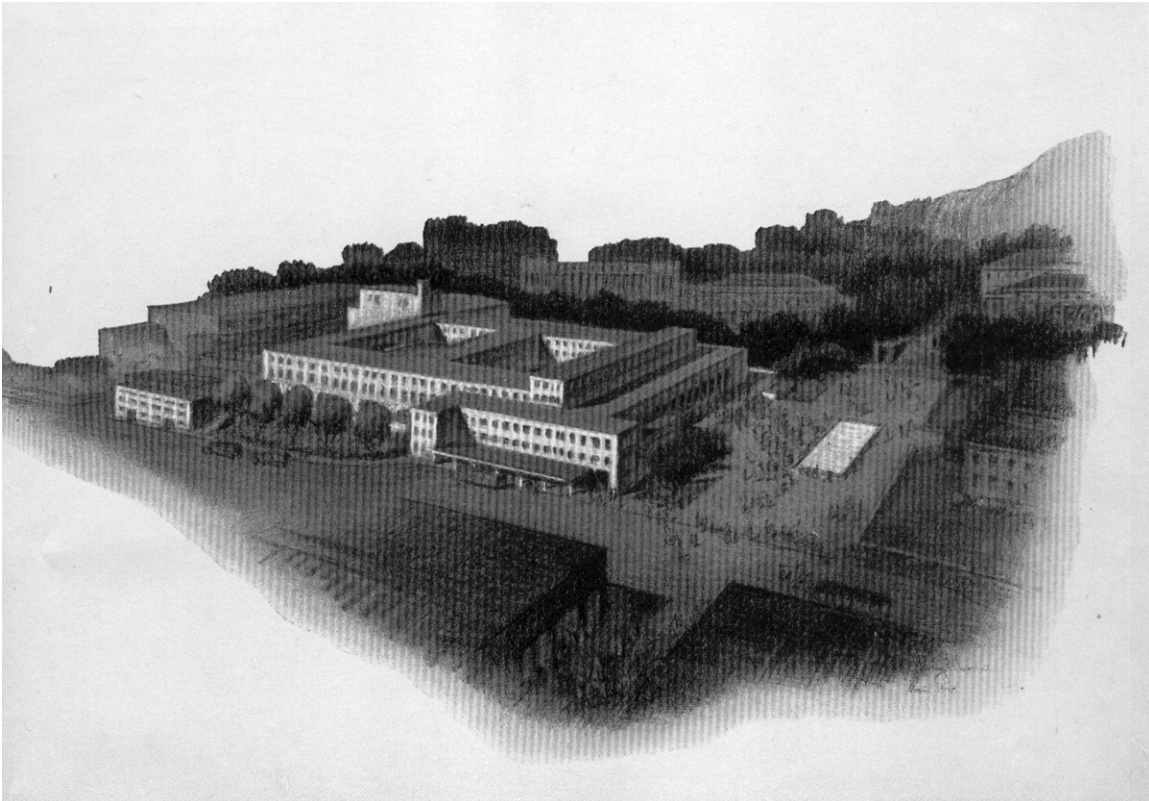


Figure 2. Rendering of proposed Student Union building as published in *Students at Berkeley*, circa 1948 (p85).

²⁶⁷ Ibid., p96.

²⁶⁸ See M. Jeffrey Hardwick's "A 'Shoppers' Paradise' for Suburbia" in *Mall Maker: Victor Gruen, Architect of an American Dream* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004, pp118-141), who details Gruen's vision for social connections and community within American malls.

3.4 Planning Purpose and Programs for Postwar Union Architecture

The national Association of College Unions made inroads into Union planning when local college communities sought guidance. The alumni planning committee for the *Students at Berkeley* project hired Porter Butts as a consultant. His job, to draft program specifications for a new Union at Berkeley, allowed University architects and planners to base a schematic proposal on solid recommendations.²⁶⁹ Folding the expertise of Butts into local planning processes at Berkeley, or any other school, was not insignificant. Administrations and students were looking to new Student Union projects across the United States for both funding and design ideas. The result of the influence of distant sources made local efforts reflect national movements.

From the vantage point of Union leaders and students, a group of Student Unions in the Midwest region represented the newest version of the building type because these buildings offered the most comprehensive services for students during the day and evening as well as the largest “living room” space for the campus community to date. Students knew about the developments in Union architecture from their own Union directors and from student leaders who attended national Association conventions in greater numbers after World War II.²⁷⁰ At conventions and in the pages of the Association *Bulletin*, leaders celebrated and chronicled Union planning, construction, and dedication among themselves, persuading influential administrators, architects, engineers, and donors to join the planning boom.²⁷¹

However, an exhibition on Student Union architecture brought the Union idea directly to students. Any school could request to borrow representative images of Student Union buildings from the Association. Student leaders at Antioch, for example, pinned a collection of thirty Association photographs to a temporary colorful wall near their student executive offices in 1949 (Figure 3). Comprised of both interior and exterior views, the collection not only showed students at Antioch and images of celebrated Unions but also incited a bit of competition. Students were first enticed to take a look at what other colleges were doing and then provoked to plan their own Unions.

²⁶⁹ Doug Dempster, “The ASUC recognizes its problems; takes steps,” *Daily Californian*, May 27, 1953, p7, and “New union petitions are ‘booming’ on campus,” *Daily Californian*, May 29, 1953. Butts is listed as “special assignment” in credits of *Students at Berkeley*.

²⁷⁰ See convention summaries in *College Unions – Year Fifty*, especially for 1946, 1947, 1948, and 1949.

²⁷¹ See especially *Bulletins* published between 1947 and 1960 for the roll call of Union buildings remodeled and added to college campuses in the United States. The number and geographical breadth are impressive.



Figure 3. Students view photographs of exemplary Student Unions at Antioch College in 1949 (source: *The Bulletin of the Association of College Unions*, December 1949, p5).

In a similar spirit, writers for the student newspaper, the *Daily Californian*, compared the old Union at Berkeley to newer Unions that were equipped with bowling alleys, beauty parlors, barbershops, cafeterias, and lounges complete with modern furniture and stone fireplaces. In 1953, as Berkeley was hosting the national Association of College Unions convention, *Daily Californian* readers could view interior images of far-flung Unions at Ohio State, Oregon State, and Texas A&M and imagine a similar one of their own.²⁷² As Berkeley advanced Union plans, the *Daily Californian* attempted to further pique student interest by publishing contests. Prizes were awarded to the reader who could identify the Student Union pictured. Possible answers ranged from Ohio State, Oregon, Washington, Southern California, Florida, California, and Stanford. Students with the correct answer won a cash prize of \$10, an amount that exceeded the proposed Student Union fee!²⁷³ Circulating images of Union architecture built knowledge and opinions about the type. In this way, the *Daily Californian* was a vehicle, much like the

²⁷² "New union petitions are 'booming' on campus," *Daily Californian*, May 29, 1953. For convention notes, see *College Unions – Year Fifty*, pp39-40, and *The Bulletin of the Association of College Unions*.

²⁷³ *The Daily Californian*, January 7, 10, and 11, 1955.

Association's traveling exhibition, for college communities to envision the next generation of Student Union buildings.



Figure 4. The main lounge at Ohio State appointed with modern furniture, recessed lighting, and flagstone fireplace in a building designed by Bellman, Gillet, and Richards, Architects and Engineers (source: *Architectural Record*, October 1952, p149).



Figure 5. The billiards hall in Ohio State University's Union showing modern fluorescent lighting, orderly tables and chairs, and ample space for the game (source: *Architectural Record* October 1952, p152; also published in the *Daily Californian*, January 1955).



Figure 6. The game room in the old Stephens Union at UC Berkeley, circa 1957 (source: courtesy of the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley [UARC PIC 10Y:19]).

Photographs created desire and carried forward a vision for Union architecture. Berkeley students looked with envy to the fluorescent lighting hovering above the browsing library and billiards room, the satin-finished handrails that complemented the terrazzo floors, the laminated tables that filled the spacious lunchroom, and the glass curtain wall that framed a view of campus from the lounge (Figures 4 and 5).²⁷⁴ Ohio's bowling alley, double ballroom, and gracious modern lounges set a national precedent. Students with old Unions, especially students at UC Berkeley, lamented their own overcrowded and outdated building and were inspired by the Union at Ohio (Figures 6 and 7).²⁷⁵

Complete dissatisfaction with current Union facilities at Berkeley advanced alumni and student support. Students in California grappled with the inadequate facilities for extracurricular activities in the current Union spaces. Editors and staff writers at the *Daily Californian* published enthusiastic articles about a future Union at Berkeley, polling students for ideas about funding options and amenities. Early rumors about a new Student Union were codified when editors dedicated four pages and eight articles to the project in 1953.²⁷⁶ Headlines read, "The ASUC recognizes its problems; takes steps," "New Student Union building plan suffers common trouble – money," "Other Unions have bowling alleys, beauty parlors, and auditoriums," "New Union to provide a campus 'living room'," and "New student 'hangout' may contain everything from fish to xylophones." Aimed at the student population, the reportage informed students about the history of the project but also shared the challenges, problems, and potential of building a new Student Union on campus.

²⁷⁴ "Recreation Center with Modern Interiors" in *Architectural Record*, October 1952, Vol 112, pp147-153. Designed by architects and engineers Bellman, Gillett, and Richards, university architect Howard Dwight Smith, and interior consultants Knoll Associates.

²⁷⁵ *The Daily Californian*, January 7, 1955, pp3-S, 4-S.

²⁷⁶ "Student Union" in *The Daily Californian*, March 13, 1961.

When asked, students in California suggested a wide range of desired programmatic elements. Students wanted an aquarium, a musical instrument library, a soda fountain, a jukebox, daytime storage, decent food, a space to sleep, a ping-pong table, a bowling alley, a shooting gallery, a badminton court, an art gallery, and a print shop.²⁷⁷ The unanimous belief among students and their advisors was that the old Union facilities were woefully inadequate. Staff writers at the *Daily Californian* wrote that “no one likes poor old Stephens Union any more ... some say it’s too confusing to find one’s way” and “most say it’s too small.”²⁷⁸ Union leaders saw the “absence of complete eating facilities, active recreation areas and adequate meeting rooms and offices for the many diverse activities” as dire faults of an unimproved Union facility.²⁷⁹



Figure 7. Crowded Stephens Union as published in *Students at Berkeley*, circa 1948 (p89).

3.5 National Visionaries Bring Expertise to College and University Campuses

National visionaries helped stir student enthusiasm early on and did not wait for colleges to ask for assistance or leave local architects without guidance. Anticipating the need for postwar Student Union buildings, the Association of College Unions had organized sessions on planning and operating new Union buildings at the 1946, 1947, 1948, and 1949 conventions. Porter Butts, the director of the Wisconsin Union and editor of publications at the Association of College Unions, initially hoped that new buildings would not repeat errors of pioneer structures and organized a panel with Michael Hare on the subject in 1946, the same year that Edith Humphreys completed the first book on the College Union.²⁸⁰ In 1947, Butts put together another panel on planning a Union building. In 1948, a group of Association leaders from Unions across the country organized sessions on topics from coeducational Unions, men’s Unions, small coeducational Unions, temporary Unions, and Unions in large cities. By 1949, topics on

²⁷⁷ Carol Eaton, “New student ‘hangout’ may contain everything from fish to xylophones,” *The Daily Californian*, May 27, 1953, 10. Stephens Union contained a Men’s and Women’s clubrooms, but the new Union promised to have men’s and women’s lounges that would provide the feeling of “home away from home.” Moreover, the men’s room was envisioned as a “knock-about” room, while the women’s lounge was imaged as a flexible space that could be used for meetings, teas, and recitals.

²⁷⁸ Bob Duncan, “ASUC officials attack ‘farce of office building’,” *Daily Californian*, May 27, 1953, p9.

²⁷⁹ Ibid.

²⁸⁰ Edith Ouzts Humphreys, *College Unions: A Handbook on Campus Community Centers* (Association of College Unions, 1946).

Union buildings ranged from how to determine the type of building needed, the cost, and funding sources to organizing and operating the new Union building. Drawing from seasoned Union leadership, the Association made itself the principal resource for College Union planning and operation. Two individuals – Porter Butts and Michael Hare – served as official Association consultants for planning and designing new Union buildings.

Porter Butts fed national interest through quarterly updates and news articles in *The Bulletin of the Association of College Unions*. But he also offered his expertise and opinions about Union planning as a private consultant. For example, he advised the University of California Berkeley, Boston University, Kansas State, and the State College of Washington in Pullman. And although Butts tailored his recommendations to match the needs of each university, most Unions shared several programmatic elements. His reports detailed coat checks, ladies' lounges, and snack bars – all familiar to prewar student Union leaders. But his advice was not unchanging boilerplate prose, and the results did not duplicate the interiors of older Union buildings.

Butts' rationale for each part of the program lay in educational debates formulated in the 1920s and 1930s and in popular beliefs about recreation and appropriate social behavior for the middle class. He had professed these beliefs often in *Bulletin* editorials.²⁸¹ But as a consultant, Butts relied on his own experience at Wisconsin, which had been the most celebrated Union during the 1930s and 1940s. For example, he continued to describe Unions as country clubs and as environments that established cultural expectations about pleasure and fun. He found formal dances, measured by the number of couples in attendance, to be a critical concern because these were important attributes and activities at Wisconsin. With advice grown from firsthand knowledge of programs at the Wisconsin Union, Butts championed architectural amenities and programs that worked on his home turf. Regular dances – both formal and informal – peppered the social calendar at the Wisconsin Union. Moreover, the Union's new two-lane bowling alley and recreation room beneath the new theater wing made Wisconsin one of the most advanced Unions.

Thus, among the programmatic amenities recommended by Butts for Berkeley were a ballroom, a lounge, a cafeteria, a bookstore, and a theater. These were the largest spaces and the most predictable pieces of postwar Student Unions. But Butts also recommended several smaller rooms for specific needs and social activities. First, he observed that all Unions were served well by having a robust central checkroom for bags and coats. Students needed a place to stash their belongings while enjoying Union facilities. Second, quiet rooms furnished with cots and bedspreads had proven to be a civilizing agent that not only reduced the need for infirmary beds but also gave staff a place to rest if work kept them on campus late. Third, dressing rooms and individual lockers were essential amenities for commuting students. Fourth, Butts proposed a litany

²⁸¹ It is difficult to determine which positions belong to Butts and which viewpoints belong to others in the Association *Bulletin*. The congruency of Butts' consulting work and ideas published in the *Bulletin* suggests one of the following: Butts' editorial comments shaped the mission of the Association, or Butts ably synthesized and mirrored the viewpoints of the Association presidents. Regardless, the California report on Student Union buildings observed that Butts was known throughout the Association as "Mr. Union Himself" (meeting minutes from the Student Union committee, University Archives, UCLA [RS 359 Box 276 F88]).

of rooms for recreation. Other Unions found a record-playing room and a browsing library to be vital assets, and still others found a photographic darkroom, a crafts room, a wood shop, an art gallery, and outing office nearly essential to please diverse student body interests.²⁸² Butts included a post office and an athletic ticket office as well as a cumbersome list of rooms that supported the back-of-house maintenance and daily operations of a Union building.²⁸³ But between his advice for new Union builders – a long list of carefully crafted opinions geared to making Unions the clearinghouse of postwar social etiquette – and the buildings themselves lay a new building type.

An example of this new type of building was the Kansas State Union. Celebrated by college business administrators for its thorough planning, it had many traditional Union features but in a new architectural form.²⁸⁴ Unlike the Wisconsin Union, designed in the monumental Beaux-Arts style, the Kansas Union was modern. Its ballroom was easily divisible into four smaller banquet rooms. And unlike the recreational facilities at Wisconsin, which were tucked into the basement long after the initial building campaign had taken place, Kansas placed them on the ground level and dedicated nearly the entire building footprint to leisurely pursuits. The long-standing Union sport of billiards met rooms for table tennis, bowling, and crafts (Figure 8). On the main floor, the lobby divided the snack bar and cafeteria from an art lounge, a library, music rooms, and a lecture hall (Figure 9). All of these spaces were expressed in modern architecture. Columns bore the weight of the building, while non-load-bearing walls divided activities. Gone were the heavy stone, ceremonial thresholds, and symmetrically arranged rooms of Wisconsin. In their place came glass, aluminum, stone veneer, columns, and lightweight walls that created seamless connections between activities.

²⁸² The craft and art gallery were Butts favorite suggestions because he had nurtured art education and gallery programs at the Wisconsin Union.

²⁸³ See Office of the President files on the Student Union 1941-1955, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley [CU-5 Series 3, 20:11].

²⁸⁴ Loren Kottner, “Thorough Planning Makes a Union” in *College and University Business*, September 1958, Vol 25 No 3, pp28-31.

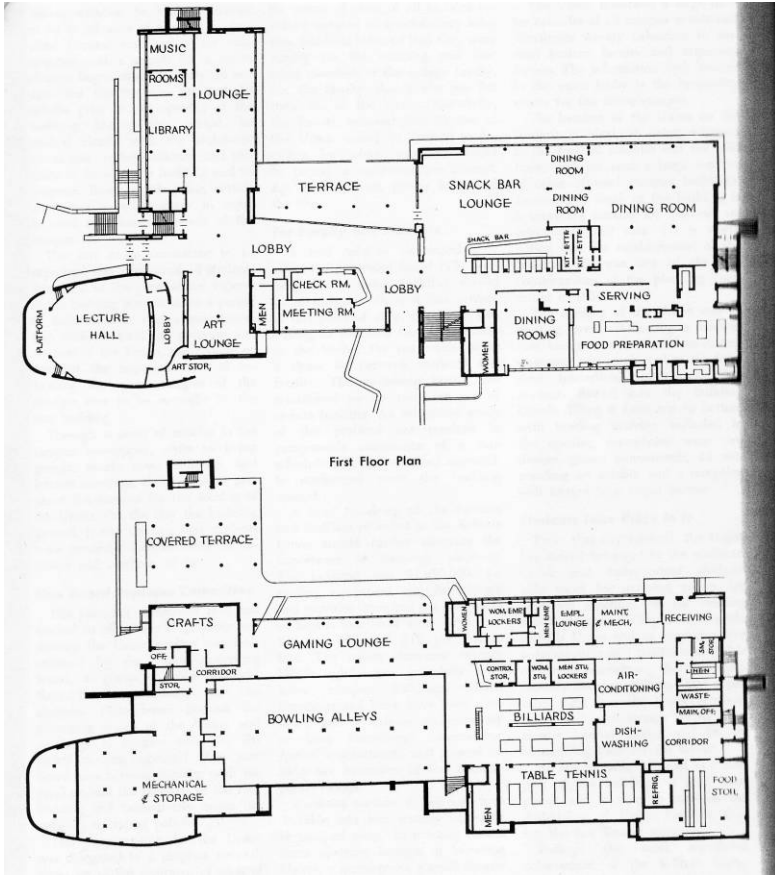


Figure 8. Ground and first-floor plan of the Kansas State Union (source: *College and University Business*, September 1958, p30).



Figure 9. Art lounge (foreground) and lobby (background) of the Kansas State Union show how columns bore the weight of the building, allowing spaces to seamlessly flow together (source: *College and University Business*, September 1958, p29).

These architectural changes had a leader, Michael Hare, who through the Association championed the reorganization of space within the Union building. With his partner, Livingston Elder, Hare sought commissions for Student Union projects. Although his principal aim may have been to secure design work, Hare more often answered inquiries by mail about building and equipment costs, assisted college authorities and architects with planning problems, and worked alongside Porter Butts. The appointment of an architectural consultant by the Association assisted the improvement of Union buildings because it streamlined how the technical and operating experience accumulated by the Association could reach schools that were interested in building.²⁸⁵ Hare and Butts together would ensure that the viewpoints of the Association were well disseminated and implemented. But because Union leaders understood the college social center as a complicated and specialized type of building, and many Union buildings had been designed by architects with little or no experience planning a campus

²⁸⁵ See "Building Planning Service Offered" in *The Bulletin of the Association of College Unions*, March 1941, pp1-2.

community center, the move by the Association cemented the importance of the building type.

