

# UC Santa Cruz

## Other Recent Work

### Title

Seeds of Something Different: An Oral History of the University of California, Santa Cruz--Volume 1

### Permalink

<https://escholarship.org/uc/item/68v4q9sf>

### ISBN

978-0-9723343-9-6

### Authors

Reti, Irene H.  
Vanderscoff, Cameron  
Rabkin, Sarah

### Publication Date

2020-04-01

Seeds of Something Different

Volume I



# Seeds of Something Different

An Oral History of the University of California, Santa Cruz

Volume I

Irene Reti, Cameron Vanderscoff, and Sarah Rabkin



---

Oak Tree, Great Meadow, 2016

Photo by Irene Reti

---

Regional History Project, Special Collections & Archives  
University Library, University of California, Santa Cruz  
Santa Cruz, California



*Seeds of Something Different:  
An Oral History of the  
University of California,  
Santa Cruz.* Copyright ©  
2020 by the Regents of the  
University of California.  
Volume I.

ISBN: 978-0-97-233439-6

Printed in the United States  
of America by Integrated  
Books International.

Second Printing: May 2020.

Library of Congress Control Number:  
2019911562

To contact the Regional History Project:  
speccoll@library.ucsc.edu  
Regional History Project  
McHenry Library Special Collections & Archives  
UC Santa Cruz, Santa Cruz, CA 95064  
Phone: 831-459-2547

For ordering and more information about this  
book see: <https://tinyurl.com/ucsc-seeds>

For the companion website to this printed book,  
which contains digitized archival images and  
documents not found in these volumes, as well  
as audio clips of oral histories, and links to other  
resources see: [https://exhibits.library.ucsc.edu/  
exhibits/show/seeds](https://exhibits.library.ucsc.edu/exhibits/show/seeds).

Cover design by Sandy Bell. Cover photo by  
Ansel Adams. Campus meadow with wooden  
fence. November 1962. Courtesy Special  
Collections, UCSC Library. MS 002: Ansel  
Adams Photographs: ms0002\_pho\_0138.tif.

Back cover photo: Banana slug weathervane by  
Ken Jensen at West Coast Weather Vanes. Photo  
by Matt Fitt. Photo copyright by UC Regents.  
Communications & Marketing Department, UC  
Santa Cruz.

To access the full text of all Regional History  
oral history transcripts see: [https://library.ucsc.  
edu/regional-history-project](https://library.ucsc.edu/regional-history-project). Some interviews  
excerpted here are from oral histories recorded  
by students in UCSC classes and are only  
available for reading in Special Collections at the  
UCSC Library. For a guide to visiting Special  
Collections see: [https://guides.library.ucsc.edu/  
speccoll](https://guides.library.ucsc.edu/speccoll).

All uses of these oral histories are covered by  
copyright agreement between the narrators and  
the Regents of the University of California.  
Under “fair use” standards, excerpts of up to  
six hundred words may be quoted without  
permission as long as the materials are credited.  
Quotations of more than six hundred words  
require the written permission of the Head of  
Special Collections at the UCSC Library and  
may require a fee. Under certain circumstances,  
not-for-profit users may be granted a waiver.

The copyright information for individual photos  
appears in the illustration credits at the end of  
each chapter. Short excerpts from newspapers,  
magazines, books, and other media are reprinted  
under fair use guidelines; UCSC does not own  
copyright of these materials.

This second printing of *Seeds* was generously  
funded by Mark Headley (Stevenson College,  
'83, Economics and Politics) and Christina Pehl  
in memory of Nick Vecchione. “Thanks for  
letting us get away with it, Nick.”

The land [upon which UC Santa Cruz sits] is the traditional and unceded territory of the Uypi Tribe of the Awaswas Nation. Today these lands are represented by the Amah Mutsun Tribal Band, who are the descendants of the Awaswas and Mutsun Nations, whose ancestors were taken to Mission Santa Cruz and Mission San Juan Bautista during the Spanish colonization of the Central Coast. Today, the Amah Mutsun are working hard to fulfill their obligation to the Creator to care for and steward Mother Earth and all living things through relearning efforts and the Amah Mutsun Land Trust.

—Valentin Lopez

Tribal Chairperson of the Amah Mutsun Tribal Band



---

Oak, Clearing Storm, 2015

Photo by Irene Reti

---



---

Wild Mushrooms, UCSC

Circa 1965

Photo by Ansel Adams

---

UCSC remains a place apart, a place that holds somehow inside it the seeds of something: the seeds of something different. —Jim Clifford



---

Divergent Paths near Kerr  
Hall, 2019

Photo by Irene Reti

---





---

UCSC Path in the Rain, 2014

Photo by Irene Reti

---

# Contents

## Volume I

<b>FOREWORD</b>	1
<b>EDITORS' PREFACE: A Place to Pause and Reflect</b>	5

### Part I: Where This Dream Begins

<b>CHAPTER 1</b> Histories of Santa Cruz	13
“Aulinta in the Indian Tongue”	
Limescapes: The Cowell Ranch	
“After Labor Day, You Knew Just About Every Other Person on the Street”: A Retirement Town and a Tourist Haven	
<b>CHAPTER 2</b> “The Bear Comes over the Mountain”: Envisioning A New Campus of the University of California, 1956-1961	31
<b>CHAPTER 3</b> “My Imagination Soared”: Planning the Santa Cruz Campus–1961-1965	41
“One Dreams of an Ideal University”: An Innovative Vision Finds Its Form	
The Most Beautiful Site in the World: Creating a Campus in the Redwoods	

### Part II: An Educational Dream Reborn in a Changing America

<b>CHAPTER 4</b> Finding Faculty for the Experiment: Risk-Takers and the Reform of Higher Education	63
Recruiting Professors and Shaping a Cause	
Inventing the Narrative Evaluation System and Setting UCSC Apart	
<b>CHAPTER 5</b> “A Scruffy Nascent Utopia”: Cowell and Stevenson Colleges – the Dream Becomes Reality	81
“Day One of the First Day of the History of the Campus”	
“It Was as Though We Were a Complete Society”: Scholarship, Social Life, and “Joyous Human Work” at Cowell College	
“It Was a Very Social-Science Place”: Stevenson College	
“Grading is for Vegetables”: Narrative Evaluations and Transforming the Student-Faculty Relationship	
<b>CHAPTER 6</b> “Amazing People Would Appear”: An Unexpected Flourishing of the Sciences	121
Kenneth Thimann and the Seeds of Science	
Crown College: Adapting the Experiment to a “Science and Society” College	
<b>CHAPTER 7</b> A Living, Growing Campus: The Chadwick Garden and the Arboretum	139
“A Righter Way of Living”: The Chadwick Garden	
“One Amazing, Grand Experiment”: The Arboretum	

<b>CHAPTER 8</b>	<b>The Rising Counterculture</b>	<b>155</b>
	“You Could Feel a Little Tension in the Air”	
	“No Danger of Any Crisis”: The Intervisitation Controversy and the Quiet Beginnings of Campus Protest	
	“There Was So Much Changing”: The Counterculture in Town and on Campus	
<b>CHAPTER 9</b>	<b>“Then I Got My Draft Notice”: The Vietnam War, Academic Freedom, and Campus Activism</b>	<b>181</b>
<b>CHAPTER 10</b>	<b>“It Was the Wave of the Future”: Escalating Protests and a Campus Divided</b>	<b>201</b>
<b>CHAPTER 11</b>	<b>The Changing City on a Hill</b>	<b>219</b>
	“A Change is Gonna Come”	
	“We Were Pioneers of People of Color in the Academy”: The Founding of Merrill College	
	“It Was All of Our Dream”: The Creation of Oakes College	
<b>CHAPTER 12</b>	<b>“A Male Academic Locker Room”</b>	<b>265</b>
<b>CHAPTER 13</b>	<b>Kresge College: From T-Groups to Feminist Consciousness Raising</b>	<b>275</b>
	“A Real Mystique About It”: The Creation of Kresge College	
	“Women and Women’s Issues”: The Rise of Feminism Shapes a College and a Campus	
<b>CHAPTER 14</b>	<b>“Everything Changed”: Radical Feminism and Gay Liberation</b>	<b>299</b>
<b>CHAPTER 15</b>	<b>“To Be More Complete Human Beings”: The Formation of College Five &amp; Kindling of the Arts</b>	<b>315</b>
	“Everything was a Stage”: The Arts Struggle for Funding and Facilities	
	“Go Out as Artists into the World”: Launching College Five	
	Cowell Press and McHenry Library: “The Vista of Books and Their Magic”	
<b>CHAPTER 16</b>	<b>“Environmental Warriors”: The Genesis of Environmental Studies and College Eight</b>	<b>343</b>
	“That Land is Imprinted on Me”: Building the Agroecology Program and Training Students in Food Sustainability	
	The Ripples of Environmental Studies in the University and the World	
<b>CHAPTER 17</b>	<b>“Rocks Ahead”: The Building College-Board Crisis and the End of the McHenry Era</b>	<b>367</b>
	“The Two-Headed Monster”: Growing Conflict over Colleges, Boards, and Academic Life	
	1974, A Pivotal Year: The McHenry Era Draws to a Close	
<b>CHAPTER 18</b>	<b>A Crisis of Leadership and a Search for New Direction</b>	<b>389</b>
	Mark “Chris” Christensen Becomes UCSC’s Second Chancellor	
	No Confidence: The Fall of Chancellor Christensen	
	“Just What the Doctor Ordered”: The Acting Chancellorship of Angus Taylor	
<b>Interlude:</b>	<b>Long Roots and Many Tides</b>	<b>409</b>

## Volume II

### Part III: Reorganization and Redefinition

<b>CHAPTER 19</b>	<b>Cutting the Gordian Knot: Chancellor Sinsheimer and the “Reorganization” of the Experiment</b>	<b>413</b>
	Facing the Enrollment Crisis	
	Renewal or Betrayal: The Painful Debate Over Reorganization	
<b>CHAPTER 20</b>	<b>A Growing UCSC in the Community</b>	<b>437</b>
	Campus Growth, Town-Gown Tensions, and Dramatic Shifts in Local Politics	
	“Everybody Breathes Together”: Shakespeare Santa Cruz as a Bridge Between Campus and Community	
	Learning to Be of Service: Expanding Community Activism and Advocacy	
<b>CHAPTER 21</b>	<b>“Open the Door: ”Finding a Place on a “Very White Campus”</b>	<b>461</b>
	“We’re Wondering about the Conscience of the Campus”	
	“Women’s Issues Don’t Stop Anywhere”: The Nancy (Stoller) Shaw Tenure Battle, the Founding of the Women’s Center, and the Flowering of Campus Feminism	
<b>CHAPTER 22</b>	<b>The Sinsheimer Era’s Final Years</b>	<b>493</b>
	Divest Now: Students Protest South African Apartheid	
	The Slug Versus the Sea Lion: A Mascot Battle Embroils the Campus and the Chancellor	
	“It was Time to Go”: Chancellor Sinsheimer Retires	
<b>CHAPTER 23</b>	<b>Earthquakes: The Stevens Years</b>	<b>509</b>
	The Arrival of Chancellor Robert Stevens and the “Revitalization” of the College System	
	“No Longer the Whitest Campus in the System”: Voices from a Changing UCSC	
	The “Asian Food Affair”	
	“We Are Very Out”: Queer Scholarship and Activism	
	5:04 p.m., October 17, 1989: The Loma Prieta Earthquake	
<b>CHAPTER 24</b>	<b>Growing Pains: A “Maturing” Campus Considers Its Direction</b>	<b>541</b>
	Budget Quakes: Growth, Conflict, and Compromise in the Early Nineties	
	“Ungovernable”: Robert Stevens Resigns	

### Part IV: A Research University with Experimental Roots

<b>CHAPTER 25</b>	<b>Chancellor Karl Pister: “Restoring the Balance”</b>	<b>557</b>
	“To Calm Troubled Waters”: The Arrival of Chancellor Karl Pister	
	Campus Development Controversies: Meyer Drive, the Music Building, and the Great Meadow	
	“Immaculate Construction”: the Elfland Controversy	
	From State-Supported to State-Assisted: Waning Funds for Public Education	
<b>CHAPTER 26</b>	<b>Persistent and Mounting Pressures: Affirmative Action and Diversity in a Hostile Climate</b>	<b>579</b>
	“We Are All Involved”: Backlash, Proposition 209, and Campus Coalitions for Social Justice	
	“The Glue that Holds Us Together”: Karl Pister’s 1996 Retirement	

<b>CHAPTER 27</b>	<b>Shaping an Identity for the New Millennium: UCSC as a Leader in Scientific Research</b>	<b>595</b>
	“The Best Opportunity in the Country”: Chancellor M.R.C. Greenwood The Science Success Story “Finally Established”: Launching the Baskin School of Engineering After Thirty Years “There Really Are Two Universities”: The Diminishing Space for Humanities “I Learned the History”: Town-Gown Frictions and a Search for Common Ground	
<b>CHAPTER 28</b>	<b>Sea Changes and Possibilities: Conventional Grading, Graduate Education, and New Priorities</b>	<b>615</b>
	“We Do Research”: The Debate Over Graduate Education Foundation Shift: The Turn to Conventional Grading	
<b>CHAPTER 29</b>	<b>“In the Spirit of the Early Campus”: Inventing and Reinventing Interdisciplinarity</b>	<b>629</b>
<b>CHAPTER 30</b>	<b>Often Invisible, Underpaid, and Overworked: Staff and Lecturers</b>	<b>643</b>
	Carrying the Campus: Staff “The Most Oppressed of Instructors”: Lecturers	
<b>CHAPTER 31</b>	<b>Still Pioneering: A New Experiment in College Nine and College Ten</b>	<b>665</b>
<b>CHAPTER 32</b>	<b>“Wounds from Glass Ceilings”: The Brief and Tragic Tenure of Chancellor Denice Denton</b>	<b>681</b>
<b>CHAPTER 33</b>	<b>“To Steady the Ship”: An Acting Chancellor in a Time of Instability</b>	<b>697</b>
	Bringing the Campus Together: George Blumenthal Becomes UCSC’s First “Homegrown” Chancellor “A Lot of Anger”: The 2005 Long Range Development Plan and the Road to a Settlement The Fight for State Money: Rebenching From Acting to Permanent: George Blumenthal Becomes UCSC’s Tenth Chancellor	
<b>CHAPTER 34</b>	<b>Endings and Beginnings in a Time of Austerity</b>	<b>715</b>
	Community Studies: Deep Cuts and Balancing the Budget Cutting a Beloved Institution: Shakespeare Santa Cruz “Universities are Living Institutions”: Old Traditions and New Starts in the 21st Century	
<b>CHAPTER 35</b>	<b>The Continuing Story of Protest at UCSC</b>	<b>745</b>
	“What, then do the protestors want?” Protesting the Regents’ Visit Redux: Students Occupy the Humanities Building (2006) The Biomedical Building and the Tree-Sit (2007-2008) Protesting a 32 Percent Tuition Increase: Students Occupy Kerr Hall, November 2009	
<b>CHAPTER 36</b>	<b>What We Value Now: UCSC at Fifty</b>	<b>767</b>
	The Colleges Still Exist: The Foundational Structure of UCSC “When you say ‘narrative evaluations,’ what exactly do you mean?” A Future in Online Education? More People are Coming: Growth, Cost, and Housing Crises at UCSC Today Out-of-State Students: A New Source of Campus Funding “You’ve Got to Put Out a Number”: Mapping UCSC for 2040 “The Original Authority on Questioning Authority”: Values, Fundraising, and the Future of Public Higher Education	
<b>CHAPTER 37</b>	<b>Transforming Fear: The 2016 Election, Reaction, and Resistance</b>	<b>799</b>
	“You Knew Something Was Wrong”: The 2016 Election and UCSC “There is Still More Work to Be Done”	

## CODA

CHAPTER 38 “For Times We Can’t Imagine”	817
---	-----

## Appendices

Timeline	849
Bibliography and Selected Resources	857
About the Narrators	861
About the Photographers	873
About the Editors	875
Index	877
Acknowledgements	925



---

Common Raven, 2015

Photo by Lee Jaffe

---

# Foreword

Utopias inspire, and they also disappoint. They summon visions of a world that is more just, compassionate, and enlightened than the one we currently inhabit. But they inevitably fall short, clashing with the harsh realities of the world as it is.

Both sentiments suffuse this lovely collection of oral histories, photographs, and other visual records from the University of California, Santa Cruz, the largest—and, arguably, the most important—educational experiment in the history of American higher education. It was part of a remarkable wave of innovation in the 1960s, when at least forty different alternative colleges and universities sprouted across the United States.<sup>1</sup> Most of them began as branches of existing institutions, like Livingston College at Rutgers and the Tussman Experimental College at UC Berkeley. Others were freshly created independent schools such as Hampshire and Pitzer, which promised vast new educational experiences on a very small scale. Santa Cruz, by contrast, was both a free-standing state institution and a division of a much larger one: the University of California.<sup>2</sup> That gave it more prominence and permanence than most other experimental colleges, which often returned to more traditional patterns—or simply closed their doors—in the 1970s. But it also brought strong pressures upon Santa Cruz to conform to the larger values and

practices of the UC system, especially its emphasis upon research at the expense of teaching.

Santa Cruz started as an effort to reverse that trend. At state universities, especially, students denounced dull, impersonal classes taught by professors selected for their publications rather than their pedagogy. The complaint became a key feature of student protest campaigns in the 1960s, which we tend to associate with the civil rights and antiwar movements. But figures like Mario Savio—who spearheaded the Free Speech Movement at UC Berkeley in 1964—also condemned poor teaching in higher education. Here he found a rare piece of common ground with Clark Kerr, president of the UC system and Savio's chief antagonist in the free-speech struggle. Although he denounced Savio's protest tactics, Kerr echoed his critique of so-called "mass instruction" at the modern research university.

Kerr's answer was Santa Cruz, which he envisioned as an antidote to the cold, distant teaching at the other UC campuses. The new university would be built around a set of residential colleges, where faculty and students would experiment with new modes of living and learning. Most of all, they would create an environment where the dissemination and integration of knowledge came before the discovery and publication of it. At the colleges, a set of new interdisciplinary courses would help students bridge different ways of thinking and knowing. Eventually, advocates imagined, the borders between disciplines—like



the boundaries separating professors from students—would melt away: everyone would teach and everyone would learn, regardless of background or status. Situated atop a wooded hill of astonishing natural beauty, Santa Cruz would rediscover the inherent splendor of education itself.

It's hard to fathom the heady excitement of those early days, when almost anything seemed possible. The founding chancellor of UCSC was Clark Kerr's graduate school friend Dean E. McHenry, who collected utopian fiction as a child; inspired by his father, a devotee of Edward Bellamy's 1888 classic *Looking Backwards*, McHenry eventually amassed over forty books in the genre.<sup>3</sup> The University of California, Santa Cruz was McHenry's chance to build an educational utopia from the ground up, not just on the pages of his imagination. But how do you keep everyone on the same page in an environment that emphasizes the growth and independence of each individual? That dilemma haunted all of the utopias in Dean McHenry's library, and it hounded his new university as well.

The first set of students who came to Santa Cruz were relatively quiescent in their politics, even as they engaged in a radical educational experiment. But by the late 1960s, UCSC students had begun to challenge their university at every turn. If Santa Cruz truly valued the individual, they asked, why should it require everyone to take the same courses? Indeed, why have courses at all? Shouldn't we all be teaching each other, without the drab routines of classes and credits?

Among the faculty, meanwhile, a different kind of rebellion was brewing. Some professors resented the heavy-handed leadership style of Dean McHenry, whose controlling behavior sometimes clashed with the democratic rhetoric he espoused. Others questioned narrative evaluations of students, which substituted for traditional

letter grades at Santa Cruz. And still others joined with the students to condemn the core courses in the colleges, which required professors to step out of their disciplinary comfort zones. They preferred the safety and predictability of their "boards" (UCSC-speak for "departments"), which gained increased power at the expense of the colleges. The logic of specialization—and its attendant rewards of grants, publications, and status—was simply too great to resist.

By the 1990s, indeed, UC Santa Cruz had come to resemble other big universities much more than its founders had imagined. Mandatory narrative evaluations were gone, quelled by a combination of professorial and student resistance: the professors were snowed under by the labor-intensive evaluations, and the students wanted letter grades for graduate school and the job market. The boards—not the colleges—had awarded tenure and promotion since the 1970s, which encouraged faculty to identify with their fields of study rather than with Santa Cruz itself.

The pages that follow document an ongoing debate about that development, which some voices bemoan and others applaud. Bring back the old Santa Cruz, the old-timers say, where faculty cared more about their students than their next research publication. But the old model was never that great, others reply, and it certainly wasn't sustainable: in contemporary higher education, the only sure road to success lay in graduate students, government grants, university-industry partnerships, and the other standard practices that have converted UCSC into a research dynamo. Besides, defenders of the "new" Santa Cruz note, it's radically more diverse than the old one was. And they're right: over the past half-century, people of color and women have converted a formerly lily-white institution into a multicultural one. Santa Cruz remains less diverse than some other UC campuses, which is a recurring source

of tension and protest at the university. But even those campaigns mark Santa Cruz as similar to other schools, where diversity—of every kind—remains a constant focus of debate and dissent.

Yet there is still something different—even, dare I say, unique—about the university on the hill. Perhaps it's the gorgeous physical setting, which still takes your breath away after all of these years (and after much new construction, which sparked its own vehement protests). Maybe it's the school's proudly oddball character, best symbolized by its sports mascot: the Banana Slug. (University officials once tried to make it the Sea Lion, but the students weren't having it.) Or it might be its extraordinary achievements in earth and marine science research, astronomy, and the Human Genome Project, which have helped catapult UCSC into the third most influential research university—as measured by scholarly citations—on the planet.<sup>4</sup> Most of all, it's the endless dialogue about education itself: what it means to teach and to learn, and how the university can or should contribute to both. You can hear that debate in these pages, loud and clear, like the wind whistling through the redwoods or the waves coming off the ocean. It's the sound of ideals and dreams, of soaring ambitions and sad defeats. It's beautiful and befuddling and inspiring and infuriating, all at the same time. It's Santa Cruz.

—Jonathan Zimmerman  
Professor of Education and History  
University of Pennsylvania

## Endnotes

1. For a list of these institutions, see Reid Pitney Higginson, "When experimental was mainstream: The rise and fall of experimental colleges, 1957-1979," *History of Education Quarterly* 59:2 (May 2019), 204-205.
2. Two other free-standing state experimental colleges were Old Westbury, which was established as a branch of the State University of New York in 1965 and opened in 1968, and Evergreen State College in the state of Washington, which was established in 1967 and opened in 1971. Old Westbury was much smaller than UC Santa Cruz and soon reconstituted itself as a more traditional college. Evergreen was in some ways more "alternative" than Santa Cruz, rejecting the tenure system for faculty and allowing students to register for a single sixteen-credit program in one quarter instead of for multiple classes. But it too is much smaller in size, registering about 4,000 students per year as compared to 20,000 at Santa Cruz.
3. Dean E. McHenry, "The Santa Cruz campus as a utopian venture" (ms, 7 March 1974), pp. 1-2, folder 10, box 46, Dean E. McHenry Papers, UA1, Special Collections and Archives, McHenry Library, University of California, Santa Cruz.
4. See "World University Rankings," *Times Higher Education* at [https://www.timeshighereducation.com/world-university-rankings/2018/world-ranking#!/page/0/length/25/sort\\_by/scores\\_citations/sort\\_order/asc/cols/stats](https://www.timeshighereducation.com/world-university-rankings/2018/world-ranking#!/page/0/length/25/sort_by/scores_citations/sort_order/asc/cols/stats), accessed 16 July 2019.



---

Redwood Light, McHenry Library,  
2014

Photo by Irene Reti

---

# Editors' Preface

## A Place to Pause and Reflect

UC Santa Cruz began as a place apart and a force for change, its charge nothing less than the reform of higher education. The sweep of the campus's founding idealism is dramatized by its extraordinary natural setting: 2,000 acres of redwood forest and open meadow perched on the slopes of the Santa Cruz Mountains, overlooking the Monterey Bay. During the more than fifty years since a group of faculty, administrators, and pioneering students participated in that inaugural burst of optimism and reform, UCSC has undergone profound transformation. Decades of change are often summarized in extremes, as either a tragic narrative of decline or a triumphalist story of reinvention and upward trajectory. What is missing is a more nuanced telling of UCSC's history, a collective narrative that charts the less-traveled latitudes between the poles of triumph and decline and shines new light on UCSC's first half-century, both for readers who know and love the campus, and for those who care about the past and future of public higher education.

This book, *Seeds of Something Different*, brings together multiple voices to convene a new conversation. It grew out of the extensive oral history archives of the UCSC Library's Regional History Project (RHP). Since 1963—two years before the campus admitted students—RHP has been documenting the unfolding life of the campus and the surrounding region through oral history

interviews. These are recorded first-hand accounts told to historically informed interviewers, which are transcribed, edited in collaboration with the narrators, and archived in the library. RHP was one of the very first formal programs of any kind at UCSC, established with extraordinary foresight by founding chancellor Dean McHenry and founding university librarian Donald Clark.

Modeled after larger programs at UC Berkeley's Bancroft Library and the UCLA Library, but still very much a rarity at universities in the United States, RHP began contributing to the emerging practice of oral history when that field was itself still in its infancy. Elizabeth Spedding Calciano, RHP's founding director and initially its sole staff member, was UCSC's thirteenth employee, joining the architects and planners housed initially in the campus's temporary offices at Cabrillo College and later in a converted barn on the old Cowell Ranch. Calciano's initial charge was to interview longtime residents of the Central California coast whose observations would add significantly to the region's then-limited written history. Within a few years, RHP's mission expanded to document the unfolding story of the campus itself, beginning with a massive oral history of Dean McHenry.

Now the oral history tape has been rolling for more than fifty-seven years. RHP has conducted, recorded, transcribed, published, and digitized about three hundred oral histories with individuals

on and beyond the campus. Over the decades, researchers in diverse fields have used the published oral histories in books, articles, films, radio documentaries, and museum exhibits, as well as in classroom settings. But despite the wealth of stories and perspectives housed in this archive—and the fact that it is available to the public via RHP’s website and in bound archival volumes at the UCSC Library—the collection remains a lamentably well-kept secret. The same is true for the rich world of photographs, posters, audio recordings, and other ephemera available in the library’s Special Collections. One goal in producing this book is to draw attention to these resources.

*Seeds of Something Different* captures and transmutes the big-picture story of UCSC for the first time. In choosing and juxtaposing excerpts from the transcripts in the oral history archives, we’ve edited this book as an extended conversation that draws the reader along in real time, providing opportunities to fall in love with some characters and disagree passionately with others. By using the popular voices-in-conversation style of oral history—much in the vein of the stories featured on the covers of *Vanity Fair* or published in book form as the oral history of punk rock or 9/11 or *Star Trek*—we wanted to emphasize the high stakes and narrative drama of UCSC’s history. This is a story in multiple acts, complete with recurring characters, plot twists, and unlikely endings, featuring multiple perspectives on the same event or even the same day. History can be as compelling and immediate as a live concert or street theater; this oral history book, along with the RHP archive it’s based on, brings that into sharp focus.

This is also a story that needed telling now. The wave of commemorative events for the 50th anniversary in 2015 provided one catalyst. Another was the sad reality that each year we lose

more early leaders of our campus community. By 2020, a significant majority of the founding faculty and staff has passed away. The members of the pioneering class are in their seventies. Soon it will no longer be possible to publish a book that can reach both a current undergraduate student and some of the educators who helped found the campus. While we were editing, George Blumenthal, who joined the faculty in 1972 during the tenure of the first chancellor and later served as the tenth chancellor for thirteen years, retired. Institutional memory is sweeping onward and leaving our early decades behind.

The narrators you will encounter here are subjective characters entangled in the story itself, not outside commentators. The multi-vocal nature of oral history necessarily gives rise to a story that is not seamless, but sometimes ragged, with loose threads that may catch you by surprise. This is not a yearbook or an academic monograph. There are no comprehensive micro-histories of colleges or departments. And the cast of characters sitting at our conversational roundtable shifts dramatically over the years. This book is a chronicle, through the lens of one rather unusual college campus, of the social movements and historical changes that have swept through the United States and the world over the past several decades. Our narratives place UCSC in that historical context: the Vietnam War; the civil rights movement, feminist and queer movements, recessions, elections, and more. We aimed to create a book with anecdotes in and of the time—accounts that keep you in what writer John Gardner in *The Art of Fiction* called “a vivid and continuous dream.” So we chose excerpts that we hope will inspire and provoke, complemented by images that illustrate a few key scenes, moments, and individuals in campus history and also portray some of the diverse species of flora and fauna

that inhabit UCSC's unique mix of habitats—redwood forest, mixed chaparral, open grasslands. Giant salamanders, Ohlone tiger beetles, coyotes, Golden Eagles, and myriad other creatures are also characters in the tale.

The idea for the *Seeds of Something Different* originated with longtime Regional History Project director Irene Reti, just the third person to hold that job in fifty-seven years. Reti enlisted the collaboration of Cameron Vanderscoff and Sarah Rabkin, two oral historians with extensive experience as interviewers and editors at RHP. We are part of this community and students of its history. We, like the speakers in this book, are passionate about the UCSC story. We have varying and deep connections to the campus as alumni (undergraduate and graduate), staff, and lecturers.

A staff member since 1986, Reti attended UCSC as an environmental studies major (Kresge College, 1982) and earned an MA in history in 2002. In addition to working for the past thirty years with the Regional History Project as an editor and now the director, Reti has worked for the Office of the Registrar as an academic editor, as a tutor for the writing program, and as a board assistant for women's studies.

Rabkin first attended UCSC in 1978 as a summer-school student; she later completed the graduate program in science communication (1985), served as a residential preceptor at Crown College, and taught from 1985 to 2007 as a lecturer in the campus writing, journalism, and science communication programs and environmental studies department. As a contract oral historian for the Regional History Project, she has conducted interviews with UCSC faculty members and also with many of the narrators included in *Cultivating a Movement*, RHP's history of

organic farming and sustainable agriculture in California's Central Coast region.

Vanderscoff was an undergraduate literature and history major from 2007 to 2011 (Cowell College), and has worked as a contractor with the Regional History Project ever since. He completed an MA in oral history at Columbia University, and runs his own oral history practice, working on projects about everything from Okinawa, to Robert Rauschenberg, to a Harlem American Legion Post, to Tina Brown's *New Yorker*. While Reti and Rabkin remain in Santa Cruz, Vanderscoff is now based in New York, and thus brought a complementary geographical outsider's perspective to the project.

But of course our backgrounds also bring limitations. Throughout the process of working on this book, we have been acutely aware of lacunae in our collective view of UCSC history—gaps imposed by our personal histories as well as by the limits of our intersectional identities. For example, while we have sought to highlight voices that are too often marginalized or spoken over in historical accounts, at the end of the day we, as three white people, cannot know or speak for the experiences of people of color on this campus. One of the strengths of oral history is its capacity to make space for a diversity of voices, and also to reveal the ways in which one voice can connect to intersecting identities. Our hope is that by amplifying such voices, this book can advocate for a more public and more radical conversation about who this institution is for.

The founders of the early campus were overwhelmingly white, male, and of middle and upper-class backgrounds. The college system was initially designed to teach a classical vision of the sciences, the social sciences, and the Western humanistic canon. But as early as the late sixties and early seventies, that classically conservative collegiate model became an unanticipated vehicle

for demographic and intellectual change. Merrill and Oakes Colleges became powerful organizing and learning spaces for communities of color, focusing on what was then called “the third world” and the explicit study of race and ethnicity in this country. UCSC also became a pioneering center and space for queer and feminist communities. But these stories of radical UCSC—from a leading feminist studies program to intersections with the Black Panthers—come along with stories of institutional and cultural backlash against affirmative action, diversity, and gender equity. The narrative here is at times frustrating and at times inspiring; in this book, we seek to understand it in the urgency of its historical moment, and narrate the unfinished and ongoing work of social justice on this campus.

The selection of oral histories available to us as we shaped this story posed limitations as well. For one thing, the stories in this book are almost entirely of those with longtime UCSC affiliations—in other words, people who chose to stay here. If we were able to put together a story using the narratives of staffers who quit UCSC and never looked back, or faculty who were denied tenure, or students who dropped out, we would have a very different and equally true story.

More generally, for all of the range of RHP’s archive, the interviews collected there represent only a tiny percentage of the individuals who have experienced and influenced the campus. Countless significant events, programs, perspectives, and insights remain to be documented. Despite the heft of this two-volume account, some readers will inevitably search the book in vain for accounts of moments, themes, or phenomena they consider paramount in the story of UCSC. Toward the creation of a more complete narrative, we therefore invite the reader to submit

recollections that will be curated on an ongoing basis for the book’s companion website.<sup>1</sup>

In editing the book, we also wrestled with structural choices. The first step in what became a five-year project was to identify essential topics, themes, and periods in the campus’s history that might form the basis of book chapters. In the summer of 2015 we turned for assistance to several astute participant-observers with long histories on the campus. These colleagues, whom we’ve named in the acknowledgments, generously provided invaluable insights. Then our bicoastal troika took turns selecting, culling, and juxtaposing oral history excerpts. We confined ourselves primarily to the RHP transcripts, though we supplemented our sources with interviews conducted by UCSC students in classes at Oakes and Cowell Colleges, as well as primary source documents such as newspaper and journal articles. We conferred periodically via teleconference and met in person when possible, and we repeatedly reviewed each other’s work. Our goal was to impose as unobtrusive an editorial hand as possible and to relate events in such a way so as to allow you as reader to discern various thematic threads and make your own interpretations. We recognized that we were inevitably—simply by selecting and ordering the excerpts—imposing our own interpretations on the material, and we did our best to make these choices consciously and thoughtfully.<sup>2</sup>

We debated between two organizing structures for the book: thematic or chronological. We ultimately decided that readers need a chronological framework, with some thematic divisions, to guide them through this multidimensional history that needed to be divided into two volumes to make it a manageable size to read. To enhance the sense of a story unfolding, we identified pressure points in campus history toward which we could appropriately build

suspense. We divided the book into four sections. “Part I: Where This Dream Begins” sets the stage for the founding and planning of the campus in the small seaside town of Santa Cruz, California. “Part II: An Educational Dream Reborn in a Changing America” focuses on the campus’s heady early years, as well as the social movements that shaped its first decade. This section presented specific editorial challenges. We found ourselves reflecting on the impact of including excerpts from early shapers of the campus such as Dean McHenry and Page Smith that, when read from a 21st-century perspective, can reveal starkly patronizing attitudes, unconscious entitlement, and stereotyping. Yet some of the same narrators also demonstrate an uncommon degree of forward thinking with regard to matters of social justice and sociocultural inclusiveness. In choosing and juxtaposing such passages, we weren’t interested in creating damning portraits—or, for that matter, in lionizing anyone. Rather, we endeavored to highlight the complexity of these individuals’ outlooks and the shifting zeitgeist they illuminate. Oral history, like good drama, points us away from absolute heroes and villains and towards a complex cast of characters who need to be understood in context.