By 1945, Hare was attributed with either drawing plans or assisting with plans for postwar Unions at Rhode Island State College, University of Oregon, Washington State College, William Jewell College Missouri, DePauw University Indiana, Case College at Cleveland, and the University of Maine.²⁸⁶ Both Butts and Hare worked on the Wilson Compton Student Union building at the State College of Washington in Pullman, Washington, designed by architect John Maloney and campus architect Philip Keene. With Butts' professional opinion (albeit conservative) and Hare's ambition as a young architect, the consultants guided architect John Maloney and campus architect Philip Keene. Completed in 1952, the Union was among the first postwar Student Union buildings to open and demonstrate how tested programmatic elements could readily and successfully adapt to modern architecture. On the ground floor, students could easily survey activities in the bowling alley from an outdoor terrace (Figures 1 and 11). And students passing by the table tennis room could view tournaments and causal games through an interior glass wall. On the main level, ceiling finishes and walls hovered above and between structural columns, which visually linked the soda foundation, lobby, and lounge. Without dedicated corridors, the plan was free, open, and ambitious.²⁸⁷ Thus, the Wilson Compton Union embodied many ideas about architecture and the ways that leisure activities should be arranged in Student Union buildings.

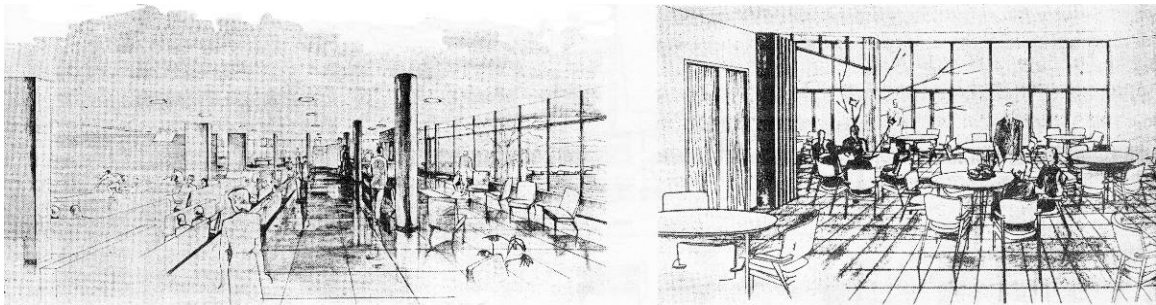


Figure 10. Interior view of the Wilson Compton Student Union building at Washington State College illustrates how architect John Maloney envisioned students using the spaces (source: *Architectural Record*, December 1951, pp32-32).

²⁸⁶ *Bulletin of the Association of College Unions*, July 1945, p5.

²⁸⁷ "Wilson Compton Student Union Building" in *Architectural Record*, December 1951, pp32-32, 32-33.

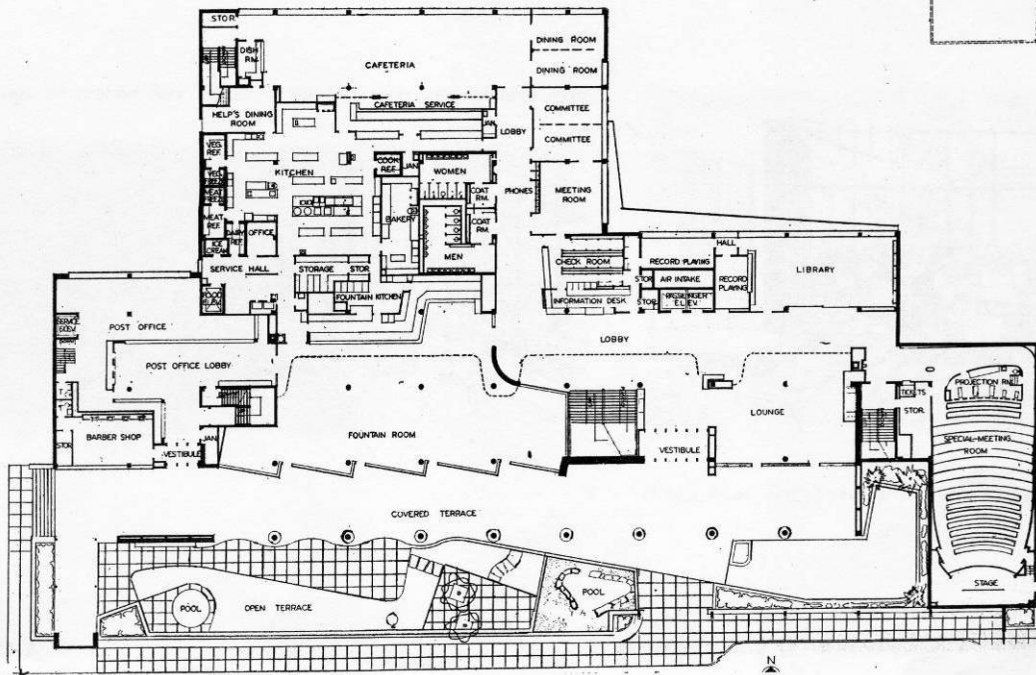
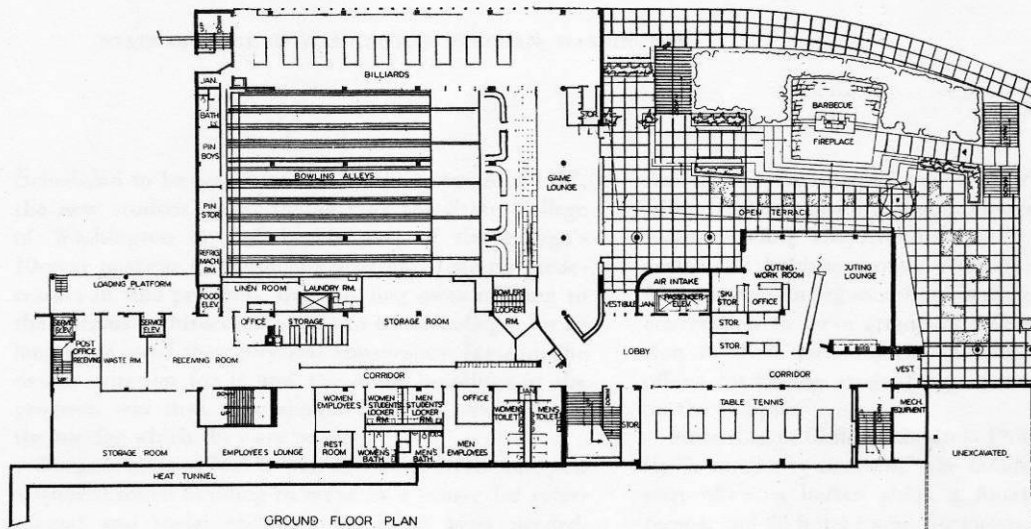


Figure 11. Ground and first-floor plans of the Wilson Compton Student Union building of Washington State College in Pullman show how modern architecture enabled visual permeability and spatial connectivity among activities inside the building and on the exterior terraces (source: *Architectural Record*, December 1951, pp32-33).

Michael Hare claimed many of these architectural ideas as his own and tended to flex his intellect and flaunt erudite citations to establish his vision for Unions. Looking to Lewis Mumford's pointed critique of the machine in *Technics and Civilization*, Hare ventured to argue that only College Unions could satisfy the fundamental needs of college students because these buildings could recalibrate the balance between

civilization's new-found love for the machine and human life.²⁸⁸ Sounding much like his colleagues in the Union industry, he thought that the Union gave students an environment for activities that are "naturally" part of life, including art, entertainment, and self-governance.²⁸⁹ But Hare distinguished himself from his predecessors, Pond and Pond of the 1930s, by showing what he described as a well-rounded program. In place of Pond and Pond's creed calling for social order among men, women, staff, and students, Hare blended social spaces together, distinguishing only between staff and users, and made flexibility a key component.²⁹⁰

As an example, Hare used plans for the Union at Rhode Island State College to illustrate how a single coeducational lounge, social room, browsing room, music room, ping-pong, billiards, bowling alley, crafts shop, and auditorium could be arranged and adapted for specific needs over the course of a day or a capital-building program (Figure 12). Although older Unions had many of the activities of Rhode Island's Union, Hare's example reconstitutes the program in an entirely new form. Approached obliquely, the Union retains only a suggestion of formal symmetry. More important, however, was how Hare grouped activities and streamlined circulation. More opaque than Pond and Pond's solution at Purdue (see Chapter 1), Hare's circulation system organized discrete programmatic elements by floor. Programs demanding a degree of social etiquette, such as the music room, browsing room, and lounge, were on the first floor, while active recreation, such as bowling and ping-pong, were tucked into the lower floor. Large formal spaces and an obvious means for Union staff to monitor the activities of student were gone and replaced by a tacit understanding about the rituals and rules of recreation. Hare assured readers that well-roundedness was maintained because the building provided specific activities and a degree of flexibility within the spaces themselves. The social rooms on the first floor, for example, could double as dining rooms and be reconfigured to accommodate different-sized gatherings. He even supposed that the auditorium could be added later, if construction were phased. Flexibility in a larger set of interconnected spaces, rather than discrete spaces for men and women, dominated Hare's architectural ideas. Hare undoubtedly saw flexibility as functional and crucial in Student Union buildings, which were designed for human use and enjoyment.²⁹¹

²⁸⁸ Michael Hare, "The College Union Building Offers Substitute for Home" in *College and University Business*, March 1949, pp14-15.

²⁸⁹ Ibid, p14.

²⁹⁰ For Pond and Pond's view on Student Union buildings, see Irving Pond, "The College Union" in *Architectural Forum*, June 1931, pp771-778.

²⁹¹ Adrian Forty, in *Words and Buildings: A Vocabulary of Modern Architecture* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 2000), summarizes flexibility in modern architecture (pp142-148). Forty observes that initial uses of the word among architects in the postwar period redeemed functionalism from architectural determinism. Although the practice of flexibility changed, early applications linked technical advances in architecture with social potential.

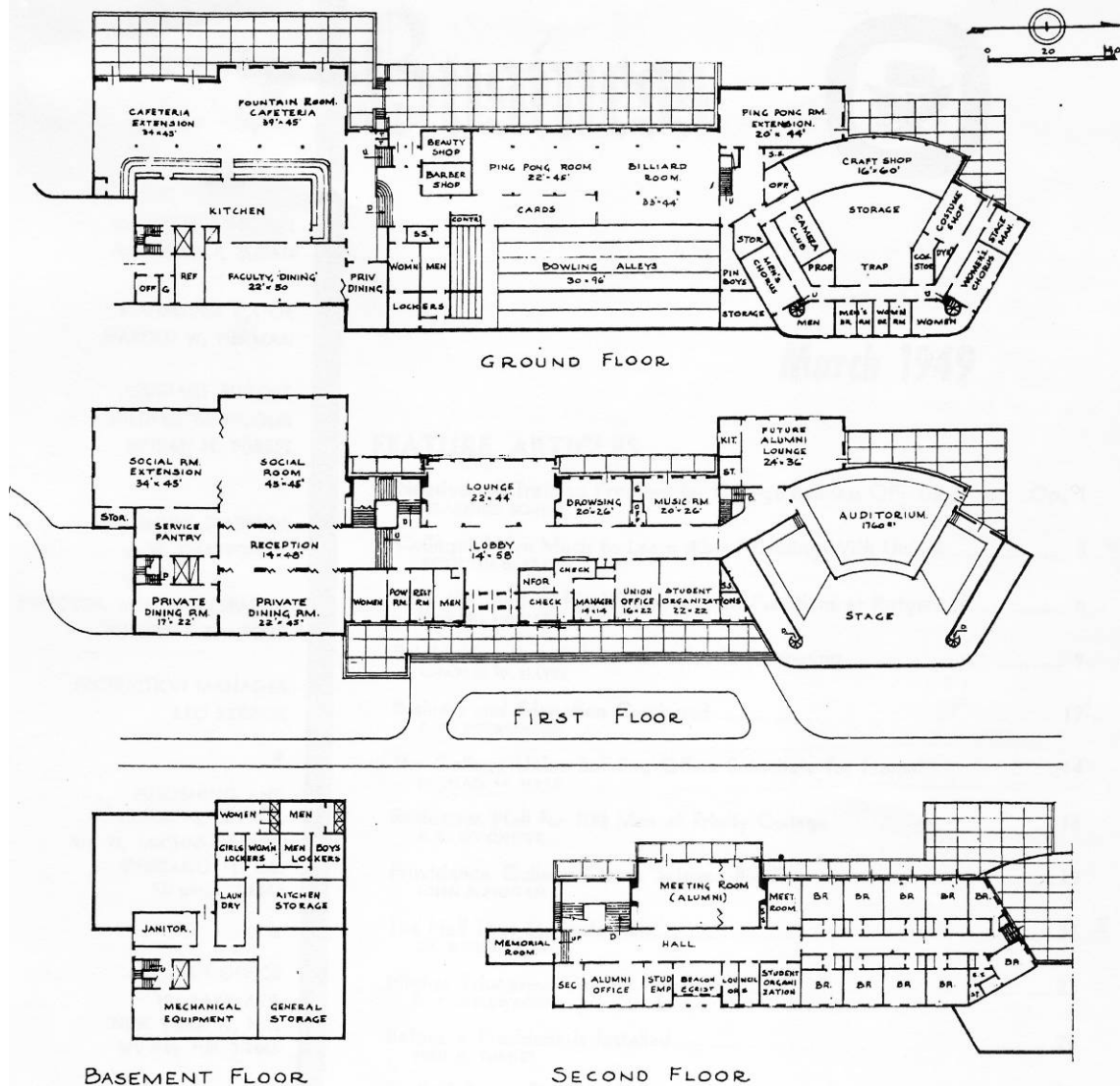


Figure 12. Floor plans for the Rhode Island State College Union showing the basic programmatic elements and Michael Hare's preferred architectural form (source: *College and University Business*, March 1949, p15).

After a whirlwind tour of new Student Unions, Hare was quick to offer a few tips for Association members and college administrators.²⁹² First, any campus that was planning a new Student Union building must know that older Union buildings lacked meeting and storage spaces. These Unions also, he thought, skimped on the kitchen and

²⁹² See Michael Hare, "The Planning Problems of a New Union" in *The Bulletin of the Association of College Unions*, October 1945, p6, and "Planning the College Union" in *American School and University* 1948-1949, pp161-166.

wasted precious space on corridors.²⁹³ In keeping with his work at Rhode Island State's Union building and the Wilson Compton Union building at Washington State College in Pullman, which finessed an asymmetrical plan and massing, Hare bemoaned symmetrical planning. He observed that almost all prewar Unions bore symmetrical plans and strove for monumental appearances on campus.²⁹⁴ As an antidote to the problem that many schools encountered, Hare published yet another example, this time a hypothetical diagram of a successful Union building that pulled the Union functions into two separate structures (Figure 13). For Hare, when planning a Union from the ground up, functional adjacencies for food service, offices, events, and recreational space should trump any aspiration for monumentality.

²⁹³ Michael Hare, "The Planning Problems of a New Union" in *The Bulletin of the Association of College Unions*, October 1945, p6.

²⁹⁴ Hare's position on symmetry may have originated in Wisconsin when he designed the theater wing of the Wisconsin Union. He kept symmetry between the wings of the buildings but did not continue Wisconsin's Italianate building style. Instead, perhaps as a critique, he built an Art Deco theater.

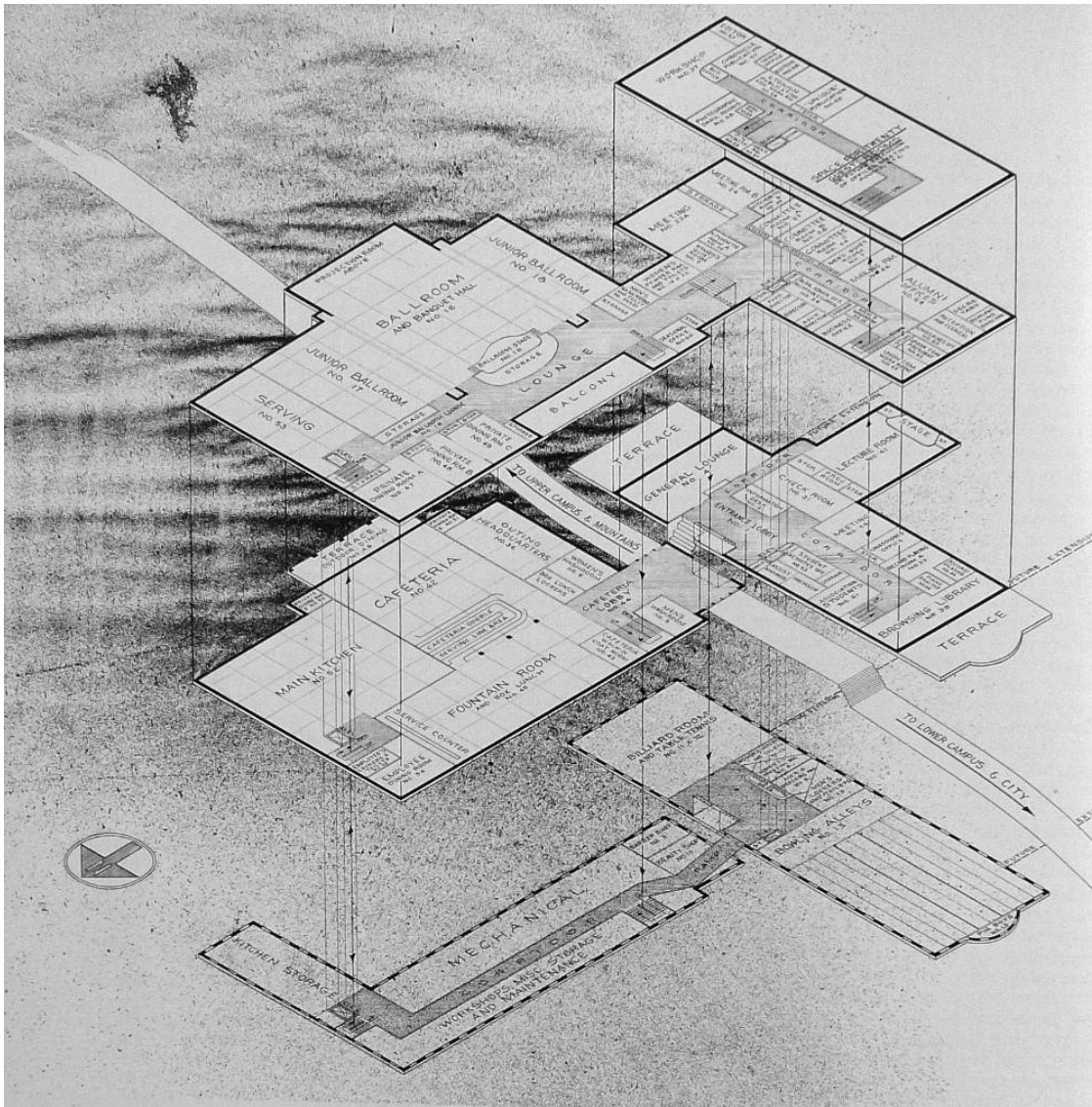


Figure 13. A diagrammatic illustration of the ideal Union created by the office of Hare and Elder depicts Hare's professed design principles: an asymmetrical plan, well placed within the campus fabric, with functional programmatic adjacencies (source: Michael Hare, *American School and University*, 1948-1949, p164).

3.6 Campus Community Centers for All

Although Porter Butts and Michael Hare believed their experience was essential, they could not be everywhere all of the time. Instead, they relied on publications and their work as consultants to disseminate postwar models of Student Union buildings. Thus, it was in parallel that members of campus communities, who witnessed the aftershock of the war, a flood of G.I.s, and daily postwar problems, envisioned improvements to Student Unions.

At this time alumni were instrumental participants in postwar Union planning. Their numbers were up and growing exponentially, and they often ignited the process of Union building. As students attending college after the war, they had navigated crowded campuses that were ill prepared for the wave of students cashing in on government education subsidies. Many veterans, themselves newly minted alumni, took a critical view of campus, seeing the problems and possible remedies for the campus environment. Alumni combined their fresh memories of college life with those of war. Encountering inadequate facilities for teaching, studying, and living, veteran alumni transposed their knowledge of military operations and functional aesthetics to the campus and sought ways to create a living memorial for themselves and future generations of students.

While envisioning a war memorial, alumni and administrators saw the Student Union as a community center much like those in new suburban developments. Thus, as alumni looked back to wartime experiences, they also looked forward, hoping to instill a standard of living or art of living – promised by marketing mavens and planning policies – on campus. Regional shopping centers, as a parallel to the development of Student Union buildings, were planned as cultural and social centers in new suburban communities. Federal housing policies and automobiles put new communities farther from existing social, civic, and cultural centers. Shopping center designers such as Victor Gruen saw an opportunity to couple consumer activities with cultural ones in much the same way that Union proponents considered viable postwar Union buildings. Early postwar Student Union buildings were not literally malls, but like the suburban shopping center, they brought social order to a disorderly campus scene. While G.I. enrollment crowded existing leisure and cultural spaces on campus, new Student Unions served campus in much the same way that malls met suburban needs.

Planning Student Union buildings during a suburban boom allowed Union proponents to harness cultural concerns about community. Television shows such as *Leave It to Beaver* and *Father Knows Best*, along with popular magazines, circulated images of home among audiences.²⁹⁵ Placing the private realm in the public suited Union proponents well. Michael Hare, with the support of Butts and the Association of College Unions, widely promoted the idea of the campus living room familiar to Union leaders before the war but took the idea a step further by asserting that the Student Union building had an impact on the lives of students after graduation. The trope of “home” on campus therefore had become a precursor to “home” elsewhere, especially in postwar middle-class suburban communities. The significance of the link was that leisure activities offered by the Union somehow trained students to desire and participate in similar leisure pursuits throughout life. These leisure activities – bowling, art, and dining out – were founded on a culture of consumption, the key to prosperity and democracy during the Cold War, and a standard of living afforded by members of the middle majority. As if Student Union buildings could save the American way of life, Union proponents at the local and national levels planned the antidote: a campus community center for all.²⁹⁶

²⁹⁵ *Father Knows Best* first aired in 1954, and *Leave It to Beaver* first aired in 1957.

²⁹⁶ Other factors shaped postwar Student Union buildings. By 1950, the federal government had banned construction of federally funded recreation buildings. Understandably, Student Union leaders, administrators, students, and alumni were concerned if and how they could build new campus community

centers while the National Production Authority order M-4 was in effect. Although the Association of Land Grant Colleges clarified that it was not the intention of the National Production Authority to interfere with the construction of buildings at educational institutions in cases where recreational functions are incidental to the main purpose, it was clear that institutions would need to modify their plans. Proposed Union buildings, which chiefly housed food services for students and staff, office space for student organizations and staff, living quarters or a hotel space, and a store would likely receive approval from the National Production Authority. However, Student Unions with major features such as a ballroom, a bowling alley, and a card room would probably be banned. Because Student Unions traditionally had both recreational and non-recreational features, proportioning the Union with just the right amount of non-recreational facilities became prudent, particularly when activities like bowling were increasingly popular among students (reference compiled from various memos, University of California President files, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley).

Chapter 4

California's Postwar Living Rooms: The Unions at UCLA and Berkeley

After World War II, architects and Union proponents enlisted modern architecture to fully embrace modernism and its ideological tenets of functionality, efficiency, planning, and flexibility.²⁹⁷ Underpinning their efforts was the desire to establish a new architectural setting for postwar social education. The architectural style of the new Union buildings and the ideological tenets harnessed by visionaries joined together well: buildings and the ideas behind them made a legible and palpable agenda for campus expansion.

Although postwar master planning involved the entire campus, Student Union buildings were crucial components. Planning efforts located academic departments and colleges on California's campuses but prioritized the Student Union because it was a ready instrument of the plan and social priorities. Thus, together – the campus plan and the Union building – stirred debates about architectural style as they brought new environments to campus. Welton Becket's Student Union building for UCLA and the Union complex at UC Berkeley designed by Vernon DeMars, Donald Hardison, and Lawrence Halprin, both of which contrasted with their immediate surroundings, exemplified this trend (Figure 1 and 2).

Within the Union buildings themselves, coed spaces for socialization replaced single-sex lounges, large cafeterias readily served and seated hundreds of students at one time, bookstores sold a larger variety and quantity of merchandise, and leisure activities linked up with new technologies, such as televisions, record players, and automatic pinsetters in bowling alleys. Mechanical systems circulated air, pumped out music, moved elevators, and returned bowling balls. These buildings, tailored to serve postwar enrollments, were large and met the expectations of postwar students by providing desirable amenities and leisure activities. The technology and the spatial flexibility of the new Unions brought modern living to campus.

²⁹⁷ See, for example, "Two Unions in the Modern Mood" in *The Bulletin of the Association of College Unions*, December 1949, p2, which embraces the arrival of modern architecture and interiors. Coupled with editorials about modern buildings were summaries of campuses with plans, dedications, and openings of student facilities. The *Bulletin* thus championed two trends: the construction of buildings and their architectural style.



Figure 1. Ackerman Union in the final stages of construction in front of Kerckhoff Hall (far left), circa 1960. Becket's postwar Union contrasts with Allison and Allison's earlier building (source: courtesy of the University Archives, UCLA).



Figure 2. Dining terraces of UC Berkeley's Cesar Chavez Center, circa 1964. The undulating concrete canopy of the postwar Union complex (foreground and midground) contrasts with Sprout Hall's neo-classical edifice (background) designed by Arthur Brown, Jr., two decades earlier (source: courtesy of the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley [UARC PIC 11M:13b]).

Flexibility in Student Unions was a kind of functionalism.²⁹⁸ The idea allowed Union architects to plan for the unknown, for the spontaneity of student life and leisure on college campuses. In the past, Union architects alongside Union directors envisioned a variety of rooms for different activities. At Wisconsin's Memorial Union, for example, the size and nature of the activity determined the location and environment of the event. Thus, different rooms might suitably host a tea and recital. Architects of postwar Student Union buildings assumed that modern life – especially in Unions – was complex and changing. A banquet one day and a conference the next meant that the spaces and furniture needed to absorb and adapt to a variety of social events. It also implied that any unused, locked room was undesirable. For these reasons, postwar Union architects built large spaces that could be subdivided into smaller discrete areas. Given the potential size of Union events, the strategy of flexibility often resulted in massive structural systems and vast spaces for student activities.

Beneath the heroic postwar interiors lay a new social order. How students socialized remained a key concern for Student Union proponents, but modern Student

²⁹⁸ See Adrian Forty's discussion of flexibility in *Words and Buildings: A Vocabulary of Modern Architecture* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 2000), pp142-148.

Union buildings and the architects behind them believed they were shaping young citizens for the postwar era.²⁹⁹ Students participated in activities that ranged from fanciful to practical, from spring fashion shows to student government meetings (Figures 3 and 4). But spaces for supervised socialization and organized social events took the form of casual lounges and functional meeting rooms. Citizenship training had a new backdrop. But aside from organized student activities, a large part of the postwar Union was commercial. Students shopped, ate, and participated in inexpensive recreational activities, such as billiards and bowling.



Figure 3. Women at UCLA put on fashion show in the Women's Lounge, circa 1960s. Activities like these blended socialization and education (source: courtesy of the University Archives, UCLA).

²⁹⁹ Stefan Muthesius, in *The Postwar University: Utopianist Campus and College* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), turns to terms social-educational ethos and community to describe the social utopianism underpinning many postwar campus plans of the 1960s. The program and architecture of Student Unions uphold these visions, but because of the public and extracurricular traditions of Unions, programs and architecture emphasize citizenship and civic life.



Figure 4. Students posed with Union Director William Ackerman (at head of table) in a meeting room for official student government business, circa 1961 (photograph from a Student Union brochure published by UCLA, courtesy of the University Archives, UCLA).

During the postwar era, students' fiscal participation in Union building was crucial. Federal loans and subsequent student fees paired with revenue generated by room rentals, bookstore and cafeteria sales, and games. These efforts to make Unions financially viable went hand in hand with planning and modernism. Thus, Unions – their architectural style and programmatic content – were instrumental in shaping an important part of the postwar campus. At UCLA and Berkeley, buildings borrowed from corporate hotels and shopping malls to create the postwar “campus living room” and, while doing so, broke free from the prewar Union archetypes – clubs and YMCAs – and from traditional architecture.

4.1 Modern Campus Architecture and Postwar Planning

By and large, universities and colleges built substantive structures for their Union programs before World War II. Some projects adhered to the predominant architectural style of campus, while others took a complementary but similarly historic approach. At Wisconsin, the architect Author Peabody brought a Beaux-Arts Italianate building to campus. At UC Berkeley, John Galen Howard placed an English Tudor-styled building on the campus, while Allison and Allison at UCLA built a Union in the Gothic style. Purdue's Union building by Pond and Pond and Wisconsin's 1930s addition by Michael Hare took a stylistic turn toward Art Deco. None of these Student Unions were identical to neighboring campus buildings, but they generally harmonized with the campus environment and upheld prewar planning principles. Campuses had, up to World War II, used historical styles to impart meaning and often arranged buildings across lawns, forming open quadrangles and formal Beaux-Arts axes.³⁰⁰

As the architecture of Student Union buildings departed from traditional campus styles, these buildings became a critical, if not contested, addition to the campus plan. Their planning and arrival reopened debates among architects and campus planners about

³⁰⁰ Paul Turner, *Campus: An American Planning Tradition* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1984).

the appearance and function of campus buildings. During the 1930s, as many universities planned or built Student Unions for the first time, debates about campus design had centered on architectural style and the visual coherence of college campus buildings. By the end of the 1930s, architects recognized the solidity and grandeur of older collegiate buildings, even the eclectic range of building styles found on campuses, as worthy approaches to architectural design, and pioneering historians of American college architecture celebrated the diversity of architectural approaches across campuses by region.³⁰¹ At that time, underpinning architectural aims were assumptions about the Beaux-Arts and City Beautiful planning principles that many universities strove to apply at the turn of the twentieth century.³⁰² But many critics did not see these older ways of planning and building as conducive to developments in higher education. Instead, critics argued that architects should faithfully interpret the specific needs of individual colleges as approaches to education changed.³⁰³ Thus, college architecture during the 1930s was in a period of transition. Determining the style of new buildings then was, on one hand, a matter of historic and symbolic importance and, on another, a matter of educational need.

Although architects celebrated traditional college buildings as antidotes to speed and standardization, more of them celebrated modern architecture because of its potential flexibility and what they saw as honesty.³⁰⁴ During the 1930s, the editor of *Architectural Forum*, for example, maintained that there were three possibilities for planning and designing college buildings. Buildings could be permanent monuments that met the present needs of campus, or they could be durable edifices designed to accommodate additions and alterations as needs changed. However, the favored approach brought modern buildings to campus. These buildings, unlike those reflecting a Richardsonian Romanesque, Victorian Gothic, or Beaux-Arts style, lent themselves to a special kind of adaptability: they could be renovated or removed without sentiment as colleges grew. Thus, buildings could be designed to fit programs rather than the other way around. In this way, moving beyond the mere appreciation of college campuses as collections of fine buildings constructed to suit the architectural ethos of the college, the editors of *Architectural Forum* during the 1930s saw modern buildings as optimal investments for growing colleges and universities.³⁰⁵

Even though critics of traditional architecture celebrated the newness of modernism, the desire for campus harmony guided most early modern interventions after

³⁰¹ Jens Fredrick Larson and Archie MacInnes Palmer, *Architectural Planning of the American College* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1933) and Charles Klauder and Herbert Wise, *College Architecture in America* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1929).

³⁰² See Paul Turner's chapter, "The University as City Beautiful" in *Campus: An American Planning Tradition* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1984), pp163-212

³⁰³ See Larson and Palmer; p19, Klauder and Wise, p18; and Kenneth Kingsley Stowell, "Education's New Demands" in *Architectural Forum*, June 1931, pp649-651.

³⁰⁴ For traditionalist arguments, see C. Howard Walker, "Expression – and the Collegiate Style" in *Architectural Forum*, June 1931, pp653-656. For proponents of modern architecture, see Kenneth Kingsley Stowell, "Education's New Demands" in *Architectural Forum*, June 1931, pp649-651, and William Harlan Hale, "Old Castles for New Colleges" in *Architectural Forum*, June 1931, pp729-731. The latter, written by a student at Yale University, is the only argument in favor of modernism with an image of modern architecture. But even William Hale, who celebrates the Bauhaus in Dessau, sees the building as potentially inappropriate for American colleges.

³⁰⁵ "The Editor's Forum: Collegiate Architecture" in *Architectural Forum*, June 1931, pp689-690.

World War II. Architects writing for *The American School and University* in 1948 claimed that building materials and their selection led to clear campus coherence.³⁰⁶ This meant that the brick or sandstone used to construct older buildings might be incorporated into new ones, and the material palette would tie the buildings on campus together. As UCLA's consulting architect and master planner, Welton Becket took this approach. Becket established his chief concerns when he first toured the campus in 1929 and saw the Romanesque-style buildings constructed of red brick, with heavily ornamented limestone trim and pitched terra cotta roofs. Later additions used the same colors and materials but lacked the distinctive character of the original campus buildings.³⁰⁷ Because ornamental façades had become expensive to construct and were perceived as a waste of limited resources, Becket developed a contemporary and functional style that would embody the aesthetic values of the existing campus buildings without mimicking them. Other architects thought similarly: any duplication of traditional architecture would be inefficient and unnecessary, given modern building technologies and design ideas.³⁰⁸ This approach allowed modern buildings to be built that used the basic material palette of older buildings. Only the buildings in UCLA's historic core demanded tile roofs and traditional architectural strategies.

From the perspective of college planners, several key concerns carried over from the prewar years. When Henry Kamphoefner, a professor of architecture and a campus planner for the University of Oklahoma, wrote for the *Journal of the American Institute of Architects* in 1946, he questioned the appropriateness of pseudo-Gothic and Colonial building styles.³⁰⁹ At a time when states were again dealing public universities fewer dollars, ostentatious buildings seemed to be out of line with financial mandates. Thus, enclosing the greatest amount of usable space with the greatest economy became a principal concern. In lieu of rejuvenating past architectural styles, Kamphoefner proposed that architecture keep pace with society by responding to the immediate needs of the campus.³¹⁰ Several years later, the *Journal of the American Institute of Architects* published another opinion piece surmising that because colleges continued to reappraise curriculums and manage high enrollments, the administration often attempted to meet building crises by emergency measures, erecting temporary structures that were soon in a state of dilapidation.³¹¹ As an antidote to hasty planning, planners put forward several key principles that favored separate areas for colleges, specialized study, or applied research; axial planning that gave clarity and ease of circulation among groupings; and a

³⁰⁶ Lorimer Rich, "College Architecture in Transition" in *American School and University*, 1948-1949, pp109-112 (p112).

³⁰⁷ "Conversation with Welton Becket" in *UCLA Alumni Magazine*, December/November 1964, Vol 39 No 2, pp8-10 (p9).

³⁰⁸ Lorimer Rich, "College Architecture in Transition" in *American School and University*, 1948-1949, pp109-112 (p112).

³⁰⁹ Henry Kamphoefner, "Planning for a University Campus" in *Journal of the American Institute of Architects*, March 1946, pp153-155.

³¹⁰ In his 1947 article, Joseph Hudnut took issue with the term style and discussed the form of postwar universities. Form, he argued, freed architects to consider the problems of mass, plan, and change (Joseph Hudnut, "On Form in Universities" in *Architectural Record*, December 1947, pp88-93).

³¹¹ Howard Dwight Smith, "The Architectural Integrity of the College Campus" *Journal of the American Institute of Architects* September 1955, pp118-226.

comprehensive site plan that mediated between old campus buildings and new additions.³¹² There were also planners who championed the tabula rasa approach to planning, which allowed architectural style or form to be considered as a cohesive unit from the beginning.³¹³

The need for new buildings was far greater and more acute than the need for harmony. The United States Office of Education saw the postwar building problem as urgent.³¹⁴ When officials considered only educational space, which included any non-residential structure, colleges and universities in 1940 averaged 210 square feet per full-time student. By 1947, schools averaged only 126 square feet per student. California ranked among the lowest in this regard, ahead of only West Virginia, Florida, and Texas, with only 91 square feet of educational space available per full-time student. Educational planners desired more space per student and subsequently placed non-educational amenities, such as food service, cafeterias, and leisure activities, high on their list of priorities.³¹⁵

When the space per student in Student Unions was compared, California performed poorly as well. At Midwestern Unions, such as Purdue, there were 33 square feet per student. But other schools had high numbers. At Washington State, after an \$8 million addition, the Student Union boasted 32.5 square feet per student. At Ohio State, after a \$4 million renovation, the Union had 11 square feet per student. In comparison, UC Berkeley only had 4.5 square feet per student between Stephens Union and Eshleman Hall, whereas Stanford, just across the San Francisco Bay, had 7.6 square feet per student.³¹⁶ At Berkeley, the dream of student leaders was to build a California Memorial Union, with a performing arts center, that would have 195,275 total square feet or 12.7 square feet per student, which approximated the space available at the University of Wisconsin.

Efforts to plan and build postwar Unions in California began with the alumni study, *Students At Berkeley*, but Clark Kerr, who emerged as an enabler and champion of the California Memorial Union project and UCLA's Ackerman Union, saw these projects to completion.³¹⁷ Kerr's role in the Student Union project began in 1952 when he became the first Chancellor of Berkeley. As Chancellor, and later as President of the statewide University, Kerr would place the Union and other building projects among his highest

³¹² Smith, pp125-126.

³¹³ Joseph Hudnut "On Form in Universities" *Architectural Record* December 1947, pp88-93.

³¹⁴ Ernest Hollis and J. Harold Goldthorpe, "College and University Building Needs" in *American School and University*, 1948-1949, pp86-94 (p87).

³¹⁵ Ernest Hollis and J. Harold Goldthorpe, "College and University Building Needs" in *American School and University*, 1948-1949, pp86-94 (p87).

³¹⁶ Other schools include University of Oregon at 24.5 square feet per student, Oregon State University at 15.9, University of Iowa at 15.1, University of Michigan at 14.9 after a \$2 million renovation, University of Wisconsin at 12.4, University of Washington at 11.5, Michigan State University at 9.1, University of Indiana at 7.9 after a \$5 million hotel addition, University of Illinois at 7.2, and Northwestern at 6.4 square feet per student (Clark Kerr, "The Berkeley Campus and Its Students Now and in 1965" in *California Monthly*, January 1955).

³¹⁷ California Alumni Association, *Students at Berkeley: A Study of Their Extracurricular Activities with Suggestions for Improvements On and Off Campus to Broaden Their Preparation for Citizenship* (Berkeley: California Alumni Association, 1948).

priorities.³¹⁸ At stake was his budding notion of the “multiversity” as a “city of intellect,” his astute awareness of the importance and power of alumni, and his interest in campus planning.³¹⁹ The latter, best exemplified by Kerr’s involvement in planning the University of California at Irvine during the late 1950s and 1960s, began at Berkeley.³²⁰ Thus, his tenure as Chancellor inaugurated his incursion into campus and Student Union planning.

Kerr regularly promoted building postwar Student Unions in California. At an alumni luncheon in October 1955, Kerr presented a compelling comparative case for campus development that was later published as an article in the alumni magazine.³²¹ Kerr wrote that “a great university ... owes the society it serves research of the highest quality” and has “an equal obligation to the students who come from it for training and who will become leaders in that society.”³²² As a Union proponent, Kerr understood the value of Student Union buildings.³²³ He advocated not only for the best instructional spaces and technologies, but also for facilities where students could and would spend the greater part of their day.³²⁴ The Berkeley and UCLA campuses fell short of fulfilling student expectations and needs, and a campus plan would galvanize students, alumni donors, and the campus community at large.