Volume I ends with a dramatic crisis in the late 1970s, as UCSC is experiencing falling enrollments and a crisis of leadership after the departure of Founding Chancellor Dean McHenry. This provides a natural breaking place between the two books. Volume II picks up with “Part III: Reorganization and Redefinition,” as Chancellor Robert Sinsheimer responds to that crisis with the controversial and sometimes painful reorganization of the college system. This section then dives into controversies over affirmative action, diversity, and campus growth. The budgetary crises of the 1990s also mark the beginning of a marked divestment of support for public higher education.

The chronicle becomes more challenging to present as a unified narrative after what might be called “Season 1.” As campus stories fan out over broader territory with time, the challenge to UCSC’s continuing self-definition also becomes an editorial challenge: how to see a coherent story without succumbing to oversimplification or pat generalization.

Finally, “Part IV: A Research University with Experimental Roots” explores the tensions and cross-fertilizations between UCSC’s past and its present as a growing and sometimes cutting-edge research university. This section also documents more recent student activism, as well as equity issues facing staff and lecturers. We end with a Coda, “For Times We Can’t Imagine,” which juxtaposes voices from across generations in conversation about the big-picture meaning of what has happened here, and what matters now as we look towards the future.

We invite you to enter a time machine: to listen in at a virtual roundtable, where the characters converse with each other across the years—not always in agreement, but certainly in dialogue. The conversation’s tone is by turns celebratory, passionate, humorous, ecstatic; sometimes anguished, angry, elegiac. Our characters are full of both dreams and doubts. For while this collection celebrates many extraordinary achievements, it is also a candid, multi-authored letter to a beloved and sometimes frustrating institution.

UCSC history, like all history, is layered, and one layer can bleed through to another. Some of the most powerful excerpts in this book, particularly those found in the Coda, diffract across eras. The past haunts the present—in the recorded memories of lime workers munching potatoes on the porches of wooden cabins on the historic Cowell Ranch; in the spindly redwoods that sprout in rings around the ghostly stumps of old-growth trees; in the names of buildings like



McHenry Library and Kerr Hall; in the very architecture that both inspires and constrains academic planners as the current campus wrestles with the meanings of its beginnings.

In 2020, the questions that were asked by UCSC's founders press us once again. Many of the problems and failures they saw in higher education, such as the alienation students experience, persist. What's more, the campus came of age in the turmoil of the sixties; today, hard questions are again being asked about the role of higher education in this new era of renewed political upheaval. Within universities, student activism again is on the rise. Outside of universities, the fundamental value of public higher education—and the very idea that such public universities should change to serve a diversifying society—is being questioned at the highest levels of the federal government.

Closer to home, new questions are being asked on campus about our history and what we value. In June 2019, a mission bell was removed from campus with the leadership of the Amah Mutsun Tribal Band, who called it a painful symbol of a violent history of genocide. The mission bell is just one artifact, but it's part of a larger reckoning with institutional and regional history, as different voices rise up and change the conversation about what is honored and what is remembered.

In the end, the story of UCSC is the story of a dream, the significance of having a dream, and the importance of understanding that dreams change. Our hope as editors is that this book can become a resource, not just for knowing UCSC's past, but for considering its future and the future of public higher education in this country. Just as the life of a narrator continues after the recorder switches off, UC Santa Cruz remains an ongoing creation even as we go to

press. This is a breathing point: a place to pause and reflect, to imagine what might come next.

—*Irene Reti*  
*Cameron Vanderscoff*  
*Sarah Rabkin*  
*Winter 2020*

## Endnotes

1. See <https://exhibits.library.ucsc.edu/exhibits/show/seeds>.
2. A word about the oral history excerpts themselves: For the sake of readability, we edited the original interview transcripts. Usually this entailed minor manipulations—for example, removing less-relevant material from the middle of an otherwise pertinent passage. In a few cases, we interceded more actively, e.g. by grafting a topic sentence onto an excerpt from elsewhere in a transcript for the sake of clarity. We took pains to avoid the ethically questionable practice of heavily editing or rearranging material from the original transcripts, all of which have been approved by the narrators in a collaborative editing process with the Regional History Project.

Part I:  
Where This Dream Begins



---

Campus meadow with wooden fence

Circa 1965

Photo by Ansel Adams

---



---

Coyote, Great Meadow, 2014

Photo by Lee Jaffe

---

## Chapter I

# Histories of Santa Cruz

*To capture the wild Indian [for the Santa Cruz Mission], first were taken the children, and then the parents followed. The padres would erect a hut, and light the candles to say Mass, and the Indians, attracted by the light—thinking they were stars—would approach and soon be taken.*

—Lorenzo Asisara

### “Aulinta in the Indian Tongue”

**Lorenzo Asisara, Awaswas Tribe:** My father belonged to the tribe that lived up the coast. They lived upon shellfish, which they took from the sea-coast, and carried up to the hills, where were their Rancherias.<sup>1</sup> The remains of the shells are there.

I was born at the Mission of Santa Cruz on Monday, the tenth day of August 1819, and was given the name Lorenzo. I was instructed how to read and write in Spanish. There were about twenty of us that composed the choir, of which I am the only one living. There were 836 who received rations. Santa Cruz was called Aulinta in the Indian tongue.<sup>2</sup>

**S. H. Willey, 19th-century Writer:** A great zeal for missions sprung up and then prevailed for Christianizing the regions of the North. An expedition left San Diego July 14, 1769. Due to Father Crespi’s diary,<sup>3</sup> the principal incidents of this first

journey by land up this coast are known to us. They kept near the seashore most of the way. They were constantly passing Rancherias of Indians and the Spaniards were not molested by them.<sup>4</sup>

**William Shipley, Professor:** In pre-conquest times, there were eight languages spoken along the Central California coast, stretching from the Carquinez Strait in the north, to the Salinas Valley in the south. These languages were related to one another about as closely as Spanish and Italian. One of these languages, Awaswas, was spoken more or less in what is now western Santa Cruz County. The speakers lived in small village communities, for which a few names have survived. “Soquel,” “Aptos,” and “Zayante” are examples.<sup>5</sup>

**The Amah Mutsun Tribal Band:** All lineages comprising the “Amah Mutsun Tribal Band” today are

the direct descendants of the aboriginal Tribal groups whose villages and territories fell under the sphere of influence of Missions San Juan Bautista (Mutsun) and Santa Cruz (Awaswas).<sup>6</sup>

**S. H. Willey:** We trace the Spaniards now step by step. They cross the Salinas River. They pass several lagoons. They descend into the Pajaro Valley and camp near the bank of the river.

In this valley, they meet with an encampment of Indians numbering five hundred. The Indians have no notice of the arrival of strangers in their land and are alarmed. Some take to their arms, some run to and fro shouting. The women fall to weeping bitterly. The Spaniards ask for something to eat. The women hasten to their huts and begin to pound seeds and make a kind of paste.

On the 17<sup>th</sup> of October 1769, they move on. At the end of that day's journey, they come to the river known to us as the San Lorenzo. This place is fit not only for a town, but for a city, with good land, water, pasture, and timber just within reach and in great abundance, and close to Monterey Bay.<sup>7</sup>

**Geoffrey Dunn, Local Historian:** The total estimated population of native peoples in the region at the time of European contact was roughly 1,500-2,000—the size of a large, contemporary high school. It was a series of extended communities living in a delicate balance with its environment. The native people of the region sustained their lives by hunting wild game, fishing, gathering shellfish, and, as the seasons permitted, by harvesting and gathering native plants and seeds—clover, wild onion, soap plant root, grass seeds, manzanita berries, hazelnuts, blackberries, and, most importantly, acorns.<sup>8</sup>

**S. H. Willey:** In 1791, the time came when it was determined to commence a mission here.

The original motive for the establishment of the Missions was the conversion of the native population to the Roman Catholic faith and the extension of the dominion of the Spanish crown.<sup>9</sup>

**Carrie Lodge, Granddaughter of Martina Castro, Mexican Land Grant Owner:** One of the older people told me that when they came into California, they always went out with their guns. They always carried their guns. You see, there was a lot of danger. Some of the Indians were halfway civilized and some weren't. They couldn't be trusted.

**The Amah Mutsun Tribal Band:** The Amah Mutsun people were aware of the actions of the Spanish; many village and religious sites were abandoned and spies were sent to the Missions at Monterey and Santa Cruz. They witnessed the destruction of the sacred tree near Monterey and the subjugation of the Rumsen (Carmel), Awaswas (Santa Cruz), and neighboring villages. The Spanish soldiers forcibly removed the Indians from their villages and brought them to the Mission compound, separating children from parents. The Amah were considered Mission property upon baptism, and were not permitted to return to their Tribal Lands.<sup>10</sup>

**Lorenzo Asisara:** To capture the wild Indian [for the Santa Cruz Mission], first were taken the children, and then the parents followed. The padres would erect a hut, and light the candles to say Mass, and the Indians, attracted by the light—thinking they were stars—would approach and soon be taken. These would bring others, such as their relatives.<sup>11</sup>

**The Amah Mutsun Tribal Band:** Under these oppressive conditions, the Amah were forced to

conduct their tribal activities and speak their language in secret.<sup>12</sup>

**Lorenzo Asisara:** The Indians at the mission were very severely treated by the padres, often punished by fifty lashes on the bare back. They were governed somewhat in the military style, having sergeants, corporals, and overseers, who were Indians, and they reported to the padres any disobedience or infraction of the rules. And then came the lash without mercy.<sup>13</sup>

**Geoffrey Dunn:** By 1830, the Santa Cruz Mission had accumulated over 3600 head of cattle, 400 horses, large herds of sheep and swine, and \$25,000 worth of silver plate.

By the time Mexico declared its independence from Spain in 1833 and the missions were secularized, the Ohlone population at the Santa Cruz Mission had dropped from a high of 644 in 1798 to 250.<sup>14</sup>

**The Amah Mutsun Tribal Band:** In addition to battling assaults on their culture, the Indians were also afflicted with foreign diseases brought by the Spanish, including smallpox, measles, and venereal diseases.<sup>15</sup>

**Leanne Hinton, Native American Scholar:** The Ohlone [Awaswas] people were disinherited from their original land as well as from their mission communities. The Gold Rush and the takeover of California by the United States completed the dispersion of the Ohlones.<sup>16</sup>

**The Amah Mutsun Tribal Band:** In 1848, the Amah Mutsun were disturbed again when Anglo settlers came to the region. A story within the Amah Mutsun Tribe is that when the Indians heard that the Americans were coming to

California they gathered together in the corner of a room and cried because they were certain the Americans would kill them all.

It wasn't long before the rush for gold forcibly displaced the Tribe's members from their new homes. They were rounded up like cattle and forced to work, and their children were kidnapped and enslaved. Many were simply killed.<sup>17</sup>

**Frank Blaisdell, Postal Carrier:** Pat Neary, this old Irishman who had this store there in Mission Hill, showed me a picture [of a lynching] of two "Indians, or half-blood Indians" at the Water Street bridge.<sup>18</sup> I remember my father telling me about seeing them hanging there. I don't know whatever become of it, but he showed me a picture of it and he could point to people and say, "This was so and so; he was just a boy then, and this was so and so." They were standing there watching it and got into the picture.

**The Amah Mutsun Tribal Band:** The state of California paid \$.25–\$5.00 bounty for every killed Indian and funded military expeditions for the purpose of exterminating Indians. During this campaign the state paid over \$1,200,000.00. This pervasive, statewide persecution sent an unambiguous message to the Amah Mutsun: hide or be eradicated.<sup>19</sup>

**Frank Blaisdell:** Neary used to tell me about when the Indians used to come [in the 1870s]; they'd trek here every summer along about the last of May. They would come from way over as far as Tulare and Bakersfield. He said they'd have these poles and the leather skins in between, or blankets or something, and big old lazy men would ride and the women would be walking, leading the horses.

And they'd go from way over by Tulare and Bakersfield and that neck of the woods and come

clear up by New Year's [Año Nuevo] Island. They lived there on the abalones and the mussels and the clams. They'd stay there all summer, and then in the fall when the rains were starting to come, why they'd go trekking back.

There was lots of Spanish here that married Indians in those days, and they were kind of mixed races. When these Spanish boys would get into a fight, the one that would call the other a black Indian first, he had all the advantage. There was nothing worse that he could call him.

**Michael Bergazzi:** Henry Velasco came and worked at Newell Creek lumbermill. He was from one of the old Spanish families from Watsonville. Velascos are descendants from way in the early days when the Spanish came up in there; part of them came in there with some of the old Mission Padres, and they mixed with the Indians. I think Henry had a little Indian mixture in him. He just looked it. He was very dark when he was a young man. He had that straight black hair, you know, the Indian hair.

**Frank Blaisdell:** I personally remember two Indians that lived out there as you go past Arana Gulch. Right at the top of the hill on the left there was a little bit of a shack there, and there was two lived there for a long time. They were little short squat people and black as Negroes. They lived right there and were the last ones I knew.

This was an Indian burying ground around here. From my back corner of this side lot up to the intersection of Laurel with Escalona, there was an Indian burying ground. When they put the sewer down there the workmen dug up some beautiful big pestles and just picked them to pieces and threw them out.

**Leanne Hinton:** By 1935, there were no fluent speakers left, although even now there are some Ohlone descendants who know a few words of their ancestral tongue by word of mouth through the generations, and a number of Ohlone scholars are relearning their languages through field notes compiled by linguists.<sup>20</sup>

**Martin Rizzo:** Rebellions, assassinations, fugitive flights, and poisonings; Santa Cruz Indigenous communities resisted and challenged colonial violence throughout the nineteenth century. Outside of the gaze of the missionary, soldier, or pioneer, Indigenous people gathered, sang their songs, prayed their prayers, sweat, and built community with other survivors.<sup>21</sup>

**The Amah Mutsun Tribal Band:** We are the living descendants of Mutsun and Awaswas-speaking peoples who have continually occupied the greater Monterey Bay Region, thriving for thousands of years and countless generations prior to European contact. It is our intent to restore our status as a federally-recognized historic, sovereign Indian nation.<sup>22</sup>

Our cultural heritage today is a patchwork-tapestry of stories, traditional lifeways and rituals handed down through generations. When we speak of our "cultural resources," we look all around at the mountains, the meadows, the waterways and wetlands, the air and scenic vistas—as well as those buried beneath them, and those who inhabit them. Those are our cultural resources—all that you see holds value to the Mutsun People.<sup>23</sup>



## Limescapes: The Cowell Ranch

**Leanne Hinton:** When the Mexican government closed the missions in 1835, most of the land in the area had been turned into ranches.<sup>24</sup>

**Christine Turk:** The land which is now the UCSC campus was known as Rancho Cañada del Rincon en el Rio San Lorenzo, and belonged to Pierre “Don Pedro” Sainsevain, a French settler who had received a 5,827-acre land grant from the Mexican government in 1846. As with other Mexican landowners, however, it took several years for the United States government to approve his claim to the land. Meanwhile, two gold seekers in San Francisco—Isaac Davis and Albion Jordan—heard about the high-quality marble on Sainsevain’s land. They leased a small parcel of Rancho Rincon at the corner of High and Bay Street and developed a lime production complex consisting of four lime kilns, a cooperage, a ranch house, and other structures.<sup>25</sup>

**S. H. Willey:** During the Gold Rush, most people seemed to be intent on the sale of an invoice of goods, or the making of a lucky strike in the diggings, and as soon as possible, getting home with the dust. Not so with Isaac E. Davis and A. P. Jordan. They coolly looked over the country and were convinced that it was worth staying in. Although they were making money, they saw that a country, in its building up of towns and cities, must have materials, and they believed in California, that it was going to build itself up. Among these materials must be lime.<sup>26</sup>

**Christine Turk:** In 1865, Henry Cowell, a merchant, bought Jordan’s share of the company, and it became the Davis and Cowell Lime Company.<sup>27</sup>

**Frank Blaisdell:** Henry Cowell got most of this land at once. It was in the early days when land was cheap. The Cowell wharf was for exporting his lime.<sup>28</sup> There was one old-timer, a popular old character around here, Crab Joe, that went down there almost every day of his life and fished for the crabs off Cowell’s wharf. It was just a little beyond that Dream Inn Restaurant.

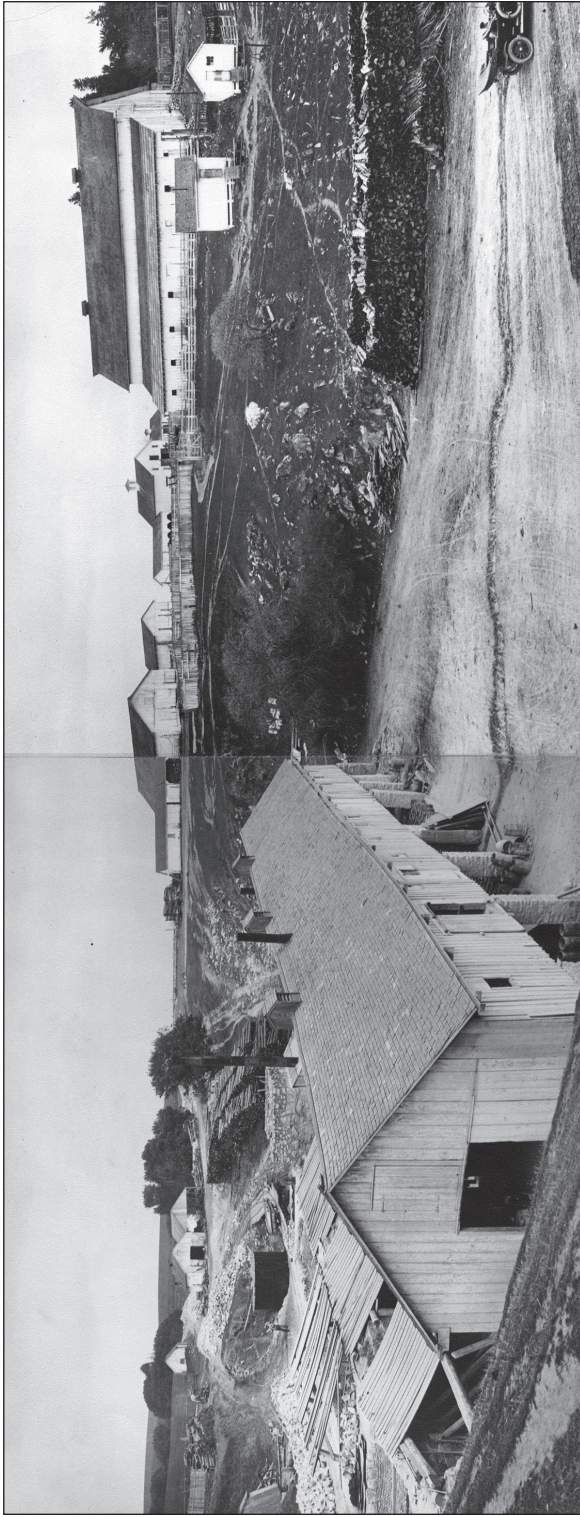
**George Cardiff, Caretaker, Cowell Ranch:** Henry Cowell bought this land. Henry was a limestone man, and the second Cowell, Harry, he was a cattleman. He had a dairy at the top end of the ranch.

Mr. Cowell was a big operator.<sup>29</sup> When he died, he had over thirteen ranches in the northern part of the state. The lime they made was top grade; it was first-class lime used for plaster work. They shipped it to San Francisco. This ranch is underlain with lime rock, billions of tons. Mr. Cowell told me that this system they used here is the same system they were using to burn lime in Rome two thousand years ago.

**Frank Perry, Historian:** During its lime-making days, the landscape might have been better termed a “limescape.” There were vast piles of rock, lime waste, empty barrels, and cordwood, and little in the way of vegetation. Narrow trails crisscrossed the hillsides, linking the worker cabins with the kilns and other buildings. The sounds of coopers hammering together barrels, the crackling of kiln fires, and the rattling of wagons filled the air.<sup>30</sup>

**Adalbert Wolff, Timekeeper, Cowell Ranch:** The country was wild. Nobody had ever trespassed there. There were no trails or roads. They had something like 250 head of cattle, and Cowell





---

Figure 1

View of Cowell's Lime Works, Circa 1910. Site of current entrance to UCSC

---



---

Figure 2

Barbeque at Cowell Ranch, 1913

---



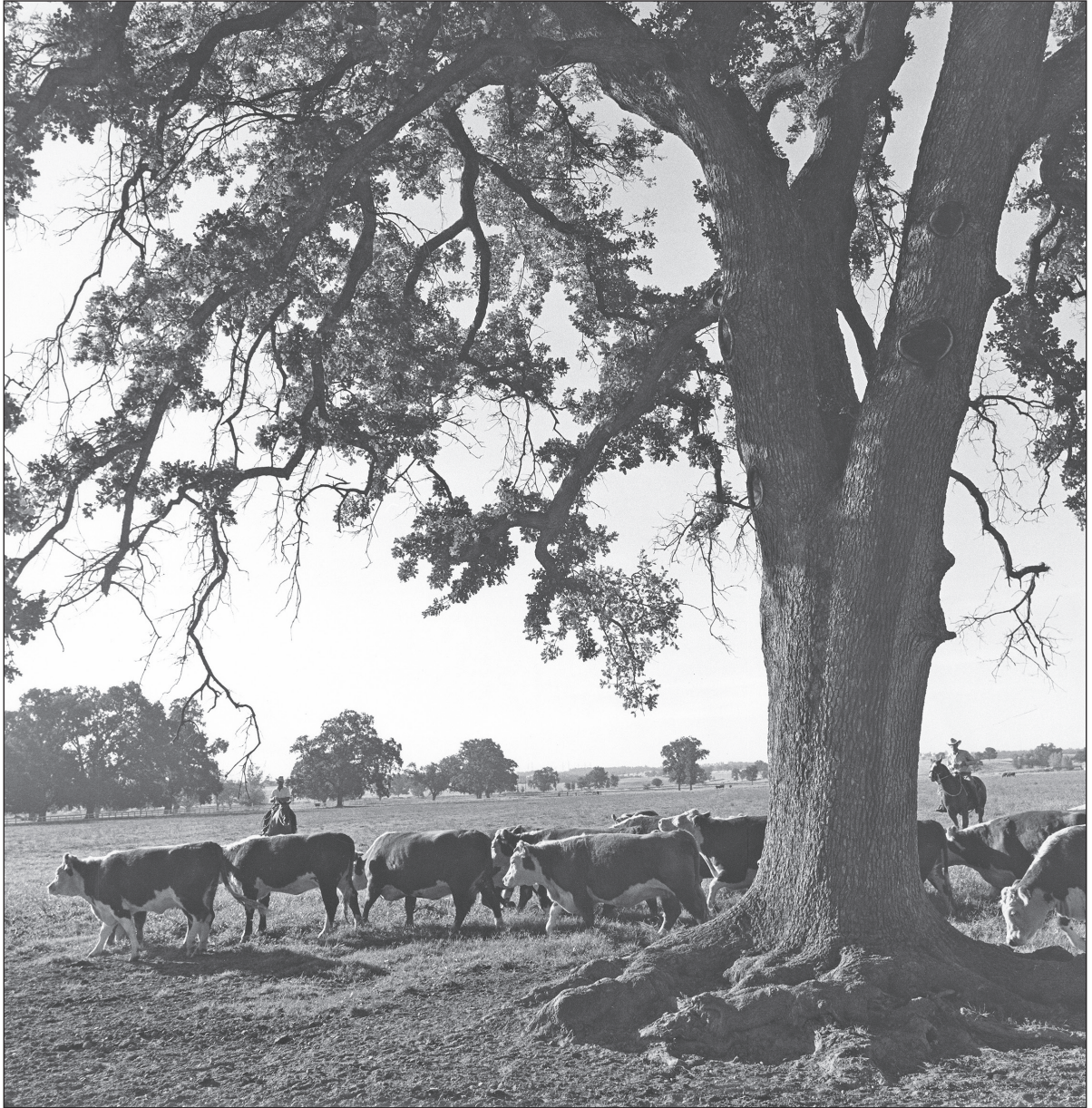
---

Figure 3

Henry Cowell and his wife, Harriet, at the Carriage House on the Cowell Ranch (now the UCSC Carriage House); Frank George at the reins of the wagon

Circa 1890-1910

---



---

Figure 4

Cowell Ranch meadow with cowboys and cattle

Circa 1964

Photo by Ansel Adams

---



---

Figure 5

Worker cabins, Cowell Ranch

Photo by Vester Dick, 1960s

---

Ranch Manager Frank George and I went out to round them up so they could be branded and the steers were castrated.

**Frank Blaisdell:** I hunted up here for years, unknown to Cowell. You could hunt most any place, fifty, sixty years ago. You could go up the coast camping, go into Laguna Creek, San Vicente, or Scott Creek, Big Creek, and just pitch your tent and camp there a week or two weeks or a month. Nobody said anything to you. It was the way of life then.

**Adalbert Wolff:** The workers on the Cowell Ranch just stayed in their little shacks, and there was nothing in the way of social activities going on. They stayed pretty much by themselves. Of course, some of them, some of the Italians, for instance, had wine. Most of the men were single. Most of them were Portuguese. They worked hard.

**George Cardiff:** Sometimes the explosion from blasting powder used in quarrying would go off when they were not expecting it. An accident had to be a whole lot for them to pay any attention to it. If they'd cut an artery or anything like that, why, they'd bandage it up and let it go until it would heal up.

**Adalbert Wolff:** The workers were fed well and they were happy enough. They got a dollar a day. That was a famous saying: "Another day, another dollar." They got all their food and living accommodations, if you call them that, the shacks that you can still see on the ridge.<sup>31</sup>

The ambition of many of these men was to work long enough so they could buy a heavy gold watch chain, go back to Europe and visit their families, and tell them how prosperous they were in America, then come back afterwards.

**George Cardiff:** Of the men that Cowell had, I don't suppose there were 50 percent of them that could write their own name.

**Adalbert Wolff:** I lived at Cardiff House with Frank George and his wife. They taught me how to ride, and every two, three days, Frank George came along and said, "Wolff, saddle up your horse. We're going to rope in a steer to be slaughtered and feed all the men." The men had steak for breakfast, for lunch, and for dinner. They ate it in no time flat. They needed it. They worked hard.

The food was wonderful. I mean, no French cooking or anything like that, but it was always ample and good. After they finished their meals some of the men would go out on the little porch and eat a big baked potato. That was their dessert. They just took it in their hands and ate it, peels and all, just like you'd eat a butterhorn. It only took them ten minutes or so to eat their meal. When they left the cookhouse, they'd take a potato along with them.

**George Cardiff:** Mr. Cowell was wonderful with his old employees, but as the years went along, well, working in that lime was awful hard work. Very few people would work in it. Times changed and wages began to advance. As each one quit or died, his crew kept getting down, so finally he brought the rest of the men to Santa Cruz here on the ranch. He never let a man go. He lost money the last few years (which didn't mean anything to him), but as he said, those men had been here all their life and knew nothing else, so if he didn't keep that running, where would they go? They couldn't get a job anyplace else. Finally, they died off. While I was here, only four or five men was all we had. The ranch got to be uneconomical for Cowell to run.<sup>32</sup>



---

Figure 6

Wagon wheel, Cowell Ranch,  
1966

Photo by Eric Thiermann

---

**“After Labor Day, You Knew Just About Every Other Person on the Street”:  
A Retirement Town and a Tourist Haven**

**Nancy Pascal, Staff, Registrar’s Office:** I was born in Santa Cruz and raised on Spring Street, close to the campus. Our house was on the outskirts at the time—this is in the early forties. We roamed the pastures and the fields and the caves and the creeks and rode our bikes wherever we wanted to. My dad would whistle at five and we’d have to go home for dinner, but our parents never really knew where we were. Nobody worried. It was that freedom of being outside, having dirt clod fights and climbing trees and just roaming around.

**Hal Hyde, Vice Chancellor, Business and Finance:** I was born in Watsonville Hospital in 1923. All my forebears came to live in the Santa Cruz area in the 19th century. Santa Cruz became the county seat and developed its own industries, such as Salz Tannery, Cowell Lime and Cement, and the powder mill near Felton. Santa Cruz also became a great vacation area, a place where people from San Francisco and other places came for holidays, for the air and the beach.

**John Daly, Mayor of Santa Cruz:** I decided to come to Santa Cruz in 1953 to start an optometric practice. It was a good move. Santa Cruz was delightful. I think we only had one or two stop signs through the whole downtown area. And in the fall/winter, after Labor Day, you knew about every other person on the street.

In those days, people would come to Santa Cruz for two-week vacations. We also had conventions, which brought a lot of people into town. Then they’d stay over another day or two, or come early just to go to the beach. They were upper-middle-class people that belonged to organizations like Rotary, Lions, and the Shrine. My wife and

I spent literally thousands of hours working for the chamber of commerce. Skip Littlefield from the Seaside Company,<sup>33</sup> who was a friend of my father’s, and then Fred McPherson, the publisher of the *Santa Cruz Sentinel*, recognized that I was a leader, so they approached me about being on the city council. The main priority was growing the community. There wasn’t enough work. We didn’t have any significant industry. When Wrigley’s came to Santa Cruz with their gum factory, that was a big, big event. We had Salz Tannery, where they tanned and prepared beautiful leather.<sup>34</sup> That was about it. In those days, there was nothing at 41st Avenue in Capitola. That was just country, and there were chicken ranches out there. Chicken and milk cows.

**Nancy Pascal:** After a brief stint in Southern California, my husband and I came back to Santa Cruz in 1956, and we lived up the coast on Swanton Road. Santa Cruz was poky and very insular. The city fathers, whoever they were, really ran things. It was a tourist town. People were always attracted to the Boardwalk and to the beaches. And it was a retirement town. There wasn’t a whole lot else going on. There was the cement plant in Davenport<sup>35</sup> and there were a few other employers like Wrigley’s and the canneries.

**Hal Hyde:** After it opened in 1959, Cabrillo College was supported by and met the needs of the entire area. The county coalesced, and accepted it as their higher-education facility. The Cabrillo success was the first significant expression of total county commitment and support. It was the start of something good for the community: the area’s own college.





---

Figure 7

Cowell Beach, Santa Cruz, 1959

Photographer unknown

---



---

Figure 8

Front and Pacific Streets, Santa Cruz,  
1966

Photographer unknown

---

## Endnotes

1. *Rancherias* is the Spanish word for villages.
2. One of the very few surviving first-person accounts of the brutality the Awaswas suffered comes to us from a man who was baptized Lorenzo Asisara at the Santa Cruz Mission in about 1819. Asisara was interviewed three times: twice in 1877 by Hubert Howe Bancroft's historian, Thomas Savage, and once in 1890 by E. L. Williams, from which the excerpt that appears here is drawn. All three of these narratives were translated by Ed Castillo, who taught American Indian studies at UCSC in the 1970s and early 1980s, and presented with an introduction and annotation as "The Narratives of Lorenzo Asisara: Three Accounts of Life and Death in Mission Santa Cruz" in *A Gathering of Voices: The Native Peoples of the Central California Coast* (Santa Cruz, CA: The Museum of Art and History, 2002), 73-76.  
 For many decades, the terms "Ohlone" and "Costanoan" have been used to designate the indigenous people who lived in Santa Cruz and the Monterey Bay Area. But these names were imposed indiscriminately by the Spanish on the region's diverse groups of native people—among them the Awaswas, who lived on the land now occupied by the UC Santa Cruz campus. Today, the descendants of the Mutsun (peoples "missionized" at San Juan Bautista) and Awaswas (peoples "missionized" at Santa Cruz) tribes call themselves not "the Ohlone" but "the Amah Mutsun Tribal Band"; they call this region Popeloutchom. The Amah Mutsun are working to revitalize and preserve their language, history, and culture. Some of this work is happening at the UCSC Arboretum, which is collaborating with tribal members to create and maintain a California Native Conservation Garden.
3. Father Juan Crespi kept a detailed diary of the Portola Expedition in 1769.
4. This excerpted and edited account is from S. H. Willey, "A Sketch of the General History of Santa Cruz County, California," in *Santa Cruz County, California. Illustrations Descriptive of its Scenery, Fine Residences, Public Buildings, Manufactories, Hotels, Farm Scenes, Business Houses, Schools, Churches, Mines, Mills, Etc.* (San Francisco, CA: Wallace W. Elliott & Co, 1879). Indexed Edition by Leonard A. Greenberg and Stanley D. Stevens and reprinted by the Santa Cruz Museum of Art and History, 1997. Stanley Stevens, a recognized expert on Santa Cruz history, also had a distinguished career as the UCSC Library's Map Librarian.
5. Excerpted and edited from William Shipley, "The Awaswas Language," in *A Gathering of Voices: The Native Peoples of the Central California Coast*, 173.
6. All excerpts from the Amah Mutsun's extensive website are reprinted with generous permission from Valentin Lopez, Chairman of the Amah Mutsun tribe. See: <http://amahmutsun.org/archives/591>. Pronunciation guide: Amah Mutsun = ah-MAH Mootsoon; Awaswas = uh-WAH-swahs.
7. S. H. Willey, "A Sketch of the General History of Santa Cruz County, California," in *Santa Cruz County, California*, 28.
8. Geoffrey Dunn, "Spirit Weavers," *Good Times*, May 8, 2013.
9. S. H. Willey, p. 28. The Santa Cruz Mission was one in a chain of twenty-one missions established by Catholic priests of the Franciscan order under the aegis of the Spanish empire as part of the colonization of California. The area that is now UCSC was grazed by Mission cattle.
10. Excerpted from: <http://amahmutsun.org/archives/591>.
11. Ed Castillo, "The Narratives of Lorenzo Asisara: Three Accounts of Life and Death in Mission Santa Cruz" in *A Gathering of Voices: The Native Peoples of the Central California Coast*, 73-76.
12. Excerpted from: <http://amahmutsun.org/archives/591>.
13. Ed Castillo, *A Gathering of Voices: The Native Peoples of the Central California Coast*, 73-76.
14. This excerpted account is from Geoffrey Dunn, *Santa Cruz Is in the Heart: Selected Writings on Local History, Culture, and Politics & Ghosts* (Capitola, CA: Capitola Book Company, 1989) 6-7.
15. Excerpted from: <http://amahmutsun.org/archives/591>.
16. Leanne Hinton and Kenneth Hale, eds. *The Green Book of Language Revitalization in Practice* (Boston: Academic Press, 2001), 415.
17. Excerpted from: <http://amahmutsun.org/archives/591>.
18. On May 2, 1877, Francisco Arias and José Chamales were murdered by a lynch mob in Santa Cruz. Both men were mixed-race Native American and Mexican American. They had been accused of murder and were imprisoned in the Santa Cruz Jail, from where they were abducted and lynched. The next morning, as the bodies of the two men

were hanging on the bridge, Santa Cruz photographer John Elijah Davis Baldwin, who owned a gallery downtown, brought his photography equipment and recorded the event. Images of this lynching were sold in Santa Cruz for decades after this and were still widely available into the 1970s.

These kind of photographs of lynchings were popular in the 19th century and well into the 20th century. They record the brutal legacy of racial violence in the United States. See historian Geoffrey Dunn's November 12, 2013 article about this event: "Santa Cruz's Most Notorious Lynching," at [http://www.santacruz.com/news/santa\\_cruzs\\_most\\_notorious\\_lynching.html](http://www.santacruz.com/news/santa_cruzs_most_notorious_lynching.html).

19. Excerpted from: <http://amahmutsun.org/archives/591>.

20. Hinton and Hale, eds., 415.

21. Excerpted from Martin Adam Rizzo, "No Somos Animales: Indigenous Survival and Perseverance in 19th Century Santa Cruz, California," (2016). PhD Dissertation in History, UC Santa Cruz. p. 2. Available on University of California Escholarship: <https://escholarship.org/uc/item/72n1q0vz>.

22. Excerpted from: <http://amahmutsun.org/archives/591>.

23. Excerpted from: <http://amahmutsun.org/archives/591>.

24. Hinton and Hale, eds., 415.

25. Christine Turk wrote this text as a graduate student editor of a UC Santa Cruz website sponsored by UCSC Physical Planning and Construction, which documents the historical transformations that have shaped and reshaped the site of the Upper Quarry Amphitheater. See: <https://quarryamphitheater.library.ucsc.edu/exhibits/show/home/industry/early-mining>.

26. Excerpted and edited from S. H. Willey, 28.

27. Davis and Jordan brought in livestock to feed their workers. They built a sawmill to process the trees they cut down to use as fuel for the lime kilns. The workers logged almost all of area's old-growth trees during this period. Jordan contracted tuberculosis and in 1865 sold his share of the business to Henry Cowell. See: <https://quarryamphitheater.library.ucsc.edu/exhibits/show/home/industry/early-mining>.

28. Lime was in high demand among the builders of San Francisco and much of urban California after the Gold Rush. By 1884, Santa Cruz County was producing a third of the lime in California. Workers heated the quarried limestone to about 1000 degrees Fahrenheit in on-site kilns to form calcium oxide, or quicklime—a substance that could be

mixed with sand and water to make mortar and plaster.

29. Henry Cowell held the corner on most of the lime market in Central and Northern California. Cowell was a controversial, sometimes ruthless industrialist, who diversified his operation with multiple enterprises: selling building supplies and street-paving material; raising dairy cattle on ranches throughout Northern California; growing grain, fruit, and hops; harvesting tanoak bark to sell to tanneries; and investing in a seal-fur company in Alaska. By the time he died in 1903, Cowell owned land in twenty-three California counties, including the area now occupied by UC Santa Cruz, which became known as the Cowell Home Ranch. From 1865 to 1879, Cowell lived on the ranch with his family in the Cardiff House near the base of the campus property; it currently is home to the UCSC Women's Center.

30. Edited and excerpted from "Walking Tour of a Lime Manufacturing Site," in Frank A. Perry, Robert W. Piwarzyk, Michael D. Luther, Alverda Orlando, Allan Molho, and Sierra L. Perry, *Lime Kiln Legacies: The History of the Lime Industry in Santa Cruz County* (Santa Cruz, CA: Museum of Art and History, 2007). By the turn of the 20th century, Portland cement began to replace lime as a building material and the lime industry went into decline.

31. Five worker cabins once occupied the hillside near the entrance to campus. By 2006, only two cabins remained. One of these was restored by the Friends of the Cowell Lime Works Historic District in 2013. See <https://limeworks.ucsc.edu/> for more on the early history of the Cowell Ranch.

32. The lime kilns eventually ceased operation, and the Cowell Ranch became a kind of vacation home for the Cowell family until 1955, when Henry Cowell's last surviving son, Samuel Henry (Harry) Cowell, died.

33. The Santa Cruz Seaside Company has operated the Santa Cruz Beach Boardwalk since 1915.

34. Salz Tannery was the oldest operating leather tannery west of the Mississippi until it closed in 2001.

35. The Davenport Cement Plant opened in 1906; the cement it produced was used to rebuild San Francisco after the 1906 earthquake. The plant closed in 2010.

## Illustrations

Figure 1. Panoramic View of Cowell Lime Works, Circa 1910. Courtesy Special Collections, University Library, University of California, Santa Cruz, MS 427: Santa Cruz County Historic Photograph Collection.

Figure 2. Barbeque at Cowell Ranch, 1913. Courtesy Special Collections, University Library, University of California Santa Cruz. MS 427: Santa Cruz County Historic Photograph Collection: ms0427\_pho\_11133.

Figure 3. Henry Cowell and his wife, Harriet at the Carriage House on the Cowell Ranch. Frank George at the reins of the wagon. Circa 1890-1910. Courtesy Special Collections, University Library, University of California, Santa Cruz, MS 427: Santa Cruz County Historic Photograph Collection: ms0427\_pho\_06145.

Figure 4. Cowell Ranch meadow with cowboys and cattle. Photo by Ansel Adams. Circa 1964. Courtesy Special Collections, University Library, University of California, Santa Cruz, MS 2: Ansel Adams Photographs: ms0002\_pho\_0301.

Figure 5. Worker Cabins, Cowell Ranch. Photo by Vester Dick, 1960s. Courtesy Special Collections, University Library, University of California, Santa Cruz. MS90: Gordon Sinclair Papers: ms0090\_pho\_58\_299\_cs1\_3.

Figure 6. Wagon wheel, Cowell Ranch. Photo by Eric Thiermann, 1966. Courtesy Special Collections, University Library, University of California, Santa Cruz. MS 290: Eric Thiermann photographs of the University of California, Santa Cruz: ms0290\_neg\_0079\_04.

Figure 7. Cowell Beach, Santa Cruz, 1959. Photographer unknown. Courtesy Special Collections, University Library, University of California, Santa Cruz, MS 427: Santa Cruz County Historic Photographs Collection.

Figure 8. Front and Pacific Street, Santa Cruz, 1966. Photographer unknown. Campus Photo Archive, UCSC Communications & Marketing Department.

## Chapter 2

# “The Bear Comes Over the Mountain”

Envisioning A New Campus of the University of California, 1956-1961

*It was like winning a Super Bowl game. The whole town was delighted. It gave the town a prestige that it never dreamed it would have.*

—John Daly

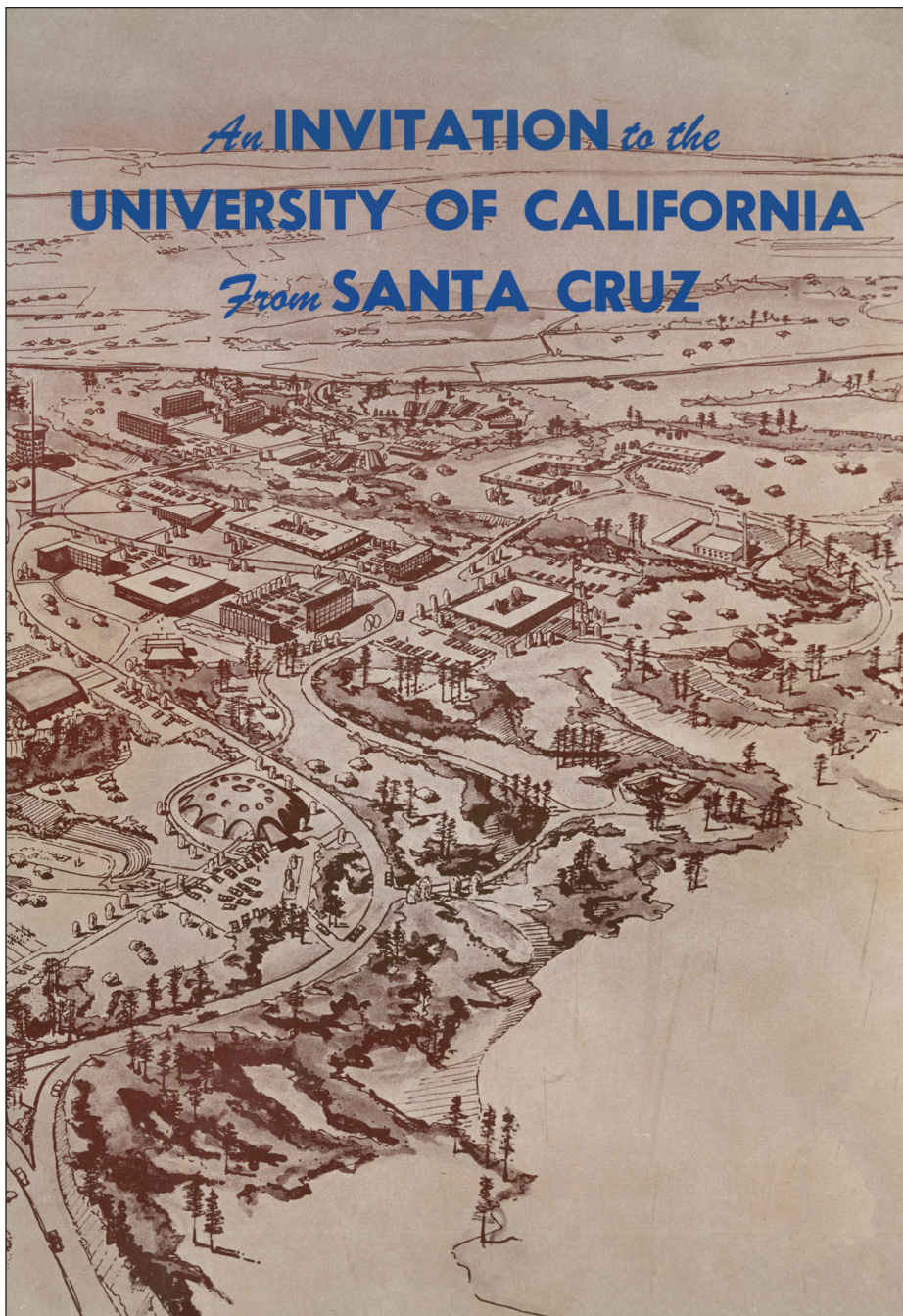
### **Clark Kerr, President, University of California:**

A tidal wave of students based on the heavy birth-rate after World War II was engulfing the United States, but particularly California, because the state was also increasing its population at the rate of half a million people a year by immigration. The UC regents had been expecting that Berkeley and UCLA would accommodate this tidal wave. I was chancellor at Berkeley and spent endless hours talking with various faculty senate committees and individual faculty members, and we concluded we did not want to take that whole tidal wave.

Shortly after the decision was made that Berkeley and UCLA were not to take more than 27,500 students each, a report was made by an all-University committee headed by Dean McHenry, then on the faculty at UCLA. The committee recommended that there be three new campuses, and this proposal of 1957 was adopted by the Board of Regents that fall, at the same meeting at which I was appointed the new president of the university.

So that became one of my assignments as president of the University of California—the new campuses. This was later confirmed in the Master Plan for Higher Education of 1960.<sup>1</sup> There would be three new campuses: one in the South San Francisco Bay Area, one in the Greater Los Angeles Area, and one in the San Diego area.<sup>2</sup>

**Hal Hyde:** Around 1956, there was interest in a Central Coast UC campus. The University of California alumni associations were active, and there was one in both north and south Santa Cruz County. UC President Robert Gordon Sproul made regular visits to the area and made speeches to inform us what was going on. The local alumni associations were mostly heavily involved in the athletic and big-game mentality, and rah-rah types of things, but behind all of that was the fact that people had gone on from Santa Cruz County to higher education; their academic careers had influenced their lives back here in their businesses and



---

Figure 1

Santa Cruz Chamber of Commerce, 1958

---

professions. There was a warm feeling, particularly toward UC Berkeley. There were a few who had gone on to UCLA, but most were from the Cal side. Some of us did some thinking about having a campus here.

**John Daly:** I was a UC Berkeley grad. I was thrilled that maybe my alma mater would open a campus here. It was such a good fit. As soon as Labor Day came, the tourists left. Well, Labor Day is when the students come to the town where they're going to go to school. And they come in with pockets full of money, because their parents, especially in those days, where mostly the upper middle class and upper upper class were going to college—they all came to town with money. So, we thought, “Wow, that's great. They'll spend it on clothing, and on food.” We didn't know they were going to start dressing like bums, which is what happened. We thought they were going to come and wear their tans and their white blouses, plaid skirts, and bobby socks.

**Henry Mello, California State Senator:** When Governor Brown was elected in 1958,<sup>3</sup> I was his campaign chairman. Santa Cruz looked to the university as a real economic enhancement for the area, because up until then we had the Boardwalk, which brought a lot of tourists, day visitors, during the summertime, but when Labor Day came along, the town just closed down. So, they felt the campus would be a year-round activity and produce quite an economic enhancement.<sup>4</sup>

**John Daly:** One of the reasons we wanted growth is we wanted more tax money to improve our community, improve the streets, improve the water system and the sewer system, et cetera. Because that's the other benefit that comes with growth: the tax that accumulates to the city. There was no resistance to growth then.

So from the very beginning, the city manager, Pete Tedesco, and I were both very high on the idea of a Santa Cruz location for the proposed UC campus. I think our first reaction was, “Well hell, that's a dream. They're not going to come to our little town, especially where we're over here on the coast, bumped up against the ocean. It doesn't make *sense* to come here.” The population pool was over the mountain in San Jose. There were others who felt differently, that they could maybe woo them to come. Some on the council were against it. And there were a few others that didn't want it because they felt it was too much and too big for our small town.

**Hal Hyde:** I went to see Tom Polk Williams, who was a UC Berkeley-trained civil engineer working in Santa Cruz. He had a practice known as Bowman and Williams. Tom and I started looking at maps of the area, of what were possible sites, including the Cowell lands and properties. We asked: where is there land that could be assembled? Where is the transportation net? Students would be coming from Monterey County, from Santa Cruz, from the entire state and nation.

Eventually, a group of University of California officials showed up here to look around Santa Cruz County. This was called the Central Coast site. Larry Livingston, an architectural planner, was hired by the regents to recommend Central Coast sites. Livingston made a thorough report to the regents on prospective sites, but much to the consternation of the locals, he recommended a site in the Almaden Valley of Santa Clara County. Most of the site was owned by a Catholic novice. The regents adopted his recommendation.

**Henry Mello:** We were competing with the Almaden site. Almaden had more powerful clout by offering a lot of amenities. They were close to



Stanford and San Jose State. We were more isolated here.

**Hal Hyde:** Locally, there followed a great amount of planning to persuade the regents that the Cowell site was better. The Cabrillo board and staff members were involved as an unofficial project. Other names I remember were Scotchy Sinclair, editor of the *Santa Cruz Sentinel*; Norm Lezin;<sup>5</sup> Les Ley, the manager of the Santa Cruz Chamber of Commerce; Frank Thomas of Pacific Gas & Electric; engineer Tom Polk Williams; lawyers Bud and Steve Wyckoff; and on the political front, Assemblyman Glenn Coolidge<sup>6</sup> and Senator Don Grunsky.<sup>7</sup> Others had some input, such as George Cardiff, who managed the Cowell estate, and was living on the Cowell property in what's now known as Cardiff House.

**John Daly:** Probably the number-one key player was our assemblyman, who was another long-time resident of the Felton area. Glenn Coolidge was his name. He was a very good politician. He was in real estate, but he was the chairman of the Ways and Means Committee of the California State Legislature, the committee that dictates how the money from the government and taxes is spent. Because of that, he brought a lot of pressure to bear, not only on the regents, but on the executive staff of the university.

**Hal Hyde:** I personally was involved in this lobbying effort. I phoned the father of my UC Berkeley friend, Regent Gus Olson.<sup>8</sup> I talked to Gus on the phone while he was cooling off in his seaside place near the mission in Carmel and told him about all the advantages of the Cowell site. He was most interested and promised to follow the situation and declared he knew the sites.

Santa Cruz County really wanted the University of California to come.

**Henry Mello:** At that point, they were dealing with the regents and the University of California staff. Most of the people on the committee were Chamber of Commerce people from Santa Cruz. They were mostly Republicans. So they finally realized, some of them, that they needed some Democrats to help bring a campus here. My name was thought of because I was chairman of the Democratic Central Committee. They asked me if I would help. I said yes, certainly. I thought the campus would be great for Santa Cruz. I was thinking about our students in the Monterey Bay area having access, that they could live at home and go to a four-year university.

**John Daly:** By that time, I was the vice mayor of the city. So, wherever I went, I would talk up the coming of the university. There are those now who say, "Gee, the campus imposed themselves on us. They came here and they pushed themselves in here." That isn't true at all. They were being very objective. The first vote of the regents was that they had decided to go to the Almaden property in San Jose. And it was only after that that this surge of our people here began to shift that decision.

**Hal Hyde:** At the next regents meeting in 1960 or 1961, Gus Olson moved, and it was approved, that the regents reconsider the selection of the Almaden site. A regents committee was formed to visit the Cowell and Almaden sites.<sup>9</sup>

**John Daly:** The regents' site committee had already kind of decided on Almaden. But they came down again and then looked more deeply at each of the sites. That was a great coincidence,

that they came down on a very hot day. Hot as hell over in Almaden, and they wandered around there in their shirtsleeves and hot, hot. Then they came over the hill, came down into Santa Cruz with that nice ocean breeze.

**Hal Hyde:** The local group prepared a low-key reception and meeting at the then-recently constructed First Congregational Church located on Cowell-donated land on High Street.

**Henry Mello:** They asked me to help with the governor and the lieutenant governor. They came down and the committee put on a nice reception for them.

**Hal Hyde:** The meeting was in the common facilities of the church, which had a broad deck overlooking Monterey Bay. It was a hot Indian-summer afternoon, and the whole sweep of the bay stretched out beautifully from the Cowell Ranch out across toward Monterey. The temperature was probably in the high 80s or the low 90s, but there was just a hint of a cooling breeze off the bay. The regents’ committee arrived in an air-conditioned Greyhound bus. They stayed about twenty or thirty minutes, and we served cold, non-alcoholic drinks, punch, coffee, and cookies, and mingled with the group. We showed them the sketches of a possible configuration on the land, and then they got in the bus, waved, and went up on the Cowell Ranch, generally along what’s now Hagar Drive to the Upper Quarry, and soon departed.

**Henry Mello:** We showed the regents the site. We parked in the big meadow just below where University House is now. They were astounded by the beautiful view and the nice land.

**John Daly:** They went up to the campus; they stood there and looked out at Monterey Bay. They were now putting on their sweaters. It was cool. And they said, “This is really something. Gee, we better look more seriously at this.”

**Clark Kerr:** I always favored the Santa Cruz site. It’s more beautiful than Almaden. The climate is better; the smog was getting worse in the San Jose area. There was only one owner, who was prepared to deal with us. Almaden had, if I remember, something like sixty-three owners, one being the Catholic Church of the Novitiate Winery, and I didn’t want to go through all those condemnations and suits.<sup>10</sup> Particularly when you go up against the Catholic Church, you’re going to pay top dollar, or you’re sure to have a lot of ill will.

I also thought, for the type of campus we were talking about—colleges with their own identity—that it fit better the Santa Cruz site, with its trees and so forth—so you didn’t have a sense of seeing everything all at once. You saw one college at a time. Also, I felt that it’d be easier to recruit faculty members to the Santa Cruz area, with the beautiful places that they could live and the fine climate. The regents unanimously chose Santa Cruz. Almaden was at its worst and Santa Cruz at its best. They all came around by the time we’d been over here a little while and they saw the beauty of the place.

**Henry Mello:** The Cowell Foundation had agreed to donate the land, but they donated it in an arrangement that the state would pay for the land, but then Cowell would donate that money back. They would get a gift deduction; they’re a non-profit foundation.

**Clark Kerr:** I knew that the Cowell Foundation, with which I had some experience, did not like to



---

Figure 2

UC Regents tour the site for UCSC, July 19, 1962. Chancellor McHenry (standing); in the car are Gerald Hagar, president of the UC Regents; Regent Elinor Heller; Campus Architect John Carl Warnecke; and Regent Donald McLaughlin

Photo by Vester Dick

---

give away property. It liked to give buildings. So I made a proposal to the Cowell Foundation that we buy the property and they give us a building costing the equivalent amount to the purchase price of the property. The foundation agreed and we paid them two million dollars, a small sum for two thousand acres, and they gave us a building of equal amount.<sup>11</sup>

**Lou Fackler:** Before UCSC opened, everybody loved us. The realtors saw nothing but profits. Everybody was going to be wealthy and the area was going to develop.

**Clark Kerr:** We got the land for nothing from the Cowell Foundation. And we were just under terrible pressure to get going.

**John Daly:** When they decided in favor of Santa Cruz it was like winning a Super Bowl game. The whole town was delighted. It gave the town a prestige that it never dreamed it would have. We’re going to have a real university here.




---

Figure 3

UC Regents driving through the future site of UCSC, 1963

Photo by Vester Dick

---



---

Figure 4

Breakfast Club, 2008

Photo by Lee Jaffe

---

## Endnotes

1. The California Master Plan for Higher Education of 1960 was developed by a survey team appointed by the UC Regents and the State Board of Education during the administration of Governor Edmund G. [Pat] Brown. As head of academic planning for the UC system and also as one of the two UC representatives on the team that negotiated the plan, Dean McHenry was critically important in the writing of the Master Plan. UC President Clark Kerr was also a key figure in its development. The Master Plan set up a coherent system for postsecondary education, which defined specific roles for the University of California, the California State College (now California State University) system, and the California Community College system. It has remained the guiding document for higher education in California through the present day.
2. Clark Kerr, “The Santa Cruz Dream” Number 1. Occasional Papers of Adlai E. Stevenson College, (University of California, Santa Cruz, Santa Cruz, CA, 1988). Also see Kerr’s memoir: *The Gold and the Blue: A Personal Memoir of the University of California, 1949-1967*.
3. Edmund Gerald “Pat” Brown Sr. (1905-1996) was an American politician and lawyer who served as the 32nd governor of California from 1959 to 1967. He died in 1996.
4. See Henry Mello’s papers at UCSC Library: <https://oac.cdlib.org/findaid/ark:/13030/tf0q2nb0k5/>.
5. Norm Lezin moved to Santa Cruz in 1948 to run the Salz Tannery. By 1961, he had expanded Salz into an international business. Lezin was to become a political legend in Santa Cruz by the time of his death in 2018.
6. Glenn Coolidge was a Republican real estate broker elected to the California State Assembly on November 4, 1952, representing the Central Coast’s 27th District, which includes Santa Cruz County. Coolidge won reelection four times.
7. Senator Donald L. Grunsky represented the 27th District in the California State Legislature from 1952 until his retirement in 1976.
8. Gus Olson was from Paso Robles, California and served as a regent from 1951-1960.
9. For an in-depth history of the UCSC site selection process see William Doyle’s *The Origin of UC Santa Cruz: 1957-1961*.
10. “Jesuit novices at the Sacred Heart Novitiate in Los Gatos, California, not only lived and prayed together, but they also worked together in the vineyards surrounding the novitiate from 1888 to 1986.” See: <http://jesuits.org/news-detail?TN=NEWS-20130917051135> for a history of the Novitiate Winery in Los Gatos and photos by Margaret Bourke-White.
11. Clark Kerr, “The Santa Cruz Dream.” The Cowell Foundation was willing to sell for such a low price for tax reasons, because they wanted to support the University of California’s mission, and because they were no longer turning a profit mining the ranch for lime production. This was before growth and development pressures dramatically increased land prices in Santa Cruz County.

## Illustrations

Figure 1: *An Invitation to the University of California from the City of Santa Cruz*. Courtesy Special Collections, University Library, University of California, Santa Cruz: Brochure compiled by Gordon Sinclair; photos. by Ed. Webber. Santa Cruz, Calif.: Greater Santa Cruz Chamber of Commerce. 1958.

Page three reads, in part: “Santa Cruz, geographic center of the South Central Coastal Region of California, offers its facilities, and its wholehearted invitation to the regents of the University of California in their search for a new general campus for the university. Located on the southern perimeter of the San Francisco metropolitan Bay area, Santa Cruz has long been a center of recreational activity in Northern California as well as a self-sufficient economic community, moderate in growth, but progressing with the development of the Pacific destiny. Santa Cruz is a popular city. Its scenic beauty and mild coastal climate have made it a haven for people who could live wherever they chose. Santa Cruz is near the centers of population of the South Central Region and yet far enough away to avoid the industrial development and density of population that threatens to engulf the main spokes of the urban areas. It is in an area connected by some of California’s most modern freeways to the Santa Clara valley, the East Bay and the San Francisco peninsula as well as the balance of the Monterey Bay region. Here, truly, is a community where the university could pace its growth with the increases in enrollment to provide the full facilities of university life without the troubled competition of intense industrial or military growth. Santa Cruz offers the ideal university environment where students and faculty alike can concentrate on the responsibilities of learning in an atmosphere designed for study.” The entire publication is available online through UCSC Digital Collections and in UCSC Library Special Collections: Call number: F869 .S48S5.

Figure 2. Chancellor McHenry (standing); in the car are Gerald Hagar, president of the UC Regents; Regent Elinor Heller; Campus Architect John Carl Warnecke; and Regent Donald McLaughlin July 19, 1962: From the *Santa Cruz Sentinel*: “A safari of 50 University of California officials, regents and consultants toured the 2000-acre Cowell ranch site Thursday afternoon. Here they are returning from a loop around the proposed “high campus” area, one of several sites being considered for the academic core.” Photo by Vester Dick. Courtesy Special Collections, University Library, University of California, Santa Cruz: MS 90: Gordon R. Sinclair Papers: ms0090\_pho\_62\_746\_05.

Figure 3. UC Regents drive through future site of UCSC, 1963. Photo by Vester Dick. Courtesy Special Collections, University Library, University of California, Santa Cruz. MS 90: Gordon R. Sinclair Papers: ms0090\_pho\_63\_61a\_cs1\_02.tif.

Figure 4. Breakfast Club, 2008. Photo by Lee Jaffe.

## Chapter 3

# “My Imagination Soared”

Planning the Santa Cruz Campus: 1961-1965

*These two guys said, “Let’s have one campus that is totally different from anything else in the system.” You can imagine the sorts of fights they must have had about it, going against the tradition of the American academic profession. It was an enormously courageous thing to do.*

—Glenn Willson

### “One Dreams of an Ideal University”: An Innovative Vision Finds Its Form

**Dean McHenry:** The site selection was pretty well settled by the time I was appointed. I think the campus was named the University of California, Santa Cruz during the winter or early spring of 1961 and I was appointed in July of 1961.

**Clark Kerr:** I’d known Dean McHenry for many years. Dean and I met in a registration line of entering graduate students at Stanford. We stood next to each other but did not say a word. A mutual friend happened to come by and introduced us. Dean had been president of the student body at UCLA and I had been at Swarthmore, so we began talking about our experiences.<sup>1</sup> Neither of us had a place to stay, so we went looking for a room together and did find a rooming house that would take us.

Dean and I then began a long discussion. He was very defensive of UCLA, a big university with a big library, extensive laboratories, a rich cultural programs. And I was very defensive of Swarthmore, a college where all the students could know each other and get to know their faculty members. We would always end up after our discussions and disputes saying would it not be nice someday to be able to combine the advantages of both the big campus and of the small campus.<sup>2</sup>

He moved back to UCLA and was dean of social sciences there. The main reason I recommended him to be chancellor at UCSC was that when he was working for me in his position as university dean, he and I talked over what the different ideas were for the new campus and what we should do. He had this special interest in the



Santa Cruz idea. He'd been a dean at UCLA, so he knew the University of California system. As I went through the processes of selection—consulting faculty committees, etc.—they all reacted favorably to the possibility of Dean as UCSC chancellor. So, he got selected.

**Dean McHenry:** I did a memorandum, which was only one or two pages (Kerr liked things brief), suggesting that Santa Cruz be developed on a collegiate basis.<sup>3</sup> I wrote that in about May 1961. It was in June that Kerr first approached me about the chancellorship of UC Santa Cruz. The regents were meeting in Los Angeles, and I was still living in Los Angeles, though I typically commuted up to Berkeley three days a week. After the regents' press conference, Kerr came over and sat down, and over a turkey sandwich and a glass of milk said, "The regents have authorized me to ask you whether you'd be interested in the chancellorship at Santa Cruz." And I said something dignified like, "Boy, would I!"

**Angie Christmann, Staff, Cowell College:** UCSC started out as the golden child and could do no wrong, and there were a lot of resources poured in because Clark Kerr, the president of the university, was roommates with Dean McHenry, the first chancellor of UCSC, when they were students at Berkeley. They cooked up this idea together.

**Dean McHenry:** Participating in building a new campus is a heady wine that is apt to send me on flights of utopian fancy. One dreams of an ideal university that will correct all of the failings of contemporary higher education.<sup>4</sup>

**Patricia Dorsey Bassett, Scholar:** In the chapter on Santa Cruz in Gerald Grant's and David

Riesman's book, *The Perpetual Dream*, the writers characterized Dean McHenry as an idealist who had campaigned for Upton Sinclair for governor and belonged to the Utopian Society. "He believed in utopian experiments, but possessed the practical skills and political instincts that gave the university credibility not only with the legislators and the public, but also with the diverse individuals who were Santa Cruz's pioneers." McHenry was also a self-proclaimed believer in federalism—in a system of checks and balances.<sup>5</sup>

**Clark Kerr:** Dean McHenry and I did have some disagreements. We had disagreements over the site. He would have preferred Almaden, and with some good reasons—it was closer to the population center. That meant also closer to some political support.

**Dean McHenry:** When it became clear that the Santa Cruz site was settled, my imagination soared, and I began to get out little bits and pieces that I'd stored up over the years out of my mind and out of my files.

**Clark Kerr:** As Dean and I discussed when we were in graduate school, I had gone through Swarthmore College, a college small enough that everybody could know everybody else if they wanted to make the effort, not just other students, but faculty members as well. And there was a chance to participate in all kinds of activities, as compared with a big campus, where you had to be a specialist in football or journalism, or whatever it was. That had a big impact on me in conceiving of UC Santa Cruz.

A second big impact was that, later on when I was chancellor at UC Berkeley, I had a series of open office hours: any student could come in and talk about anything. I heard all of these grievances. This was in the fifties, before any of the



---

Figure 1

Dean McHenry at a desk in the Great  
Meadow, 1962

Photo by Vester Dick

---

student troubles in the 1960s. They were called the apathetic generation, which was a misnomer. But they were apathetic in terms of external politics, and they were not carrying any ideological causes, just their own reactions. I sat there hearing mostly their grievances about Berkeley. There'd be things like, "I listened to a professor in a class of 400 students and he has no idea in the world who I was." Or I'd be asked, "I want to get a job and I'm being asked for references, and I don't know a single member of the faculty, and no member of the faculty knows me." They were lost in a great big student body and didn't know where to go for friendships and so forth.

**Dean McHenry:** There had been a persistent advocate of a large state university consisting organically of small colleges in President Emeritus Remsen Bird of Occidental College. He had an exchange of letters with Dyke Brown, then vice president of the Ford Foundation. Dyke Brown had said that a model state university of the future might well have this feeling of Oxford in small colleges and sense of belonging of its members and so on.<sup>6</sup>

And in the 1950s, after Kerr became chancellor, following '52, '53, suddenly the regents decided that building residential halls was not socialism. Berkeley, as usual, led. They had plans to build some major dormitory units both at Berkeley and UCLA. At Berkeley, in preparation for this, faculty groups were stimulated to make proposals, and this was part of Kerr's fine technique. And there were two separate groups that drew up plans to change the organization of instruction and residence.

One of these groups was convened by [Jacobus] "Chick" TenBroek.<sup>7</sup> The co-chairman was Nevitt Sanford.<sup>8</sup> The TenBroek-Sanford report, as they drew it up out of these informal conferences, called for an experimental college at

Berkeley. The other group was under the chairmanship of Stephen Pepper, a great philosopher. He was the Mills Professor of Intellectual and Moral Philosophy and Civil Polity. Stephen Pepper's group drew up a plan that called for a series of residential colleges operating within the framework of the Berkeley College of Letters and Science, or perhaps ultimately replacing it. These units were to consist of student bodies of approximately 600. I was greatly influenced by the Pepper report.

But I wouldn't have known of the existence of these two groups except for Clark Kerr. Sometime before this, perhaps as early as '58 or '59, the first year or two of his presidency, he said, "Let's get cracking on the new campuses. By the way, try to figure out some way to make them seem small as they grow large." I'd never heard him use that expression before. When I looked puzzled over that, he said, "The Berkeley chancellor's office files have reports by Chick TenBroek and Nevitt Sanford, and there's another one by Stephen Pepper, and they'll give you some ideas. Go on from there."