With a postwar building boom on California’s campuses eminent, architects and college planners generally borrowed from a decade of planning culture developed and sustained during World War II.³²⁵ Because campuses desperately needed buildings to educate, house, feed, and entertain students, and architects seldom had opportunities to design campuses from scratch, the predominant approach to planning was to accept historic structures and add not only modern buildings but a functional diagram to the campus. Functional order was an overlaying system that did not replace older buildings but explained or reassigned the locations for academic departments and areas for colleges. The effect was to create more efficient spatial relationships between departments and fields of study. For these reasons, adding modern buildings to older campus environments was seen by architects as a professional challenge worthy of attention and care.³²⁶

³¹⁸ See Clark Kerr, *The Gold and The Blue*, Vol 1 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), pp90-110.

³¹⁹ For his concept of the “multiversity” and “city of intellect,” see Clark Kerr’s *Uses of the University* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1963).

³²⁰ See Clark Kerr, *The Gold and The Blue*, Vol. 1 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), pp235-253, especially pp243-245, which recount his meeting with campus architect William Pereira.

³²¹ Kerr Papers, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley [Carton 6 F79].

³²² Clark Kerr, “The Berkeley Campus and Its Students Now and in 1965” in *California Monthly*, January 1955.

³²³ See Kerr Papers and Presidential files in the Bancroft Library. As Chancellor and President, he refreshed research on Student Union buildings in the United States that President Sproul had done by looking closely at Unions in California.

³²⁴ Clark Kerr, “The Berkeley Campus and Its Students Now and in 1965” in *California Monthly*, January 1955.

³²⁵ See Andrew Shanken, *194X: Architecture, Planning, and Consumer Culture on the American Home Front* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009).

³²⁶ See Lorimer Rich, “College Architecture in Transition” in *The American School and University*, 1948-1949, pp107-112, and William Wurster, “Campus Planning” in *Architectural Record*, September 1959,

Welton Becket's Long Range Development Plan for UCLA and William Wurster's plan for Berkeley developed with Clark Kerr and Regent Donald McLaughlin exemplify early approaches to postwar planning. Becket's plan of 1959 retained the historic core of the campus and proposed that new buildings be placed elsewhere (Figure 5). New building additions therefore shaped the space of the campus grounds and imposed new functional relationships across the UCLA campus. Early postwar additions borrowed from the historical material palette set out by architects Allison and Allison. But, more important, building additions would uphold pre-existing clusters of related departments, colleges, and academic units. The School of Medicine occupied the southern end of the main campus, while the College of Letters and Sciences, for example, occupied the north. Buildings formed quadrangles and paths and orchestrated one's traversal across campus. The old Union, Kerckhoff Hall, faced the edge of the historic core, whereas the postwar Union, built beside Kerckhoff, by design reoriented student activities toward the open athletic fields to the west.

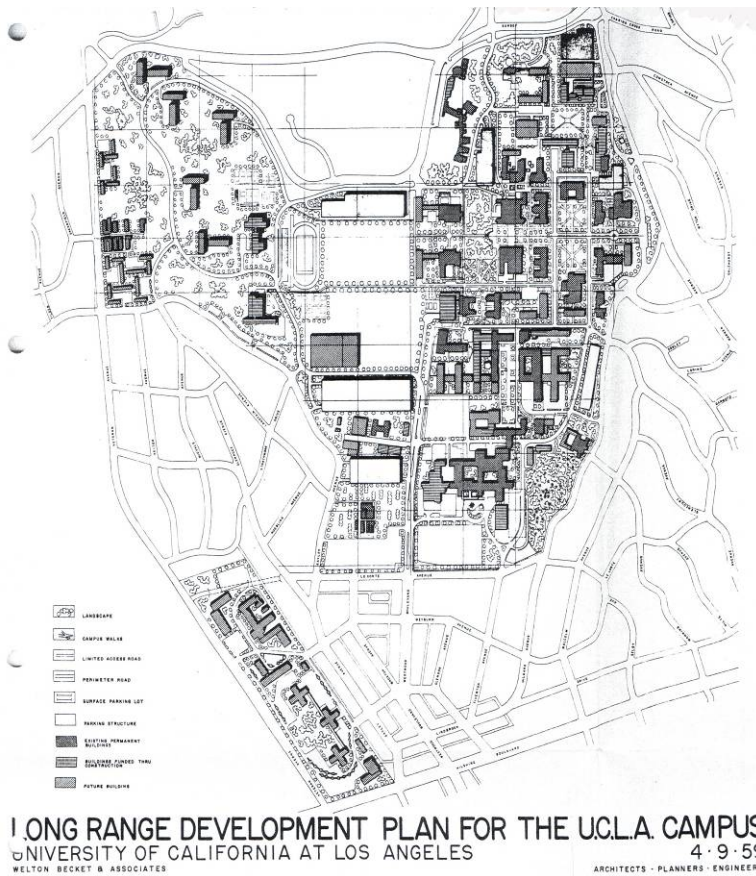


Figure 5. Long Range Development Plan for the UCLA campus developed by Welton Becket and Associates, 1959 (plan courtesy of the University Archives, UCLA).

pp161-167. Stefan Muthesius, who studied postwar universities, would observe that as the United States, the United Kingdom, and Germany invested in postwar education, new campus construction would soon outweigh revisions to older campuses.

At Berkeley, the postwar campus plan emerged from competing committee visions.³²⁷ Each vision favored plans that preserved open space and the natural beauty of the campus, but the planning process led by Clark Kerr won and consequently cast aside traditional Beaux-Arts buildings and the primacy of monumental elevations and site-planning axes, which other visions had celebrated. As a result, buildings would no longer be imagined as objects in the landscape, as they had been in the past, but rather as frames for the landscape itself (Figure 6). Thus, Kerr's plan set forth a vision for a comprehensive campus environment and a seamless set of spatial experiences.³²⁸ The crux of this environment lay in the interstitial spaces between buildings – paths, walkways, parking lots, and plazas – and in student life. For these reasons, courtyards, plazas, and benches became what the administration discussed when they sought to foster socialization on campus. By providing outdoor spaces, the administrators believed the campus community would lunch together in large or small groups and enjoy being outdoors between classes.

UC Regent McLaughlin and Wurster, then Dean of the College of Environmental Design, helped create the proposal. Like Becket's plan, the Kerr-McLaughlin-Wurster plan clustered academic departments according to college or unit. Thus, new engineering buildings joined older ones on the north side of campus, athletic facilities were located to the south, and humanities buildings remained at the center of campus. The plan highlighted six principles, each accompanied by a description. Among the principles were "building location, design, and use," which limited footprints to 25% of the total area of campus, and "circulation and parking," which stipulated that pedestrian paths and gathering areas facilitate travel on foot across campus and be separated, whenever possible, from vehicular traffic. By 1960, both of these principles were well established in urban planning. Aside from the preservation of the central campus, older planning concepts, such as axial relationships, were absent. Thus, the master plan set forth by Kerr, McLaughlin, and Wurster envisioned clustered buildings as a frame for the landscaped areas. Expansion then introduced new outdoor environments.

³²⁷ John Galen Howard served as the campus architect until the mid-1920s, when President Sproul decided to run campus planning through the Office of Architects and Engineers. As a result, planning efforts were committee endeavors that ran uninterrupted until the arrival of Chancellor Clark Kerr, who saw capital projects as an important postwar agenda. Consequently, planning became political and fought for by Chancellor Clark Kerr, who disagreed with the ideas proposed by the Office of Architects and Engineers. Instead, Kerr favored plans derived from faculty expertise, and consequently he helped bolster the vision of Dean of the College of Environmental Design William Wurster and landscape architect Lawrence Halprin, who had worked on the plan in the early 1950s. The plans themselves may have appeared similar, but each committee placed a different value on architecture. See the Office of Architects and Engineers, *Planning the Physical Environment of the Berkeley Campus* (Berkeley: The Office of Architects and Engineers, University of California, Berkeley, 1951), several memorandum between Kerr and Corley dated between 1953 and 1954 (Chancellor Papers, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley [Box 10 F35c]), and Clark Kerr, *The Gold and The Blue*, Vol 1 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), p114.

³²⁸ Landscape architect Lawrence Halprin informed this concept. Under the direction of the UC Regents, Halprin drafted a comprehensive campus plan in 1954. Rejected by the Office of Architects and Engineers, it was picked up by Kerr, who then understood the "total environment" as an imperative for the campus community. See Landscape Subcommittee, "Program of Action," revised March 15, 1954; "Preliminary Report on the Landscape Plan," September 1954; and Lawrence Halprin's preliminary landscape plan (Kerr Papers, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley [Carton 3 F12]).

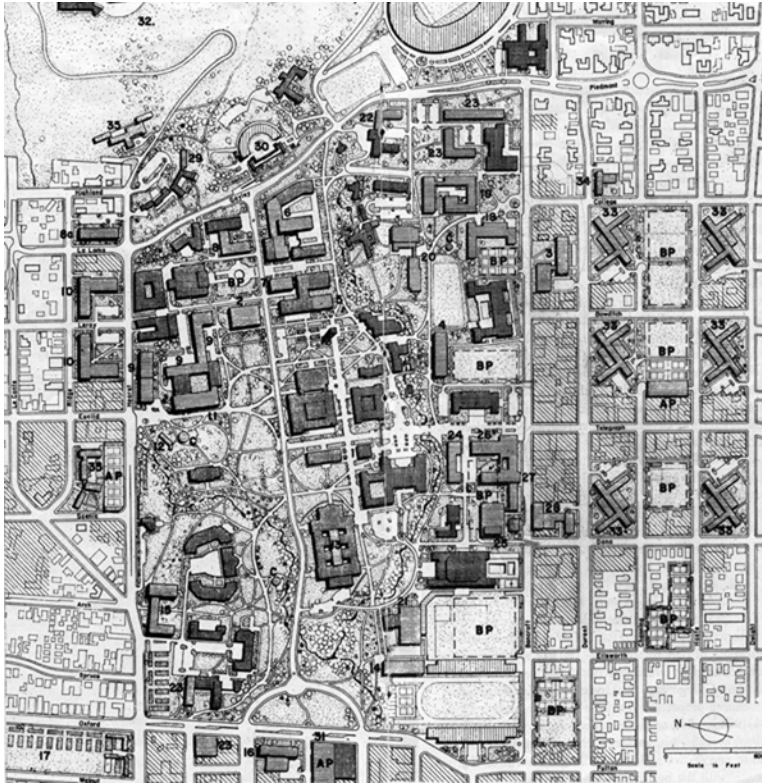


Figure 7. The Kerr-McLaughlin-Wurster Plan of 1956. New outdoor environments were created by inserting bar-shaped, L-shaped, and barbell-shaped buildings (shown in light gray). The spaces between the buildings were imagined as discrete but integral to the entire campus experience (source: “The Berkeley Campus Plan” in *California Monthly*, October 1956, pp24-25).

The significance of these concepts was that a single building no longer served as the unit of planning. Instead, campus planners linked several concerns involving circulation, plantings, and the location of academic units. This shift advanced the thinking about the whole campus environment for the postwar campus community. Moreover, modern architecture, conceptualized as a frame for the landscape, made buildings less an issue of architectural style and more a way of thinking and being in the world. Postwar buildings fulfilled the functional relationships desired by planners and introduced exterior spaces for social recreation.

The Student Union building fit into the scheme well. Nested within master plans, Student Unions promised functional and efficient spatial arrangements, and more important, flexibility for student activities. The exterior environment planners concerned themselves with could be an interior space in the Union, contiguous with campus paths and an extension of the landscape. In these new buildings, structural columns, partition walls, and glass curtain walls allowed architects to reinvent spatial and experiential relationships among interior activities. Moreover, steel, radiant heat, fluorescent lighting, and plastics were readily available and celebrated building materials. Architecture, freed from past forms and traditional construction methods, could create new environments for socialization and be a meaningful addition to the campus plan.³²⁹ Student Union

³²⁹ Albert Bush-Brown, “College Architecture: An Expression of Educational Philosophy” in *Architectural Record*, August 1957, pp154-157. Using college campuses such as the University of Virginia, Bush-Brown traces the historical lineage between architectural form and educational goals for architects, who know little about education, and educators, who know little about architecture. He argues that the significance of college architecture lies in education and, consequently, civic life.

proponents and architects had used architecture as an instrument for social education. Now, modern architecture was not merely a style to harmonize or contrast with older campus buildings but possibly a tool for social change, civics, and culture.

4.2 Building Modern at UCLA

Welton Becket's Student Union for the UCLA campus exemplified the promise of modern architecture and served as a monumental backdrop for the drama of everyday student life. In 1961, the Union's community lounge doubled as a ballroom and event space for banquets, films, dances, and live performances (Figure 7). Although the expansive floor space was infinitely flexible, on a typical day green-blue carpets defined its organization into smaller conversation circles. The soft fabrics of the wood-based furniture introduced turquoise, greens, and blues and highlights of yellow and copper to the white room. When the curtains were not drawn, a wall of windows with concrete modular sunshades filtered the western sun. In the cafeteria, the interior furnishings were as flexible and colorful as those in the lounge (Figure 8). The room had vinyl floor covering with stripes of cantaloupe orange, white, and lemon yellow; ochre, gray, lemon yellow, and white chairs; and regular table sizes that formed four-, six-, and eight-person conversation groups. Compared with UCLA's old Union, Kerckhoff Hall, Becket's new Union for UCLA, introduced a building that was much larger and more flexible.



Figure 7. Community Lounge and Ballroom of UCLA's postwar Union, named Ackerman Student Union, circa 1960s (source: courtesy of the University Archives, UCLA).



Figure 8. The Terrace Room (cafeteria) of UCLA's Ackerman Student Union, circa 1960s (source: courtesy of the University Archives, UCLA).

When Welton Becket, consulting campus architect, designed UCLA's postwar Student Union building, he had already determined his approach to design. Becket was a self-made, proud, well-connected architect who, over the course of his career, grew and oversaw Welton Becket and Associates, a large national architectural firm.³³⁰ He earned his architecture degree from the University of Washington in 1927 and spent a year abroad at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts in Fontainebleau before launching his career during the Depression. In 1933, Becket partnered with classmate Walter Wurdeman and an older architect, Charles Plummer, and the three worked on small design projects in Los Angeles.³³¹ During these early years of practice, Becket established his approach to design. Although the firm faithfully completed residences to suit the tastes of clients – authentic English cottages and Mission-style mansions – Becket found that if he did not maintain complete control over the design, interior designers would later decorate the houses in unrelated styles. This experience, and new opportunities to build in the

³³⁰ Welton Becket's firm biographer, William Dudley Hunt, Jr., FAIA, describes Becket's most remembered traits in *Total Design: Architecture of Welton Becket and Associates* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1972), pIX.

³³¹ Hunt, p10.

Philippine Islands, led Becket and Wurdeman to envision providing clients with comprehensive design. Accordingly, they aspired to oversee planning, engineering, architecture, and interior design to insure that each project was a coherent whole.

Becket and Wurdeman found work during World War II, but their first high-profile commission came from Bullock's Department Store in Pasadena, and soon companies such as General Petroleum and Prudential Insurance were hiring the firm. By 1949, the year Wurdeman died, the firm had created a robust portfolio of large modern corporate and commercial projects that embraced the international style and modern California living. In the firm's projects, glass curtain walls sheathed office towers, while outdoor terraces and balconies formed the massing and façades of hotels. Thus, by the time UCLA hired Becket as the consulting architect for the campus, he had considerable experience designing and constructing large, complex projects.

Although overseeing the master plan of the UCLA campus was his principal and longest-standing charge, Becket also designed nearly forty campus buildings.³³² The Center for Health Sciences was the first and largest commission, but the Ackerman Student Union, because of its program, had more foot traffic. The Union was the place students and visitors gathered night and day.³³³

Placed beside UCLA's old Union, Becket's building for UCLA's Student Union confronted traditional architectural approaches to building (Figure 1). Kerckhoff Hall, designed by the firm Allison and Allison, harmonized with UCLA's original main campus buildings. Although Becket's master plan called for sympathetic yet modern additions to the historical building fabric, UCLA's Ackerman Union departed from Becket's established philosophy. His medical center had spare elevations and modern windows, but it used red brick, which harmonized with UCLA's central campus. Ackerman Union, as a social rather than an educational center, broke with tradition. It had an exposed concrete frame, infill panels, window walls, and a large sunscreen on the west elevation. The placement of Ackerman Union adjacent to Kerckhoff Hall allowed the student government and leaders to renovate Kerckhoff as student offices and maintain a connection to the new activities in Ackerman.³³⁴ The adjacency also drew attention to the contrasting architectural styles of these two buildings.

The interior spaces of Ackerman were also different from Kerckhoff's. Absent were the Spanish-style tile floors, rich wood trim, floral upholstery, and carpets. Instead, Ackerman introduced the campus to finely woven modern fabrics, fixtures, and finishes. The smooth polished floors, paint, and track lighting were durable, manufactured products suitable for recreation spaces. Any money saved on lavish materials Becket spent on modern conveniences, making the building an efficient student activities machine. The elevators, automated bowling lanes, televisions, lockers, cash registers, bake shop ovens, and steam cookers are examples of how Becket and his design team, along with UCLA's Union proponents, prioritized modern conveniences (Figures 9, 10,

³³² Hunt, p14.

³³³ A personal belief of Becket published in "Conversation with Welton Becket" in *UCLA Alumni Magazine*, December/November 1964, Vol 39 No 2, pp8-10 (p9).

³³⁴ The UCLA University Archives has plans of Kerckhoff after Ackerman Union was built. The student lounges and memorial room were kept intact, but nearly every other space became an office for students or student services.

11, and 12). These amenities, set against pale colors and white, glistened and put modern conveniences and leisure activities within reach of UCLA students.



Figure 9. Students pose in front of lockers conveniently placed near the bookstore entrance, circa 1961 source: (Student Union brochure, courtesy of the University Archives, UCLA).



Figure 10. Students line up in front of the bookstore checkout counter, circa 1961 (source: Student Union brochure, courtesy of the University Archives, UCLA).



Figure 11. Students bowl in UCLA's Ackerman Student Union lanes, circa 1960s (source: courtesy of the University Archives, UCLA).

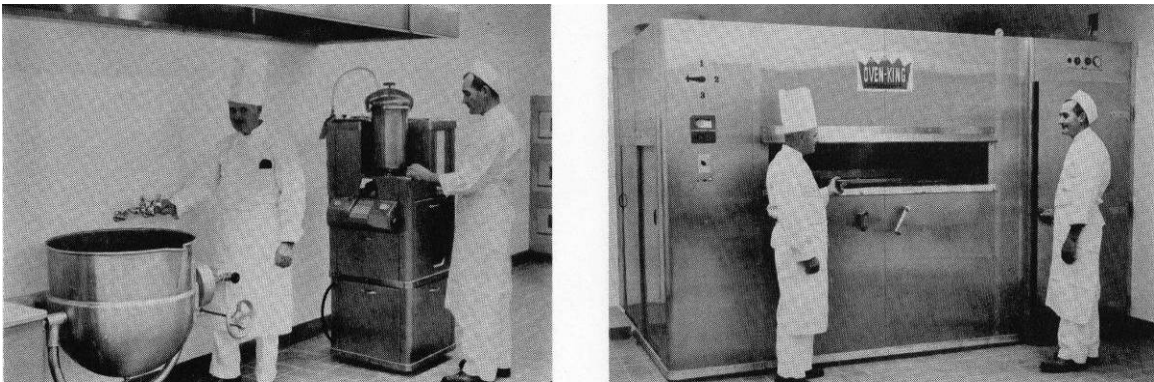


Figure 12. Food service staff show off the Bake Shop equipment and oven, circa 1961 (source: Student Union brochure, courtesy of the University Archives, UCLA).