**Clark Kerr:** One of the things I felt quite strongly about was each new UC campus should have its own personality. Berkeley is, has been, until recent times, built very much on the German model. When I was chancellor, I began switching more toward a kind of German/British model. I'd given some thought then to the differences between the German model—which emphasizes research and graduate students, neglects undergraduates, provides no residence halls, etc.—and the alternative, British model. I appointed a committee of faculty members to go to England to look at their new universities. It was a very distinguished group of people who went, including Dean McHenry. I think John Galbraith was on it, from UCLA.<sup>9</sup>

**Dean McHenry:** I began to think back to such things as the Bird-Brown, Dyke Brown, correspondence, and these two reports, and the little I knew about Oxford and Cambridge.

**Clark Kerr:** And so, Dean McHenry and I came up with the idea of trying to create a campus which would have the advantages of a big university, in terms of the library, cultural programs, laboratories, but also the advantages of a series of small colleges with sense of community and a better opportunity to make friends than on a big, homogenized campus.

We wanted to have this variation, not only among the new UC campuses, but the existing campuses. It gave more choice to students. We thought it was better for them to have several models.

There were people who made fun of the idea of UC Santa Cruz. At Berkeley, a standard comment was that I was nostalgic for Swarthmore and was trying to recreate Swarthmore in the redwoods. There was some truth to it.

We then had to go to Sacramento and persuade Sacramento to accept this concept, since it was somewhat out of the ordinary. The best argument we had there was the success of the Claremont College system.<sup>10</sup> But we had to make a promise in Sacramento that once the campus was established, Sacramento would not have to provide more of a subsidy per student than it did for the other campuses of the University.<sup>11</sup>

**Dean McHenry:** Regent Ed Pauley said, “Well, I hope you can raise the money to make this UC Santa Cruz go.” Then they got down to the operating costs. “Well, is it going to cost more?” On the capital front, I made out that we’d raise the extra money privately. I saw Governor Edmund [Pat] Brown at the Picnic Day at UC Davis, in ‘62 or ‘63, and he said to me, “How are things

going in Santa Cruz?” and before I could answer, he said, “It’s going to cost more, isn’t it?” I made the commitment that year that we would not ask the state for any more operating money than other campuses in our stage of development.

The regents wanted to know what was going to be taught for the next five years, how many units, and how many course offerings there would be, and how many students were going to be enrolled in each course, and so on, for the next five years. My wife and I sat up and made out schedules and guesstimates. It was an awful waste of time. University-wide was on our backs. Nobody ever asked Irvine for anything.<sup>12</sup> There were more doubts about UC Santa Cruz. This sounded more revolutionary, I suppose.

**Patricia Dorsey Bassett:** The financial picture was no longer encouraging and would grow worse. There was resistance by some against further expansion of the University of California, and as early as 1963 the regents considered postponing the opening of the Santa Cruz campus by one year. Fiscal conservatism was taking over at a time when the lowest bids for construction of the campus were over budget. So, the experiment was born in a climate of student protest, public outcry, and increasing budgetary restrictions.<sup>13</sup>

**Michael Cowan:** Dean McHenry planned to make the colleges no more expensive by getting more private support for building resources. He put a great deal of attention to trying to get private funding for facilities that the state wouldn’t or was reluctant to fund—college libraries, provosts’ houses, special rooms in the colleges.

He worked very hard to get that support and was successful for the first four colleges, and then later for what became Porter College. He got it also for Kresge and Oakes. Herman Blake was also a very important part of getting the money for



---

Figure 2

Construction planning meeting, September 1965

Photo by Vester Dick

---

Oakes. I think the colleges did have some hidden costs. And as private funding for support of the colleges dried up, it became more apparent.

**Solomon’s House:** Unlike the colleges of Oxford and Cambridge, which are operated as independent corporations owned by their fellows, the Santa Cruz colleges would be owned by the state of California. But the cost of building a campus of residential colleges is higher than for one of the Irvine-Berkeley-monolith prototype and, as a result, state and federal funds would cover only 80 percent of the cost for each college. The balance would have to come in the form of endowments from either foundations or interested individuals.<sup>14</sup>

**Karl Lamb, Professor and Academic Planner:** Santa Cruz will have the advantage of beginning anew, with no entrenched campus powers suspicious of new ideas. Yet it will be aided by the vast resources of the University of California.

When 27,500 students wander from laboratory to classroom to college court, all within the giant redwoods, will Santa Cruz be both as British as possible for the undergraduates and as German as possible for the sake of the researchers? What particular distilled essence of Oxford can be brought to these rolling hills to create an institution uniquely suited to the twenty-first century?<sup>15</sup>

**Dean McHenry:** All this we expect to finance at a cost no more than the average per-student cost in the University of California.<sup>16</sup> You may regard me as somewhat presumptuous to claim to be able to do this, but we will save money by various means, including fewer courses and less frequent repetition.

Also, the control over class size, eliminating the inefficient small lecture class and moving from very large lectures to the small seminar.

There will be much emphasis on student self-instruction. I think that the student with the gumption and the tools is himself the greatest teacher ever developed, and the book is the greatest teaching machine that was ever invented, though we will, of course, have programmed learning, tapes, and kinescopes, and other things.

We will make a great savings in the athletic program. We expect to have amateur athletics and wholly intramural athletics and avoid the expenditures for professional coaches and other costs of big-time sports.

And we expect to save a good deal of money through proper phasing, bringing on science and engineering slowly and not letting them get too large, phasing graduate work in quite slowly.<sup>17</sup>

**Glenn Willson:** Clark Kerr and Dean McHenry must have had to cope with tremendous pressures against the whole collegiate experiment. They would have had to act very strategically in order to get the whole thing through the regents and onto the drawing board and to start it up.

I can just imagine the arguments that would have gone on in the higher reaches of the university during those years of planning. These two guys said, “Let’s have one campus that is totally different from anything else in the system.” You can imagine the sorts of fights they must have had about it—that whole business of going against the tradition of the American academic profession. It was an enormously courageous thing to do.





---

Figure 3

President Clark Kerr, 1966

Photo by Eric Thiermann

---

## The Most Beautiful Site in the World: Creating a Campus in the Redwoods

**Donald Clark, University Librarian:** When I came to look for a house, the offices of UC Santa Cruz were in a corner of the Civic Auditorium in downtown Santa Cruz. By the time I came out in September, when Emily and I and the children moved out, the university offices were located at Cabrillo College.

**Elizabeth Calciano, Oral Historian:** In 1963, there were probably nine or ten employees at UC Santa Cruz. When I signed on as an oral historian with the Regional History Project, I was the thirteenth person. The twelfth person was a Cabrillo student who had been hired part time to drive the station wagon that the university owned down to the train station three times a week to pick up loads of books. We were in classrooms that had been rented at Cabrillo. The library was in a big classroom, with no seats, of course. The bookcases, as I recall, made Donald Clark's office, and when I came in, more bookcases made my office.

**Donald Clark:** Frequently, the whole university went out to lunch together. We always had to leave somebody to answer the telephone. It came my day to baby-sit the telephone, and the telephone rang. I answered, “University of California.” A lady wanted to know what to do about her sick lamb. She had looked up the University of California, the Agricultural Extension Service. But we came first in the phone listing and so she called us. I told her I couldn't help her much.

**Dean McHenry:** Donald Clark came in 1962. He was one of the very early appointments. He was a tower of strength from the very beginning. You could ask him on *almost* any front—money-raising,

or any other: “Have you got any contacts to so and so?” and he'll say, “I met a guy at—” and in no time he's got it down. And Hal Hyde was involved with us quite early, first as the South County co-chairman of the bond issue campaign of November 1962.<sup>18</sup> He was giving us a good deal of business advice even before he came into the picture as a staff member. And on the architects' front, we were staffed up quite rapidly.

**Donald Clark:** We spent hours entertaining people from all over the country, all over the world, driving them through the campus before there were any paved roads or anything—just a glorious site. I was taking the editor of *Reader's Digest* around. I said to him, “Don't you think this is the most beautiful campus site in the country?” And he said, “No. In the world.” Oh, it was a thrill, I'll tell you that. Dean McHenry was just like a kid.

**Lou Fackler:** Project Architect John Hornback and I took some of the dignitaries' wives on a tour of the campus. I had Dr. Kerr's wife, Catherine, and I think I had the chancellor's wife from Davis. It was the first week I had been there, literally. I had to get out and close the gate and Hornback just went on. There were wire gates that you pulled across the roads. They weren't automatic. And then, by the time I got in the car, there was nobody ahead of me. I didn't know where John was. So, I took a turn into the Upper Quarry, which is where the amphitheater is now, and was stuck in the mud with all these important people. They took it very, very nicely. They were just having fun. Certainly Mrs. Kerr wasn't upset. She was the one I was concerned about. What a major faux pas.



**Dean McHenry:** We've got some very able people. We're lucky to have Principal Campus Architect Jack Wagstaff.<sup>19</sup> He's a sweet guy. He's not a great administrator, but that is supplemented by men such as Campus Engineer Lou Fackler, who has a real sense of order and administration. Jack is among the campus architects in the university now, one of the senior ones, if not the senior one, and extremely able, sensitive, gifted, nice personality, gentle.

**Lou Fackler:** Jack Wagstaff was the campus architect. Jack had a real aversion to poison oak. He got near it; he got it. And that campus had nothing but poison oak! So, he had to be really careful. The rest of us were climbing all over the place. Jack Wagstaff loved the forest and he didn't want it to be like Broadway with a lot of lights along these paths. So, Jack and I—and I think Carolyn Fackler was on some of these safaris—walked along the paths and he'd decide where he wanted streetlights. The ball lights look beautiful with their lights bouncing off the redwoods. Jack Wagstaff selected those lamps.

**Dean McHenry:** Initially, the only plans for UCSC were the physical ones that the city of Santa Cruz had drawn up.<sup>20</sup> They had a model made of what the campus would be like. It was very white, lots of white buildings taking all the meadow area and building entirely out in the open. They had taken the lower end of the campus and shown how the campus could fit into about a square mile but staying out of the woods.

After I was appointed, the presentation was made by various firms that wanted to do the master planning of the campus. In the end, the decision was made to set up a consortium consisting of the best of these. John Carl Warnecke<sup>21</sup> was appointed sort of a chairman, and he associated himself with: Anshen and Allen,<sup>22</sup> who have

since done the science buildings; Ernest Kump, who subsequently became our consulting architect<sup>23</sup> and who designed Central Services as well as Crown College; Theodore Bernardi of Wurster, Bernardi, and Emmons, who designed Cowell.<sup>24</sup> John Carl Warnecke has since designed the McHenry Library. Thomas Church became the consulting landscape architect.<sup>25</sup>

**Lou Fackler:** Tommy Church was a great guy. He said he was a gardener. He had a tremendous reputation as a landscape architect. We used to meet down at the Santa Cruz Hotel. At that point, it was an Italian restaurant. Jack Wagstaff was a favorite of Annie's. Annie was the owner and made the raviolis upstairs. A great big woman. She'd see Jack Wagstaff and give him a huge bear hug. Jack was pretty good-sized, too. We'd sit down there with Jim Mahood, an engineer from Kennedy Engineers; Tommy Church; myself; Jack; and when we finally got a landscape architect on the staff, Harry Tsugawa. A lot of the road and landscape design was decided on napkins at the Santa Cruz Hotel. That was a kick.

**Dean McHenry:** This group got to work in 1962. We took long walks on the campus and talked about the physical plan. A good deal of sketching and mapping was done. Then we came to the regents with the preliminary proposal that, instead of building out in the open, we'd move towards the center of the campus, which was the prime land. Face the fact that roads were going to have to be built and bridges and so on, but use the best area of the campus, so that it then could have room for expansion, and not be built right down against the town.

**Hal Hyde:** Thomas Church called to the attention of the Campus Planning Committee the key feature of the campus that is very different than any

other area and is a major attraction: the difference between the grasslands and the woodlands. That is called an ecotone line. Tommy Church suggested that perhaps sociologists and psychologists might say that this is the place where primitive man came out from the woods and into the open area and the sunshine, and then was able to retreat back into the forest for protection. The shelter of the woods. The early architects who were hired to construct buildings instinctively began putting the buildings on the line, starting with John Carl Warnecke and the library. Cowell College and Stevenson College are on the line. Central Services (Hahn) Building is on the line. And Porter College is on the line.

**Dean McHenry:** The superlative qualities of the site are such that it needs special sensitive safeguarding. I’ve felt that there ought to be a limit on height in the early years to get established a feeling of humanness of scale.

I’ve been pretty insistent that we have a great variety of architects. We have this blessing of a tree cover, and we therefore don’t have to have architecture that is identical. With the diversity in thought that we want in the colleges, I felt that we ought to have at least as much diversity in architecture. I’ve said to the executive architects for the colleges, “We want as much diversity among the colleges as you’d find in a high-quality residential district of a suburban area of a city.” And that gives them much more latitude than normally, where a campus has got a palette of materials that have to be used campus-wide because one might get on a hill and look at all the buildings at the same time. That’ll never be possible here unless redwood trees develop some kind of blight.

**Thomas Church, Landscape Architect:** Among all the natural features which make the site both provocative and difficult, it is the size of the redwood groves which must concern us the most. These

towers of trees are “out-scale” and more related to the rugged knolls and deep ravines than they are to an academic landscape. They are, therefore, to be thought of less as trees to enhance, screen and shelter buildings (although this they will do), but more as great vertical elements of the topography having form, mass and density against which to compose the architecture. To accept them as trees in the normal building-landscape relationship would be a miscalculation of their potential in the grand design. An architecture here must grow out of the problems, restrictions, and potentialities of the site. Usual relationships of building groups in a formal pattern may violate the topography beyond repair. Instead of remaking the land, the land must remake our standard conceptions of building and plaza and parking lot.<sup>26</sup>

**Clark Kerr:** The original plan for Cowell College that came in from Wurster, Bernardi & Emmons looked like a motel on Lake Tahoe—scattered all throughout the trees. The regents didn’t like it. I didn’t like it either. I said that I thought there was a better way to go about it, and that was to have the individual colleges clustered together in small little clusters, rather than with the buildings spread out at great distance, easier for students to walk around from one building to another, easier to differentiate from one college to another. Then, when you’re in the forest, you’re in the forest. You weren’t in this kind of this mixed-up situation—never in the forest and never in the city.

I gave as my illustration—I had that summer been in a little town called Aigues-Mortes, an old fishing and trading village on the Mediterranean in southern France—where the town was still within these medieval walls. When you were in the town, you were in a town. Then you went outside, you had this great change. When you were in the forest, you were in the forest, and when in the town, the town—as compared with a suburb where it’s all



---

Figure 4

John Carl Warnecke presents Preliminary Master Physical Plan for UCSC to the regents at the First Congregational Church, April 1964

Photo by Vester Dick

---

mixed up. So, it went back to Wurster, Bernardi & Emmons to get this consolidated village idea within the forest. That became the pattern.

**John Carl Warnecke, Architect:** A huge model of the campus was made from an aerial topographical survey. Housed in our San Francisco offices, it served the physical planners as an excellent tool. Campus architect Jack Wagstaff remembers the model as “almost like being on the campus, less the morning fog.” We worked nights and weekends, often until two or three o’clock in the morning—Tommy Church; Mike Painter, a young landscape architect; French architect Jean Marc Roques, who was also on our staff; and myself. Tommy had worked with us many times before. He loved to get involved in the work. He’d draw and sketch, scrub and erase. Roques went down and camped on the Santa Cruz site and he’d tell us wonderful stories of chasing the deer. The night before our final presentation to the regents he wanted me to go to the site with him. The moonlight on the redwoods and the grazing deer was fantastic—nearly as bright as the sunshine. Deep blackness under the tall trees opened onto meadows that shimmered with light.<sup>27</sup>

**Ansel Adams, Photographer:** I am not being merely sentimental in saying that this new campus can be and—God be willing and man be patient—*will* be one of the most beautiful and effective campuses anywhere in the world. We are not striving for the medieval solemnity of Oxford and Cambridge, the urban intensities of the Universities of London and Paris, or the deeply colonial and traditional aspects of Harvard, Yale, and Princeton. We do have, however, the opportunity to establish a new and vital tradition, a demonstration of the appropriate relationship of man to his environment. In this time of common desecration of the earth and its bounty through

disordered patterns of development and exploitation, this new campus will provide for students (who must shoulder the burdens of the difficult times ahead) a memorable experience of living and learning in an environment of rare beauty and wonder.<sup>28</sup>

**Thomas Church:** The wall-to-wall forest carpet will disappear and in its place must come—not the asphalt jungle, not the standard campus we have always known, not an automobile under every redwood—but a vast area in which to live and study. It must be magnificent in conception, daring and forthright in its architecture—but gentle be the hand it lays upon the land.<sup>29</sup>

**Hal Hyde:** Road construction started. Dean McHenry and I were shocked when we saw the dirt move on the East Peripheral Road. As the bulldozers moved up along the side of the campus and black dirt moved up above the Pogonip, this big scar appeared.<sup>30</sup> It was a real shock. Dean and I wondered: what are we doing here developing this pristine, wonderful land?

**Lou Fackler:** As campus engineer, it was my responsibility to make sure that when the students arrived the lights worked, the toilets flushed, and there would be heat (gas), as well as a road or two. The electric and gas came from Pacific Gas and Electric and telephone from Pacific Bell. We didn’t have to do anything to bring power up to the campus because there was a high-voltage line from the bottom of the campus all the way up to the Upper Quarry area.<sup>31</sup> This was a source of power until permanent power could be connected to the new campus power distribution system. So, PG&E brought their power up Coolidge Drive when it was being constructed and it went into a new substation owned by PG&E. From that point, the campus built conduits and installed wire. We had



---

Figure 5

Dean McHenry in redwoods at Central  
(Hahn) Services, Circa 1965

Photo by Ansel Adams

---



---

Figure 6

Bridge between Central Services (now called Hahn) and McHenry Library, construction view, August 9, 1966

Photo by UCSC Photography Services

---

to dig very, very large manholes. We were given a tough time over how big those manholes were. The wires were distributed under the roads to the new buildings.

Jim Mahood came up with the idea of putting a portion of the main sewer above ground down in Jordan Gulch. There was a railroad bed there. It saved a lot of money using the gulch instead of having to dig a sewage trench.

**George Cardiff:** When the university put a road up here past where the Blacksmith Shop was there, they started to excavate for it and they ran into a lot of lime. It had been thrown out there maybe fifty or sixty years ago. They had to go to work and excavate it, and then they had to haul rock in to build the road.

**Frank Blaisdell:** UC Santa Cruz is building a big science building right where I hunted many a time, quail and rabbit. Now the quail and rabbits are gone and there's lots of deer. You see, up to the turn of the century and shortly after, Cowell used to set fire every fall and burn off the brush. That was for his cattle and goats. He burned the area to make feed for them, and that made ideal conditions for quail and rabbits. Not only that, he cut off the timber to burn lime, and then around those redwood stumps those shoots would come up and made a nice place for quail and rabbits to hide. I can show you acres that have gone into madrone and oak trees that used to be open, grassy places.

**Ansel Adams:** The area echoes past exploitations—quarries, logging, pasturage—but the scars are being gently and miraculously softened. Instead of the great single boles of the primeval redwoods we have the “fairy rings” of the younger trees—a growth perhaps rare in nature but common as a scar-tissue phenomenon

of lumbering. Under the trees, in hilly glades and steep gullies, the original ground cover is reasserting itself. The old oaks are dying with inevitable Homeric resignation but new ones are developing with vigor.<sup>32</sup>

**Sacramento Bee:** Trees are protected throughout the site and the roads and buildings have been placed in areas which will require the cutting of the fewest trees. So deep is this commitment that construction workers are required to have written permission from the chancellor before removing a single tree.<sup>33</sup>

**Steve Kaffka, Student:** There were no major decisions made on the campus without McHenry's involvement. There wasn't a large tree cut that he didn't approve, literally. He was very concerned that the campus be, as much as possible, woven into that landscape.

**Ansel Adams:** It is a fact that our area is not a true wilderness. Nevertheless, it has some wilderness aspects which have re-asserted themselves after a century-old general exploitation of lumbering, mining, and grazing.<sup>34</sup>

**Rita Bottoms, Librarian:** Before we opened, Ansel Adams became the official campus photographer. He was photographing all nine of the campuses and he was doing what later became a book called *Fiat Lux*. There was great pride here, because we were new and he was the official campus photographer. Because of who he was and the kinds of work he was associated with, and the extraordinary landscape that he was associated with photographing, it became an extra special something.

**Ansel Adams:** What we see today is a landscape which is, in a way, recovering from some severe use but which might easily suffer a final relapse. It has the great charm of rural integrity (western style): the barns, fences, and kilns have considerable human significance.<sup>35</sup>

**Elizabeth Calciano:** When UCSC moved up to occupy four renovated historic buildings on the Cowell Ranch in August of 1964, the Carriage House was made into the library. The old Henry Cowell house was still there and the caretaker, George Cardiff. Donald Clark used to tell folks that he was in Buster’s old stall, which had been remade into an office, of course. Buster was apparently Mr. Cowell’s favorite horse.

I can remember it being cold and Aileen Sanders, the secretary to the university librarian, said, “Get a cardboard box and put your feet in it. It’ll cut the drafts down.” I did that and it was like heaven to not have my feet freezing. Whoever would have thought a cardboard box would be like heaven?

**Lou Fackler:** Water is an interesting issue. Because we were going to be at a higher elevation, pumping systems and storage tanks were necessary to provide water. But the permanent water was not connected in time for the campus opening. We put some storage tanks up near the science building and some pumping systems, so we had pressure at the campus level. We got the water from the city and had to pump it up to the tanks at the science building. I was able to scrounge some piping with flange connections so that we did not have to screw things together. I went to another campus and rented it or borrowed it. I got Granite Construction to put it in, to connect, to get the pumps and do the whole thing.

I don’t remember issuing a purchase order or a contract. So, we had a little meeting in Hal

Hyde’s office with Wayne Ove. He was the first purchasing officer. Wayne was very unhappy. We hadn’t gotten a purchase order. We hadn’t done what we should have. We didn’t bid it. I said, “We had everything working when the kids came. Why, we were heroes! Now that you know how we did it, we are a bunch of bums.” Yeah, we were just getting to the point where we didn’t care about the niceties! We had water, but we wouldn’t have if we had not moved fast.

**Hal Hyde:** Dean McHenry’s initial group was so committed, so engaged, and so much a team, that our work and social activities melded. At the 1964 winter holidays time, University Librarian Donald Clark and his wife, Emily, had a Christmas party, which included faculty, administrators, architects, engineers, groundsmen, maybe 150 people with spouses, at the expansive but somewhat run-down summer home that the Clarks had purchased off Sand Hill Road in Scotts Valley. One hundred and fifty of us descended on it and had an absolutely marvelous dinner and party, where age and station evaporated in celebrating our exciting task together.

**Ansel Adams:** This is an opportunity which is extremely rare—perhaps unique—in our time. A fresh area, a fresh environmental development, and a fresh approach to education!<sup>36</sup>



## Endnotes

1. Swarthmore is a small, private liberal arts college located near Philadelphia, founded by Quakers in 1864. Classes are small and there is a strong focus on undergraduate research.
2. Clark Kerr, "The Santa Cruz Dream." Also see Kerr's memoir, *The Gold and the Blue*.
3. For more on the cluster-college experiments in higher education in the 1960s and 1970s see: Alex Duke, *Importing Oxbridge: English Residential Colleges and American Universities*, especially the chapter on UC Santa Cruz: "The University of California, Santa Cruz: 'The City on a Hill.'" (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1996). Also see: Gerald Grant and David Riesman, *The Perpetual Dream: Reform and Experiment in the American College*, which includes two chapters relevant to UCSC: "Communal Expressives: Kresge College at Santa Cruz," and "The Cluster Colleges at Santa Cruz," (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1978). And peruse: Richard M. Jones and Barbara Leigh Smith, eds. *Against the Current: Reform and Experimentation in Higher Education*, especially Chapter Five by George Von der Muhll, "The University of California, Santa Cruz: Institutionalizing Eden in a Changing World," (Cambridge, MA: Schenkman Publishing, 1984).
4. "The New University: Opportunity for Innovation." Remarks by Dean McHenry, Chancellor, University of California, Santa Cruz to the National Association of Student Personnel Administrators, Cincinnati, Ohio, April, 12, 1967. Available in the Dean McHenry Papers at UCSC Library Special Collections: UA 1: Box: 45 Folder: 7.
5. Edited excerpt is from: Patricia Dorsey Bassett, *A Study of the College System at the University of California, Santa Cruz*, 1990, 3.
6. Dean McHenry's correspondence with both Remsen Bird and Dyke Brown is available in the Dean McHenry Papers at UCSC Library Special Collections. UA 1: Boxes 5 and 7.
7. (Jacobus) "Chick" TenBroek was Professor of Speech and Political Science at UC Berkeley, a constitutional law scholar and a civil rights activist, especially in the area of disability. He was also a leading supporter of the Free Speech Movement at UC Berkeley in 1964.
8. A UC Berkeley psychology professor, specializing in the study of ethnocentrism and anti-Semitism, Nevitt Sanford co-authored *The Authoritarian Personality* with Theodor Adorno, Else Frenkel-Brunswik, and Daniel Levinson. At the time of UCSC's planning, he played a lead role in a major study of higher education; his publications included *The American College* (1962) and *Where Colleges Fail* (1967), in which Sanford argued that an overemphasis on academic research was leading to a deterioration in teaching quality. One can certainly make a connection between Sanford's ideas and UCSC's founding ideals.
9. Economist, professor, and writer John Kenneth Galbraith (1908-2006) was active in Democratic Party politics, serving in the administrations of Franklin D. Roosevelt, Harry Truman, Lyndon Johnson, and John F. Kennedy.
10. Facing an increase in the college-aged and eligible population after World War I, the Claremont Colleges in Southern California opted to expand the original Pomona College by using a cluster-college model, which ultimately resulted in the creation of five contiguous campuses, plus a graduate school. This cluster-college system was, like UCSC's, modeled on Oxford's colleges.
11. Clark Kerr, "The Santa Cruz Dream."
12. Founded in 1965, UC Irvine was one of three new campuses opened in the UC system in the mid-1960s, along with UC Santa Cruz and UC San Diego.
13. Patricia Dorsey Bassett, 7.
14. Cowell History Workshop, Cowell College, *Solomon's House: A Self-Conscious History of Cowell College*, 11.
15. Karl A. Lamb, "Seeking the Essence of Oxford," *American Oxonian*, April 1964.
16. Patricia Dorsey Bassett summarizes the UCSC experiment succinctly: "The central features of this new campus were agreed upon in 1961-62. The regents approved a provisional plan in November 1962 calling for: 1) An initial emphasis on undergraduate education; 2) Early faculty strength in the humanities and social sciences; 3) A series of undergraduate residential colleges as the basic units for planning, with a single college opening in 1965, campus growth through the addition of further colleges, and an eventual total of 15 to 20 such undergraduate units; 4) Initial grouping of faculty into three divisions—humanities, sciences; and social sciences—rather than the conventional departments; 5) Orderly growth, with the introduction of graduate study in 1968, development of research specialties and the addition of professional schools, to attain a student population of 27,500 by 1990." —Bassett, 3-5.

17. Dean E. McHenry, “Santa Cruz - The Small College Plan for the University of California,” *University of South Florida Educational Review*, v.3:2, Summer 1965. Dean McHenry Papers: UA1 Box 45:Folder 2.
18. California Proposition 1A: Facilities for Higher Education was on the ballot in November 1962. It asked voters to support a bond issue of \$270,000,000 to provide capital for construction or improvement of facilities at California’s public higher education institutions. An ad for the campaign, featuring the now-famous photo of Dean McHenry at his desk in the Great Meadow, read: “The University of California, Santa Cruz is almost a reality. A site has been chosen, land purchased, and an initial cadre of staff is in residence in rented quarters. But there is something missing. In order for UCSC to open its doors on schedule to its first class of young men and women in September 1965, funds must be provided to prepare the site, install utilities, and construct buildings. The architects for the first two buildings have been appointed. But work cannot get under way until the money becomes available.” Proposition 1A did pass.
19. Jack Wagstaff, UCSC’s first employee, was the campus’s principal architect and supervising planner. He arrived in 1963.
20. *Santa Cruz, California University Environs General Plan* (San Francisco, Calif.: Williams and Mocine, 1963).
21. Architect John Carl Warnecke took a modernist approach informed by sensitivity to the environment. He designed commercial skyscrapers, airports, libraries, civic complexes, and shopping centers. His projects included McHenry Library at UC Santa Cruz.
22. Robert Anshen and Steve Allen designed residential, commercial, educational, religious, and medical buildings. In 1964, they were hired to create UCSC’s Natural Sciences Master Plan. See their papers at UC Berkeley’s Environmental Design Archives: <http://archives.ced.berkeley.edu/collections/anshen-allen>.
23. Besides designing nearly one hundred public schools in California and twenty-two community and junior colleges worldwide (including Crown College at UCSC and Foothill and De Anza Community colleges on the San Francisco Peninsula), Ernest Kump was part of the Master Planning Committee at UCSC, later becoming the supervising architect for the campus. See Kump’s papers at UC Berkeley’s Environmental Design Archives: <http://archives.ced.berkeley.edu/collections/kump-ernest>.
24. Theodore Bernardi was associated with the firm of William W. Wurster. See Bernardi’s papers at UC Berkeley’s Environmental Design Archives: <http://archives.ced.berkeley.edu/collections/bernardi-theodore>.
25. UC Berkeley’s Oral History Center has conducted a series of oral histories with or about architects who designed and/or planned the UCSC campus, including Thomas Church and Joseph Esherick. Their collections may be searched at <http://www.lib.berkeley.edu/libraries/bancroft-library/oral-history-center>. Thomas Church’s papers can also be consulted at UC Berkeley’s Environmental Design Library: <http://archives.ced.berkeley.edu/collections/church-thomas>. The papers of Joseph Esherick, who designed UCSC’s Stevenson College, are also at the UC Berkeley Environmental Design Library. See: <http://archives.ced.berkeley.edu/collections/esherick-joseph-ehdd>. For more on the history of UCSC’s architecture see: Banham, Reyner and Taina Rikala. *The First 20 Years: Two Decades of Building at UCSC*. (Santa Cruz: UC Santa Cruz, 1987). This publication came out of an undergraduate art history seminar, The History and Implementation of the Santa Cruz Campus Plan, in the winter quarter of 1986, under the direction of Professors Virginia Jansen and Reyner Banham.
26. Thomas Church. “Random Notes on the Site. A memo written to Jack Wagstaff and John Carl Warnecke,” 1962. Available in Special Collections, UCSC Library. Also see: An Uncommon Place, a digital companion to an exhibit curated by emeriti professors James Clifford, Michael Cowan, Virginia Jansen, and emeritus campus architect Frank Zwart. The exhibit was mounted at Porter College’s Sesnon Gallery in 2015 as part of the commemoration of UCSC’s 50th anniversary. According to the companion site: “Thomas Dolliver Church—‘Tommy’ to all who knew him—was a central participant in the design of UCSC. A major influence in mid-century landscape architecture, he combined a modernist design sensibility with a sensitivity to existing flora and topography. He knew the Cowell property well: he owned a house in Scotts Valley and, with William Wurster, had been instrumental in the design of Pasatiempo [a golf club and residential development located between Santa Cruz and Scotts Valley]. ‘Random Notes on the Site,’ which crystallized the emerging approach of the campus planners, was described by Jack Wagstaff as an ‘aesthetic charter for the campus, stressing the importance of the land, the site, the landscape qualities. The ‘Random Notes’ were presented to The Regents and were provided to all executive architects working at UCSC during its first decade.”
27. John Carl Warnecke, “Another View of the History of a Campus,” *Journal of the American Institute of Architects*, v69:2, February 1980, 68-69.

28. Ansel Adams (1902-1984) was UCSC's first campus photographer, hired to document the landscape and building of the campus even before it opened and through its first few years. Many of the resulting photos reside in MS 2 Ansel Adams Photographs at UCSC Library Special Collections, and some are available in digital format through the UCSC Library Digital Collections. Adams also photographed UCSC for the book *Fiat Lux: The University of California* commissioned by President Clark Kerr and published in 1967.

29. Thomas Church. "Random Notes on the Site."

30. The Pogonip is open-space greenbelt land located on UCSC's eastern border, between the campus and the San Lorenzo River. The word *pogonip* derives from the language of the Shoshone Paiute people on the East Side of the Sierra; it refers to dense winter fog of the kind often seen on Mono Lake. How this word came to be applied to a place in Santa Cruz County is a mystery.

31. According to Hal Hyde's oral history, electricity was brought to the campus by an overhead electric line that once powered the crushers and pneumatic equipment used in the various quarries that the Cowells had maintained on the campus site. That overhead line was used for the initial powering of construction equipment, temporary pumps, and other equipment as the campus developed.

32. Excerpt is from Ansel Adams, "Charter Address," UCSC, March 30, 1965. Available in UCSC Library Special Collections.

33. *Sacramento Bee*, October 2, 1966.

34. Ansel Adams, "Charter Address."

35. Ansel Adams, "Charter Address."

36. Ansel Adams, "Charter Address."

## Illustrations

Figure 1. Dean McHenry at a desk in the Great Meadow, 1962. Photo by Vester Dick. Courtesy Special Collections, University Library, University of California, Santa Cruz, UA 128: University of California, Santa Cruz, Public Information Office records: ua0128\_neg\_62\_203.

Figure 2. Construction planning meeting (September 1965): (clockwise) Dean McHenry; John (Jack) Wagstaff, principal architect; Bob Lansberry, security; Harold (Hal) Hyde, vice chancellor, business & finance; Ed Cerruti, supervising construction inspector; F. Louis Fackler, senior engineer. Photo by Vester Dick. Courtesy Special Collections, University Library, University of California, Santa Cruz. MS 90: Gordon R. Sinclair Papers, 1957-1979: Photographs: ms0090\_pho\_65\_1793\_59.tif.

Figure 3. Clark Kerr, president of the University of California, at the Cowell Ranch. Photo by Eric Thiermann. October 1, 1966. Courtesy Special Collections, University Library, University of California, Santa Cruz: MS 290: Eric Thiermann Photographs of the University of California, Santa Cruz: ms0290\_neg\_0082\_24.tif.

Figure 4. Presentation of the Preliminary Master Physical Plan to the regents at the First Congregational Church social hall on High Street. Architect John Carl Warnecke presenting development plan. *Santa Cruz Sentinel*, 4/17/64, p. 10. Photo by Vester Dick. Courtesy Special Collections, University Library, University of California, Santa Cruz, MS 90: Gordon R. Sinclair Papers, 1957-1979: ms0090\_pho\_65\_1793\_59.

Figure 5. Dean McHenry in redwoods at Central Services Building (later Hahn Student Services). Photo by Ansel Adams. Circa 1965. Courtesy Special Collections, University Library, University of California, Santa Cruz, MS 2: Ansel Adams Photographs: ms0002\_pho\_0221.

Figure 6. Bridge between Central Services (later Hahn Student Services Building) and McHenry Library, construction view. August 9, 1966. Courtesy Special Collections, University Library, University of California, Santa Cruz. UA 50: UCSC Photography Services: ua0050\_neg\_00351b\_03.tif.

## Part II: An Educational Dream Reborn in a Changing America



---

Pioneer class listening to Jasper Rose in the East Fieldhouse,  
October 1, 1965

Photo by Vester Dick

---



---

UCSC Faculty, 1965

Front row L-R: Jack Michaelson, Richard Randolph, George Benigsen, Bernard Haley, Manfred Shaffer, Harry Berger, Neal Oxenhandler, Mary Holmes, John Pierce, Jasper Rose.

Second Row L-R: Thomas Vogler, Robert Werlin, William Hitchcock, George Amis, Todd Newberry, Raymond Nicols, Bruce Larkin, Ronald Ruby, Michael Brailove, Gudrun Kamm, Paulette Fridling, Bert Kaplan, Bhuwan Joshi.

Third Row L-R: Marshall Sylvan, Ronald Larsen, Carl Morris, John Dizikes, Leonard Kunin, Roger Keesing, Herman Ammon, Charles Daniel, William Doyle.

Fourth Row L-R: Richard Mather, Karl Lamb, Glenn Willson, Betsy Avery, Provost Page Smith, Maurice Natanson, Siegfried Puknat, Elizabeth Puknat, Gabriel Berns.

Photo by Vester Dick

---

## Chapter 4

# Finding Faculty for the Experiment

## Risk-Takers and the Reform of Higher Education

*I was enthusiastic about colleges. But most of all, I was enthusiastic about the thought of a new campus, something different. Anything could happen.*

—Jasper Rose

### Recruiting Professors and Shaping a Cause

**Solomon's House:** What kind of men would McHenry select to found the first college?<sup>1</sup>

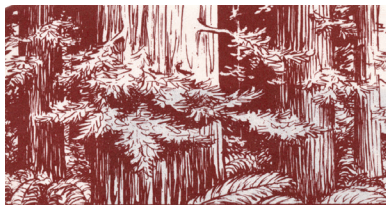
**Page Smith, Provost of Cowell College:** Dean McHenry wrote me a note apropos the publication of my John Adams book,<sup>2</sup> congratulated me, and said, "If you are ever passing through Santa Cruz, stop by. I think you'd be interested in what we are doing, starting this new campus up there." The notion of "passing through" Santa Cruz was far off the mark. I didn't even know where Santa Cruz was.

But it happened that our daughter was at camp in Trinity County. We decided to go up and get her. We thought that on the way back to UCLA it might be interesting to stop by and visit the McHenrys. We called; they received the invitation and we stopped off. Dean showed me around the campus and we talked about the ideas

for the university. Then he got out a sweatshirt that had on it "University of California, Santa Cruz" and said, "Would you mind putting this on and letting me take a picture of you?" So, I did that. Then he asked: "Would you consider coming to be provost of the first college?"

**Dean McHenry:** My first job was what I called lion hunting—searching around the country for people with educational ideas. The most crucial one initially was Page Smith. We had been colleagues at UCLA. I knew what the students thought of him and I knew he'd dreamed of an ideal university that would have all of the privileges of a high-price facility.

**Solomon's House:** In the month of September 1963, at the McHenrys' house on Pasatiempo Drive<sup>3</sup> in the outskirts of Santa Cruz, there



# CHANCELLOR'S MEMO

A NEWSLETTER FOR FRIENDS & NEIGHBORS

Volume 2, No. 1

January, 1964

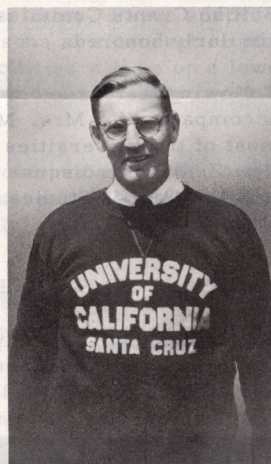
## PAGE SMITH NAMED COWELL COLLEGE PROVOST

Early American historian and author, Dr. Page Smith, 46, was recently named by the University Regents to head Cowell College, the first of the combined residential-academic units to be developed at Santa Cruz.

Dr. Smith is currently professor of history at UCLA and is the author of a two-volume biography, *John Adams*, and a book on James Wilson, both of which have been awarded literary prizes.

He received his undergraduate education at Dartmouth and was granted M. A. and Ph. D. degrees from Harvard University where he worked under Samuel Eliot Morison in colonial American history. At Harvard he also served as a tutor in Winthrop House for two years.

During World War II he served both as an enlisted man and an officer and was a Company Commander in the 10th Mountain Division in Italy where he was wounded in action.



DR. PAGE SMITH

In 1951 he became a research associate at the Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg, Virginia. He joined the UCLA faculty in 1953.

"I see Cowell College," Dr. Smith said, "as offering an extraordinary and exciting opportunity to reform many of the most conspicuous deviations in the present system. Cowell starts with the assumption that it is possible to reconstitute genuine communication of scholars, of teachers and students. Our first concern will be to devise a humane and flexible curriculum which will give some form and order to the experience of the undergraduate. We will seek to restore order to the unity of knowledge and to create a cultural and intellectual environment congenial to the full development of both student and faculty.

"The fact that Cowell College and the subsequent colleges that will follow it will be part of the complex of the University of California gives a special significance to its establishment. What is being attempted is no less than a combination of the remarkable scholarly resources of a great university with the human dimensions of a small college dedicated to the proposition that the tradition of the liberal arts in American higher education must not be allowed to die."

Figure 1

Page Smith in UCSC Sweatshirt. Chancellor's Memo, January 1964

appeared a tall and very big man with rough-hewn features and graying hair severely slicked. His manner was cowboy-like. This man was Page Smith, Professor of American History at UCLA.<sup>4</sup>

**Jasper Rose, Senior Preceptor, Cowell College:** Page Smith was wonderful. He could be on horseback and he was the ideal of an American boy—buoyant. He could represent for the parents—which was very, very important at that stage—and for people like McHenry and so on, he could represent *America*.

**Page Smith:** Somebody told me at that point—maybe it was Dean—that there'd been a lot of criticism of my appointment. People had said that I had no administrative experience, was completely untried, untested as an administrator, and that it was a very impolitic thing to do to appoint me. It was characteristic of Dean—in his own way he's as stubborn as I am, or maybe more so—and he has these little flashes and ideas.

During this session, he told me that Clark Kerr told him that it was a great mistake to appoint me, that I had no administrative experience, that I was hot-headed. Often I've been a very hard person to get along with because I was stubborn, had my own ideas, was determined to have my own way whenever I possibly could. So I'm sure that I gave Dean lots of bad moments and sleepless nights, but it's never affected our relationship in any discernible way.

So from that point on we went around; we were kind of a funny tandem, we traveled to different campuses and talked to a number of people.

**Ed Landesman, Professor:** Dean McHenry was traveling around the country and conducting personal interviews with potential hirees. He came down to UCLA to interview me. I remember one key question he asked. He said, “Ed, why do you

want to teach math at UCSC? With the degree that you have in math, you can go into private industry. You could make a lot more money. Why would you want to come to a place like Santa Cruz?”

I said, “That's what I enjoy doing. That's what I want to do. I want to do research and I want to teach.” At the time, I knew a bit about what he and Clark Kerr had envisioned. I knew this was going to be a unique place relative to the UC system, unique in the sense that they were going to put great emphasis on undergraduate education, and that it was going to be the UC campus that would place emphasis on both high-quality research and high-quality teaching. I thought, that sounds like just the place where I want to be.

**Dean McHenry:** Clark Kerr and I both felt strongly that one of the reforms needed was to get away from discipline-dominated undergraduate education: the mathematician who looks nationally and owes no allegiance to the institution locally. This has been a development in American higher education that has been accentuated since the jet plane. It's so easy to go to national meetings and so easy to get money to go, that many of us think of ourselves, in my case for example, as a political scientist first, and as a University of California man second. We thought that we could set up an organization in which the loyalty to the college, to the campus, and to the university ranked up with all this.

**Glenn Willson:** I was professor of government in the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. I went there in January 1961. I met Dean McHenry on a trip I made to Washington, D.C., when he was on tour recruiting staff for UCSC. We had a very nice talk at half past eleven at night in a Washington hotel, and then we parted. A month or two later he wrote and offered me a job here as





---

Figure 2

Page Smith, Cowell College provost, on his horse, 1966

Photo by Eric Thiermann

---

professor of politics. He recruited me initially as a straight professor, but it's possible he had in the back of his mind that I might have some administrative potential. What I didn't really have any feeling about, or any knowledge of, was the degree to which Santa Cruz was to come to be regarded, and perhaps was regarded in those early planning stages, as something of an answer to a particular problem of American higher education—namely, the apparent neglect of undergraduate education and the lack of intimacy in the whole thing.

We arrived at San Francisco airport on a pouring wet day and were driven down the coast by Byron Stookey, who was the director of academic planning. He said, "I'll just take you up and show you the campus before we go to the house we've got for you." So, we drove up Western Drive to the site of the campus and there was the cookhouse, much as it now is—and nothing else really. And Byron, in that very, very slow way of his said, "This is the University of California at Santa Cruz." We just saw this house, this old cookhouse, and the old buildings around, a track leading up the hill and the cloud down on top of it.

We turned and went down into town, which was deserted and very wet. We went out to Pleasure Point in Capitola, where the McHenrys had very kindly found us a house to live in, and we settled in there. I think we were both a bit traumatized by it, my wife and I. I suppose we were a bit traumatized because California to us, since we were brought up in the twenties and thirties in England, largely on Hollywood movies, was somewhere like Santa Barbara. Although I'd visited the States and Canada and been trained there during the war, I'd never got out to the West Coast. But suddenly to find ourselves in this rather quiet little town, on a very wet day in January—we thought, is this California?

I was about the fourth member of the faculty to be appointed. Sig Puknat was there just before me.

Karl Lamb had been McHenry's assistant for some time, but he was away when I got here. And then, of course, Page Smith was there. But there were only about four or five of us. So, it was a very cozy little outfit for a few months. Those who had the really onerous responsibilities were the chancellor and the campus architect, Jack Wagstaff, who was a very important man around the place. And the registrar, Howard Shontz,<sup>5</sup> had quite a hard time in those first months getting the place organized.

**John Dizikes, Professor:** I had kept in touch with Page Smith and a couple of the other people I had studied with at UCLA. Then my wife, Ann, and I came to Bonny Doon and spent the night with the Smiths. Page said, "I want to show you and Ann where the college is going to be." So, he took us up—there was no provost house—we stood on the hillside there. He said, "They're going to build a house here; the college will be there." We had seen that quite-celebrated photograph of Dean McHenry sitting at a desk in an open field. To everybody then, that was Santa Cruz.

Page said, "It's going to be very exciting." I am sure he had other people in mind, but he said, "In the next two or three years, if there was an opening in American history, would you be interested?" Several Connecticut friends, Wesleyan and Harvard friends, said to me, "It's the end of your career. You're going to go there and you're going to end up doing the plumbing, starting a place. You don't even know what it's going to be like. It's going to be fun and exciting and you'll disappear. We'll never hear of you again."

But it sounded exciting to me. Santa Cruz was different. It was exceptional, and we knew it.

**Dean McHenry:** So, we felt our way into a substitute for the department, and the nearest thing we have to it is the board of studies. That terminology came from Britain. Some of the new universities in

Britain are calling their disciplinary organizations boards of studies.<sup>6</sup> It seems to convey the idea and to give us a measure of flexibility that we couldn't have otherwise. If we called the disciplinary groupings "departments," then there's a whole raft of legislation and customs and traditions that would then govern us and hobble us. And one of the key things in making these different is not to let the boards set up a bureaucracy of their own, a large secretariat and so on, and not to let them dominate at various points in the appointment process and personnel transactions generally.

**Jean Langenheim, Professor:** The "boards of studies" terminology was emblematic of Chancellor McHenry's crusade against discipline-dominated undergraduate education. He wanted to avoid the rigidity of traditional departments in crossing boundaries between them.<sup>7</sup>

**John Dizikes:** Page Smith propagated overwhelmingly the idea shared by most of us, to a great degree, that we were going to help with the reform of American higher education, which had become too impersonal, too large. And here was Clark Kerr, who'd written *The Uses of the University*,<sup>8</sup> and a lot of other people talking about the fact that university education had—once again, in the big institutions—to become more personal.

**Page Smith:** The whole notion of the new campus appealed to me. I was very critical of higher education and had written articles critical of different aspects such as the grading system, which I had really, in a sense, jettisoned at UCLA because I just gave B's or F's. In other words, I used a pass/fail system within the regular grading system. I may have, in certain exceptional cases, given A's. But, in any event, I was very resistant to the conventional grading system and very much oriented

towards students. I was critical of all large universities because of the concentration on scholarly activities at the expense of the teaching function.

I'd been a delegate to a university faculty conference some four or five years earlier, where the committee I was on was charged with making recommendations about new campuses. We recommended that at least one of the new campuses be organized on a collegiate basis.

**Frank Andrews, Professor:** When I got here and found out about the place and how experimental it was and what it seemed to be up to, that turned me on. They weren't going to just teach the way everybody teaches. They were really going to think about it. They were going to pour some extra concerns into it. It was different from the stereotype: lectures, seminars, the professor talking about facts all the time, students not having a chance to say or think anything for themselves. I remember just a couple of things about the interview. One is, I was by myself. I'd finished a day here, probably the first full day, but it was still light, and I was over on the road below the Stevenson College provost's house, looking off at the valley and the mountains. I remember having the thought: wow, would I like to spend the rest of my life here.

**Peter Scott, Professor:** I was an undergraduate at UC Berkeley during the early 1950s and it really seemed like a machine. I remember writing a letter to the Ice Box of the *Daily Californian*, the letters to the editor column. (I guess the idea was you're supposed to cool off by writing a letter. That's why they called it the Ice Box.) But I wrote a letter complaining about feeling like a cog in the machine. So, I had a lot of sympathy with Mario Savio,<sup>9</sup> and also sympathy with Clark Kerr and Dean McHenry, when they thought a campus like this might help bridge some gaps. It



---

Figure 3

Professor John Dizikes, 1976

Photo by Public Information  
Office

---

sounded like a wonderful idea, so it was the only place I applied to for a job.

**Harry Berger, Professor:** What was interesting about UCSC was that it didn't exist until I got there. I was going to the opening of a new university. A new branch of UC.

**John Dizikes:** If there was some risk I wanted to take it, because it seemed to me an ideal place to teach. I had always seen myself as a person who was going to concentrate on teaching.

**John Ellis, Professor:** How I came here was just answering advertisements. I never thought the college system had been well thought out. I always thought that would give trouble sooner or later.

**Todd Newberry, Professor:** I showed up in August 1965. When I got here, I paused at the First Congregational Church. It was the largest building around, so I wondered if that might be the university. But I figured it wasn't, with a cross atop its steeple. But then I kept driving by the campus entrance because, even though it had a gate, that was a cattle gate. I remember this sense of "where am I?" when I got on the ranch, because it was very much still a ranch. I figured I'd walk up and see what the buildings looked like, since we were down at the entrance, at the Cook House. Well, I walked and walked, and walked. Grasslands, cows—it was a very unnerving experience.

**Jean Rose, Artist and Wife of Jasper Rose:** When Page Smith first took us to the campus, there were no buildings at all.

**Jasper Rose:** It was very weird because it consisted of our visiting a place where there wasn't any clear building. But I thought Page was just a lovely person. And why not? I was enthusiastic about colleges. But most of all, I was enthusiastic about the thought of a new campus, something different. Anything could happen.

**Page Smith:** One of my principal interests in coming and being provost was in selecting the initial faculty; that was really a very attractive part of it. When colleagues of mine at UCLA said, "Why, you're crazy to leave Los Angeles and go up there to this new campus where you're starting from scratch—you must be out of your mind to do that," I replied, "I'm interested in power and who has the power these days to appoint a faculty. That's just an extraordinary opportunity, to start an enterprise like this." Of course, the whole notion of beginning something was very appealing to me. I'd never had an administrative job and I wasn't used to compromising and making accommodations. I had a notion of what I wanted to do and the kind of people that I wanted to get and I was determined to carry that through.

**John Dizikes:** Page Smith stood out in every way, but in one respect that I've come to see as unusual: as provost of Cowell, he did not look for people who would be his satellites and supporters. He brought in very independent-minded people, many of whose views were repugnant to him, but he felt the college should be a place of great diversity of type and of ideas. The issue was what would stimulate the students. That's very rare. Most of us want to have colleagues who think the way we think. Oh, of course we want diversity, but what we really want is to have people who agree with us. He wasn't looking for that at all. It took me many years to realize how rare that is.

**Page Smith:** I was looking for people whom I personally responded to and liked and found intellectually appealing. I was absolutely shameless in my determination to collect a group of compatible people whose general approach within their own fields was similar, whom I would call roughly “humanistic” in their attitude.

The appointments in philosophy would be a good example. I think we had three appointments to make in philosophy. Dean McHenry’s view was that there should be maybe one logical positivist, one metaphysician, and maybe one existentialist—that different fields of philosophy should be represented, no matter how incompatible and hostile those fields were.

I thought, Why at Cowell? If you want a logical positivist, a good place for a person with that kind of mathematical orientation would be Crown College, or maybe if Stevenson’s going to be sort of hard-nosed and statistically oriented in the social sciences, that would be a place for him.

But I saw no point in building in intellectual conflicts in the college. It seemed to me that the optimum, the desired thing for the college would be personal and intellectual compatibility; that the value of the campus was that the different colleges could each have their own personality defined in this way.

I discovered, as I went around recruiting, that the academic world was divided into hard noses and soft noses. The hard noses were the hard-boiled empiricists, the quantifiers, the statisticians, and in psychology, the experimental psychologists. The soft noses were the people who had a more humanistic orientation.

I would stack the deck because I was clearly on the side of the non-positivistic. I was soft, in the soft-nose camp, despite the size of my proboscis. I wanted Cowell College made up of soft noses.

**Dean McHenry:** Frankly, when we started, I put getting top scientists at a fairly low priority. I was more interested in getting the top people in the humanities.

Because Berkeley and Davis are already so distinguished in science, and I felt we were going to be under the shadow of Berkeley in the sciences, Clark Kerr and I used to say sometimes, “Let’s make Santa Cruz the social sciences and humanities campus, more like Yale, say, than like Berkeley.”

The big breakthrough came with getting Kenneth Thimann. Then we were able to attract a different caliber of scientist than we’d expected. That made it *quite* different.

He had taught in California, at Caltech, when he first came from England.

Thimann had spent his summers across the bay at the Hopkins Marine Station. Cornelis van Niel<sup>10</sup> and Lawrence Blinks<sup>11</sup> were two of his closest friends.

When I went to see him and first made contact and got him to agree to come out and look, he was at a stage in his early sixties in which he, I think, felt he’d gone about as far as he could go at Harvard. He’d been Master at East House, Radcliffe, and he liked the residential college idea.

He wanted to come to UCSC, and it was challenging, and he came.

**Kenneth Thimann:** I had been running a new project at Radcliffe, the women’s college of Harvard.

They had organized the dorms into three units, called, not very originally, North House, South House, and East House, and they had persuaded me to take over East House.

It was a job of bringing an unorganized group of dorms and restaurants into a unit and having something like a college life.



---

Figure 4

Jasper Rose, 1968

Photo by Frank Zwart

---

I organized visiting speakers, and had an office in what became the East House, and saw students. I've always thought that it was very important for students and faculty to have close relations.

Well, somehow, Dean McHenry or Page Smith heard of this, and so one day in my lab at Harvard, probably in early 1964, they came to see me.

They had been looking for scientists to help start their programs at UCSC. They saw me as a scientist who was interested in undergraduates. So they came and told me about Santa Cruz and their ideas of the collegiate structure.

I had been at Harvard for almost thirty years. It seemed to me that it would be interesting to try another activity. I listened with considerable interest, and later on we were in correspondence. Finally, I said I'd at least come and look at the place.

Dean arranged for me to visit. He drove me down to the campus, which was under construction, with big holes in the ground—an enormous hole for the library and the beginnings of this building—Natural Sciences I. I must say I liked it. So finally, I said I would consider it. I'd seen in many colleges what you call the monolithic style. I'd decided that it's not good if you're going to bring the best out of young people. I liked the idea of UCSC and I kind of jumped at it.

**Bill Domhoff, Professor:** Three UC campuses opened in the fall of '65: San Diego, Irvine, and Santa Cruz. My mentor, psychologist Calvin Hall, alerted me—this is how these networks worked.<sup>12</sup> I saw him at a meeting and he said, "Hey, they're hiring at Santa Cruz. Write to Bert Kaplan, he's a friend of mine. Get in touch with him." I really lucked into that job.

I met Bert Kaplan in the airport at LA. He had a big book under his arm. He's an awkward kind of guy to talk to. He said to me, "What kind of psychologist are you?" I said, "I'm a people

psychologist." And he said, "As opposed to persons?" Because he was a phenomenologist, it turned out. I didn't know what the hell he was talking about, and I was so flustered.

I said, "No, no, no," I said, "as opposed to animals. I study all about humans, not rats and cats and pigeons." He said that was satisfactory to him. And then he mentioned Hegel and had I read Hegel's *The Phenomenology of Spirit*, which he had under his arm. Had I read this? And "No, no, I sure haven't." So, I think, this is not going well at all. But what I realize now is that they hired me because they wanted "atypical people."

I was into it. I was supportive of all the things that the innovators wanted to do. In the back of my mind was that, of course, I would last here, or stay here, or get tenure.

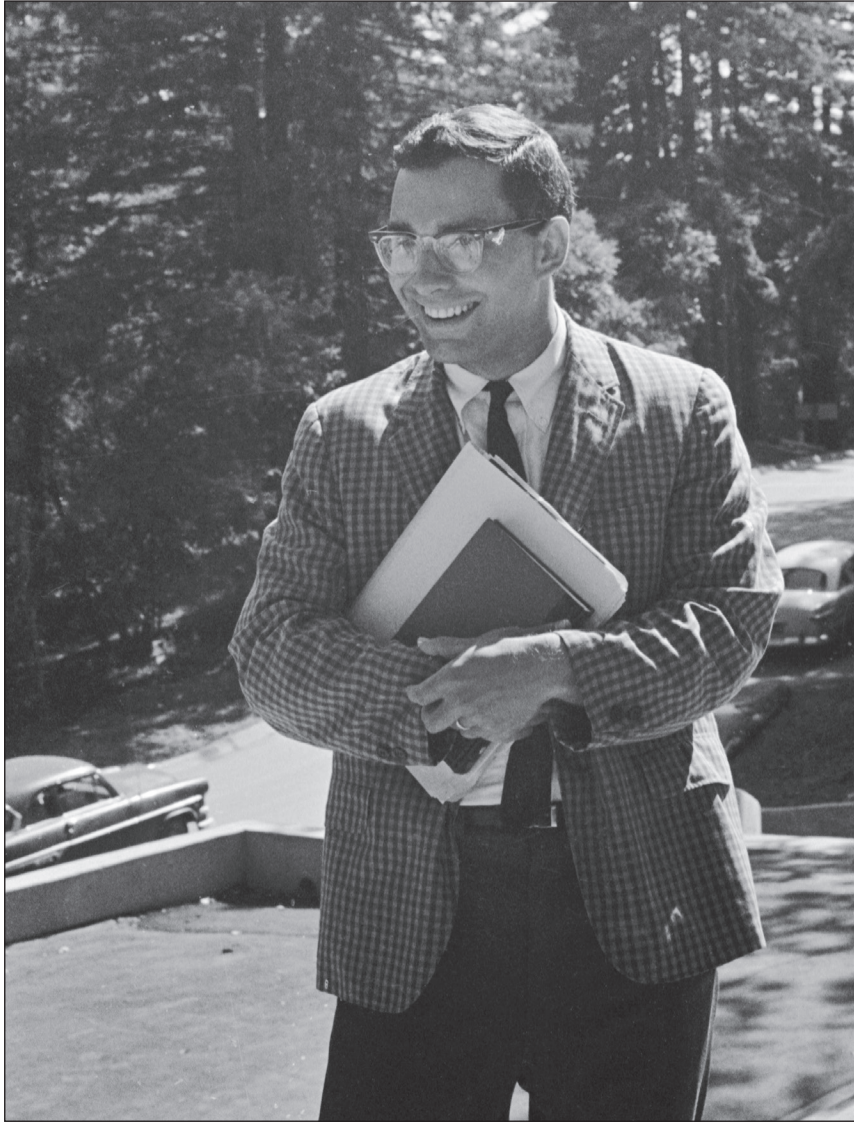
It was all idyllic. No freeways. I picked a house five minutes from the campus, so that my life as a commuter was over. And the *Santa Cruz Sentinel* wrote stories about the different faculty and their families, and the campus, and the town was greeting us, and so on.

**Jean Rose:** We were friendly with the Kaplans at Rice University. Bert was a psychologist. I think he heard about Santa Cruz and he was going to go over there to California from Rice to interview with Page Smith. He said, "Why doesn't Jasper come along with me?"

So Jasper went on his own—not with me, with Bert. They flew to California and met Page Smith. Page Smith had just been appointed provost at this new university at Santa Cruz, which was based on the collegiate system. As Jasper had been in the college system in England, he was of particular interest to the campus.

**Jasper Rose:** My experience of being a student at King's College, Oxford University, was lovely because the dons at King's were fascinated by the





---

Figure 5

G. William (Bill) Domhoff, 1966

Photo by Eric Thiermann

---

students. King's was a great center of teaching. And the business of learning and the business of teaching with a clear desire to get the faculty and the student together was the whole point of a university college.

**Jean Rose:** I think Page elected all his own candidates as fellows of the college. And he was very particular. He got sort of Anglified people. A lot of the initial faculty were, in part, educated in the Oxbridge way. I mean, there is no doubt about it. It was an Oxbridge institution in that sense.

**George Blumenthal, Professor:** It was fascinating to be at meetings of the senate in the early days of the campus. In those days, I would almost have characterized it as the clash of the British titans, because it felt like there were all these British accents arguing with each other. John Faulkner was the only other astronomer who would go to senate meetings.<sup>13</sup> And then there was Jasper Rose. And there was Glenn Willson. There were a lot of them. And they'd usually be arguing with each other in British accents.

**Jasper Rose:** They were fascinated by my book *Camford Observed*.<sup>14</sup> They wanted to use it as a kind of primer in thinking about what sort of campus they could produce, because they really had very little idea of what an English university was like, and here was something which talked about English universities, and in particular, talked about the whole business of admiration for scholarship and undergraduates, and collegiate relationships between boys and their masters, and so on and so forth. It seemed a gospel for them, I think, in some respects. And they were hopeful that I would be some kind of gospel-oid.

I enjoyed the challenge and I enjoyed the sense of difference that might be brought out by it. Page was a very idealistic person, and he had a notion

of this whole thing as a wonderful ideal, new, and complete. The first thing was—and it was very fundamental—was that it was a place for teaching students! No doubt about it. You knew that you were going to get involved with students the moment that you arrived.

**Herman Blake, Professor:** I wanted to do undergraduate teaching. I kept thinking about my experiences as an undergraduate: open, receptive teachers who took me and molded and motivated me. That's what I wanted to do. And Santa Cruz was developing that way. Dean McHenry was on board. There was publicity about it.

Page Smith called me up, invited me down. I drove down in this car which was coming apart. We needed a new car so badly that, as I was driving back, almost getting back, the car went kaput.

I drove down to Santa Cruz. Never been there before in my life. Walked into the Cook House at the base of campus, which was the headquarters. Dean McHenry had his office there and so did Page Smith. I walked into the Cook House and Page Smith invited me to sit down. There was no place to sit. Everything was covered with boxes. So, he cleared a part of a sofa from the boxes and had me sit down. And he immediately started attacking sociologists as not knowing anything about the world.

Page was irreverent. "Here were all these demonstrations going on up at Berkeley and the last persons who could help out were the people who should—that was the sociologists. What is wrong with you people?" And so forth and so on. I took him on. Then he saw Byron and he said, "Byron! Come on over here." Byron Stookey. Byron came in with his taciturn, kind of dry way, and started *really* needling me—really needling me. Now it wasn't exactly like it was an interview. It was like a conversation.

And I looked at him and I said, “Stookey,”—I said to myself—“Stookey,” and I leaned over and I said, “You’ve got a relative in show business.” He sat back, turned red, and he said, “Yeah, he’s a distant cousin.” Well, when I was at NYU I used to hang around Greenwich Village. I used to go to the Gaslight Café. And there was this guy who was always there singing. His name was Noel Stookey and he, with this other guy who used to come in the evening, would play the guitar. We’d all sing “Lloyd George Knew My Father.” And with this blonde beauty, they became Peter, Paul and Mary.

But he looked like Byron. Byron looked like him. I just put the two together and it took the wind right out of his sails.

**Page Smith:** I met J. Herman Blake when he was a graduate student at Berkeley. He came down here and we talked for a while. I was very taken with him. I decided I wanted Herman Blake on the faculty and went ahead and started appointment procedures.

I got quite a sharp rebuke from Dean, saying, in effect, “Do you realize how important this appointment is—the first black faculty member on campus and you have the”—I don’t know quite how he phrased it, something like, “You’ve gone ahead on your own without bringing me into this decision and I insist on meeting and talking to him.” Which was quite right, and that’s the only way I was careless, at times, in not observing protocol, and neglecting to clear things with Dean the way I should have. So, Dean met Herman and to my pleasure and relief was as taken with him as I was.

**Herman Blake:** Page called me on the telephone and said they wanted to offer me a position as an acting assistant professor. I was offered the position for the year Santa Cruz opened. My actual

appointment was in 1965. But they gave me automatically the first-year leave, so I didn’t start until ‘66. But I signed my contract in ‘65.

I said on the phone that was great. Then the next day a special delivery letter arrived at my hotel in Washington. It was a contract from Santa Cruz with those conditions. That weekend I went to New York, saw my father. (My mother was dead by then.) And I showed him this letter. My father could hardly read, but he memorized that letter. He didn’t plan to memorize it, but by the time he got finished he could tell people what it said: acting assistant professor, et cetera and et cetera and et cetera.

I didn’t sign it and send it back. I wanted to wait until I got back to Berkeley to show it to my wife before I signed it and sent it in. Because it meant that we got through!

The plane ride from Washington back to San Francisco and ultimately to Berkeley was the most tense, anxious plane ride I’ve had in my life. I’ve always had a comfort with dying. I’m not fearful of dying. But I was absolutely terrified, thinking that plane was going to crash, I would have an unsigned contract in my pocket, and I would have never ended up at the University of California, Santa Cruz.



## Inventing the Narrative Evaluation System and Setting UCSC Apart

**Glenn Willson:** Page Smith was the man who pushed the pass/fail grading. He was incensed by his own experience of the letter grading system and how it worked. He undoubtedly enthused the great bulk of the people who were here at the start.

**Page Smith:** I take credit for the pass/fail grading system because I was determined to have it. While Dean was not opposed to pass/fail grading, I think he was very uneasy about the whole thing and thought that the University of California rules forbade it, that we'd get in trouble trying to do it, that it was trying to do too much too soon.

A phrase in the senate rules was ambiguous enough to allow for narrative evaluations, although I think neither of us thought that it was intended to be interpreted in such and such a way. As soon as the college started, we got word from the Committee on Rules and Jurisdiction that we *had* misinterpreted the rule and we weren't supposed to have pass/fail. There was quite a flap, and as I recall, Glenn Willson, who was chairman of our Academic Senate, went up to the systemwide administration then in Berkeley and made a particular plea, saying it would very disruptive if we tried to change pass/fail now, since we had just started. So, we were given the right to do it for a couple of years and then have it reviewed.

**Glenn Willson:** How we got the pass/fail grading thing past the Academic Senate of the University of California remains one of my proudest memories. As chairman of the Academic Senate, I was on the Academic Council of the whole university, and I had to present these things to the central systemwide Academic Senate and argue them through. We burnt the midnight oil to get compromises as to what we would put forward. The whole

eventual system was a pretty complex affair. I'll never know to this day whether the people in that meeting at Berkeley where it was eventually passed just thought we were so mad that they couldn't cope with us, or else whether they thought, "Well, it just has a reasonable chance of working, so let them try."

So that took a specialized committee of us weeks to fight out and agree. Finally, we got an agreement that I thought was the best we could do, and we took that to Berkeley and we got it through. It got nationwide publicity. We were the only big public university to adopt this kind of system.

**Dean McHenry:** My inclination on the grading was to be more cautious than the faculty wanted to be. And also, there was a matter of civil liberties involved. Some of the faculty didn't believe in pass/fail grading, and I thought that they ought to have some discretion; that is, if there were 30 percent of them that didn't want to do pass/fail grading, I felt under the regulations of the senate they should not be forced to do it.

But I'm rather glad that the decision was made as it was: to try a large-scale experiment on pass/fail and to make it the rule rather than the exception. The decision eventually was made to have universal pass/fail, except for required courses in a major if the board of studies specified that they must be letter grades.

**Bill Domhoff:** Page Smith proposed that we abolish grades—which was one of the real major innovations. Well, certainly it was nothing that was a problem for me. I liked it just fine. Indeed, I thought it worked great because it took all this grade-grubbing out: "I should have gotten a B

plus, not a B,” or, “The B plus should have been an A minus.” It changed the atmosphere and student-faculty relations, the fact that we were going to write these evaluations.