Compared with Becket's later work – which included corporate offices, luxury hotels, and international airports – the Ackerman Union at UCLA was a modest project built on a tight budget. His hotels, department stores, and corporate headquarters, in

particular, often comprised several buildings and had lavish modern interiors.³³⁵ With the involvement of architects and interior designers, these projects approached the design of buildings from outside in and inside out. Although modest, Ackerman Union shared several characteristics with Becket's high-profile projects. The height of the Student Union community lounge compared well with the grandest hotel lobby. The cafeteria mimicked corporate lunchrooms found elsewhere. Like training wheels on a tricycle, Ackerman Union taught UCLA students about living. Certainly, any UCLA alum enjoying the splendor of Becket's Beverly Hotel or Habana Hilton would know she had graduated on to better things.

4.3 Building Modern at UC Berkeley

Architects for UC Berkeley's postwar Student Union brought modern architecture to campus but in the form of a large complex for student leisure and recreation that not only relocated student activities on campus – as Becket did more subtly on UCLA's campus – but also knit exterior and interior spaces with the campus plan. The result was a large-scale urban student activities center on the southern edge of campus. The impetus to build there dated back to the alumni study, *Students At Berkeley*, but the form and its meaning were products of the 1950s. In a promotional publication titled "Education for a full life," the Alumni Association introduced the role of architecture and large-scale planning in postwar social education and Union design. By touching on the importance of education outside the classroom, the booklet celebrated the idea of the Student Union and the models and renderings prepared by architects Vernon DeMars and Donald Hardison (Figures 13 and 14). In these images, alumni saw "a feel for the future," a "flying shell roof" over a cafeteria and an eight-story student office building; together they provided "a modern, completely informal atmosphere." They also learned that the key building of the complex was the Memorial Union, the campus "family room" where students would find a lounge and the "rathskeller-type" Bear's Lair pub.³³⁶ The images suggested that while enjoying the relaxing comfort of the lounge and dining terraces, students would sense the availability of constructive things to do and a modern campus "living room," with all its recreational, cultural, social, and intellectual opportunities for informal education. The architecture was presented as a desirable solution to student needs in the postwar era.

³³⁵ Several monographs exist of Welton Becket's work, including William Dudley Hunt's book, *Total Design: Architecture of Welton Becket and Associates* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1972), pIX, but also earlier monographs published by the firm *Vision ... Through Supervision: Welton Becket FAIA and Associates, Architects-Engineers* (Los Angeles: Welton Becket and Associates, 1964). None of his monographs feature UCLA's Student Union building.

³³⁶ California Alumni Association, "Education for a Full Life," 1957 (Vernon DeMars Collection. Environmental Design Archives, University of California, Berkeley). Likening the Bear's Lair to the Rathskeller was a direct reference to the pub in the Union of the University of Wisconsin.



Figure 13. Promotional rendering of the Bear's Lair depicts students, a dog, and a stuffed bear among modern pendant lights and sports-related decorations. The original caption read: "informal conversation over coffee, and light snacks, will be encouraged by the rathskeller-type atmosphere of the new 'Bear's Lair.' This spacious campus hangout is one of the major features of the new Student Union" (source: California Alumni Association, "Education for a Full Life," 1957).

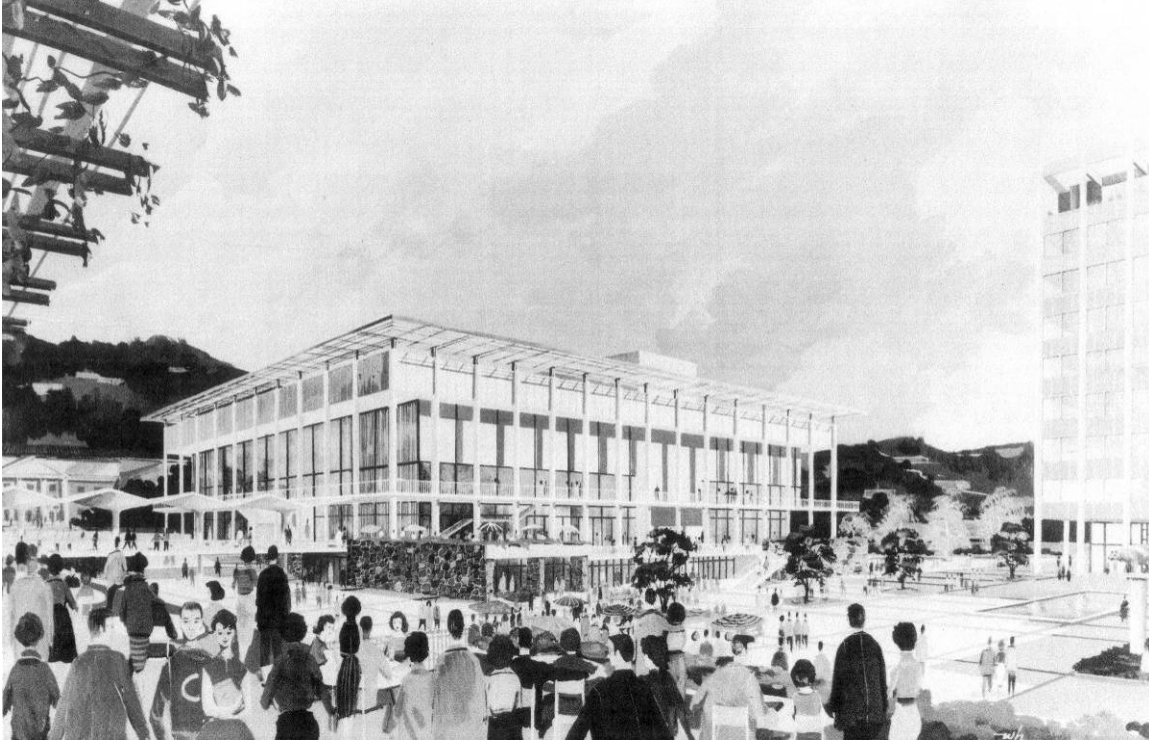


Figure 14. View from the cafeteria dining terrace across the lower plaza to the California Memorial Union (later renamed the MLK Union). Students mingle and eat among tables and under umbrellas and can walk from the terrace directly into the lounge of the main building. The original caption reads: “The Student Union is, in many ways, the key unit of the entire California Student Center. It is the campus “family room” for students at Berkeley, housing recreational facilities, lounges, and a large ballroom and banquet hall” (source: California Alumni Association, “Education for a Full Life,” 1957).

In contrast with UCLA, which hired the consulting campus architect, UC Berkeley launched an architectural competition for the design of the new Union.³³⁷ In 1957, Joseph Esherick wrote the competition document and served as the competition advisor. Like many such documents, it outlined the programmatic expectations for the competition, stating that the “purpose of the Student Center [was] to serve as a unifying influence on a campus”; that it was for “a cosmopolitan University situation in one of the cosmopolitan centers of the world”; and that the “architectural design should invite free, independent and imaginative use and activity.”³³⁸ Like many competitions, it was limited to a select group of architects and planners. Among those eligible were three design teams from Northern California – Gardner Daily; Vernon DeMars and Donald Hardison;

³³⁷ See various meeting minutes from the Committee on Grounds and Buildings (1955) for discussions concerning design contracts with faculty. William Wurster, Dean of the College of Environmental Design, did not want a competition; see especially minutes from November 17, 1955. Instead, Wurster proposed that Vernon DeMars, Joseph Esherick, and Ernest Kump serve as architects for the Memorial Union (Chancellor Papers, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley [Box 13 F18]).

³³⁸ Joseph Esherick, *Program of Competition: Student Center, University of California Berkeley* (University of California Berkeley, 1957), 6, 7.

and John Funk and Kitchen and Hunt – and three from Southern California – Douglas Honnold and John Rex; Pereira and Luckman; and Risley and Gould.³³⁹ These architects were not completely unfamiliar to the administration, University Regents, and faculty at Berkeley. Prior to the competition, the Committee on Grounds and Buildings met on several occasions to review the portfolios of various architects. Here, Gardner Daily, Vernon DeMars, John Funk, Donald Hardison, Kitchen and Hunt, and Ernest Kump were among the architects considered for upcoming campus projects, including the Memorial Union and Cafeteria as well as the Radiation Laboratory Animal House Addition and the Physical Sciences and Mathematics-Statistics Unit.³⁴⁰ The significance of this familiarity meant that DeMars and his Northern California colleagues constituted a set of inside candidates.

Vernon DeMars, who had framed much of the debate about Union design, actively sought the commission.³⁴¹ In December of 1952, DeMars wrote Robert Evans, Chief Architect of the Architects and Engineers Office at the University, stating his willingness to “give [his] remaining eye and tooth to land [the job]” and to “sweat blood to see it through.”³⁴² DeMars wrote again in 1953, only six days after the *Daily Californian* printed a series of articles on the new Student Union. DeMars, then a newly minted faculty member in the Department of Architecture, aimed to secure the job as the architect for the project. In response to his second attempt, UC President Clark Kerr kept DeMars at bay by assuring him he would be considered alongside other qualified architects when the time came.³⁴³ But DeMars, who professed his interest, qualifications, connections, and availability during the summer months for travel and research, was not deterred. DeMars had described for Kerr forming professional associations with Ernest Kump, Joseph Esherick, and William Wurster but kept personal notes on several other professional associations as well.³⁴⁴

While he waited to hear whether he would be the architect for the project, DeMars organized an architectural studio course on the subject. In the fall of 1954, DeMars, with Joseph Esherick, used the proposed building program for the California Memorial Union as the basis of a studio. The results produced several student-generated proposals. One proposal, developed and built as a model over the Christmas holidays, was shown in the

³³⁹ *Ibid.*, 2.

³⁴⁰ Meeting minutes, Committee on Grounds and Buildings, November 17, 1955 (Chancellor Papers, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley [box 13 folder 18]).

³⁴¹ DeMars denied he was ever an inside candidate for the project. DeMars claimed, for example, that a former student of his was on one of the design teams from Southern California and that the top three firms, in the end, were all Northern California firms that, apparently, better understood the site and climate of Berkeley. See Vernon DeMars, *A Life in Architecture*, p341. But this is up for speculation. The Vernon DeMars Collection contains a letter from DeMars to Wurster, written June 10, 1957, while DeMars is waiting to hear about the competition results. The purpose, to share the excitement and anxiety about being chosen, DeMars recounts the design charrette, including the hard work and who was involved.

³⁴² Letter to Bob [Robert] Evans, December 12, 1952 (Vernon DeMars Collection, Environmental Design Archives, University of California, Berkeley).

³⁴³ Letter from Clark Kerr, June 12, 1953, in response to DeMars' letter, June 2, 1953 (Vernon DeMars Collection, Environmental Design Archives, University of California, Berkeley).

³⁴⁴ These teams, comprising three designers, included a combination of names such as “Wurster consultant,” “Esherick,” “Daily,” “Kump,” or “Ried” (Vernon DeMars Collection, Environmental Design Archives, University of California, Berkeley).

lobby of a prominent academic building, Wheeler Hall, for promotional purposes (Figure 15).³⁴⁵ At Berkeley, this activity helped promote the Union for the ASUC and gave student designers an outlet for the project. Students Richard Hanna and James Hastings, especially, found an audience for their project in the student newspaper. It was a massive building with a courtyard, an office tower, and a theater – the primary features of the Union as built. As colonnades connected the sidewalk with the interior spaces, each face of the building expressed its programmatic contents.³⁴⁶ The student proposal lent ideas to DeMars and Hardison’s competition entry.

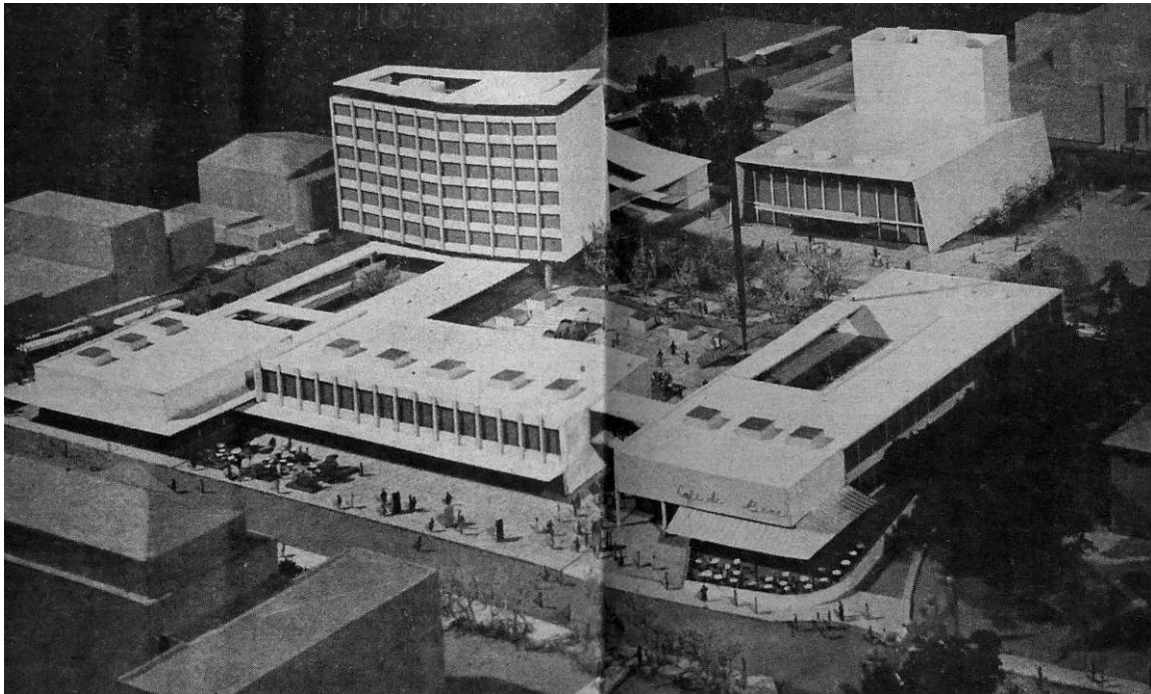


Figure 15. Student proposal for the California Memorial Union (source: *The Daily Californian*, January 4, 1955, p1).

The practice of having students execute a design problem first was not new. As visiting professor at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, DeMars had offered an architecture studio encompassing the problem of the Eastgate Apartments in Cambridge, a project he later designed and built himself, as well as a “theater problem” involving a large-scale auditorium.³⁴⁷ DeMars’ credentials, in this way, are a mixture of teaching and professional practice.

DeMars had a wide range of professional experience that cemented his propensity for thinking locally and large. Between 1936 and 1942, DeMars served as District

³⁴⁵ Vernon DeMars, *A Life in Architecture: Indian Dancing, Migrant Housing, Telesis, Design for Urban Living, Theater, Teaching, an oral history* (Berkeley: Bancroft Library, 1992), 338 and 9, and Shirley Murphy, “New Student Union model to be unveiled in Wheeler,” *The Daily Californian*, January 4, 1955, p1.

³⁴⁶ *The Daily Californian*, January 7, 1955, p1-S.

³⁴⁷ DeMars, *A Life in Architecture*, p337.

Architect for the Farm Security Administration regional office in San Francisco, and in 1943, he was the Chief of Housing Standards for the National Housing Agency in Washington, DC. In 1951, after serving two years in the Navy and teaching as a visiting professor at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, DeMars returned to Berkeley and the San Francisco Bay Area, where he taught as a lecturer in the Department of Architecture, became involved with a group called Telesis, and worked as a consultant for the San Francisco Redevelopment Agency and as an architect for the Golden Gateway redevelopment project.³⁴⁸ Telesis, a loose professional organization whose purpose consisted of three ideas – the promotion and popularization of regional planning, research, and individual anonymity in team efforts – influenced design culture in the San Francisco Bay Area.³⁴⁹ DeMars’ design approach grew out of Telesis’ vision: he was sensitive to climate and human inhabitation and sought integrated architectural systems as solutions to complex human problems.

But urban renewal and large-scale planning projects were afoot at this time as well. DeMars would have been well aware of older massive development projects, such as Rockefeller Center, and projects that were contemporaneous to his practice, such as the Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts in New York City. Both had the financial backing of John D. Rockefeller, but the latter used government initiatives to claim and clear a swath of New York’s Westside slums for what visionaries hoped would be the world’s most concentrated and extensive performing arts district.³⁵⁰ To accomplish this, the design needed to bind several performing arts institutions together and did so through classically inspired modern buildings, a central plaza, underground parking, and covered passageways. These urban maneuvers, spanning three city blocks, allowed the architectural firm of Harrison and Abramovitz to create a completely new form of civic space. The key was that civic spaces like these were imagined as better than those of the previous era. Unlike slums and sidewalks beneath skyscrapers, Lincoln Center’s plaza had light and air, and the spaces were cultural rather than governmental.

³⁴⁸DeMars, *A Life in Architecture*, pXI.

³⁴⁹ “Telesis” in *Architectural Record*, 1940, vol 88, no 4, pp69-70; “A group of young California architects, regional planners, landscape architects, industrial designers ask the question, “is this the best we can do?” in *California Arts and Architecture*, 1940, Vol 57, pp20-21; and Sanders, Harry. “Space for living: a challenge by Telesis.” *Architect and Engineer*, August 1940, Vol 142, pp6-7, 58d.

³⁵⁰ Richard Mille “Lincoln Center: a new kind of institution” in *Architectural Forum*, August 1958, pp74-77. Also see Peter Allen’s dissertation, *A Space for Living: Region and Nature in the San Francisco Bay Area, 1939-1969* (University of California, 2009).



Figure 16. Vernon DeMars, Donald Hardison, and Lawrence Halprin's vision for the Student Union complex at the University of California Berkeley (source: *California Monthly*, January 1958, front cover).

In the spirit of urban renewal, the postwar campus living room at Berkeley consumed an entire city block that UC Berkeley had bought one parcel at a time.³⁵¹ But the project borrowed more from the Rockefeller and Lincoln Centers in New York City than its size. Interior passages and exterior covered walkways tied the buildings together and framed a large pedestrian plaza. Therefore, akin to many large-scale urban renewal projects, the Student Union complex had an underground parking and a civic plaza that knit the buildings and spaces into a continuous and varied set of experiences.

The gem of the project was the Memorial Union. Built of a concrete steel frame with a form reminiscent of a Greek temple, it housed the student bookstore, pub, lounge, exhibition space, ballroom, meeting rooms, memorial chapel, roof garden, and spaces for billiards, bowling, table tennis, and crafts. Although this building symbolized the Union as a whole, other buildings completed the program. One two-story building with an undulating concrete roof contained the cafeteria, kitchen, and private dining rooms. Another tall tower housed student and athletic offices, while the last structure contained a performing arts center that seated audiences of 500 and 2,000 (Figures 16 and 17).³⁵² Early drawings show that DeMars and Hardison used floor materials to designate major

³⁵¹ The visions and processes of urban renewal guided the administration's efforts to purchase land and expand the campus southward. Initial renderings of this expansion appear in Berkeley's publication *Students at Berkeley* (1948), and UC Berkeley's comprehensive plan of 1956 is another milestone (Clark Kerr, "The Berkeley Campus Plan" in *California Monthly*, October 1956, pp24-25, and William Wurster, "Campus Planning" in *Architectural Record*, September 1959). The Bancroft library contains volumes of archival material, but Peter Allen offers the most succinct summary of Berkeley's campus expansion in "The End of Modernism? People's Park, Urban Renewal, and Community Design" in *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, September 2011, Vol 70 No 3, pp354-374.

³⁵² Vernon DeMars and Donald Hardison, Associated Architects, *The Winning Design in a Competition for a Student Center on the Berkeley Campus for the University of California* (University of California, Berkeley, 1957).

pedestrian thoroughfares similar to paving patterns used on city sidewalks or shopping malls. DeMars described paving patterns as “carpet.”³⁵³ Students, for example, could walk from the bookstore past the billiards and game room to the project room on their way to the cafeteria, all inside the building and potentially see how the interior floor connected the exterior (Figure 18). In form and diagram, the Student Union project, while diverse programmatically, was made legible through circulation, building materials, and lines of sight between spaces.

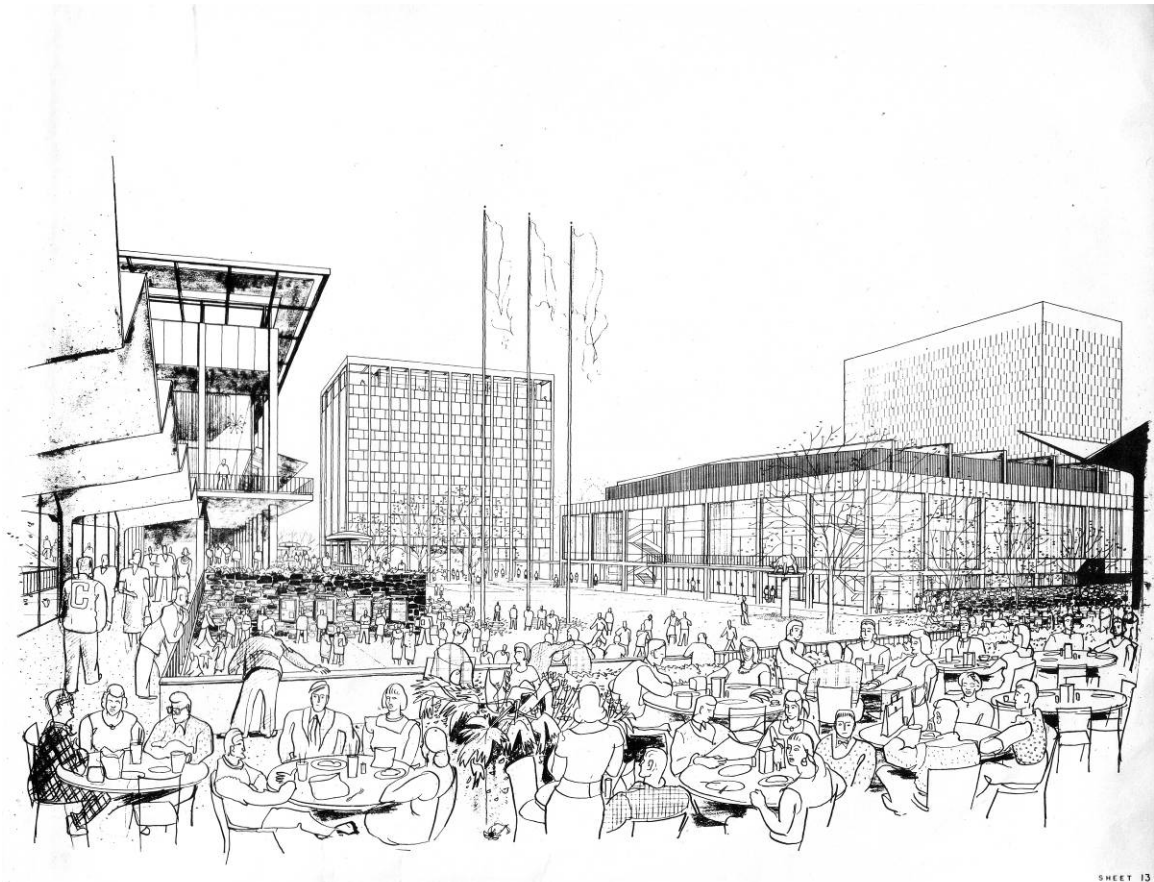


Figure 17. Vernon DeMars and Donald Hardison depicted students on the dining terrace overlooking the lower plaza, the bear sculpture, and myriad leisure activities. The California Memorial Union (later renamed the MLK Union) is on the left, while the student office tower Eshleman Hall and Zellerbach Auditorium are center and right. A covered canopy and bridge (far right) thread the buildings together. Although each building was part of the winning competition entry for the UC Student Union complex, the project was built in several phases: first, the dining facilities and the Memorial Union were completed, and then the office tower and theater (source: Vernon DeMars Collection, courtesy of the Environmental Design Archives, University of California, Berkeley).

³⁵³ “Paraboloids for a Pedestrian City” in *Western Architect and Engineer*, September 1959, pp4-5.

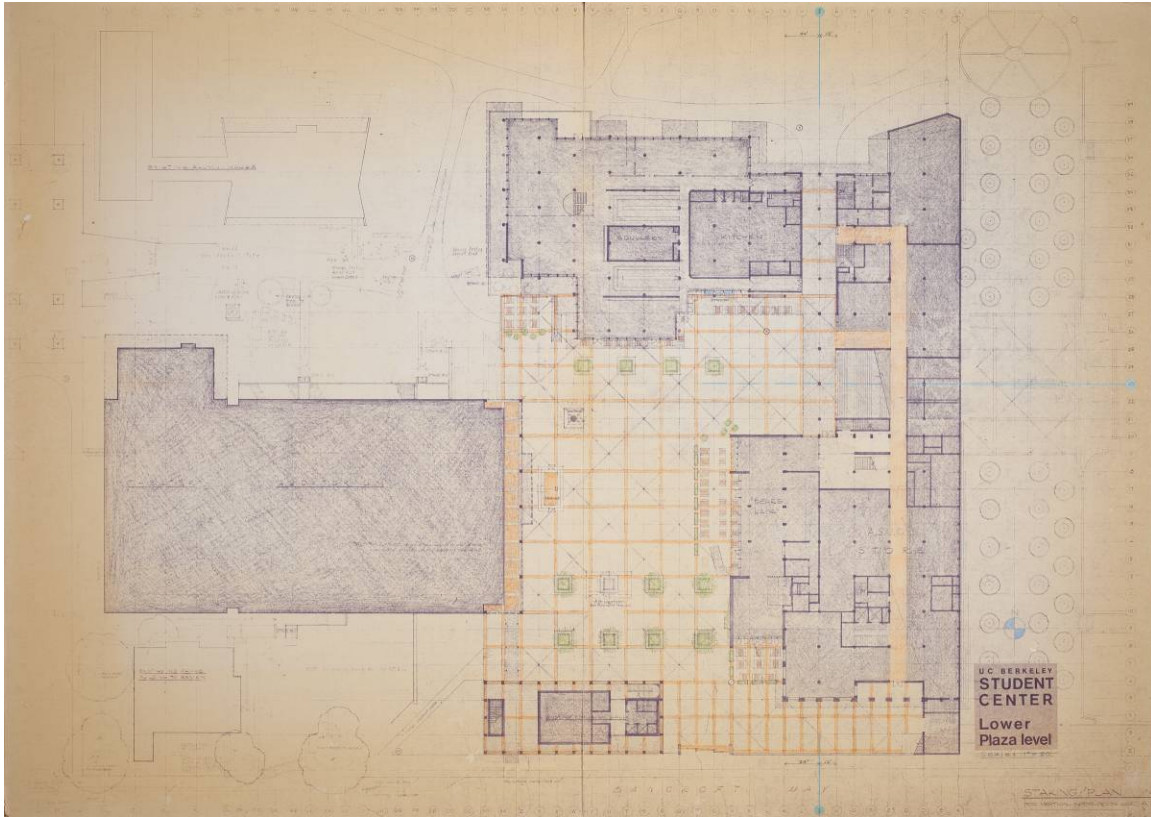


Figure 18. A colored blueprint of the lower plaza level highlights the paving pattern of the plaza and the same material as it penetrates the interior of the building. The interior path (right) connects the bookstore, recreation rooms, and lower level of the cafeteria, n.d. (source: Vernon Demars Collection, courtesy of the Environmental Design Archives, University of California, Berkeley).

Not unlike Becket, DeMars and Hardison chose to fill interiors with modern furniture and fixtures and covered many of the surfaces in durable materials. The billiards room, for example, had asbestos flooring, painted concrete walls, and ample track and spot lighting (Figure 19). The cafeteria – completed first – displayed DeMars and Hardison’s more playful approach to architectural forms: the “flying” cast-concrete roof nested clerestory windows and hovered two floors above the main dining area. Here, floor-to-ceiling windows and globe lighting illuminated the tables, chairs, and dark polished floors for up to 800 diners (Figure 20). But in an important nod to California’s Bay Region style and local architectural palette, DeMars and Hardison clad the interior walls and selected structural elements in more precious materials. Redwood boards and laminate paneling covered the walls of the lounge, lobby, memorial room, and ballroom. The rich texture and color of the wood absorbed the natural light pouring through the floor-to-ceiling windows in rooms such as the lounge (Figure 21). In general, the clean, uncluttered lines of the furnishings and interior spaces foregrounded student life and activities.



Figure 19. Berkeley students play pool in the California Memorial Union, 1961 (source: courtesy of the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley [UARC PIC 11M:14]).



Figure 20. Cafeteria of UC Berkeley's Cesar Chavez Center, circa 1960 (source: courtesy of the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley [UARC PIC 11M:5]).



Figure 21. Heller Lounge inside the Memorial Union building at UC Berkeley, 1961 (source: courtesy of the Bancroft Library, University of California Berkeley [UARC PIC 11M:15b]).

The most celebrated and iconic part of the project was the plaza. It was here that DeMars and Hardison envisioned the pulse of student life (Figures 14, 17, and 22). With the lounge, dining terrace, and pub activities spilling out and over the plaza, it served as an outdoor theater for spectators. Concerts, dance performances, academic festivals, and impromptu rallies at the foot of the bear sculpture could take place here and be seen and heard by nearly anyone in the complex.³⁵⁴ And as DeMars and Hardison hoped, such activities would solidify school spirit and their vision of citizenship.

DeMars and Hardison likened their design for the Union to the Plaza of San Marco in Venice.³⁵⁵ By doing so, they suggested that citizenship would be modeled on Renaissance ideals, civic space, and architecture. In their imagination, the residents of

³⁵⁴ The California Bear, the university symbol, for this reason was incorporated into the Student Union complex as bear benches and bear door handles. The most striking example is the column and bear sculpture, designed by DeMars and artist Tom Hardy, respectively. As a component of the original design in 1957, the column, rendered by Lawrence Halprin, was a purposeful design element. Funds for construction were not raised until 1979, when the class of 1929 donated the column and bear as a 50-year class gift (see Vernon DeMars Collection, Environmental Design Archives). The bear benches, door handles, and column were only a few, most visible examples of the ways DeMars sought to incorporate smaller-scale elements into the overall design.

³⁵⁵ On several occasions, in letters, publications, and speeches, DeMars described the project. In most instances, inspiration for the design originated with the plaza of San Marco in Venice, which had a statue of the patron saint of the city and served as an important gathering space for residents.

Venice visibly practiced citizenship in the great main plaza, where deliberation and discussion took place. Thus, the large lower plaza at Berkeley was an outdoor gathering place for all of its citizen-students. DeMars and Hardison gathered the main “civic” buildings of campus around the plaza and included a sculpture of Berkeley’s bear mascot, which, like the statue of San Marco, blessed the campus.³⁵⁶ With these parallels to the Italian plaza, DeMars and Hardison sought to cast the Union as an environment for citizenry.

The designer of this plaza was landscape architect Lawrence Halprin, who worked on UC Berkeley’s master plan in the early 1950s and consequently shaped many of the features in the project. As a designer, Halprin had a broad base of interests. For him, design involved using existing landforms along with passageways, circulation paths, plantings, outdoor meeting places, and architecture. He concerned himself with creating what he called a “total environment” for students and faculty.³⁵⁷ Apart from this total environment, he had specific design ideas for the Student Union that appeared in his campus assessment. He saw the site in the 1950s as “honky-tonk,” observed that the administration building loomed over pedestrians, and argued that the campus lacked a well-conceived pedestrian plaza.³⁵⁸ As a remedy, Halprin imagined a great tree-lined pedestrian mall between the postwar Student Union and the prewar administration building. Thus, not unlike his Nicollet Mall in Minneapolis completed in 1954, Halprin’s plaza at Berkeley would reroute automobile traffic and help mitigate any conflict between the automobile and pedestrians, a nod to the tenets of functionalism and efficiency and to the postwar pedestrianization of cities. But the Student Union buildings could also create a civic square and arcade that would serve as the principal monumental entrance to the university.³⁵⁹

Halprin, DeMars, and Hardison undoubtedly influenced one another. While Halprin worked on Berkeley’s master plan, DeMars taught his Student Union studio in the College of Environmental Design. Thus, the making of Berkeley’s postwar Union was bound by university efforts to plan for postwar expansion and collegial relationships among architecture faculty. But in the context of Halprin’s and DeMars and Hardison’s work, the project also mirrored large-scale urban renewal projects. Thus, to pair the postwar Student Union program with a new type of non-governmental civic space meant that DeMars and Halprin, at least, placed deliberate and deep connotations about postwar citizenship within the Union complex.

The form of civic space was up for debate. The architectural critic Alan Temko described the project as “planned chaos on the piazza.”³⁶⁰ Although his assessment and commentary incited reaction from DeMars and Halprin, Temko’s phrases – such as “willful capriciousness” and “dogmatic antidogmatism” – “correctly describe[d],”

³⁵⁶ Vernon DeMars Collection, Environmental Design Archives, University of California, Berkeley.

³⁵⁷ Landscape Subcommittee, “Program of Action,” revised March 15, 1954, and “Preliminary Report on the Landscape Plan,” September 1954 (Kerr Papers, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley [Carton 3 F12]).

³⁵⁸ “A Preliminary Report on the Landscape Plan, University of California, Berkeley Campus,” September 1954, 1-2 (Kerr Papers, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley).

³⁵⁹ “A Preliminary Report on the Landscape Plan, University of California, Berkeley Campus,” September 1954, 1-2 (Kerr Papers, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley).

³⁶⁰ Alan Temko, “Planned Chaos and the Piazza” in *Architectural Forum*, October 1961, pp112-117.

according to Halprin, “the modern approach to compositions.”³⁶¹ The Student Union complex was, according to Halprin, “deliberately city-like” and an “accidental or semi-planned situation.” The dining commons specifically were “a continuum of shelters and terraces filling the end of the square like stalls and booths in a great market.”³⁶² Underpinning the friction between Temko, on one hand, and DeMars, Hardison, and Halprin, on another, were expectations about the appearance and performance of modern architecture. From the vantage point of the Berkeley design team, the Student Union successfully introduced civic space on campus and therefore adequately trained students for citizenship. From the perspective of Temko, the project failed to be a coherent whole, a harmonious campus addition. Like Becket’s Ackerman Union at UCLA, Berkeley’s California Memorial Union project wedged open a debate about modern architecture and how one lived in it.

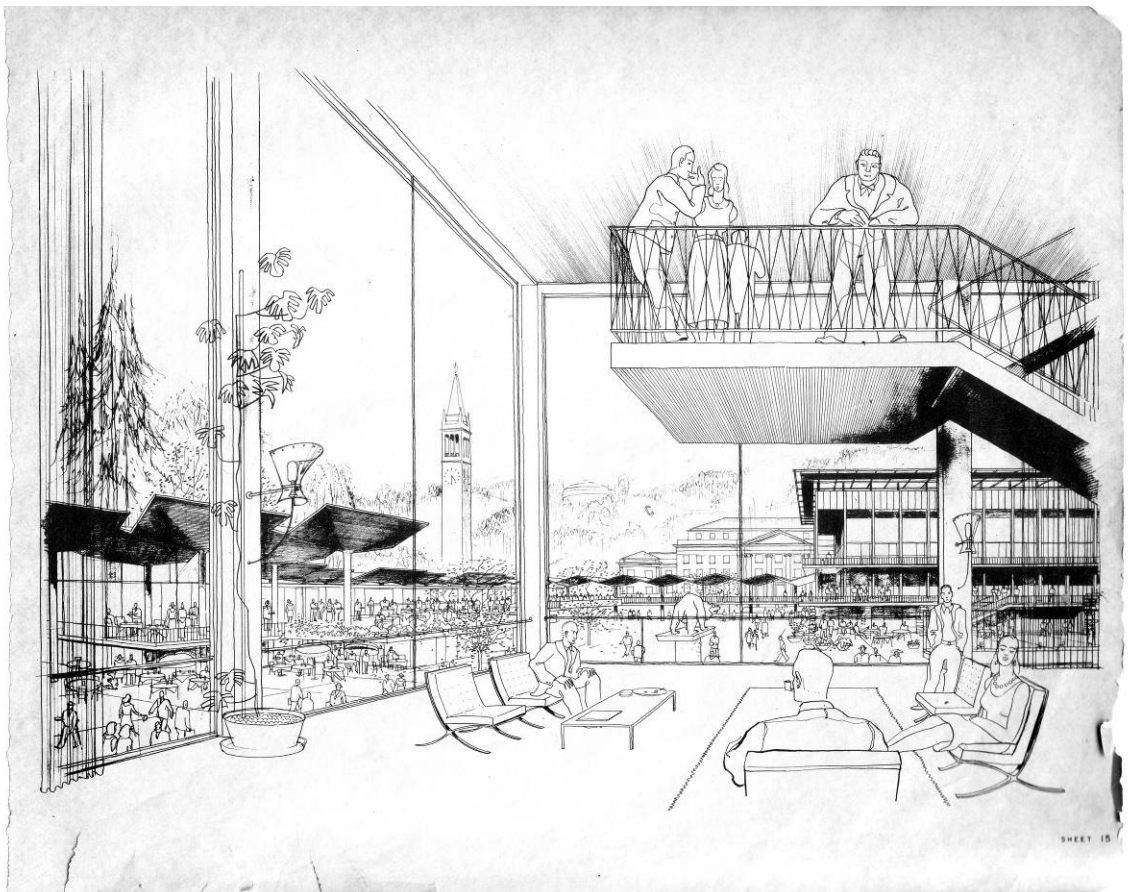


Figure 22. Vernon DeMars and Donald Hardison depicted students lounging in the theater lobby overlooking the dining terrace, bear sculpture, and Memorial Union (source: Vernon DeMars Collection, courtesy of the Environmental Design Archives, University of California, Berkeley).

³⁶¹ Letter to Vernon DeMars regarding Alan Temko’s criticism, October 19, 1961 (Vernon DeMars Collection, Environmental Design Archives, University of California, Berkeley).

³⁶² Vernon DeMars and Donald Hardison’s official response to Alan Temko, in *Architectural Forum*, October 1961, pp112-113.

4.4 A Model for Postwar Consumption

Early student reports about the California Memorial Union at Berkeley varied. After its opening, a sophomore in sociology exclaimed, “the lounge reminds me of a resort . . . it’s great to come here and forget about school,” while a senior in psychology reported, “I think it’s a magnificent waste.”³⁶³ Other student reactions were equally mixed, expressing enthusiasm for the Bear’s Lair but not for the roof or the building finish. Some thought that it evidenced the will and perseverance of a strong student body. The student government at UCLA and Berkeley described the Union in brochures. Using phrases such as, “your center and how it works” and “welcome to our campus center,” student leaders promised the Union would fulfill the needs of a diverse campus and that its design would “draw together all segments of the campus community on a common ground.”³⁶⁴ Underlying the claims and hopes for social cohesion were modern architecture and its conveniences.

Architects at UCLA and Berkeley bridged the demands of Student Union programs, largely established by consensus through the oversight of the Association of College Unions and consultants such as Porter Butts and Michael Hare, and concurrent projects in practice. Becket borrowed heavily from his planning experience and corporate designs, while DeMars, Hardison, and Halprin developed spaces akin to large-scale civic centers. Underlying these formal strategies was a commitment to modern architecture and an interest in the leisure pursuits of college students. DeMars especially celebrated the potential his offered Union to teach students citizenry. But to really make the plaza at UC Berkeley work like the plaza in Venice, Italy, it needed markets. Therefore, commercial activities – dining, bowling, shopping, and drinking – lined the lower Student Union plaza. And as a result, consumption, despite Enlightenment ideals, defined citizenship and the recreational activities enjoyed by students on both campuses.