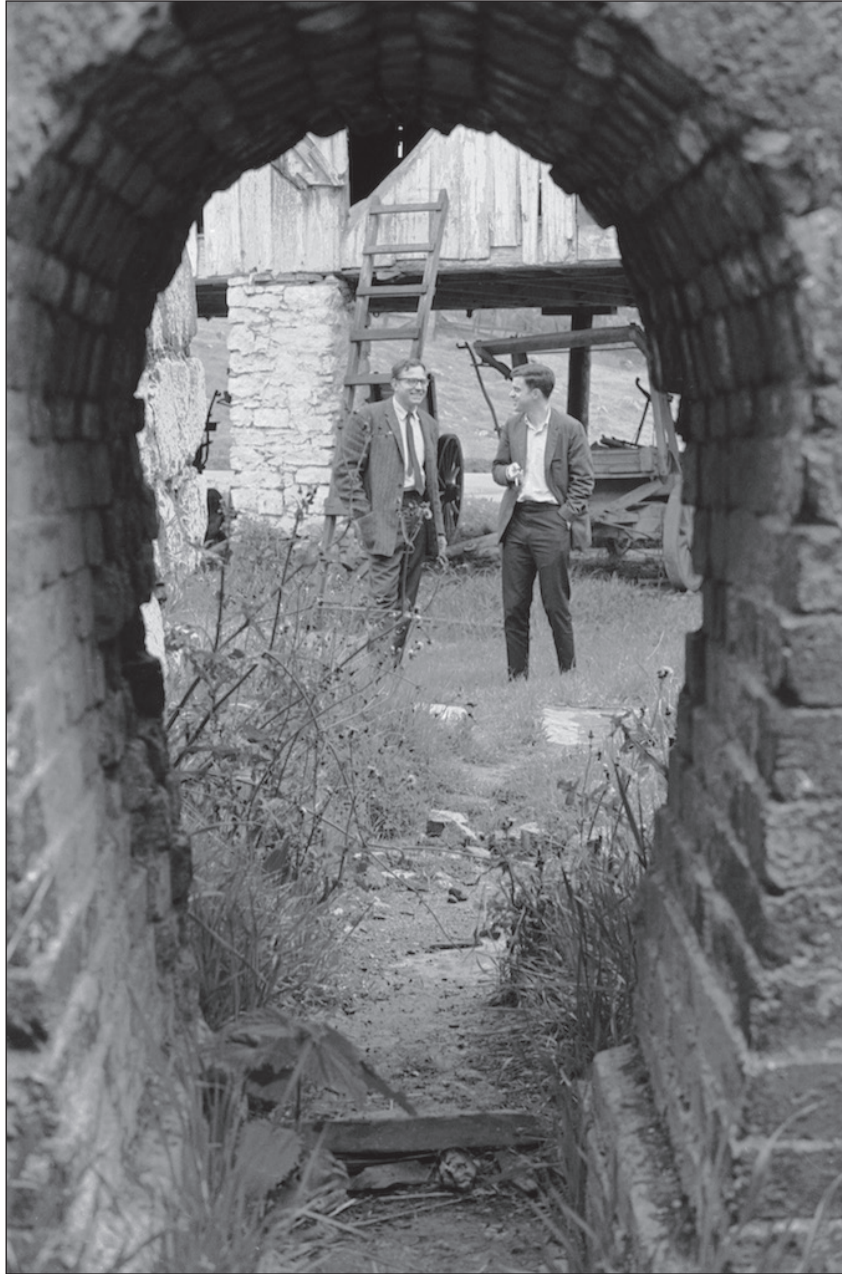
**Jasper Rose:** I didn’t like grading very much. It was trying to pin things down which weren’t pinable. I was delighted to try to allow a human being to be a human being. Santa Cruz was going to be totally different.

**Todd Newberry:** It was exhilarating. It was the most fun I think any of us ever had. I mean, there I was, only thirty. I’d never had a permanent academic job or any other permanent job, and here I was setting up a UC campus’s academic policy. Harry Berger and Byron Stookey and a few of us would sit up there in Natural Sciences I and we would decide academic policy for what was going to be an enormous university. It was heady stuff.

**Dean McHenry:** We were choosing the first class of students. Provost Smith participated, and all of the little cadre of faculty people around went through the folders, and we looked for earnest

students. I’m sure that many of my colleagues looked for grade point averages, though you’re not supposed to in this, under the rules, because they were all eligible. But even that early, we were looking for people with unique backgrounds.

**Todd Newberry:** It was the educational prize. We had some vague idea of what was planned. Everybody did. And I had this sense that if any public university could teach with the spirit of a private university, then the University of California had a shot at it. Most public universities probably didn’t have the confidence, or the will, or the power to do that. If it was going to happen anywhere, it was going to be here in California: The idea of small classes. The idea that a great public university could concentrate on undergraduate education, even transform it. Things like that. The location. The coast here. It had everything going for it. It’s even on the sunny side of the bay—it’s a level of heaven.



---

Figure 6

Literature professors Thomas Vogler  
and George Amis, 1966

Photo by Eric Thiermann

---

## Endnotes

1. Excerpt is from *Cowell History Workshop, Cowell College, Solomon's House: A Self-Conscious History of Cowell College*, 16. UCSC's founding faculty was almost all white men; that fact is reflected in the voices you hear from in this chapter. Hiring in that pre-affirmative action era was mostly done through the "old boys' network": Dean McHenry, Page Smith, and other founding faculty members recruited colleagues through their social and scholarly networks. J. Herman Blake, the campus's first black faculty member, arrived in 1966. Mary Holmes and Jean Langenheim were two of very few women faculty during the campus's early years.

2. Page Smith, *John Adams*. [First edition]. (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1962).

3. Before the chancellor's residence (University House) was built on campus, the McHenrys entertained faculty and staff at their home on Pasatiempo Drive.

4. *Solomon's House*, 17-18.

5. Howard Shontz was assistant chancellor for student services and registrar from 1965-1973.

6. "UCSC's Academic Senate allowed that a board of studies should be set up in any area in which there are sufficient faculty to plan and to administer a program. Boards were responsible for recommending requirements for majors, setting comprehensive examinations, participating in recruitment and selection of faculty, approving extension courses and teachers, and supervising graduate degree programs. Conveners for the boards were to be appointed by the chancellor." From Bassett, 7.

7. Jean H. Langenheim, *The Odyssey of a Woman Field Scientist: A Story of Passion, Persistence, and Patience* (Xlibris, 2010), 229.

8. Clark Kerr, *The Uses of the University*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press 1963).

9. Mario Savio (1942-1996) was a civil rights activist, a UC Berkeley student, and a key organizer of the Berkeley Free Speech Movement in 1964.

10. Cornelis van Niel (1897-1985) introduced the study of general microbiology to the United States and made key discoveries explaining the chemistry of photosynthesis.

11. Lawrence Blinks (1900-1989) was a biologist and botanist inspired by the writings of Henry Thoreau and

John Muir. He directed Stanford's Hopkins Marine Station from 1943-1965. After retiring from Stanford, he worked as a visiting professor at UCSC from 1966-1973 and founded the biology board. He was a strong advocate of marine sciences at the new campus.

12. Calvin S. Hall (1909-1985) was a psychologist eminent in the fields of dream research and analysis. He taught at UCSC in the campus's early years.

13. John Faulkner is Emeritus Professor of Astronomy and Astrophysics and a fellow of Crown College. He came to UCSC in 1969.

14. Jasper Rose and John Ziman, *Camford Observed* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1964).

## Illustrations

Figure 1. Chancellor's Memo: January 1964. Vol. 2, no. 1. "Page Smith Named Cowell College Provost." Courtesy Special Collections, University Library, University of California, Santa Cruz: UA 1: Dean McHenry Papers: ua001\_119\_0003.

Figure 2. Page Smith, Cowell College provost, on his horse, 1966. Photo by Eric Thiermann. Courtesy Special Collections, University Library, University of California, Santa Cruz, MS 290: Eric Thiermann photographs of the University of California, Santa Cruz: ms0290\_neg\_0070\_17.tif.

Figure 3. Professor John Dizikes, 1976. Courtesy Special Collections, University Library, University of California Santa Cruz, UA 50: UCSC Photography Services: ua0050\_neg\_sc6076\_08.tif.

Figure 4. Professor Jasper Rose, 1968. Photo by Frank Zwart. Courtesy Special Collections, University Library, University of California, Santa Cruz. Frank Zwart Papers: MS289: ms0289\_neg\_0031\_43.tif.

Figure 5. Professor G. William (Bill) Domhoff, 1966. Photo by Eric Thiermann. Courtesy Special Collections, University Library, University of California, Santa Cruz. UA 50: UCSC Photography Services: ua0050\_neg\_00400o\_10.tif.

Figure 6. Literature professors Thomas Vogler and George Amis. 1966. Photo by Eric Thiermann. Courtesy Special Collections, University Library, University of California: Santa Cruz. MS290: Eric Thiermann Photographs of UC Santa Cruz: ms0290\_neg\_0064\_29.tif.

## Chapter 5

# “A Scruffy Nascent Utopia”

Cowell and Stevenson Colleges: the Dream Becomes Reality

*I was here on day one of the first day of the history of the campus. I was going to say goodbye to small ideas and small life forever.*

—Bill Dickinson

### “Day One of the First Day of the History of the Campus”

**Clark Kerr, President, University of California:** And so we opened this campus on a beautiful evening in September 1965.<sup>1</sup> It was as pleasant an evening as ever happened, I think, in the history of the world. The temperature was just right and there was a full moon. After an introductory dinner in what was to be the gymnasium, we went walking around to the residences of the students who were in construction trailers because the residence halls had not been built. We went from trailer to trailer for quite a long period of time. The enthusiasm of the students for the idea and the beauty of the campus made, for Mrs. Kerr and for me, one of the greatest nights of our lives. The dream that Dean and I had shared was reality.<sup>2</sup>

**Bill Dickinson, Student:** I was here on day one of the first day of the history of the campus. My second year in high school at Santa Rosa, I started

reading Woodrow Wilson’s writings from when he was president of Princeton. So, I developed this real wish that I could have been at Princeton when Woodrow Wilson was president. In the spring of 1965, there was this article in the *San Francisco Chronicle* about this new campus that was opening. Lo and behold, it sounded like nothing so much as Woodrow Wilson’s Princeton. So, I applied and got admitted. I thought I’d died and gone to heaven.

By then, my mother was in a mental hospital in Nevada. I was a minor. I got a letter from UCSC that said, because you are a minor and your mother lives in Nevada, you have to pay out-of-state tuition. I wrote a letter to the chancellor saying this didn’t seem fair. I had been supporting myself since I was sixteen and paying taxes in California and had never even been to Nevada. I got a letter from Byron Stookey, who was an assistant to the





---

Figure 1

First registration day: Page Smith giving directions to a student, 1965

Photo by Ansel Adams

---



---

Figure 2

First registration day, 1965

Photo by Ansel Adams

---



---

Figure 3

Pioneer Class "Opening Day":  
Betsy Avery, senior preceptor,  
meeting with freshmen, 1965

Photo by Vester Dick

---

chancellor and the original academic planner of the campus, saying, “Come talk.” They were down in the Cook House in those days. The very first sentence I heard out of any adult’s mouth on this campus marked it forever as a different kind of place. Byron’s first line to me was, “So the bureaucracy is hassling you.” He solved the problem.<sup>3</sup>

**John Wilkes, Student:** The first day we got name tags, just first names. Dean McHenry was looking at us all. He memorized our names and could connect the name with the face, the face with the name, after that. He had a phenomenal memory. He was around a lot. He walked among us.

**Bill Dickinson:** Page Smith had sent us all a letter the summer before the place opened and said, “There will be a big debate the first week, so to get ready read James Joyce’s *Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* and (I think) Nietzsche’s *Beyond Good and Evil*.” I was really stoked before I ever got here, because I had no idea what the debate was going to be. It never occurred to me that a school would write to you in advance and say, start reading.

All of our big events were held in the Field House, a not very dignified building. But we had Page Smith and Jasper Rose presiding, and they didn’t know how to do anything that wasn’t dignified. So here we show up in this place with these trailers, this strange Englishman who put on his academic robe even to tell us what the rules were about laundry. And this cultivated provost. There were several days of warm-up exercises before classes even started, including the big debate over the books we read. It was an Oxford-style debate. The resolution was: “Resolved: James Joyce’s *Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* and Nietzsche’s *Beyond Good and Evil* are books that mislead youth.” Then they had faculty argue both sides of it. And we were off and running. I was

going to say goodbye to small ideas and small life forever.

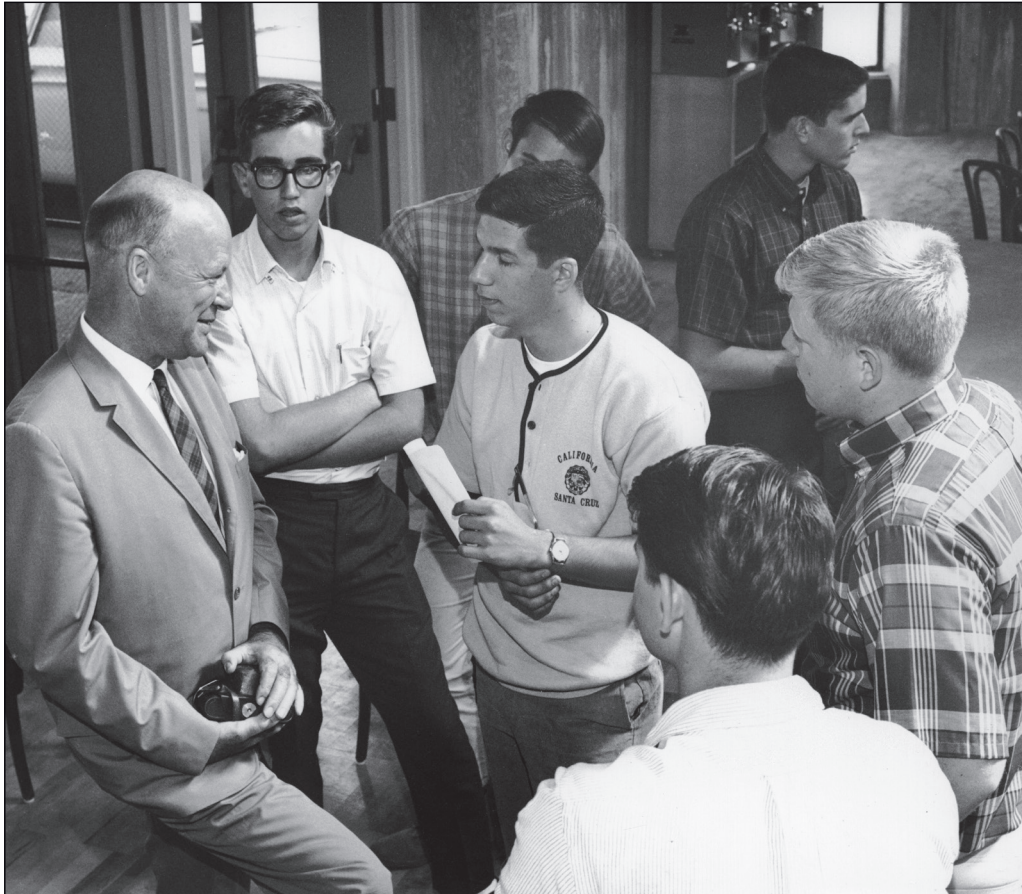
**John Wilkes:** That first day, I’ll never forget, some of us got together, the junior transfers, and we were standing in a circle of about maybe six, seven people. And it was over where we could look out over the Monterey Bay; it was the Cowell plaza. We were just starting to get to know each other, having a tentative conversation. During that conversation, we kept looking at the bay and the conversation just dwindled to nothing. Then one person said to another, “Are you thinking what I’m thinking?” And the other person said, “I think I am.” And then somebody else said, “We’re never going to leave this place.”

**Lou Fackler, Engineer:** Before the campus opened, we thought, planned, hoped we would have Science I (Thimann), which we did; Central Services (now Hahn Student Services), which we did; and Cowell College, which we didn’t. And, of course, the Field House.

Well, we bid Cowell about the same time we bid the others. It would have been fairly early 1964. But we received the bids and they were all over budget. The project had to be redesigned. That’s always anguish. That’s one of the worst things that can happen because it means you’ve got to start cutting items to reduce costs. It goes against everything that you really had hoped for—a new campus with good-quality construction.

We weren’t going to have Cowell College finished by the time school started. So, we had plenty of time to plan. We usually took these as challenges, not as something to beat our heads about, or complain.

The architect redesigned Cowell College to bring it within budget. The problem was to plan for housing and feeding of five hundred students. Business Manager Ed Krider, Assistant Business



---

Figure 4

Pioneer class members with  
Chancellor Dean McHenry, 1965

Photo by Vester Dick

---

Manager Jerry Walters, Principal Campus Architect Jack Wagstaff, and I worked on a plan to provide for the students. The Field House would be complete and it was surrounded by land that would become our athletic field. The Field House would be the dining commons as well as a student gathering place and large lecture hall. A temporary kitchen would be provided next to the Field House. The campus would rent sixty-four dormitory trailers, housing eight students each, and locate them on the future athletic field.

We got those trailers in. Those were pretty successful. I think the students had the feeling that they were kind of pioneers. The Field House made a pretty good assembly hall, not to mention kitchen and eating area. And Science I worked. So, we were okay. We had the campus open. I remember coming up on the day it opened. Jasper Rose was out welcoming people. Everything just seemed to work like clockwork, once things got going.

*Solomon's House:* A few circles of trailers and a copper-roofed Field House took up perhaps two acres out of two thousand. Turning into the campus, one instantly passed from a suburb into ranchland, windy and serene. Cattle dotted the fields, grazing close to weathered shacks leaning up against the hills. It was quiet even in the trailer area, situated on a flat plain overlooking the Monterey Bay. The place was brown, somewhat desolate and almost forbiddingly quiet to the newly arrived students. The place was a ranch, so it should be bucolic, right? But it was also supposed to be a Big U, so it should be modern. That first year it wasn't really either of those things. Instead it was a weird amalgam of sophisticated ideology covered with dust, a scruffy nascent utopia.

The woods and meadows were intensely attractive to the vast majority of citified students. In an orgy of exploration, Levis replaced skirts, walking

replaced the car. The rural, bordering on spartan, atmosphere caused some concern at first, but people quickly adjusted to this less urbane life. The trailer area was a constant shambles, all dust and lumber and pipe; the forest offered escape or a trysting place. The woods had patterns of light and shade that contrasted sharply with the beige monotony of a trailer's interior; the lack of living space could be forgotten in the vastness of the lower meadows.<sup>4</sup>

**Susan Sward, Student:** On the day my parents dropped me off, I was assigned the job of handing out desk chairs to everybody, because the desk chairs hadn't been distributed around in the trailers. So, I took paper and pen and checked off names on a list as people came in to collect their desk chair. Very soon I got to know very many people.

Santa Cruz wasn't the traditional concept of a college. Though none of us, the majority of the freshmen, had anything to contrast it with, we could see that. I mean, we lived in trailers, and that, in itself, was a primary thing in setting the whole communal feeling of the place.

**Rita Bottoms, Librarian:** When my parents knew I was going to come here in 1965, they took a trip up north with my aunt and uncle and they came to visit the campus. When they came back, my mother said, "Dear, we don't want to alarm you, but we didn't see anything. We didn't see anything! Are you sure it's there?"

I was the first reference librarian ever hired. I worked two nights a week. You'd come out of work in a pitch-black forest at ten o'clock at night. It was kind of scary, but it was very pioneering, and you felt you were part of this incredible experiment. You felt you were a great part of a wonderful experiment, and so you put up with a lot of stuff. You put up with the fact that the toilet seats in



---

Figure 5

Cowell College mobile home housing with  
construction debris, 1965

Photo by Ansel Adams

---

the ladies’ room were two inches too high, so your feet dangled. You put up with the fact that there wasn’t lighting in the parking lot. You just put up with stuff, because that’s the way it was working in the forest. I was not Imelda Marcos, but I was a shoe maven at UCLA. I had a very avant-garde wardrobe of shoes. Many of them did not fit my feet, but that didn’t stop me. I wore them anyway because they were very fashionable. I dressed in a particular style and had these just fabulous shoes. I had a pair of green ones reserved for my first day of work.

Well, after I almost sprained my ankle jumping over a ditch in the forest, going to work, I soon changed my whole way of thinking about dress and clothing and shoes. It was the woods. You would see beetles in the library, incredible striped beetles. You would see scorpions. You would see tarantulas. There were a lot of critters around: coyotes, rattlesnakes. We were in the forest and this was their home. Lots of banana slugs, of course.

**Jasper Rose, Senior Preceptor of Cowell College:** What you’ve got to think of is a large, in fact enormous place, [the physical size of the campus] which was like a drama almost, a setting for the world of student life. There were the students and student life. How were the faculty going to control the students and prevent them from completely running amok? I knew nothing about many of the problems which were natural to an American institution. The administration of what student law was, and how much students would be involved in any kind of adult administrative activity and so on—it was in so many ways new, and in so many ways old. Because, of course, in a great many ways what was going to happen was very different than what had been happening in American universities to date.

**Nancy Wolfberg, Student:** I read an article about UCSC in the *Saturday Evening Post*.<sup>5</sup> And when I read about the kind of ideals they had and the kind of things they were thinking of doing here, I decided to apply to be a student. What I expected, I found—and that was the small classes, and the opportunity to see professors in their homes, or to talk with them anywhere, you know, have lunch with them. That is something that was inconceivable at Berkeley.

**Bill Domhoff:** Six hundred very fine students had selected themselves for liberal arts and adventure. It was tremendously exciting. It was all new. You could do anything you wanted. Just say, “Well, it’s part of the Santa Cruz experiment. We got to try it. And we’re trying everything.” That was the spirit that especially Page Smith conveyed. But Dean McHenry was up for that too. He was just a little bit stiffer.

**Ed Landesman, Professor:** When I came, I was amazed at the differences. My typical classes, the ones I began teaching, could be a dozen students, maybe. A calculus class probably only had about twenty or thirty students in it, where at UCLA, my gosh, it was up to hundreds.

The students were incredible—bright, rebellious, in many ways—but extremely bright. I still remember one class. I don’t remember if it was differential equations, but it was an elementary course in mathematics. And about half of the students in that class of fifteen or twenty went on to graduate school and earned PhDs.

I also remember being called down to the admissions office. We were assistant professors, just starting out, young people, and we were asked to read applications of students who were applying to come to Santa Cruz. There were seven times as many *qualified* applicants as there were available



slots for entering students. Almost all of them had 4.0 GPAs.<sup>6</sup>

*San Francisco Sunday Examiner and Chronicle:* “God help us,” said the educator, “we are not a factory. We’re involved with people, not producing overshoes. We’re still beautifully, perilously dependent on human beings.” The educator was standing on the Magic Mountain above Santa Cruz where California’s higher educational system is attempting to find a way out of the ‘apparatus of anonymity’ represented by UCLA and UC Berkeley. You might say that California has set up in UC Santa Cruz a Research & Development arm, a maverick school to train mavericks. This is one of the ideas you gain in talking to educators here, including the one quoted above, Byron Stookey, Jr. director of academic planning.<sup>7</sup>

**Patricia Dorsey Bassett, Scholar:** Dean McHenry brought in Byron Stookey, Jr. as Head of Academic Planning. Stookey had been in charge of Harvard’s Freshman Seminar program and believed a real collegial system would be in jeopardy if the power to hire, promote, establish degree requirements, and allocate budgets rested solely with departmentally organized faculty.

**Nancy Pascal, Staff, Registrar’s Office:** I started out as a senior clerk typist. I was in the registrar’s office and my first job was preparing the registration packets. The students the first year—my recollection was they were really kinda preppy. They were very clean-cut, very buttoned-down in their attire. They were the cream of the crop in the state of California. They were eager and bright and fun to be with because this was such an exciting, new, and different adventure within higher education. It was fun because they were happy to be there and we were all figuring it out together. The first year we had 652 students. I had

a lot of contact with people and there didn’t seem to be the hierarchy that is in place at more established campuses.

*The Daily Californian:* Past tidy box-shaped houses on straight lanes at the outskirts of town, past rickety Andrew Wyeth abandoned ranch buildings and split rail fences, past cows grazing in level meadows that border the road, up over canyons and through dark forests which suddenly open to show the Pacific splashing hundreds of feet below, scattered among thick redwood groves on what must surely be one of the most magnificent 2000 acres of land anywhere in the world, stand the first few buildings of the University of California, Santa Cruz. This campus is by far the most ambitious attempt ever made by an American public university to cope with the tax-supported school’s traditional problems of size and impersonality.<sup>8</sup>





---

Figure 6

Byron Stookey, 1966

Photo by Steve Rees

---

## “It Was as Though We Were a Complete Society”:

### Scholarship, Social Life, and “Joyous Human Work” at Cowell College

**Robert Adams, Professor:** Dean McHenry had a very simple notion: Smallness within bigness. He had with it a kind of benign but strong father figure who was a provost. And it meant that the wife served punch at appropriate times. It was very genteel. It was lovely. It was probably carried out to its highest manifestation by Page Smith. It was a magnificent display. It worked beautifully in Cowell the first year with Page.

**Bill Domhoff:** Page Smith decided that we should have a Culture Break. We would take a space of two or three days right in the middle of the quarter. It was kind of thematic. It was just stop and enjoy the arts or whatever.

So, I proposed that I do a Culture Break for the spring that I called the Fantasy Festival. I was studying dreams, so it would fit. Alan Dundes, who was a Freudian folklorist from UC Berkeley, came down and he gave a talk on elephant jokes. He had us in stitches. Every time you'd just about recovered, he'd tell you an elephant joke. But then he'd slip in this Freudian explanation—in terms of the elephant's trunk, they're phallic symbols or this and that.

I had experts on drugs, other experts on fantasy. I had a dream research guy from Stanford come over. And we had films, Bergman films. The students got into picking them.

**Angie Christmann, Staff, Cowell College:** We produced musicals for Culture Breaks. We would choose musicals, have auditions, and require memorization of the script. And there would be exactly one performance. We packed the dining hall to the walls for those. One time we all learned a tap dance. Professor of mathematics

and musician Tom Lehrer adapted some material for us that year.

**John Lynch, Professor:** We had a Greek Culture Break which included a reading in Greek of the whole *Odyssey*. We took turns doing it. Norman O. Brown read for two or three hours; I read for two or three hours.<sup>9</sup> There are pictures of us with our laurel wreaths on. I think this probably gave a sense of how the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were disseminated: various performers would read or sing the epic, but the audience would just check in and out, sit down for a while and listen; then leave, check back in again.

**Kenneth Thimann, Professor:** Page Smith had what they called a “culture break” in the mid-term—that maddened me. As though we were not cultured, or the rest of university work was not culture.

**Todd Newberry:** The people who spoke at College Night that first year—what a fabulous cast! It was in the gym, where the core course had its lectures. There was a cafeteria counter in a trailer nearby, between the old locker rooms and where the tennis courts are now. You'd go through there and get your food and take it to the gym. We all went. It was simply assumed that we'd be there. If we weren't, we were going to miss whoever was speaking—every week, the most extraordinary people, and they were as fascinated as anyone else was with this whole improbable adventure.

I remember the Amadeus Quartet coming on a foggy night.<sup>10</sup> They had to wonder, as they passed Cloud Nine restaurant on the summit on



---

Figure 7

Human Chess Game. Cowell Culture Break, 1968

Photo by UCSC Photography Services

---

Highway 17, where the hell they were going. But they came and played Schubert's *Death and the Maiden* and a couple of other quartets, and then they headed back out of town. It was just that kind of place. Or, after supper in the gym, there was writer and social critic Susan Sontag. It was extraordinary.

**Angie Christmann:** We did College Night every single week, so I needed to find some kind of entertainment and set up a special menu each week with the food service. Everyone lined up in the hallway and we opened the doors at six o'clock. Everyone went in and sat down and had a served meal with tablecloths. Every week. The provost was there and said a blessing. And the faculty would come—some. There was a flow of social life that was centered on the college.

**Jasper Rose:** College Night was one of the few places where the students and the faculty would get together, and talk to each other, and notice each other's manners. It was a place where the manners of the kids would be examined and improved, no doubt about it. It was a place where parents, too, could drop in and see their children being properly and exquisitely brought up. Otherwise the students could be like wild beasts. But if they were brought up to pay attention at the right moment and get together and have a proper arrangement of plates and so on and so forth, and an arrangement of grub and so on, then, in fact, they would gradually be made into highly respectable and respectful and right-thinking young men and young women. Part of it was that you could carry on conversations from the classroom, and indeed most conversations *were* carried on over actually rather horrible meals.

In fact, what you're really getting to do is know the difference between the flimsy-flimsy friendship—at best—between schoolboys and

schoolmasters, and the serious relationship of behavior and the notion of how adult behavior can go forward. A relationship will develop, one of growing adulthood amongst the undergraduates and a growing feeling of adulthood of the faculty. Being human beings is very important in this, and the whole notion that there is a kind of converse between one and the other. The fact that you might have a very intimate conversation going on at a level of decency and good behavior is very, very important.

**John Lynch:** I went to many, many College Nights. I think they're important. Extracurricular experiences provide a vital context for furthering education. Because if these sorts of things were not going on, I think a lot of students would find the classroom, what's going on in formal education, just dull and ordinary. It's only exciting when it's part of a whole set of things that are contributing to your growth and stimulating your imagination, helping you grow some gray matter—magically all of a sudden—that's the discovery process going on. You feel the blood pulsing in your veins. Your classes are going all right. Your extracurricular activities are there. Things are going on in your personal life. That's when you're really learning, growing, and discovering what interests and matters to you.

**Jasper Rose:** It was getting away from any form of childhood. Here you were for the first time—miles and miles from anywhere. The provost's house looked out at the great Monterey Bay, which was an enormous bay, and very, very handsome, and very grand and rather empty. And down at the bottom of it was the end of Monterey. So there the students were. It was a totally different world from the world that they'd been in. It was as though we were a complete society.

**John Lynch:** There was maybe one policeman at most on duty at any time; certainly there was only one at night. The campus was wide open to anyone. There was a guy I can remember right near Morison House at the Cowell fountain—he called himself Jesus Christ and he wore a cloak and he would come and walk on water at the Cowell fountain. People would gather around and he would walk on water. Unfortunately, he never stayed above. But there was always hope.

There were a whole bunch of characters like that around Santa Cruz, in the town and around campus. It was a colorful place and very different.

**San Francisco Chronicle:** Frodo is alive and teaching at the University of California, Santa Cruz. Frodo, the hero of J.R.R. Tolkien’s bestselling fantasy, *The Fellowship of the Ring*, does figure here. A map of Frodo’s “Middle Earth,” large and colorful, occupies a wall in a UCSC administration building near an equally large and colorful map of present and projected construction at the university.<sup>11</sup>

**Jasper Rose:** Every so often we would have a weekly waltz. We all used to go and get into tails and wander around. It was a jolly festivity, of which some, of course, didn’t approve, and those from high up were against. It was a social event, one way of getting to know students, of students coming to know the provost, which wasn’t disciplinary or some form of academism, but was highly and pleasingly sociable. So the students mixed with the faculty and the faculty mixed with the students.

**Angie Christmann:** We used to have a waltz every single quarter, or we’d have some kind of a big dance. The students down in the dorms would roast turkeys to bring up for the refreshments at the waltz. Someone would make an ice sculpture. We made it all up.

**Frank Zwart:** One of the more influential faculty members on me was an art historian named Jasper Rose. I went to talk to him, and I asked him about going on to graduate school, and he said, “Well, do you think about mathematics all the time?” I said, “No!” And his response was, “Then, dear boy, you’ll never be a mathematician.”

**Angie Christmann:** The provost would pay for our lunches in the dining hall, faculty lunches as well. At the entrance of the dining hall, you just told them who you were and they marked it off. The provost used gift funds to pay for that. The whole reason was to give an incentive to the staff and faculty to sit and eat with the students. Jasper Rose would always go and sit at student tables and fulminate.

**Michael Warren:** Jasper’s provost house was memorable. A lot of social life went through it. Jasper organized Shakespeare readings on Sunday evenings in his house, and students turned up to read on those occasions. And his wife would make the most marvelous refreshments, including superb trifle.

**William Rose, son of Jasper Rose:** And there was the trifle (an English desert), my mother’s famous trifle, which is really famous. Years after my parents had departed, I’d be in Santa Cruz and I’d bump into Michael Warren. He’d say, “Oh! Your mother’s trifle!”

**Frank Zwart:** It was actually Jasper Rose who suggested that I think about going into architecture. My first reaction was, I don’t really want anything to do with the kinds of buildings they are building these days. Modernism—I liked old stuff. I mean, just the immediate emotional appeal. I was starting to learn, through the art history portions of

World Civ, a little bit about the different general styles of architecture—Classical and before that Gothic, Renaissance, Baroque, that sort of thing. I was starting to get a handle on that. But I knew next to nothing about the modern movement.

And so, since in my senior year I had only two math classes to complete to take my major requirement, I took some independent studies in the history of architecture with Jasper Rose, because there weren't any in the art history curriculum yet. We just hadn't gotten to that size. I would go to his office once or twice a week and follow a reading list that he prescribed. But his focus was also on older styles of architecture: classical, William Morris, the pre-industrial revolution. I don't think we got much past William Morris and the Art Nouveau and the Arts and Crafts Movement. But somehow he had gotten a spare copy of a big, really very handsome book on English Baroque architecture. He said, "Oh, I'll give you this one." And he inscribed it to me.

**Herman Blake:** That human, humane approach to education that was represented by small residence halls, small colleges, a close interface, interaction, and high-level, high-quality education represented the ideal for me—Bill Hitchcock and his teaching in the core course in Cowell. And others. The academic side of Jasper Rose.