Commercial activities did not go unnoticed. Critics of UCLA’s Ackerman Union, for example, complained that Union activities were empty of cultural and educational content. Without a proper music room, browsing library, art gallery, or current events room, the Union lacked the intellectual and emotional environments necessary to educate and socialize students. For Union detractors, the Union had become a coed playhouse that abysmally failed to foster intellectual interaction among students and faculty.³⁶⁵ These criticisms would have been serious for UCLA’s Union staff, but by 1961, the vehicle for social education had changed. Ackerman Union and others like it *did* socialize students, but instead of deliberative skills, these future citizens learned consumer and cultural activities, a new kind of citizenship.

Citizenship training had not only a new backdrop but also new underlying financial necessities, which drove how and what students were training for. Federal building loans, student fees, and revenue generated by room rentals, bookstore sales, the

³⁶³ *The Daily Californian*, March 15, 1961, p1.

³⁶⁴ ASUC, “Your Center and How it Works,” Berkeley, 1961 (Vernon DeMars Collection, Environmental Design Archives, University of California, Berkeley).

³⁶⁵ See letter from UCLA professor George Laties, April 14, 1969 (University Archives, UCLA [Series 401 Box 118 F244]).

cafeteria, and games largely defined the activities in the Union. Thus, as part of their training, students learned to tax themselves, purchase school supplies, eat, and participate in inexpensive recreational activities.

Many spaces within UCLA and Berkeley's postwar Unions provided unstructured spaces for socialization and noncommercial activities. But the cafeteria, bowling lanes, and bookstore gave students opportunities to *consume* food and leisure activities. Students could eat, bowl, and shop together. By consuming popular culture and popular activities in the Student Union, students could practice becoming consumers of popular culture after graduation as the administration brought spaces of consumption to campus. Imagining students as citizens *and* consumers arose directly from the process of planning and funding buildings in the 1950s.

The postwar university was a complex financial and physical proposition. Thus, the significance of these Unions was not their existence – universities across the United States built Unions at this time – but their transformation into modern buildings with social and commercial promise.³⁶⁶ Union proponents and the Association of College Unions continued to see Student Unions as instrumental in social education and citizenship. But many environments constructed during the postwar era – suburbs and urban renewal projects – involved government intervention. Just as suburbs were bankrolled by the Federal Housing Administration, publicly subsidized and privately designed, postwar Student Unions were made possible through federal loans and student taxation.

In place of alumni subscriptions and WPA grants used to fund Union building campaigns in the 1930s, college communities after World War II initiated student fees to repay federal and state loans.³⁶⁷ Student fees for building campaigns were different from membership fees. In the 1930s, students joined Unions, generally on a voluntary basis. Dues usually covered student activity costs and building maintenance. In the 1950s, university administrations weighed the cost of capital projects against federal and state funding and compared Student Union construction campaigns and operational costs across the United States.³⁶⁸ With encouragement from the administration and student government leaders, students by and large unilaterally voted to separate Student Union membership from construction fees, making the latter compulsory for all students regardless of their participation in student activities.³⁶⁹ This shift was instrumental in

³⁶⁶ The most notable and widely published projects included the Graduate Center at Harvard University by Walter Gropius and the Architects Collaborative (1949), the Student Center at Tulane University by Curtis and Davis and Edward Silverstein (1959), and those at Ohio State University and Texas A&M described by *The Daily Californian* (see *The Daily Californian* as well as Richard Dober, *Campus Planning*, 104, and Paul Turner, *Campus*, 268).

³⁶⁷ The shift is gradual but well documented in the *Bulletin of the Association of College Unions* and in the University Archives at UCLA. The details vary, but by and large university students across the United States begin to debate Student Union fees for Student Union construction in the mid-1950s, when schools realized funding costs would not necessarily be covered by alumni and donor subscription but by federal loans.

³⁶⁸ President Sproul tallied funding schemes from schools. See University of California President Files, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley [CU-5 Series 2, 1949:120].

³⁶⁹ Berkeley's funding schemes were especially charged because student government and the Student Union had always been synonymous. The separation between student government membership and the

making students necessary citizen-consumers on campus. Building maintenance and student activities would come not only from membership fees but also from revenue generated by room rentals, bookstore and cafeteria sales, and athletic ticket sales. Consequently, concerns about revenue guided basic programmatic decisions. Consumption made Unions financially viable and made students into consumers.

In all of this, modern architecture played a crucial role. Student Union architects, Becket, DeMars, and Hardison among them, looked to corporate and urban renewal projects as precedents. In these were both the processes that shaped postwar Student Union projects – private capital and public money – and the ideals that they represented – functionality, flexibility, and efficiency. Student Unions, with modern furniture and the latest building technology and equipment, presented the ideal environment for social education and civic life after World War II. Underlying the planning and architecture were visions for a new social order on college campuses and for future generations.

building complicated rules and territories governing political expression on campus and ultimately led to the Free Speech Movement in 1964.

Conclusion

As the “*campus living room*” or “*hearthstone*” of the college, the union provides for the services, conveniences, and amenities the members of the college *family* need in their daily life on campus and for getting to know and understand one another through informal association outside the classroom.³⁷⁰

Statement of Purpose of a College Union, 1956 excerpt (emphasis added)

During the postwar period, Union proponents on campus and in the Association of College Unions built a social empire with an architectural expression distinct from the prewar College Union buildings. Architects of the newer buildings eschewed single-sex lounges, traditional architectural motifs, and the sociability modeled by YMCA buildings to embrace flexible environments for coed leisure and consumption. The buildings were larger, comparable to postwar shopping malls and civic centers, and the programmatic and spatial relationships illustrated a new social and architectural paradigm on college campuses. Instead of stately hallways and distinctly decorated rooms, architects harnessed modern building methods to create open floor plans for student activities and Union programs. The buildings and the activities inside were meant to serve the entire campus community.

Postwar Union buildings played a greater role in the campus plan as well. As social centers, the architecture and placement of Unions sparked interest among alumni and students, especially at UC Berkeley. Planners thought that Unions, unlike academic or administrative buildings, needed to physically connect students to each other and to their lives off campus. New buildings – evidenced by those at UCLA and UC Berkeley – were crucial physical and social additions to the campus landscape. As administrators and campus architects grappled with how to plan for campus expansion and growth, Unions on these campuses served as important instruments of postwar planning. The buildings, unlike others on campus, knit the social paths of the university community together, and with opportunities for consumption, Union buildings could (and did) embody a prosperous postwar economic vision for the middle class.³⁷¹

³⁷⁰ Part 2 of the statement of purpose of a College Union adopted by the general membership at the 1956 Association of College Unions conference (“The Role of the College Union,” *Report of Proceedings of the Thirty-third Convention of the Association of College Unions* (Ithaca, NY: The Association of College Unions, 1956, p113)).

³⁷¹ For the centrality of consumption during the postwar era, see Lizabeth Cohen, *Consumer’s Republic: the Politics of Mass Consumption in Postwar America* (New York: Vintage Books, 2004).

Underlying these changes was the persistent and growing influence of the Association of College Unions, which broadcast the postwar vision of College Union buildings.³⁷² As an organization well aware of its own history, the Association actively sought to define its trajectory as a crucial social and educational entity on campus, and to establish an appropriate model for Union buildings, which were the visible face of the institution. As a result, the Association spent the greater part of the 1960s continuing to disseminate authoritative information about the Union profession and about planning and operating campus community centers in the *Bulletin*, planning manuals, and conference proceedings.³⁷³ To its credit – and because of the effort of many people on college campuses – the number of Union facilities in the United States doubled between 1946 and 1966.³⁷⁴ In this way, the Association championed construction while it guided the form and function of Union buildings alongside local architects and campus administrators.

As the second generation of Union buildings of the 1950s and 1960s replaced the first generation from the 1920s and 1930s, Association literature continued to call the buildings the campus “living room” or “hearthstone” of the university.³⁷⁵ Thus, despite the larger scale of postwar Student Union buildings and their similarity to shopping malls and civic centers, the “living room” persisted as a metaphor. Moreover, references to the university “family” remained as well.³⁷⁶ What did it mean then to build large modern buildings and refer to the Union as a living room? How did Union proponents and campus visionaries reconcile civic and commercial precedents with home and the hearth?

To build postwar Unions at Berkeley and UCLA was to introduce a new social and civic order into campus, which, like civic centers, promoted a public cultural life. The public university became the harbinger of not only American middle-class culture but also the familiar or “family” in public. Home and family had been the crucible of social reform in the past.³⁷⁷ And because social education was the principle purpose of

³⁷² See issues of *The Association of College Bulletin* between 1945 and 1955, but especially 1947 when the Association dedicated a conference to the topic of Student Union buildings.

³⁷³ Edith Ouzts Humphreys’ book *College Unions: a Handbook on Campus Community Centers* was republished during the 1950s, but quick to follow was Chester Berry’s manual *Planning a College Union Building* (New York: Bureau of Publications Teachers College, Columbia University, 1960). *The Bulletin* and conference proceedings faithfully addressed the growth of the organization and the establishment of Union buildings.

³⁷⁴ The manual, *Planning College Union Facilities for Multiple-Use* (Association of College Unions, August 1966), reported 300 Unions in the United States, which was double the number reported by Edith Ouzts Humphreys in her book *College Unions: A Handbook on Campus Community Centers* (Ithaca, NY: Association of College Unions, 1946).

³⁷⁵ In 1956, the Association adopted a statement of purpose, which declares, “As the campus ‘living room’ or the ‘hearthstone’ of the college, the union provides for the services, conveniences, and amenities the members of the college family need in their daily live on the campus and for getting to know and understand on another through informal association outside the classroom” (emphasis added) (Chester Berry, *Planning the College Union Building* (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1960); p7 summarizes the statement from the conference proceedings in 1956).

³⁷⁶ At UC Berkeley, promotional material for fundraising and introductory material for new students described the Union as the campus living room (DeMars Papers, Environmental Design Library).

³⁷⁷ See, for example, Gwendolyn Wright’s *Moralism and the Model Home: Domestic Architecture and Cultural Conflict in Chicago 1873-1913* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980) and Katherine Grier’s *Culture and Comfort: People, Parlors, and Upholstery 1850-1930* (Rochester: Strong Museum,

Student Union programs, “home” readily provided Union proponents and their students a social diagram and a set of cultural norms to follow. “Home” inspired Union proponents and architects for decades, thus putting concepts from the private sphere in public view.

Coupling the spheres of home and campus was significant, especially after World War II. It meant that community life could be built on public consensus of private life, and on commercial interests tied to postwar domestic consumption. It also set norms for activities in one’s actual living room at home and suggested that any deviation from the norm warranted concern. Thus, learning to live publicly, especially after the sacrifices and brutality associated with World War II, became the purpose of Student Unions. By design, daily “lessons,” which were initially considered for the G.I. and later the middle-class citizen, included how to dine in the cafeteria, meet with friends in the coffee shop, bowl in a league, or study in the lounge among classmates. Opportunities for consumption increased as well in Union buildings as universities implemented quantity cooking and administrators concerned themselves with balanced budgets. As a result, postwar students carried a larger financial burden for their Unions. And because students purchased many things they needed at the Union, including tickets, books, food, and recreation, personal needs were met in one of most public places on campus.

The postwar social and economic order was sensible. By implementing fees and developing a set of income-producing activities in the Union, the institution’s leadership and managers could not only maintain and create student activities and services, but also join broader efforts to promote consumption and a higher standard of living among the American middle class. At the same time, by calling the Union the campus living room, proponents continued the tradition of the living room metaphor and also linked Union activities and amenities to the future domestic life of college graduates. Thus, developing commercial activities alongside rhetorical references of “home” prepared students for shopping malls, civic centers, and suburban life. Viewed in this way, the postwar Student Union helped foster essential American values during the Cold War: the buildings and the activities inside them taught students that consumption and leisure meant democracy and freedom at home and in public life.

Now that Unions are a standard fixture on North American campuses, and many are undergoing renovation or reconstruction, understanding the spatial, social, and economic logic of these projects during the postwar period and their incremental changes since then is essential. Important are a set of practices that grew from the postwar era, such as student fees and values about inexpensive quantity cooked food, and the age of the buildings themselves. These practices have left a mark on existing postwar Unions and shaped the current generation of Student Union buildings.

Although there is continuity, modifications to postwar College Union buildings show a dramatic change. At UCLA, the cafeteria and large commercial kitchen are now a food court (Figure 1). In the dining facilities, piecemeal redesign and new lease arrangements have placed national franchises such as Sbarro and Rubio’s around the perimeter of the room and divided the central dining area into smaller eating spaces. In

1988) or, for a more radical take on the transformative powers of the domestic sphere, Dolores Hayden’s *Grand Domestic Revolution: A History of Feminist Designs for American Homes, Neighborhoods, and Cities* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1984).

other parts of the Union, lounge spaces are now reserved for special events or have been converted into much-needed office space.³⁷⁸



Figure 1. UCLA's dining commons in Ackerman Union. Notable updates include the walled and elevated seating area and perimeter food vendors. The original dropped ceiling has also been removed, revealing the air handling, sprinkler, and lighting systems as well as the structural waffle slab in the ceiling (photograph by author, August 2010).

³⁷⁸ During a back-of-house tour given by the Union Director in the summer of 2010, the author observed how the original women's lounge served as administrative offices, full of cubicles, and the community and men's lounges were reserved for special activities and were locked unless rented.



Figure 2. The lounge of the MLK Union at Berkeley (formerly known as the California Memorial Union) has been altered to accommodate a gallery at one end, complete with the requisite white walls. Notable changes include the removal of redwood paneling and the addition of sunscreens. Not shown are the offices at the opposite end of the room (photograph by the author, May 2012).

At Berkeley, the main lounge has undergone subtle but architecturally significant renovations (Figure 2). Once spanning the length of the building, the lounge now has offices at one end and a makeshift art gallery at the other. With blinds, an office wall, and screens, students can no longer see the full length of the space or out across the lower plaza, but they can use the room for different activities simultaneously. Other areas of the original Union have been modified for various activities. An old cafeteria at Berkeley now serves as a study hall, and food is now available at several smaller outlets on campus, in the Union and in academic buildings. Thus, like UCLA, the vision of quantity cooking, celebrated during and after the war, has been dispersed into smaller units, allowing the campus food service, as well as outside businesses, to run commercial food operations. Also, the bowling alleys, once a center of student recreation, are gone at UCLA and Berkeley. In their place are the much-expanded campus bookstores. Although present social necessities have altered the social and architectural imagination of postwar Union visionaries, important traces of postwar Union buildings remain.

When Union proponents and architects first sorted out the characteristics of Student Union buildings, ideas about social education addressed the socialization of

young men and women, class distinctions, and the professional sphere many students would enter as graduates. The same institution after World War II attempted to reinforce values and activities of the middle class and relied on the mass consumption of goods, food, and recreation. Because the institution and buildings continue to be part of college and university landscapes, they should be understood critically, for their social vision and their social, cultural, political, and economic contexts.

Bibliography

Archives

University Archives, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley
Vernon DeMars Collection and John Galen Howard Collection, Environmental Design
Archives, University of California, Berkeley
University Archives, University of California, Los Angeles
Porter Butts Papers and University Archives, University of Wisconsin, Madison
Association of College Unions-International Papers, National Student Affairs Archives,
Bowling Green State University
Eichler Network Archives

Published Material

A

Abbot, Carl. *The Metropolitan Frontier: Cities in the Modern American West*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1998.

Allen, Peter. "The End of Modernism? People's Park, Urban Renewal, and Community Design" *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* Volume 70 Number 3 (September 2011): 354-374.

Allen, Peter. *A Space for Living: Region and Nature in the San Francisco Bay Area, 1939-1969*. Berkeley: University of California, 2009. Dissertation.

Angell, Robert Cooley *The Campus*. Appleton and Company, 1928.

Association of College Unions. "The Role of the College Union." *Report of Proceedings of the Thirty-third Convention of the Association of College Unions*. Ithaca, NY: The Association of College Unions, 1956.

B

Berry, Chester. *Planning a College Union Building*. New York: Bureau of Publications Teachers College, Columbia University, 1960.

Berry, Chester and Alfred Looman, editors. *College Unions ... Year Fifty*. Stanford: Association of College Unions, 1964.

"Bibliography." *The Bulletin of the Association of College Unions* (January 1934): 3, 7.

- “Bibliography Submitted By Dr. John Dollard: Gives List of Books Helpful to Union Directors.” *The Bulletin of the Association of College Unions* (January 1933): 1, 4.
- Blau, Eve. *The Architecture of Red Vienna*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 1999.
- The Blue and Gold*. San Francisco: Junior Class of the University of California, Berkeley, 1913.
- The Blue and Gold*. San Francisco: Junior Class of the University of California, Berkeley, 1916.
- The Blue and Gold*. San Francisco: Junior Class of the University of California, Berkeley, 1918.
- The Blue and Gold*. San Francisco: Associated Students of the University of California, 1925.
- The Blue and Gold*. San Francisco: Associated Students of the University of California, 1929.
- The Blue and Gold*. San Francisco: Associated Students of the University of California, 1935.
- The Blue and Gold*, San Francisco: Associated Students of the University of California, 1944.
- Boyd, Paul P. “Extra Curricular Activities and Scholarship.” *School and Society XIII* (February 5, 1921).
- Braden, Donna. “The Family that Plays Together Stays Together” in *American Home Life, 1880-1930: A Social History of Spaces and Services*. Edited by Jessica Foy and Thomas Schlereth. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1992.
- Bridgeman, Donald S. “Success in College and Business” *Personnel Journal IX* (June 1930).
- Bryan, Mary deGarmo. “Planning for Dormitory Food Service” *Architectural Record* Volume 99 (April 1946): 118-121.
- “Building Boom on the Way.” *The Bulletin of the Association of College Unions* (July 1945): 5.
- “Building Nears a Boom Stage.” *The Bulletin of the Association of College Unions* (March 1937): 1-3.
- “Building Planning Service Offered.” *The Bulletin of the Association of College Unions* (March 1941): 1-2.
- “Building Program Inaugurated” *The UCLA Magazine* Volume XX Number 14 (January 1946): 45, 18.
- Burns, Delisle C. *Leisure in the Modern World*. New York: The Century Co, 1932.
- Bush-Brown, Albert. “College Architecture: An Expression of Educational Philosophy.” *Architectural Record* (August 1957): 154-157.
- Butts, Porter. “Background on the Union’s Purpose.” *The Bulletin of the Association of College Unions* (May 1946): 1, 6.
- Butts, Porter. *The College Union Idea*. Stanford: Association of College Unions, International, 1971.
- Butts, Porter. “The College Union Story.” *AIA Journal* (March 1964): 59-66.
- Butts, Porter. “A Good Union is Taylor-Made.” *College and University Business* (August 1946).

- Butts, Porter. *Planning College Union Facilities for Multiple-Use*. Wisconsin: Association of College Unions, August 1966.
- Butts, Porter. *Planning and Operating College Union Buildings*. Ithaca, NY: Association of College Unions-International, 1967.
- Butts, Porter. *State of the College Union Around the World*. Ithaca, NY: Association of College Unions International, 1967.

C

- Caldwell, Richard. "College Union is Convention Center." *College and University Business* Volume 12 Number 4 (April 1952): 30-33.
- California Alumni Association, "Education for a full life." (Berkeley: California Alumni Association, 1957).
- California Alumni Association. *Students at Berkeley, a study of their extracurricular activities with suggestions for improvements on and off the campus to broaden their preparation for citizenship*. Berkeley: California Alumni Association, 1948.
- DeMars, Vernon and Donald Hardison. *The Winning Design in a Competition for a Student Center on the Berkeley Campus for the University of California*. Berkeley: Hardison and DeMars Architects Associated, 1957)
- California Monthly* (April 1947).
- California Monthly* (September 1947).
- "Campus Cafeteria" in *California Monthly* (November 1948): 22-23.
- Chapin, Stuart F. "Extra-Curricular Activities of College Students: A Study in College Leadership." *School and Society* XXIII (February 13, 1926).
- Christensen, Ernest Martin. *Annotated Bibliography of the College Union*. Ithaca, NY: Association of College Unions-International, 1967.
- Clark, Daniel. *Creating the College Man: American Mass Magazines and Middle-Class Manhood*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2010.
- Clausen, Muriel. "Thanks to the GI Bill: how a veteran finished college on \$75" *California Monthly* (November 1948).
- Clemens, Dorothy Thelen. *Standing Ground and Starting Point: One Hundred Years of the YWCA*. Berkeley: University YWCA, 1990.
- Cohen, Lizabeth. *A Consumer's Republic: The Politics of Mass Consumption in Postwar America*. New York: Vintage Books, 2003.
- "Comes the Student Deluge!" *The Bulletin of the Association of College Unions* (February 1946): 1-2.
- Comstock, Alzada. "Time and the College Girl." *School and Society* XXI (March 14, 1925).
- "Conversation with Welton Becket." *UCLA Alumni Magazine* Volume 39 Number 2 (December/November 1964): 8-10.
- Cooper, Clayton Sedgwick. "The American Undergraduate: The College Man and the World" *Portraits of the American University: 1890-1910*. Compiled by James C. Stone and Donald P. DeNevi, 82-192. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Inc., Publishers, 1971.
- Cowley, W.H. "Explaining the Rah Rah Boy." *New Republic* XLVI (April 14, 1926).

Crawford, Margaret. "The World in a Shopping Mall" in *Variations on a Theme Park: The New American City and the End of Public Space*. Edited by Michael Sorkin. New York: Noonday Press, 1992.

D

The Daily Bruin (October 19, 1956).

The Daily Californian (January 13, 1922): 6.

The Daily Californian (November 7, 1922): 3.

The Daily Californian (August 25, 1922): 7.

The Daily Californian (October 18, 1922): 1.

The Daily Californian (September 12, 1922): 1.

The Daily Californian (December 1946): p22.

The Daily Californian (January 7, 1955): 3-S, 4-S.

The Daily Californian (January 7, 1955): 1-S.

The Daily Californian (March 15, 1961): 1.

Darnall, Margaretta. "Girton Hall: the gift of Julia Morgan." *Chronicle of University of California* Volume 1 Number 2 (Fall 1998): 57-64.

DeMars, Vernon. *A life in Architecture: Indian Dancing, Migrant Housing, Telesis, Design for Urban Living, Theater, Teaching, an oral history*. Interviewed by Susanne Riess. Berkeley: University of California, Regional Oral History Office, 1992.

DeMars, Vernon and Donald Hardison, Associated Architects *The Winning Design in a Competition for a Student Center on the Berkeley Campus for the University of California* (University of California Berkeley, 1957).

Dempter, Doug. "The ASUC recognizes its problems; takes steps." *The Daily Californian* (May 27, 1953): 7 and

Dewey, John. *Democracy and Education: An Introduction to the Philosophy of Education*. New York: MacMillan Company, 1916.

Dewey, John. *School and Society*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1915.

Dober, Richard. *Campus Planning*. New York: Reinhold Publishing Corporation, 1964.

Douglas, Thomas *Everyday Problems of the Everyday Child*. D. Appleton and Co, 1927.

Duncan, Bob. "ASUC officials attack 'farce of office building'." *The Daily Californian* (May 27, 1953): 9.

E

Eaton, Carol. "New student 'hangout' may contain everything from fish to xylophones." *Daily Californian* (May 27, 1953): 10.

"The Editor's Forum: Collegiate Architecture." *Architectural Forum* (June 1931): 689-90.

Edman, Irwin. "On American Leisure." *Harper's Magazine* (January 1926).

"\$8,000,000 appropriated for UCLA Building Program" *The UCLA Magazine* Volume XVIII Number 6 June 1944, p406, 14.

"Enrollment Levels Off – But not Construction." *California Monthly*, Oct 1948, p7.

Esherick, Joseph. *Program of Competition: Student Center, University of California Berkeley*. Berkeley: University of California Berkeley, 1957.

“Eye-Catcher at Antioch.” *The Bulletin of the Association of College Unions* (December 1949): 5.

F

“Family Room hub of Student Union.” *The Daily Californian* (Wednesday February 19, 1958): 9.

“Flexibility Featured in New Building.” *The Daily Californian* (Wednesday February 19, 1958): 9.

Findlay, John. *Magic Lands: Western Cityscapes and American Culture after 1940*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992.

Forty, Adrian. *Words and Buildings: A Vocabulary of Modern Architecture*. New York: Thames and Hudson, 2000.

The Freshman. Performance by Harold Lloyd. 1925. Film.

Freud, Sigmund. *A General Introduction to Psychoanalysis*. New York: Boni and Liveright, 1920.

G

Gauss, Christian. *Life in College*. New York: Scribner's, 1930.

Gelber, Steven. *Hobbies: Leisure and the Culture of Work in America*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1999.

“Government Help is Great Boon to Unions: Many Projects Under Way Through CWA and FERA Funds.” *The Bulletin of the Association of College Unions* (May 1934): 3.

“Grammar School Building, Monrovia, California.” *American Architect* Volume 106 (December 2, 1914).

“Grammar School, Glendora, California.” *Western Architect* Volume 27 (June 1918): 48, 52.

“Grammar School, La Canada district, Los Angeles, California.” *American Architect* Volume 114 (August 14, 1918).

Grampp, Christopher. *From Yard to Garden: the Domestication of America's Home Grounds*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008.

Grier, Katherine. *Culture and Comfort: People, Parlors, and Upholstery*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1988.

Grier, Katherine. “The Decline of the Memory Palace.” In *American Home Life, 1880-1930: A Social History of Space and Services*. Edited by Jessica Foy and Thomas Schlereth. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1992.

“A group of young California architects, regional planners, landscape architects, industrial designers ask the question, ‘is this the best we can do?’” *California Arts and Architecture* Volume 57 (1940): 20-21.

Gruen, Victor and Larry Smith. *Shopping Towns USA: The Planning of Shopping Centers*. New York: Reinhold Publishing Corporation, 1960.

Gruen, Victor and Lawrence Smith. “Shopping Centers: The New Building Type.” *Progressive Architecture* Volume 33 (June 1952): entire issue.

H

- Hale, William Harlan. "Old Castles for New Colleges." *Architectural Forum* (June 1931): 729-31.
- Hardwick, M. Jeffrey. *Mall Maker: Victor Gruen, Architect of an American Dream*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004.
- Hare, Michael. "Building Cost and Material Prospects." *The Bulletin of the Association of College Unions* (October 1950): 8.
- Hare, Michael. "Thoughts on Union Architecture." *The Bulletin of the Association of College Unions* (February 1945): 1.
- Hare, Michael. "The College Union Building Offers Substitute for Home." *College and University Business* (March 1949): 14-15.
- Hare, Michael. "The Planning Problems of a New Union." *The Bulletin of the Association of College Unions* (October 1945): 6.
- Hare, Michael. "Planning the College Union." *American School and University* (1948-9): 161-166.
- "Hart House, Toronto University: the music room." *Builders* Volume 130 (February 5, 1926): 246.
- "Hart House, University of Toronto." *Architectural Forum* January Volume XL Number 1 (1924): 11-16, pl. 1-9.
- "Hart House, University of Toronto, Canada." *American Architect* Volume 117 Part 2 Number 3213 (April 12, 1920): 506b.
- "Hart House, University of Toronto." *Builders* Volume 119 (July 2, 1920): 4-5.
- Harwood, Frank. "Union Building at Michigan Tech Serves Dual Purpose" *College and University Business* Volume 15 Number 1 (July 1953): 36-40.
- Hayden, Dolores. *Building Suburbia: Greenfields and Urban Growth*. New York: Vintage Books, 2004.
- Hayden, Dolores. *Grand Domestic Revolution: a History of Feminist Designs for American Homes, Neighborhoods, and Cities*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 1984.
- Herman, Harold. "Great Growth of Higher Education Shown in 1952 Census of Facilities." *College and University Business* Volume 15 Number 3 (September 1953): 22-25.
- "High School Group, Santa Monica, California." *American Architect* Volume 106 (October 28, 1914).
- "High School at Santa Monica, California." *Western Architect* Volume 27 (June 1918): 46, 52, 111-15.
- "High School, Santa Paula, California." *American Architect* Volume 106 (August 5, 1914).
- "High School, Van Nuys, California." *American Architect* Volume 110 (November 15, 1916).
- Higher Education for American Democracy: A Report of The President's Commission on Higher Education, Volume 1. Establishing the Goals* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1947).
- Hise, Greg. *Magnetic Los Angeles: Planning the Twentieth Century Metropolis*. John Hopkins University Press, 1997.

- Hollis, Ernest and J. Harold Goldthorpe. "College and University Building Needs." *American School and University* (1948-49): 86-94.
- Hopkins, Charles Howard. *History of the YMCA in North America*. New York: Association Press, 1951.
- Horton, Charles. *Social Education*. New York: Scribner's and Sons, 1929.
- Horton, Charles. *Human Nature and the Social Order*. New York: Scribner's and Sons, 1902).
- "How Unions Meet Army, Navy Needs." *The Bulletin of the Association of College Unions* (March 1943): 1, 6.
- "How Unions are Serving the Military Forces." *The Bulletin of the Association of College Unions* (May 1942): 2-3.
- Hudnut, Joseph. "On Form in Universities." *Architectural Record* (December 1947): 88-93.
- Humphreys, Edith Ouzts. *College Unions: A Handbook on Campus Community Centers*. Ithaca: Association of College Unions, 1946.
- Hunt, William Dudley Jr. FAIA. *Total Design: Architecture of Welton Becket and Associates*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1972.
- Hurley, Andrew. *Diners, Bowling Alleys, and Trailer Parks: Chasing the American Dream in the Postwar Consumer Culture*. New York: Basic Books, 2001.

J

- Jacks, L.P. *Education for the Whole Man*. New York: Harper's, 1931.
- Jacks, L.P. *Education Through Recreation*. New York: Harper and Bros., 1932.
- Johnson, Marilynn. *The Second Gold Rush: Oakland and the East Bay in World War II*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993.
- Jones, Anna May. *Leisure Time Education: a Handbook of Creative Activities for Teachers and Group Leaders*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1946.
- Jordan, David Starr. "Knowing Real Mean." *Portraits of the American University: 1890-1910*. Compiled by James C. Stone and Donald P. DeNevi, 11-13. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Inc., Publishers, 1971.

K

- Kamphoefner, Henry. "Planning for a University Campus." *Journal of the American Institute of Architects* (March 1946): 153-155.
- Kellen, Horace. *The Education of Free Men, an essay toward the philosophy of education for Americans*. New York, Farrar, Straus, 1949.
- "Kerckhoff Hall, University of California at Los Angeles: Allison & Allison, Architects, George W. Kelham, supervising architect." *Architectural Digest* Volume 8 Number 2 (1931-1933): 26-35.
- Kerr, Clark. "The Berkeley Campus and Its Students Now and in 1965." *California Monthly* (January 1955).
- Kerr, Clark. "The Berkeley Campus Plan." *California Monthly* (October 1956): 24-25.
- Kerr, Clark. *The Gold and The Blue Volume 1*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003.
- Kerr, Clark. *Uses of the University*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1963.

- Kimball, Dexter. "The Aims and Purpose of Union Buildings." *The Bulletin of the Association of College Unions* (March 1936): 3.
- Klauder, Charles and Herbert Wise. *College Architecture in America*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1929.
- Kottner, Loren. "Thorough Planning Makes a Union." *College and University Business* Volume 25 Number 3 (September 1958): 28-31.

L

- Larson, Jens Fredrick and Archi MacInnes Palmer. *Architectural Planning of the American College*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1933.
- Lefkowitz Horowitz, Helen. *Alma Mater: Design and Experience in the Women's College from Their Nineteenth-Century Beginnings to the 1930s*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1984.
- Levenstein, Harvey. *Paradox of Plenty: a Social History of Eating in Modern America*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003.
- Levine, David. *The American College and the Culture of Aspiration 1915-1940* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1986).
- Lewis, Sinclair. *Babbitt*. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1922.
- Lies, Eugene T. *The New Leisure Challenges the Schools: Shall Recreation Enrich or Impoverish Life?* Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, 1933.
- "Los Angeles State Normal School, Los Angeles, Cal.: Allison & Allison architects." *Architect* Volume 15 (April 1918): plates 68-69.
- Lucas, Christopher. *American Higher Education: A History*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1994.
- Lupkin, Paula. *Manhood Factories: YMCA Architecture and the Making of Modern Urban Culture*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010.

M

- "Malaga Cove School, Palo Verdes Estates, California." *Western Architect* Volume 37 (April 1928): 165-66.
- Manla, Georgette. "Eleven Years of College and University Union Planning." *American School and University* (1960-1).
- "Many New Unions Envisioned in Wave of Post-war Planning." *The Bulletin of the Association of College Unions* (December 1943): 4.
- McMillan, Adell. *College Union Pioneers: a Collection of Oral History Interviews*. Xlibris Corporation, 2006.
- "Merced Union High School, Merced, California." *American Architect* Volume 113 (January 23, 1918): 47-48.
- Miller, Richard. "Lincoln Center: "a new kind of institution." *Architectural Forum* (August 1958): 74-77.
- Montgomery, Roger. "Center of Action." *Architectural Forum* (April 1970): 65-71.
- Moore, Ernest Carroll. *I Helped Make a University*. Los Angeles: Anderson and Ritchie, 1952).
- Murphy, Shirley. "New Student Union Model to be Unveiled in Wheeler." *The Daily Californian* (January 4, 1955): 1.

Muthesius, Stefan. *The Postwar University: Utopianist Campus and College*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000.

N

“New Union Petitions are ‘Booming’ on Campus.” *The Daily Californian* (May 29, 1953).

Noffke, Frank. *Planning for a College Union*. Ithaca, NY: Association of College Unions-International, 1965.

Nystrom, Richard Kent. *UCLA: an Interpretation Considering Architecture and Site*. Los Angeles: University of California, 1968. Dissertation.

O

Office of Architects and Engineers, University of California, Berkeley. *Planning the Physical Environment of the Berkeley Campus*. Berkeley: The Office of Architects and Engineers, University of California Berkeley, 1951.

P

“Paraboloids for a Pedestrian City.” *Western Architect and Engineer* (September 1959): 4-5.

Parker, Rowland. *Town and Gown: the 700 Years’ War in Cambridge*. Cambridge: P. Stephens, 1983.

Partridge, Loren W. *John Galen Howard and the Berkeley Campus: Beaux-Arts Architecture in the “Athens of the West.”* Berkeley: Berkeley Architectural Heritage Association, Inc, 1978.

Paul, Joan. “The Health Reformers: George Barker Windship and Boston’s Strength Seekers.” *Journal of Sport History* Volume 10 No 3 (Fall 1983).

Peabody, Arthur, “The Memorial Union Building, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin.” *The American Architect* Volume CXXXVI Number 2572 (July 5, 1929): 1-8.

Peck, Martin. *The Meaning of Psychoanalysis*. A.A. Knopf, 1931.

Pevsner, Nikolaus. *A History of Building Types*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976.

Pickett, Velma. *The Daily Bruin* (1934).

“Polytechnic High School and Manual Arts Building, Monrovia California.” *American Architect* Volume 106 (1914 July 15, 1914).

Pond, Irving. “The College Union.” *Architectural Forum* (June 1931): 771-778.

Pride, Harold E. “History of the Association of College Unions.” *College Unions – Year Fifty*. Edited by Chester Berry. Stanford University: Association of College Unions, 1965.

“Purdue University Memorial Union Building.” *Architectural Forum* (June 1931): 713-16.

Putney, Clifford. *Muscular Christianity: Manhood and Sports in Protestant America, 1880-1920*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001.

Q

“Questionnaire Answers Compiled by Secretary.” *The Bulletin of Association of College Unions* (March 1933): 1, 4.

R

“Recreation Center with Modern Interiors.” *Architectural Record* Volume 112 (October 1952): 147-153.

Rich, Lorimer. “College Architecture in Transition.” *American School and University* (1948-49): 109-112.

Root, Waverly. *Eating in America: a history*. New York: Ecco Press, 1981.

S

Sanders, Harry. “Space for living: a challenge by Telesis.” *Architect and Engineer* Volume 142 (Aug 1940): 6-7, 58d.

Setran, David. “Following the Broad-shouldered Jesus: The College YMCA and the Culture of Muscular Christianity in American Campus Life, 1890-1914.” *American Educational History Journal* Volume 32 Number 1 (Spring 2005): 59-66.

Shanken, Andrew. *194X: Architecture, Planning, and Consumer Culture on the American Home Front*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009.

Shanken, Andrew. “Planning Memory: Living Memorials in the United States During World War II.” *Art Bulletin* Volume LXXXIV Number 1 (March 2002): 130-147.

Smith, Howard Dwight. “The Architectural Integrity of the College Campus.” *Journal of the American Institute of Architects* (September 1955): 118-226.

Stabler, Brooke. “Off-Hours and Recreation.” *The Bulletin of the Association of College Unions* (March 1936): 7.

Stadtman, Verne. *The University of California, 1986-1968*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1970.

Starr, Gordon. “What is the Function of the College Union?” *College and University Business* Volume 27 Number 6 (December 1959): 17.

“State Normal School, Los Angeles, Cal.” *American Architect* Volume 106 (July 15, 1914).

“State Normal School, Los Angeles, Cal.” *Architectural Forum* Volume 26 (April 1917): 66-68.

Stokes, John. *Food Service in Industry and Institutions*. Dubuque, Iowa: W.C. Brown Company, 1960.

Stowell, Kenneth Kingsley. “Education’s New Demands.” *Architectural Forum* (June 1931): 649-51.

“Student Union” *The Daily Californian* (March 13, 1961).

T

“Telesis.” *Architectural Record* Volume 88 Number 4 (1940): 69-70.

Temko, Alan. “Planned Chaos and the Piazza.” *Architectural Forum* Volume 115 (October 1961): 112-117.

Turner, Paul. *Campus: An American Planning Tradition*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 1984.

“Two Unions in the Modern Mood.” *The Bulletin of the Association of College Unions* (December 1949): 2.

U

“Union Mess Key to Training Programs.” *The Bulletin of the Association of College Unions* (October 1943): 3.

“Unions Chart Their War-Time Course of Action.” *The Bulletin of the Association of College Unions* (March 1942): 1-8.

“Unions Refurbish and Redecorate Rooms.” *The Bulletin of Association of College Unions* (January 1933): 2.

“Unions Take on Arm, Nave Jobs.” *The Bulletin of the Association of College Unions* (October 1942): 1, 6.

“University Plans to Expand South.” *California Monthly* Volume 59 (September 1948): 7.

V

Van Slyck, Abigail. *Free to All: Carnegie Libraries and American Culture 1890-1920*. Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1995.

W

Walker, C. Howard. “Expression – and the Collegiate Style” *Architectural Forum* (June 1931): 653-56

Wall, Alex. Victor Gruen: from Urban Shop to New City. Barcelona: Actar, 2005.

“War Pattern for Civilian Catering.” *The Bulletin of the Association of College Unions* (May 1944): 5.

Welton Becket and Associates. *Vision ... Through Supervision: Welton Becket FAIA and Associates, Architects-Engineers*. Los Angeles: Welton Becket and Associates, 1964.

West, Bessie Brooks and LeVelle Wood. *Food Service in Institutions*. New York: J. Wiley and Sons, 1938.

“Wilson Compton Student Union Building” *Architectural Record* (December 1951): 32-2 – 32-3.

Wilson, Woodrow. “What is College For?” *Scribner’s Magazine* Vol XLVI (November 1909).

Woodbridge, Sally. *John Galen Howard and the University of California: the Design of a Great Public University Campus*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002.

Wright, Gwendolyn. *Moralism and the Model Home*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980.

Wurster, William. “Campus Planning.” *Architectural Record* (September 1959): 161-167.

Y

“You think YOU Have an Eating Problem: read how 22,000 Berkeley Students Get Their “Three Squares” Daily.”” *California Monthly* (December 1946): 20-22.