**Jenny Keller, Student:** I got to take a class from Jasper Rose. Oh, what a wonderful opportunity that was. Everyone who took a class from him, like his art history classes, will remember his amazing flamboyance and brilliant storytelling, his British accent, and his drama. He walked with a cane, so he'd walk in with a limp, but then he'd use that cane during his lectures to crack the cane down on the table and draw your attention to this and that. It was such a wonderful performance, in a way, although he wasn't full of himself at all. He

just happened to be very enthusiastic about his subject matter. So, taking art history from him was wonderful. There was never a moment where you fell asleep. I also got the opportunity to take a drawing class with him, which was just me and nineteen other people or so, maybe even smaller than that. And that was wonderful. One time he assigned us what he thought was a terribly difficult, almost cruel assignment. He said, "I'm going to have you guys really address this black and white kind of issue." The issue with black and white is that you can have a really graphic image, or you can struggle to make grays out of black ink by using cross-hatching, or dots, or different kinds of marks to make things look like shades of gray, so that you get a more illuminated kind of form. So, he wanted us to do these three-dimensional kinds of forms, but with black ink. And he said, "I'm going to have you guys do this with a ballpoint pen." He thought that was going to be really hard, but he, I don't think, had actually tried it himself.

**Jasper Rose:** It was to me fascinating to take young people who had absolutely no knowledge of the visual world whatsoever, and to get them to look at the world, to recognize that it had shapes and so on and so forth, and these shapes had a past. You had to start at the very, very beginning and then gradually get a student to see what he wanted to see, or she wanted to see.

**Jenny Keller:** We came back with these gorgeous, velvety, nuanced, full-spectrum drawings that surprised all of us because it turns out that a ballpoint pen is a very versatile drawing tool. It responds to pressure. And ballpoint pen ink is actually a beautiful velvety black. So, we had this stuff. And he said, "These look like etchings! These are gorgeous. I've learned something here." I felt like we all did. It was a really fun thing to

do as a student, to have a teacher assign you something and then be visibly surprised at the results, to say that they learned something.

**Jasper Rose:** There were all sorts of different things you could learn from students. The worst thing you could learn from them was that they would be obedient and just do as they were told. I was determined that they should not do that, that as soon as possible they should say, “I’m me and I want to be taught this and that and the other, and I don’t want to be pegged as though I’m some sort of second-rate monk or whatever.” No, the first thing I think that I learned and that I hope most of the boys and girls learnt was that we were independent people with our own ideas, and we had our own responsibility to develop them. I hoped that they realized this, and that they were going to find their own way through all sorts of strange corners and all the vices, and that in fact they were bloody lucky because it wasn’t a very conventional education, and it wasn’t a very conventional curriculum. They could find their own way here and their own way there, and if they didn’t want to find any way anywhere, they could bugger off!

**Herman Blake:** And the other side of Jasper Rose. One of the things Jasper did was those students would learn and sing “The Messiah.” All the students—they would learn “The Messiah.” He’d be coming out of the dining room at Cowell practicing. (howling) He’s got this thing in his hand, the music, and he’s practicing, singing to himself.

Jasper never taught without his academic robes. Always wore his academic robes, which I don’t think ever saw a cleaner or a laundry in all the years he had them. And he took his hat off and bowed to every woman. She might be going way over there, and look, here’s Jasper. He’s not going to move until she reciprocated. You can say that’s humorous and it’s fun—and it is. You didn’t

“graduate” until you went through the ceremony. Until that time you were ‘graduand.’ All these words, oh— But what it was—it was about not taking yourself so seriously you end up abusing another person, but instead looking to lift them up.

**Jasper Rose:** What does it mean to have a college life? It means really getting to know faculty, and go through a complicated set of forms—which might be of any kind—in order to gradually understand what it is to be a human being, an adult.

**William Rose:** I think coming from Cambridge, England, to essentially the wilderness of Santa Cruz, must have been a shock to my parents. Where was the culture? There were no museums. So they had to suddenly create culture. I think that my father felt that he needed to create culture for people. By culture, I mean different events where people express and experience things together. He felt the need for people to have that experience. They didn’t have it, and he, as a sort of parent, was going to provide it for them. It wasn’t just T-shirts, and jeans, and the military state. Actually, life is a bit richer than that.

**John Dizikes:** Jasper Rose was a very remarkable person with a tremendously wide range of interests. I regarded him as a very good friend and admired him, though I also was aware of what an odd character he seemed to so many American students. And he gloried in that; he developed it. He accentuated it, relished it; right, he played it all out. He was not nearly as eccentric as he seemed to many, many people. But it was his way of dealing with the culture and with the more cautious and timid people. But he put people off because his style was one of going overboard. He did not believe in personal restraint, and he was a person who was interested in colleges, interested



in American students, but not very interested in American culture.

**Jasper Rose:** Working with Mary Holmes was absolutely wonderful. She and I, we could talk, talk, talk, talk. We had similar interests and similar resistances to interests. And so, week after week after week, we would produce highly entertaining courses for students. The initial course was just an introduction to art and to civilization, something like that. It was very general, and involved talking about, and thinking about, and doing all the major arts.

**John Dizikes:** Characters like Mary Holmes<sup>12</sup> were just a godsend, because she was so charming and captivating. And the most crucial intellectual influence the first three or four years was Bill Hitchcock, the lecturer in World Civ, the Cowell core course. He was a marvelous lecturer.<sup>13</sup>

**Page Smith:** A great deal of the character of the college came from that World Civilization course, which I believe was the most successful of all the so-called college or core programs.<sup>14</sup>

**John Dizikes:** For students of the first few years Bill Hitchcock was the captivating central figure, those lectures on all sorts of subjects. And they weren't irrelevant, because he would continually refer back to contemporary events. There was never a sense that there was an academic subject here, and everything else is over here. This place was very much connected with the world.

**Jasper Rose:** Bill was a special case. He was a very close old friend of Page Smith's. So he was there right at the beginning. He knew his onions, so to speak.

**Herman Blake:** Barbara Sheriff, who was Dean McHenry's administrative assistant, used to refer to UCSC—she would never answer the phone this way—but it was the “Universal Collection of Scholarly Comics.” So it was serious academic work, but also joyous human work.





---

Figure 8

Mary Holmes, professor of art history,  
teaching in the East Field House

Circa 1966

Photo by UCSC Photography Services

---



---

Figure 9

Cowell and Stevenson Colleges: aerial view of the construction, with the Student Housing Trailers, January 1, 1966

Photo by Vester Dick

---

## “It Was a Very Social-Science Place”:

### Stevenson College

**Susan Sward:** I’ve had a couple of classes over at Stevenson.<sup>15</sup> I note a real difference in the atmosphere. I have friends that went to Cowell last year, that were put into Stevenson this year, that I hardly ever see. I think the small college system is working. You were supposed to choose Stevenson, for the most part, if you had more of a social science orientation.

**Sheila Coonerty, Student:** I moved with a bunch of my friends to Stevenson. We got rooms with views. We got to pick them out while they were still building it. We got to pick out the rooms we wanted. That was our reward for having lived in the trailers in the middle of mud for a year. So we had the third-floor rooms with these huge cathedral windows that one way looked down the redwoods; the other way we looked out at the ocean. It was unbelievable.

**Glenn Willson:** The two initial provosts had slightly different attitudes. Page Smith was more involved emotionally in the UC Santa Cruz exercise than Charles Page.<sup>16</sup> Page Smith had been eleven years at UC Los Angeles and was angry about the indifference of the system towards students. So, he was particularly protective and particularly, in the best sense, sentimental about the exercise. Charles Page, while he had been a Smith College man for years, struck me as being a little more removed, a little cooler towards it—very kind and considerate, but not quite so inclined to take a paternalistic view of the attitude of the provost and the college towards its students as Page Smith was.

So, in the recruitment of faculty there was a difference right from the beginning. I think Page Smith went out, very, very enthusiastically, with

his ideas about the college thing, his concept of it, looking primarily for people who shared that kind of involvement. Whereas Charles Page, while he was perfectly aware of all this, put professional, scholarly attainment of the more orthodox kind well ahead in his estimation of people. I think he took on people, perhaps without instilling into them as much of the collegiate idea as Page Smith may have done with his faculty.

**Dean McHenry:** We started working on the second college, and the financing was very difficult. The money-raising for Stevenson’s been a terrible job. It’s cost almost as much for bait as the value of the fish. And the expenditure in staff time has been tremendous. Once you name a college, especially for somebody who is dead, you have great difficulty getting people fired up about it. Those who could easily give fifty or a hundred thousand dollars bought me off with one thousand each. It’s a great disappointment. Almost everything possible has gone wrong.<sup>17</sup>

**Jean Langenheim:** As a founding fellow of Stevenson College, I jumped into the spirit of the endeavor with both feet, becoming one of the college’s faculty preceptors. In that role, I lived in one of the college’s eight houses, with forty students. I ate most lunches and dinner with them in the dining commons. I considered living in Stevenson College a blessing because, as a single woman in a new location, it provided me with a family sense of belonging. Dinner conversations were seldom dull, since the students were enthusiastic about their participation in this experiment and the preceptors were experts in different fields—Russian literature, philosophy, and psychology, among



---

Figure 10

Jean Langenheim teaching  
a class, 1966

Photo by Steve Rees

---

others. Topics might range from a Russian novel to the latest evidence for the origin of humans.

**Michael Warren:** I started out in Stevenson, which was a very merry place. It was an energetic place. It was a noisy—it was a very social-science place. It was extroverted. It was risky. It was funny. It was lively.

After one year, Charles Page left and Stevenson had as its second provost Glenn Willson. Willson was a very dignified man, but with a good sense of humor. Stevenson had College Night once a week. I used to go from time to time. It used to have a sherry hour before College Night. And it was very social. In that sense, it was an imitation of an Oxford college. We made all our primary social connections and friendships through the college.

**Murray Baumgarten, Professor:** I came to Santa Cruz in the first year of Stevenson College. I came here because I knew that UCSC was going to do something different in university education.

**Jasper Rose:** Stevenson College became very much better organized than Cowell or Crown. Our dear Glenn Willson as provost ran Stevenson College quite efficiently because he'd been doing this kind of thing all over the place.

**Glenn Willson:** One of the major differences I had with the founding fathers was that they wanted to have colleges with academic slants. I never thought this would work, and I never liked it. In fact, after I'd been provost for a while, I let it be known that Stevenson wouldn't really have a social science slant, although it would have rather more social science faculty than other places because that's the way the allocation had been made, but that we would be a liberal college of arts and sciences.

I remember Dean wrote me a little note or was overheard to say to somebody that my attitude in this matter was a sort of unilateral declaration of independence. I am really quite opposed to the notion of dividing up undergraduates into colleges by the nature of what they're going to study. I think they're undergraduates, who ought to come for a liberal arts education. I think it's the end of a liberal education if you say, “Well, you're mainly scientists but you can tolerate a few of the others,” or, “You're mainly social scientists but you can have a few humanists, etc.” I didn't like it.

I'm not suggesting that we had any stand-up fights about it. We didn't. I would say that's what Stevenson himself would have felt, frankly. From all that I've read of his admirable speeches and statements and attitudes, I'm quite sure he would have been happier with the notion of an across-the-board college of the arts and sciences, rather than a college with a very specific slant in one disciplinary direction. So that was a point of view which I had. I don't know how all my colleagues felt about it, but they didn't quarrel with me much. And so I take it they accepted it.

**Michael Warren:** I always said that Stevenson was Los Angeles, and Cowell was Harvard and Yale. It was much more dignified. I always wore a shirt and tie and a jacket in both colleges, but some people in Stevenson didn't. Cowell was very much collars and ties. It was World Civilization core course, whereas Stevenson was Culture and Society.

**Audrey Stanley, Professor:** Well, Stevenson was rather jolly. It had a sort of special hour when everybody would tuck into the booze. I didn't particularly drink, so it wasn't my kind of thing, but there was a tremendous feeling of cooperation. Provost Glenn Willson was an ex-Brit who'd done work all over the world, really, in Australia and many places. He got me to do a presentation

which involved faculty and students and staff, a reading or a play. *A Child's Christmas in Wales* was one of them, and *A Christmas Carol*, which I adapted from the Dickens novel.

**Glenn Wilson:** The College Night thing was Page Smith's invention, I think, and was established during the first year. Cowell had College Night fixed as Thursday night while we were all down in the field house and the trailers. Stevenson College took the idea over as well, and we had Monday night.

College Night demanded a great deal of stamina and willpower to ensure that it become an institution. It's just part of modern life, and particularly modern California life, that students are brought up with the belief that freedom of choice is the greatest good in the world and that nothing, nothing, should interfere with their freedom of choice. And while the Stevenson faculty were very much individualists, very conscious of individual freedom, they knew, as good academics, that your freedom will be enriched if you also have a certain amount of discipline, a certain amount of structure.

In the colleges, these two things came into conflict all the time. I found myself saying, "Look, it's surely a good thing that college people should all come together once a week and eat a meal in a little more civilized state than you normally eat meals, and sit down and be served and talk together afterwards and listen to something or watch something for half an hour." And everybody would say, "Oh yes, that's absolutely splendid." But, of course, if there's something else that they wanted to do more, then you were not expected to say, "Don't do it." The only way to overcome that fragmentation, their lack of loyalty, was to try to make the thing a tradition, which people felt a little bit worried about flouting too often, and to make it attractive enough to be worth

attending. It had to have some real meaning. So we operated on the basis of starting by having sherry for the faculty, and inviting faculty and visitors' wives to come and drink in the common room and then go down and join the students for dinner. We started with a fairly formal kind of high-table situation. I even bought candlesticks and we used to call it "Candlestick Park."

**Ronnie Gruhn, Professor:** I loved the idea of College Nights and speakers. I loved the idea of the faculty after College Nights getting together, or before College Nights in the faculty commons, and afterwards having a speaker from amongst us, people who came back from trips, or were doing new research. There was an intellectual life. You didn't have to do it, but if you wanted to be drawn in, you could be drawn in. That appealed to me a lot, even the sort of pompous side of it. Stevenson used to have a high table. The high table was the provost, some faculty who would be asked to come sit at the high table, and then some students. It was a separate table, raised slightly. It really was a high table, which was after the English, Oxford model. But it also meant that you could have visiting speakers and they could interact at dinner with faculty and students. Students were always part of this. It was good. It was pompous in some ways, but it was also good.

**Peter Scott:** We had these wonderful sophomore seminars at Stevenson College. I still have a document about the history of the Wilder Ranch that was produced by students. There were these three students that did this wonderful job, with fantastically high-quality photographs, and good writing, and good research. It was a class of eighteen or so: *Current Topics in Conservation*. We took a bunch of topics and two or three students to each. It was kind of pre-dating the environmental studies board on the campus. We had this

little group of environmental activists amongst the students and it was great!<sup>18</sup>

**Ronnie Gruhn:** I was part of a Stevenson major which was called Modern Society and Social Thought.<sup>19</sup> I helped organize it. It was the idea that there were many aspects to the second half of the twentieth century. New things were happening politically, economically, socially—independence, development, integration of populations. And instead of that being segmented into different disciplines, maybe if people would study some history and some economics and some literature and so forth, some of these subjects would be illuminated. Faculty with backgrounds in the social sciences, humanities, even sciences, taught different courses. Students were meant to find a topic of research interest to them that benefitted from these courses and maybe took the work a little further.

**Glenn Willson:** The biggest success of all was what is now the Stevenson Coffeehouse and that was very amusing. It was started as a recreation room with nothing in it at all, except some quite pleasant gay furniture—“gay” in the old sense. The present provost, Dennis McElrath,<sup>20</sup> for some reason or other called it the “Jolly Room,” and everybody thought it was a British importation and they all accused me and Jasper Rose, or any other poor Englishman, as imposing this anachronism of a “jolly room” on them. But it had nothing to do with us at all. To this day I don’t know why Dennis called it a “Jolly Room,” but he did and it stuck. But the “Jolly Room” was just a bleak, bleak place for about two years.

But then one day we had a takeover of the “Jolly Room” at one of the heights of the Vietnam War protests. A group of students made it a sort of campaign headquarters, and oh, we had all sorts of problems. The old question came, “How long do

you sit and do nothing about this? Do you bring in the troops, or what do you do?”

Fortunately, just about two or three weeks before this happened, the headquarters people had brought a visiting fireman round who was a potential donor. They arrived and they looked around and I met them and walked around with them. As we were walking out of the college, I pointed out the “Jolly Room” and said we’d always wanted to turn it into a coffeehouse. The chap said, “Well, well.” We shook hands and then I forgot about him. They were always coming around with people like that.

However, just after this crisis arose, I got a call from Central Services, from Gurden Mooser,<sup>21</sup> who said, “Remember the chap who came to Stevenson and you took him around?” I said, “Yes.” He said, “Well, he’s given you \$20,000 to start the coffee house.” So, how wonderful. And what we did was to bring in the workmen with pneumatic drills to start to dismantle part of the building. This brought the protesters out with headaches quite quickly. So we achieved two objects at once.

It was not to be a hamburger joint. And it was not to have loud pop music all day long. It had to have quiet music for most of the time and a mixture of music. The art people were very helpful because they said, “Oh, what a lovely place to hang pictures.” And Marshall Sylvan, one of the math faculty who is a wonderful college man, personally built most of the tables in there. He’s a cabinet-maker. So, a lot of people were involved. Those sorts of facilities are fundamentally important in completing the things a community needs.

**Audrey Stanley:** Particularly if, like me, you didn’t have a family, then the college was, in a sense, one’s larger family.

**William Shipley, Professor:** The first year or so we did all the things that we had planned to do. There



were lots of independent studies. Sometimes I'd have twelve or fifteen independent studies, as well as the classes I was teaching. We were very loose and free.

Alfred Kroeber, a famous professor of anthropology at Berkeley, was a mentor of mine.<sup>22</sup> I first knew him when I was twenty-one years old, and he was still in his early sixties. His grandson showed up in those early years at Stevenson College. His name was Karl Kroeber and he was a very charming, funny guy. He had a pickup truck, and wanted to build a log cabin on the back of his pickup truck. He wanted to get independent study credit. So, I said sure. It was like that.

**George Von der Muhll, Professor:** The great sociologist David Riesman, who in the late 1950s wrote a book that was probably the most widely read social science book outside the academy in its time—it became Book of the Month—called *The Lonely Crowd*—Riesman came to UC Santa Cruz for a while. He was very impressed by what he saw. He said, “What has happened in the United States is that undergraduate colleges have increasingly defined themselves, and the quality of themselves, with reference to how well their students will do in graduate school. So it's kind of a preliminary to graduate school. It is not a distinct experience.” He thought this place was wonderful because it left room for self-discovery.<sup>23</sup>

**Michael Warren:** The thing that I've always valued at this place is that it started out with the idea that undergraduates were intelligent people who should be treated as intelligent individuals. Yes, there was a university structure. Yes, there were things demanded of them. But these were people who should be talked to as if they were independent, able to make up their minds for themselves in many matters. And this was

exhilarating to come into. The whole campus had a kind of exhilaration about it.

**Robert Adams:** I don't think there's any other institution in the country where students have the kind of relationship with faculty, if they want it, that they have here. It's fostered by the college and it's based in being interested in undergraduates. It isn't just found in the colleges. Faculty members are open to students in many ways that they aren't at other places, even in their board activities. It permeates the whole campus.

It was a self-selection. A certain kind of academic came here. They may be terribly hardline professional, and I know that some of them are, but still, the notion was that students could be your friends. I don't know how else to describe it. It was a marvelous thing—sometimes a little bit paternalistic—but that's all right. It worked. You knew students by their first names. You had them to your house occasionally. It wasn't quite what the catalog made it out to be, but it was there. And that just does not happen on any other campus that I know.

**Nancy Wolfberg:** At Berkeley, there was such a difference between faculty and students. I got to meet only one faculty member, and I did that because he invited one student from each quiz section out to lunch a week, just because he wanted to get to know the students. So I met one. That was all. The rest of the time they were away on a podium, it seemed miles away, and I never would think of talking to them.

What I found after I transferred to UCSC was the small classes, and the opportunity to meet with faculty outside the classroom, in their homes. That is something that was inconceivable at Berkeley.



---

Figure 11

Harry Berger, 1966

Photo by Eric Thiermann

---

**Michael Farney, Student:** The best things here are the individualized instruction and small classes. You can see your instructor before and after a class and in between. And you also have ready access to most of the research facilities here.

**Harry Berger:** Page Smith wanted to get rid of anything that was like what was normally done everywhere else. I liked the idea of people all getting together and not being isolated. I always thought—French Department, Spanish Department, English Department was sort of artificial.

I differed from Page in a lot of things. He was a wonderful guy for that job. But he was also very impatient and full of big gestures. He'd ride a white horse into class and wear his three-corner hats. He'd do all sorts of weird stuff like that. He was a performer, and people like myself were not, in that sense, at all. We were performers in a totally different way. But he did his thing and we did ours. And he was supportive of us. He used his power and authority to help us get going.

**John Wilkes:** I had never been around such brilliant men and women: literature professors Tilly Shaw, Tom Vogler, Harry Berger, George Amis. All of them. As far as I could tell, they were geniuses. They were amazing, staggering. What came out in class discussions was just fantastic.

The dimension of those discussions that interested me most and completely knocked me over, really, when I first experienced it through Harry Berger, was the close reading approach to literature that Yale apparently fostered and developed. So close, that we would talk for an hour about one line of poetry and still not exhaust it, or come close to exhausting it. Berger would keep pointing out different angles on that one line that you could look at it from, and it would vibrate even more for you. It was staggering because all

of the reading I had done had been kind of speed-reading. I just read fast and got the gist of things. And now, suddenly, I'm getting down inside the print itself and looking at the world through it. It was just unbelievable what it did to my experience of literature.

**Michael Warren:** At Berkeley, the tradition of undergraduate education in lectures was that people would do a play a week of Shakespeare, and the person lecturing would basically tell people about the play and tell about its interpretation and what it meant and so on. When I came to UC Santa Cruz, I found that people didn't teach the work; they taught the problems of the text and the problems of the interpretation of the text. That was something distinctive here. Students had a right to their own voices.

**Linda Luder, Student:** I'm an interdisciplinary major. This is a major I set up myself because I was interested *not only* in studying just historical development, but in tying it together with art, philosophy, psychology, literature. I tried to be a literature major and I found that there was just too much that I wanted to include. When I finally established the major, Dr. Carlos Noreña helped me set it up.<sup>24</sup> He suggested the title, Romance Studies, which is a popular major for graduate work in other universities, and he felt this would cover my major. It means a study of the development of the Western Empire after the fall of the Roman Empire.

I spent my first quarter in Italy working on an archaeology project with Rick Bronson. He's our history teacher. It was a marvelous opportunity to be in Rome and to actually be finding these ruins which related right to my major.

I have benefited tremendously from the freedom that I've had, as far as getting an education here—taking the courses I wanted to take,

the freedom the professors have given the students in their classes, getting away from the old exam system, and letting students write subjective papers involving their own interest, their own person, their own majors, and then the freedom that we've had in doing our own research and studying things which actually relate to us, rather than sticking right to the subject which is supposed to be taught.

**John Dizikes:** Michael Cowan and I founded American studies. He was a professor of American literature. We became aware of how many students would come and say, “I'd like to do an interdisciplinary independent study.” I would say to them, “Well, sure, I'll direct it, but you realize I'm not an authority in that regard. You want to write about James' novels; I like Henry James, he's my favorite novelist. Sure, I would read it, but I'm not an authority.” And Michael Cowan would have people come to do subjects in American culture and history.

We began to collaborate, and American studies moved through all the metaphysical levels of university bureaucracy. It began as a series of independent studies; it then became an independent major; it then became a committee; and it then became a board, and then we could employ people and bring other people in. I was conscious from early on of wanting to avoid that business of getting stuck in a narrow subject. I had to keep myself alive intellectually. The way I found I could do it was to move into a broader series of subjects, above all, in American studies, the history of the arts.

**Audrey Stanley:** I felt liberated. I felt free to explore and experiment and carry out ideas. It was like a cork coming out of a bottle. People were buzzing with ideas. It was wonderful, and non-conformative. There was a quality of *exchange* that was genuine. You could try out things and you'd find students would support that. It was a

two-way stream. It was all that I'd been able to teach, without the grading system and in a freer atmosphere.

**Peter Scott:** I have always enjoyed music, and on several occasions, I composed songs about the various physics courses I taught. At the end of a course—for the last twenty minutes or so—I would bring out my banjo and sing the song I had composed for the course, a kind of a course review. I would get the students to sing along, at least for the chorus. I offered this as kind of a treat, and of course the students enjoyed it, but since I was raised by a rather strict father, I thought it was cheating a little, to not spend every class moment with the physics, even for those last twenty minutes.

Then in subsequent years, students would arrive at the start of a course (like Physics 5A, for example) and someone would say, “I hear there's a song. Can we sing it?” Later on, I read that the learning of musical skills, like playing an instrument, or singing, tends to enhance the ability to think rationally. After that, I felt okay about using my songs in the courses I taught. We would sing our song at the beginning of a course. Some students would wonder what was going on, but then by the end of the course, when we sang the song again, they would understand, and it was wonderful. Now, every once in a while, someone will come up to me and say, “I had you as a physics teacher. What I remember about that course was that we sang a song!” It turned out to be a successful technique, to enhance the learning process by singing about the course material.

**Audrey Stanley:** My first play here at UCSC was Aeschylus *Ecclesiazusae*, experimental, with two casts, one all male and one mixed.<sup>25</sup> It's where the women take over the government and say to the men, “Well, you can have free food and free sex.

But there have to be conditions about the sex. And the older the woman, the more prerogative they have.” One scene in the play is with three hags, as they are listed, obviously pulling the young lover who’s come to serenade his sweetie up in the balcony, pulling him by his phony penis. And in the all-male cast, it was a rollicking good fun. But in the mixed cast, it had an element of danger about it, which I can’t quite sort out.

Later, when I did the bicentennial production of *The Birds*,<sup>26</sup> I had a faculty-staff cast, and a student cast, and the chorus was the students in both productions. I asked the chancellor and he was quite pleased to be part of it. Norman O. Brown was part of it. The campus engineer was part of it, and people in theater arts, obviously the faculty in theater arts. So it led to something rather special—the feeling of being all together and not just separate faculty and separate students and separate staff. There was a feeling of companionship.

**John Lynch:** Harry Berger and I taught a course in Cowell, an upper-division course, in which the students actually took over the class. These were amazing students. They said that what inhibited discussion was that Harry and I had picked the reading list, and these are all things that we knew a lot about, since we had studied them. They didn’t realize that some of the things we hadn’t studied that much ourselves. They thought, well, you’re experts on this and this makes it impossible for us to have a real discussion because you’re an expert and we’re not. So they decided to tear up our reading list and impose a reading list of their own, which were all things that we hadn’t read and they hadn’t read before either, so we were all on equal footing.

We let them do it. It was hard. We had to read things like the Jewish Roman writer Josephus instead of Plato. I had maybe read a paragraph of Josephus before. And they were constantly

experimenting with things, like we’d come to the class and there’d be no tables or chairs in there, just rugs and pillows. They were trying all kinds of different formal arrangements and informal arrangements. And then, for the reading list, they all came in and we had a discussion which was not led by us. They didn’t want us to lead the discussions. We participated in it, but on an equal footing with them because we all had just read the same stuff together for the first time. And they decided where to go with it. The students worked amazingly hard. Several of them wrote papers on the readings and put them on reserve, so that we had to go and read student papers that were assigned to us.

**Harry Berger:** We were very lucky. We had a great bunch of students. They were terrific the first few years. We all got along pretty well. There were always a few students who wanted to firebomb the place, and firebomb us, but that’s the way things always happen.

**John Lynch:** I think probably the most notorious student-directed seminar proposal I got was from two of my very colorful classics students, very imaginative ones, who devised a course called *Pantology*. They had the *Information Please* almanac and a lot of the big reference works on the reading list. Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*<sup>27</sup> was on there and Hesiod’s *Works and Days*<sup>28</sup> and other encyclopedic works. What they tried to get at was: how do you study everything at once? How do you learn about wholes, not just parts?

The pantology class was mocked, as not just the study of everything, but as the study of *anything*, because it inquired into the study of holistic visions of things. One week, for example, was eggs, the idea of an egg. People went and researched everything they could find out about eggs and then they came in and talked about eggs.

Which came first, the chicken or the egg? They had incredible discussions in this class. And in the discussions, they had utopian visions of things. The Drive-In was thought to be a great utopian vision, the idea that you could have a Drive-In everywhere, and not have to get out of your car. So, they spent a week just thinking about different kinds of things that were adapted to a Drive-In situation, what happened there, what the future of the Drive-In concept might be. I went to the classes. They were some of the best discussions I've heard.

**Herman Blake:** John Dizikes and I taught a course together called *The History and Sociology of Nineteenth-Century America*. We found we spent as much time informing, educating each other as we did teaching the students. It was a wonderful course. John's a historian. I'm a sociologist. One would lecture one week, one the other week—I think we had that in the syllabus. We got to the last lecture. What we did was we outlined the last lecture: eight—maybe—key themes or ideas. And we alternated between giving the themes. And we did not, did not review the ideas we were going to present with each other in advance. So we walked in the class. John went, then I went, and so forth. Students gave us a standing ovation. They were absolutely thrilled by this intellectual—I won't say tour de force—but it was, for me. John always likes to say they gave us a standing ovation because the class was over. But I think it was more than that.

**John Dizikes:** The dozen or so multidisciplinary courses I taught with other faculty members were the most exciting courses I ever took part in. I learned a tremendous amount from Todd Newberry, from Norman Brown, from philosopher Maurice Natanson,<sup>29</sup> Bert Kaplan,<sup>30</sup> Karl Lamb—all the various members that I taught with. We taught classes that we thought attracted

students—we know they did—and students who were very much engaged.

There was a very important history book written about the history of the potato in European culture. You might take something like that and develop it and show that it has very rich and important ramifications. That's what Page was doing in the chicken book<sup>31</sup> and his famous chicken course, but people who wished to denigrate that kind of study seized on it as a mockery. He was delighted with their mockery. He invited it. He knew that they were being absurd. They didn't know what his course was. They never came and heard about it. They only heard of it and said, “Ah, you see? Page Smith and the history of the chicken,” and this and that.

But I disagreed with him about his interpretation of the chicken. I grew up on a chicken farm, and I used to say to him, “You have a romanticized notion about this. You don't know what it is to gather eggs and clean them and deal with these stupid creatures.” So one year, when our son was maybe a year old, Page came by at Christmas and he brought a little box filled with chicklets, little chickens. I said, “Thank you very much,” and took them back and gave them away to somebody.

**Herman Blake:** I taught a course with Dilip Basu, a historian, on the role of violence and nonviolence in social change.<sup>32</sup> I came at it from the Black Panther perspective. He came at it from the Gandhi perspective. It was a tremendous experience, building relationships.

**Sheila Coonerty:** I came here in 1965. I was in the pioneer class.<sup>33</sup> I took a lot of Herman Blake's classes at Cowell. Herman was something of a forbidding figure. After you got to know him for a little while, you didn't feel that way about him. But we had heard he was really good and we wanted

to be in his class. He was a dynamite of a teacher. And we were scared to death.

I remember the first day. Okay, being an LA kid you don't know that much about flowers. I mean, we had daisy plants at our house. So they had daffodils on campus and I thought that daffodils were like daisies, the more you pick them, the more they grow. So I pick the daffodil on the way to class and I get to class with the daffodil. Herman gave me such a hard time because he was from the East Coast and it was like YOU-DID-NOT-PICK-THE-WILDFLOWERS. You just look at them and you love them. It scared me to death. Oh, I've blown the whole class now because I picked the flowers.

Herman expected you to have done the reading and he expected you to take part, but he was also extremely open to different points of view. What he wanted to do was to get the discussion going for different ways to look at problems. The class was *Sociology of Deviance and Conformity*, and he made us all question who we thought was deviant, and what that meant, and what it meant to conform. We read heavy-duty theoretical stuff that you have to really think about and then put it to use in your own life. He gave us a book on suicide by Emile Durkheim. Then he said, "Analyze it." I'm like, "What?" He said, "Just read it and write a paper telling me what you think about his ideas." I read it and I started putting ideas together. When I got the paper back, he just said SUPERB on it. And that was the first SUPERB I ever got.

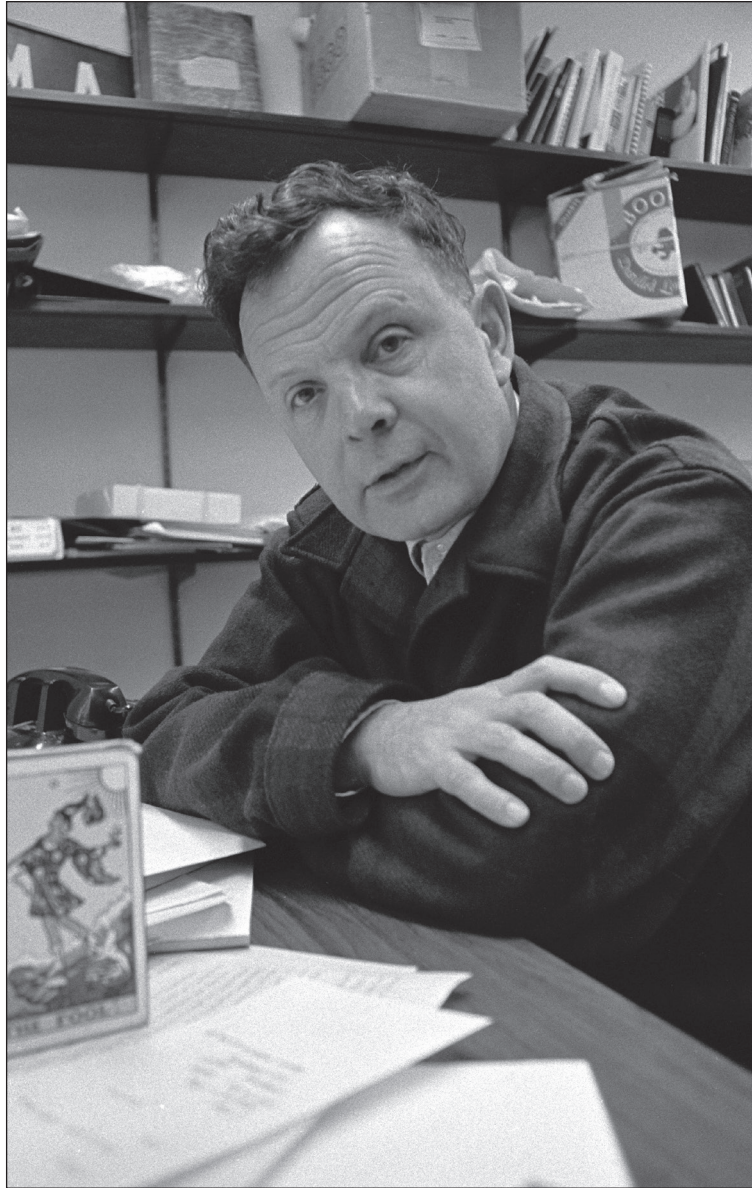
**Rita Bottoms:** Norman O. Brown's arrival on this campus was much heralded because he was incredibly controversial in the minds of some faculty members. He was a prize, a jewel in the crown of this place, but there were persons on the faculty that did not greet his arrival with great delight. It was hard to find a place to put Professor

Brown when he came. The classics department didn't want him; historians didn't want him. They created a chair of humanities for him.

I had heard of him and I knew what he wrote, and various things about him. I thought, well, I've got to go see what this is all about. So, in 1968, I would walk up the hill to Thimann lecture hall and sit as an auditor in his *Myth and History* class, which was the very first class he taught here. It was one of the most mind-nourishing experiences I have ever had.

I fell in love with Nobby. He would mention certain books of poetry in his class and I would go up to him afterwards and say, "We've got that in Special Collections." He would think it was something like a rare book, or something he couldn't find. I would say, "Come on by. We've got it." It got to be our way of meeting. Occasionally he would come to see me in Special Collections and I would show him some poetry. He would suggest ordering periodicals like Richard Grossinger's periodical, a little magazine *Io*,<sup>34</sup> and *Caterpillar*<sup>35</sup> and all kinds of extraordinary publications that were coming out at that time. He was tickled and one day he said to the class, "And now I will talk about the witch who has the cave in the library, Special Collections. Her name is Rita. Every time I mention a poem, she produces it out of nowhere." He had recommended Denise Levertov's "A Tree Telling of Orpheus," which is an exquisite poem.<sup>36</sup> There it was. So that is how we came to know each other.

**Katie King, Student:** I had read *Love's Body* in high school.<sup>37</sup> When I came here and found Norman O. Brown, I discovered that he was this incredibly conservative, frankly, rather pedant sort of person, clearly monogamously connected to his wife, and completely blown away when Jill Johnston came and put up a tent on his lawn. Norman O. Brown had written *Love's Body* and



---

Figure 12

Norman O. Brown, 1971

Photo by UCSC Photography  
Services

---



Jill Johnston had been writing in *The Village Voice*, in the dance column. And more and more, she was coming out in her dance column. Some of that writing later turned into *Lesbian Nation*.<sup>38</sup> We loved her writing. And apparently, and I don't know exactly when this happened, so this is just a story I heard—apparently she had read *Love's Body* and was so taken with it that she had come to Santa Cruz and set up a tent on Norman O. Brown's lawn which had completely taken him aback. People taking what he had said literally was apparently not exactly what he had in mind, or at least not with him. During one Culture Break a whole group of Maenads set on him—it was a Greek Culture Break at Cowell—and tried to tear his clothes off. He was terrified.<sup>39</sup>

**Jim Clifford, Professor:** Nobby said, “I like to walk. What are you doing tomorrow afternoon?” So before I knew it, we were on this very long walk—Nobby was famous for his walks—walking and talking nonstop. I didn't know what I was in for. He was looking me over, and he relentlessly questioned me while we wandered around in the labyrinth of fire trails above the campus. I had no idea where I was.

At the end, I felt completely exhilarated and completely wrung out, as though every bit of anything that I had to say had been somehow extracted from me. He became a kind of teacher-provocateur, even a kind of parasite on many of us younger faculty. He gave us the compliment of taking us seriously, grilling us for what we knew, extracting from us what we knew—always at some level in the service of whatever his own project was at the time. You always had the feeling that Nobby was very interested in you and what you knew, but that also it really was not about you, it was about his current visionary obsession. But it was flattering and exciting, because there was no small talk on these walks, no academic gossip. It was about big ideas. It was about historical happenings.

**Jasper Rose:** We were going to understand what human knowledge was all about, what the world was all about, what education itself was all about. It was to take us away from a narrow and self-confounding form of education.



## “Grading is for Vegetables”:

### Narrative Evaluations and Transforming the Student-Faculty Relationship

**Michael Warren:** One thing that made Santa Cruz so satisfying is that we were not grading.<sup>40</sup> The experience of working with the evaluation system and not grading people was so humane. It was so good. It was so responsible. I worked far harder reading students’ papers than I believe people putting grades on papers did. I like to think my students read what I wrote on papers. When I wrote evaluations, I knew who they were. When my TAs wrote evaluations for their students, they knew who they were, and I supervised their writing of evaluations. I think evaluations changed the tone of the classroom. If you can think of being in the classroom of eager seniors, where the question of whether “I’m going to get an A in this course” is not apparent and doesn’t matter—it is liberating. I thought it was magnificent.

Jasper Rose once memorably said, “Grading is for vegetables.” I’ve never forgotten that. It’s the kind of thing he loved to say, and he was right. He wanted to transform the way students regarded themselves in the educational process. He and Page Smith were on the same page on that, and they were right. And we had marvelous students. It worked. The narrative evaluation system was one of the best tools a teacher in the humanities could possibly have. It altered completely the student-faculty relationship. It altered the way that students wrote papers and then read my comments on them. It meant that education was conducted in a way that talked about people in terms of words, not in terms of letters. That matters a great deal. It humanized the whole relationship.

**Herman Blake:** I felt that I could be more intense about the learning experience because we had the narrative evaluations and the focus was not on

grades or exams. The focus was on learning. It was a constantly growing, expanding environment.

**Audrey Stanley:** I’d done most of my teaching without grades, and in the arts that was very helpful because it allowed one to concentrate on the growth of the individual student rather than an abstract letter grade.

**John Wilkes:** Writing evaluations was a lot of work. But I enjoyed it, because it was a way of summing up what I’d been telling each student, because I wrote editorial comments on their papers and their stories, and usually a long head note or end note to try to sum up. So at the end of the quarter, or the end of the course, I would take the opportunity to write a summation of summations. I took it as an opportunity, more than a burden. I like writing letters to people and that was what I saw it to be.

**Susan Sward:** I’ve always worked as hard as I possibly could and done the best I ever could. And my attitude didn’t change. I haven’t worked less with this system. A pass is not easy to come by, and very many of my friends whom I consider extremely intelligent have flunked at least one class. One quarter of the students flunked the World Civ examination at the end of the first year. That was a very large jolt to the attitude of the students.

**Michael Farney:** One thing I like about Santa Cruz is I can go outside of my major and take liberal arts courses, and even if I am competing against the liberal arts majors, I can still pass. It will be on my record that I passed and got credit for the course,

even if, say, compared to a liberal arts major, I wouldn't get a very high grade. The instructors are usually fair and write down on their evaluations, "The reason he did not do as well as the rest of the class is that he is a science student, but for a science student he did well."

**Glenn Omatsu, Student:** I think pass-fail is a good thing. In a lot of classes, I have gotten very interested in the subject matter and I have done a great deal just on my own. In other classes, the subject matter hasn't interested me that much, so I have spent a minimum amount of work to pass, and then gone off and done my own things that interest me a little more.

**Richard Fernau, Student:** Right now, I'm down on pass-fail. I was positive on it for two years. But I think the pass-fail puts an awful lot of pressure on the teacher. The success of the pass-fail rests on the teacher. The reason I say that is because there're so many courses that I've taken where I haven't got an evaluation. The teacher just won't do it. It's *really* disconcerting. I think UCSC needs to somehow clamp down, make the pass-fail work more, by putting either more weight on the professors, and if it's too much weight, then go back to grades. I know it's hard. I really feel for teachers. It is very hard to sit down and try to write those for every single person. Maybe it's so difficult that the system cannot work.

**Bill Domhoff:** Not all the faculty that said they were big supporters of narrative evaluations turned out to be willing to write them in a timely fashion. Students would say, "I haven't gotten an evaluation for three or four of my courses. A couple of them I need because I'm going to apply to grad school." Professors who said they were for evaluations didn't want to do them. Then they'd act dumb and wouldn't learn the rules.

**Kenneth Thimann:** I wasn't in favor of the lengthy written appraisals of students. The idea was quite nice, but, in fact, it wasn't practical.

**Time Magazine:** Most faculty debate this far has centered upon a system of awarding only "pass" or "fail" grades to students. Since Santa Cruz draws students only from the top eighth of high school classes, McHenry doubts that "we need to put them through the spanking machine, impose the fear of flunking, or a C or a D, on them."<sup>41</sup>

**William Rose:** The ranking (grades) is a bit like a class system. You grade people A, B, C, D, and F. My father [Jasper] very much disbelieved in that, and very much believed in giving a sense of people's personality, character, strengths, and perhaps weaknesses, what they were enthusiastic about, where they really blossomed. So you couldn't categorize them. You couldn't put them in a box and say, "Well, this is an A; this person is first class. And this person is a second-class person, and this is a third—" As a humanist, he didn't believe in that kind of classification and seeing people in classes. He saw them as much richer kind of things than that.

**Ed Landesman:** When I came here, when you taught classes that had ten or twelve or twenty or thirty students, the narrative evaluation system was superb. It was fantastic. I was writing something really meaningful about every student in the class because I knew every student. It had meaning, incredible meaning. If a student started in those early years and was not in large classes, they had a book written about them when they left here. And a meaningful book.

## Endnotes

1. A bit of background on UCSC's college structure: The *Undergraduate Program Catalog* of 1965-1966, illustrated with photos by Ansel Adams, begins, “The University of California at Santa Cruz has little to be pretentious about—a handful of buildings under construction, an architectural staff concerned with the physical planning of the campus, and a small initial cadre of faculty. But it has great expectations. It seeks an approach to higher education in which teaching and research—the essential segments of a university's life—will each have its proper place. The purpose of Santa Cruz is not to emphasize undergraduate teaching at the cost of research or graduate instruction, but to see that all three exist in proper balance. What is proposed at Santa Cruz might be best understood as a kind of academic federalism. The monolithic university has less capacity for change, less responsiveness to human needs, than a congeries of groups of human scale united by common ties and common purposes. The colleges at Santa Cruz will be intellectual states within a federal university: each will have its own traditions and history, eccentricities and commitments. In the balance of power within the university, the undergraduate colleges together will help to achieve an important equilibrium. The colleges at Santa Cruz are designed to strengthen undergraduate education by making natural the communication—between student and teacher, between students, and between fields. The involvement of faculty in the life of the college is as important as the involvement of students. Therefore, with few exceptions, members of the faculty will be members also of a college and contribute to its educational program. Many will occupy studies, as well as teach within the college. Some will live in college quarters; the colleges should have responsibility in the area of basic ‘general’ education, but campuswide faculty in each field should be responsible for programs in their specialty.”

Researchers interested in the evolution of UCSC's college system over time are encouraged to consult the archive of UCSC catalogs in Special Collections at the UCSC Library, as well as several studies of the college system, including Patricia Dorsey Bassett, *A Study of the College System at the University of California, Santa Cruz*, 1990, and Carlos G. Noreña, *The Rise and Demise of the UC Santa Cruz Colleges* (Berkeley: Berkeley Public Policy Press, Institute of Governmental Studies, University of California, Berkeley, 2004).

2. Clark Kerr, “The Santa Cruz Dream.”

3. “Dean McHenry brought in Byron Stookey, Jr., as Head of Academic Planning. Stookey had been in charge of Harvard's Freshman Seminar program, and believed a real collegial system would be in jeopardy if the power to hire, promote,

establish degree requirements, and allocate budgets rested solely with organized faculty.” Patricia Dorsey Bassett, 5.

4. *Solomon's House: A Self-Conscious History of Cowell College*, 45-46.

5. The article Wolfberg refers to may have been James L. Garret, “Santa Cruz After One Year,” *Saturday Review* 50, January 21, 1967.

6. “Until well into the seventies, Santa Cruz was obliged to redirect the applications of four out of five qualified applicants to other campuses of the University of California,” from George Von der Muhll, “The University of California at Santa Cruz: Institutionalizing Eden in a Changing World,” chapter in Robert M. Jones and Barbara Leigh Smith, eds. *Against the Current: Reform and Experimentation in Higher Education*.

7. *San Francisco Sunday Examiner and Chronicle*, September 22, 1968.

8. *Daily Californian*, March 1, 1966.

9. Norman (Nobby) O. Brown (1913-2002) joined the UCSC faculty in 1968 as a fellow of Cowell College and as Professor of Humanities, the only UCSC faculty member ever given that title. Brown taught a variety of courses, mostly through the History of Consciousness Department, until his retirement in 1981. Brown was born in Mexico and educated in Europe; he trained in classics at Oxford University. Brown's influential scholarship and teaching encompassed the classics, theology, history, psychology, sociology, and literature.

10. The world-famous Amadeus string quartet was founded in 1947 and disbanded in 1987. Three of the members were Jewish refugees from Nazi Europe.

11. *San Francisco Sunday Examiner and Chronicle*, September 22, 1968.

12. “Mary Holmes's affiliation with UCSC began in 1965 when she arrived from Los Angeles as a lecturer in art; she was promoted to associate professor of art in 1971 and retired, as a full professor, in 1977. Prior to her time at UC Santa Cruz, Holmes was a lecturer at University of California, Los Angeles. After retirement, Holmes lived for many years on a 100-year-old ranch in rural Santa Cruz, with a menagerie of animals. For 20 years, she faithfully attended the Penny University, a salon-style gathering she co-founded with old friends and UCSC colleagues historian Page Smith and philosophy professor Paul Lee.” Excerpted from: Jennifer

McNulty, "Mary Holmes, Beloved UC Santa Cruz Art Historian, Dead at 91," January 22, 2002. <https://news.ucsc.edu/2002/01/47.html>.

13. During the campus's first years, many of the colleges offered core courses, in addition to courses taught within the college structure by college-affiliated faculty. Core courses varied in length. In 1966-67, Cowell College offered a two-year core course *Western Civilization*. Stevenson College had a one-year core course *Culture and Society*, followed up by a second year of sophomore seminars. When Crown College opened in 1967-68, it offered a one-year core course called *Science, Culture, and Man*. In 1971-72, Merrill College offered, but did not require, Merrill 1: *Social Change in the Third World*. College Five offered a one-year core course that combined studio and lectures to give students literacy in the arts. Undergraduates were expected to meet college requirements, campuswide breadth requirements (in American history, English composition, etc.) and the requirements of their major.

College courses were open to all UCSC students. Each college was headed by a provost, who lived on campus. Every faculty member affiliated with a college as a "Fellow" of that college. Each college's Fellows were drawn from many fields; together with the provost, they planned a program of courses to be offered in that college. Faculty taught both for the college and for a disciplinary board of studies, which "extends across all colleges, sets criteria for majors, initiates graduate programs, and ensures the maintenance of high academic standards for the discipline." (UCSC 1970-71 *General Catalog*). The boards clustered within three divisions: the humanities, the social sciences, and the natural sciences. The arts were subsumed within the division of humanities. Boards had far less institutional and budgetary power than departments in more traditionally-organized research universities. Some colleges also offered majors. These included Aesthetic Studies at College Five; Modern Society and Social Thought at Stevenson, and Arts and Crafts and their History, at Cowell.

14. Some of William Hitchcock's lectures from the *Western Civilization* course were recorded and are available for listening in Special Collections, UCSC Library.

15. Stevenson is less extensively documented in print than Cowell, which received an exceptional degree of attention as UCSC's founding college.

16. Charles Page, Stevenson's founding provost, stayed through the college's first year (1966-67). He was succeeded by F.M. Glenn Willson in the summer of 1967.

17. UCSC's budgetary shortfalls date back to the campus's beginnings, as evidenced by this Dean McHenry excerpt.

Part of the original intention had been to pay for the extra expense of the college system through private donations, but those were not easy to secure. College Eight, established in 1972, secured its endowment and became Rachel Carson College as recently as 2016, and several of the colleges remain unendowed as this volume goes to press.

18. Edeline L. Fulcher, Robert M. Levy and Susan L. MacDonald, "A History of the Wilder Ranch," 1970. Available in the UCSC Library.

19. Modern Society and Social Thought was an interdisciplinary major program offered by Stevenson College. International in scope, it was grounded in both the humanities and the social sciences. The curriculum emphasized theories of social change and the light they shed on social conditions and human problems in industrial societies. Modern Society and Social Thought provided the first home for Murray Baumgarten and Peter Kenez's groundbreaking course *Holocaust: The Destruction of European Jewry*. Modern Society and Social Thought was eliminated during Chancellor Sinsheimer's reorganization of the late 1970s.

20. Dennis McElrath was a member of the founding faculty of Stevenson College and the sociology board of studies; he served as Stevenson provost from 1985 to 1991.

21. Dean McHenry appointed Gurdon Mooser assistant chancellor for university relations. Mooser formed the UC Santa Cruz Foundation in 1974.

22. Alfred Louis Kroeber (1876-1960) was a giant in the development of modern American cultural anthropology. He taught at UC Berkeley from 1901 to 1946. He served as director of the university's Anthropological Museum and also as curator of anthropology at the California Academy of Sciences in San Francisco.

23. See Gerald Grant and David Riesman. *The Perpetual Dream: Reform and Experiment in the American College*.

24. Carlos Noreña came to UCSC in 1967 as an assistant professor of philosophy, retiring in 1996. He served as provost of Stevenson College from 1991 to 1994. He died in 2011.

25. *Ecclesiastusae*, probably produced in 391 BC, plays with gender inversion, obscenity and farce; it is the earliest surviving work in the Western Utopian tradition.

26. *The Birds* is a comedy by the Ancient Greek playwright Aristophanes. It was performed in 414 BC in the City of Dionysia.

27. “The Metamorphoses” is a Latin narrative poem by the Roman poet Ovid. Encompassing fifteen books, the poem chronicles the world’s history from its creation to the deification of Julius Caesar.
28. “Works and Days” is an agricultural poem written by the Greek poet Hesiod around 700 BC.
29. Philosopher Maurice Natanson taught at UCSC in the campus’s early years and helped found History of Consciousness.
30. Psychology professor Bert Kaplan taught at UCSC from 1965 to 1989. He was a founder of History of Consciousness.
31. Page Smith and Charles Daniel, *The Chicken Book* (San Francisco: North Point Press, 1975).
32. Dilip Basu joined UCSC’s history board in 1971. Initially named a Fellow of Stevenson College, Basu collaborated with Herman Blake in the founding of Oakes College in 1972. In 1989, he became a fellow of Merrill College. He chaired the Programs on East Asian Studies and South and Southeast Asian Studies.
33. Sheila Coonerty is a psychologist with a long-established practice in Santa Cruz.
34. “In 1965 Lindy Hough co-founded the literary journal *Io* with Richard Grossinger. *Io* became one of the most influential literary magazines of the school of poetry called New American Poetry.” <http://www.lindyhough.com/writing/io-magazine>.
35. “*Caterpillar* was started by Clayton Eshleman as a series of chapbooks. ‘The Caterpillar Glyph,’ an image of a small napalmed Vietnamese girl, was printed on the cover with the statement ‘until the end of the war this black caterpillar,’ revealing the outspoken stance taken by Eshleman as an editor. *Caterpillar*, ‘a magazine of the leaf, a gathering of the tribes,’ began publication in October 1967.” <https://1960sdaysofrage.wordpress.com/2018/02/27/caterpillar-clayton-eshleman-1967-1973/>.
36. Denise Levertov (1923-1997) was an English-born American poet, essayist, and political activist.
37. Norman Oliver Brown, *Love’s Body* (New York: Random House, 1966).
38. Jill Johnston, *Lesbian Nation: The Feminist Solution* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1973).
39. Maenads are female followers of the Greek god of

wine, Dionysus. The word comes from the Greek *maenades*, meaning “mad” or “demented.”

40. “In a preliminary meeting of the Academic Senate before its first meeting as a Division, one of the most controversial, distinctive, and persistent features of the Santa Cruz experiment—the proposed Cowell grading system of Pass/Fail (later Passed/Not Passed)—was adopted, though the fight to preserve this exception to the system continued into the next year when the Statewide Assembly of the Senate finally granted approval of the experimental program, subject to a five-year trial. Written evaluations were to be prepared by instructors in lieu of grades.” Bassett, 7.

41. *Time* magazine. May 13, 1966.

## Illustrations

Figure 1. First registration day: Page Smith, provost of Cowell College, giving directions to a student, 1965. Photo by Ansel Adams. Courtesy Special Collections, University Library, University of California, Santa Cruz, MS 2: Ansel Adams Photographs: ms0002\_pho\_0048.

Figure 2. First registration day: September 28, 1965. Photo by Ansel Adams. Courtesy Special Collections, University Library, University of California, Santa Cruz, MS 2: Ansel Adams Photographs: ms0002\_pho\_0123.

Figure 3. Pioneer Class “Opening Day”: Betsy Avery, senior preceptor, meeting with freshmen. Photo by Vester Dick. Courtesy Special Collections, University Library, University of California, Santa Cruz. Gordon R. Sinclair papers, 1957-1979: MS 290: ms0090\_pho\_0015.

Figure 4. Pioneer Class: Mike Gerber (center) and other students, discussing a possible yearbook with Chancellor McHenry, 1965. Photo by Vester Dick. Courtesy Special Collections, University Library, University of California, Santa Cruz, MS 90: Gordon R. Sinclair Papers, 1957-1979: ms0090\_pho\_65\_1793\_161.

Figure 5. Cowell College mobile home housing with construction debris, 1965. Photo by Ansel Adams. Courtesy Special Collections, University Library, University of California, Santa Cruz, MS 2: Ansel Adams Photographs: ms0002\_pho\_0282.

Figure 6. Byron Stookey, 1966. Photo by Steve Rees. Courtesy Special Collections, University Library, University of California Santa Cruz, MS 288: Steve Rees photographs of the University of California, Santa Cruz: ms0288\_neg\_066\_11.

Figure 7. Cowell Culture Break: Cowell College human chess game. 1968. Courtesy Special Collections, University Library, University of California, Santa Cruz. UA 50: UCSC Photography Services: ua0050\_neg\_04245a\_11.

Figure 8. Mary Holmes, professor of art history, teaching in the East Field House, 1966. Courtesy Special Collections, University Library, University of California, Santa Cruz. UA 50: UCSC Photography Services: ua0050\_neg\_00082b\_08.tif.

Figure 9. Cowell and Stevenson Colleges: aerial view of the construction, with the Student Housing Trailers. January 1, 1966. Photo by Vester Dick. Courtesy Special Collections, University Library, University of California, Santa Cruz. MS 90: Gordon R. Sinclair Papers: ms090\_pho\_66.584.

Figure 10. Jean Langenheim, professor of biology, teaching a class. Photo by Steve Rees, 1966. Courtesy Special Collections, University Library, University of California, Santa Cruz. MS288: Steve Rees Photographs of the University of California, Santa Cruz: ms0288\_neg\_051\_40.tif.

Figure 11. Harry Berger, professor of literature. 1966. Photo by Eric Thiermann. Courtesy Special Collections, University Library, University of California, Santa Cruz. Eric Thiermann Photographs of the University of California, Santa Cruz, MS 290: ms0290\_neg\_0043\_31.tif.

Figure 12. Norman O. Brown, professor of humanities. 1971. Courtesy Special Collections, University Library, University of California, Santa Cruz. UA 50: UCSC Photography Services: ua0050\_neg\_sc0482a\_16.

## Chapter 6

# “Amazing People Would Appear”

## An Unexpected Flourishing of the Sciences

*It never occurred to us that we were on the humanities campus. We were in the complete university.*

—Todd Newberry

### Kenneth Thimann and the Seeds of Science

**Dean McHenry:** Clark Kerr wanted a charter for each college, a basic statement of what it was going to do and where it was going to go. Kerr felt that they would, if you didn't direct them, become peas in a pod. I felt that they all ought to emphasize liberal arts, that their style would come from the personality of the provost, the disposition of the faculty, and so on. I think we compromised somewhat, but the first three colleges did have this utilitarian feature of rounding out the faculty of humanities emphasis, social sciences emphasis, and science emphasis.

The biggest compromise was over science. Kerr took the position that these colleges ought to be as autonomous as possible, and that students in a college should not have to go for freshman chemistry to a distant place. I argued that science was so expensive that it had to be centralized, that every little college couldn't have an electron microscope, that every little college couldn't have

a safety officer and a storeroom for volatile chemicals, and that it was very difficult to combine living in colleges with the smells of chemical laboratories, even freshmen labs, and the deliveries and noise and busyness and heavy equipment that would be required.<sup>1</sup>

If you're going to have real science, it is sensible to have centralized facilities, so that even a freshman student can be rubbing elbows with, perhaps a member of the National Academy. We argued about this for some time in the 1961 and 1962 period. My views were that science had to be centralized, and as I traveled in Britain and over the United States, I couldn't find any scientists who felt that we could have first-class science if it were not centralized. Eventually, our compromise was simply that I withdrew my objections to a science-emphasis college, if he would withdraw his objections to a science center. And we proceeded on this basis.



**Ed Landesman:** Dean McHenry didn't feel that comfortable with science. That's not to say he wasn't in favor of it, but that was not his comfort zone. His comfort zone was the social sciences and humanities.

**George Blumenthal:** Nat Sci II [in 2018] is nothing but a long corridor of offices, with almost no space for people to congregate and talk. It's a very unwelcoming place. It was designed that way because the goal of McHenry was not to have the laboratories to be places where faculty would hang out. He wanted faculty to hang out in their colleges. Therefore, he wanted buildings like Nat Sci II to be unwelcoming places that were functional; you could do your laboratory stuff there, but he didn't want them to be the social centers of the campus for faculty. But what it meant for scientists was that we didn't have good spaces to interact.

**Michael Nauenberg, Professor:** I was originally interviewed by Page Smith. Page Smith told me what he thought a physics department should be like. At the end of the conversation I said, "Well, you mean, you want to have a history of physics department in Santa Cruz, not a physics department?" I didn't like what I heard, and I thought, well, I am also interested in research in my own field, and if this is what his ideas are—

At the time, there were no scientists here. Nobody in the sciences had been recruited yet. Francis Clauser and Kenneth Thimann had not yet come aboard, or were only being considered.<sup>2</sup> It would have been difficult for me to develop my own ideas of what I thought a physics department should be like. I decided that with someone senior like Page Smith being the provost, and having ideas so fundamentally different from what I thought should be done to develop the sciences here, it was kind of risky. So I sent a long

letter to McHenry and said that I was interested, but that I would postpone coming here until I saw more clearly where his institution was going.

**Jean Langenheim:** Although it was a period of change in the recognition of women, as part of the newly ignited feminist movement, there were few women among the UC faculty in 1966. I was the only woman in the natural sciences faculty at UCSC for seven years.<sup>3</sup>

**Donald Clark:** Dean McHenry had these fresh ideas, great ideas. Since this was not going to be a science campus, in his early thinking he maintained that the library here should have much more money poured into it than the other campuses. What the laboratories were to science faculty, the library here should be to the humanities and social sciences, and to the liberal arts, and we shouldn't be bound by these restrictions.

Dean was very strong on the notion that we should have a science reference collection, not a science library. It would contain current journals, basic reference tools. We even scaled down the size of the proposed library.

**Ed Landesman:** But McHenry certainly made the great move when he brought in Kenneth Thimann. That's what changed it. Thimann came in and brought in heavyweights in science. And in many cases, they wanted to come here because of the uniqueness of the campus.

**Donald Clark:** Then came the appointment of Kenneth Thimann, an outstanding appointment, one of the great leaders of the world in his field, a highly-respected Harvard professor who had previous contacts with California at Caltech, even though he's from England.

**Michael Nauenberg:** A year later, I was invited back. By that time, Francis Clauser was here as a vice chancellor for science and engineering, and Kenneth Thimann had accepted the position as chairman of biology and provost of Crown College. When I spoke with both of them, their ideas resonated with my own. They clearly understood the role of science. We were going to have a serious physics department.

Above all, I was interested in graduate studies. I remember that when I mentioned graduate school to Page Smith, I got a blank stare back from him. Without a graduate program in physics, I would not have contemplated coming here. But they assured me that it would, in fact, be in the plan to have a graduate program, not just undergraduate teaching, which I was very much interested in too. But I didn't want to be in a four-year college instead of a university, where you teach only undergraduates.

**Donald Clark:** So Kenneth came and he brought with him some of his graduate students. The campus hadn't planned to have a graduate program for some years. But there it was, overnight. The buildup in science was much earlier than I think Dean anticipated. But along with Kenneth Thimann came other people in the field of science.<sup>4</sup>

**Burney Le Boeuf:** I took graduate students right from the very beginning. We gave a PhD in biology. I think we gave doctorates as early as 1970.

**Ed Landesman:** When I applied for the position at UCSC, I had a great interview with Kenneth Thimann. However, I was incredibly naïve. He asked me, what do I do? I started explaining to him that I work in differential equations and what I do, et cetera, et cetera. I'm sure he didn't really know all of the details I provided. A very bright man, but

not into mathematics. And I, as naïve as I was, said to him, “What do you do?” And he said, “Oh, I'm a biologist. I play around with biology or botany.” He was extremely, extremely modest.

But Thimann was a superb researcher—a member of the National Academy of Sciences—and a first-rate scientist. He came from Harvard. At the same time, as much as research was important to him, I never saw any change in his attitude when it came to teaching, when it came to the Crown core course, when it came to doing specialized seminars, when it came to talking about the dormitories. When it came to any issues related to the college or education in general, it was like there was no change in attitude between that and doing top-notch research. I was always impressed by that. Not only did Kenneth bring to the campus superb people in science, which really made it a strong place for research and teaching, but Kenneth was always open-minded as far as other related things that could enhance the research, teaching, and service. It was part of his nature to think of all of those things, even though he was such a famous scientist.

**George Blumenthal:** To know Ken Thimann was to know how serious he was, and how seriously he should be taken, because he was a scholar of great renown. He had tremendous influence within the science division, and on campus as well. He was somebody I was quite impressed with. When he spoke, people listened. I didn't hear a lot of people, even argumentative people, argue with Ken Thimann. When he spoke, that kind of ended the argument.

**Donald Clark:** Kenneth Thimann brought a sizable personal library which he turned over to the university. Ted Youngs gave his mathematics library to us. So overnight the notion of a science

reference library dissipated, and we had a full-scale science library.

**Kenneth Thimann:** They were planning Thimann Labs when I came. Of course, at that time it wasn't called Thimann Labs. It was Natural Sciences I. But it was planned as science laboratories. It was the first real classroom building on the campus. For the first year, they taught all the subjects in here.<sup>5</sup> You would hear strains of violin as you walked down the hall. It was quite amusing. Gradually, the other disciplines moved out, as other buildings on the campus were completed.

I had the interesting job of being dean of the Division of Natural Sciences and had to think about making appointments in various fields. This is very time consuming. Before leaving Harvard, I knew that that's what it would be, so I had made some contacts with people at MIT, Harvard, and Brown University. I knew a lot of people in the sciences.

For example, Jean Langenheim. I was looking for biologists for Stevenson. Jean had been at Radcliffe. She had a complicated career: she had been at Berkeley; she'd gotten divorced. Her husband was a rather well-known geo-botanist and geologist. She came to Radcliffe on a program they had for older women returning to academic life, so I knew her. I wrote to a former colleague at Harvard, and he strongly urged me to take Jean. She's now the president of half the scientific societies in the country. She's president of the ecologists, which I think is the largest biological society.

**Jean Langenheim:** In my teaching I preferred not to use the popular new textbooks but to go directly to research papers and focus on studies of some of the rich plant and animal diversity in the Santa Cruz area. On the campus alone, we had had two thousand acres of varied vegetation, ranging

from redwood forest, through chaparral, to grassy meadows with their associated animals, as well as Monterey Bay and its marine habitats, to study. In an innovative spirit for biology courses, we established a unique lecture-laboratory program in which I taught a course in plant ecology and my colleague taught one in animal ecology. We took long, several-day trips around California, from high mountains to desert and various coastline sites. We bridled at the suggestion that our unabashedly scientific natural history studies, which included experimentation and quantification, lacked rigor. Our ideas were close to those of an emerging group of population ecologists interested in biodiversity and integrating evolutionary theory into ecology.

I also taught an upper-division *Plants and Human Affairs* course with Kenneth Thimann. It was a privilege to teach with Thimann, as he was not just a preeminent plant physiologist but genuinely enjoyed teaching undergraduate students about plants. He was a man of culture, typifying the image of a scholar and gentleman. We often had the front of the lecture room filled with plants, plus we used many slides from both Thimann's and my world travels. Both Thimann and I attended all-day Saturday field trips with the class to hear about such topics as selective cutting of redwood with a local lumber company, and with the aid of UC Extension, comparison of organic farming with large, conventional Salinas Valley crops of strawberries, carrots, and broccoli.<sup>6</sup>

**Kenneth Thimann:** I proposed Harry Beevers in biochemistry.<sup>7</sup> He's in both fields—physiology and biochemistry of plants. There were a lot of hot-shot biochemists at Berkeley who couldn't understand a researcher combining those fields. They were more medically, more animal-inclined. So, we had a little trouble. Finally, I got Lawrence Blinks to back me up. The two of us persuaded

McHenry that he should make that appointment. No sooner had we offered it to Harry than Harry was elected to the National Academy.

Then Ray Collett.<sup>8</sup> We got together because at Harvard I had been interested in the Arnold Arboretum. UCSC was given the gift of some eucalyptus trees. Somehow, I got to talking to Collett about it and how we ought to have an arboretum here.

Joe Bunnett's been a great success. He chaired chemistry for a long time. He dashes about all over the world now for the International Union of Pure and Applied Chemistry and he's a bigshot. He was off in China last year.<sup>9</sup>

**Todd Newberry:** Amazing people would appear. For instance, in 1966, Alfred H. Sturtevant, who was in many ways the founder of modern cytogenetics and one of Thimann's old friends at Harvard, came and taught genetics. It was like learning, maybe not evolution from Darwin, but almost. There was a sense of people of that stature being here as a show of support for Santa Cruz and for Thimann himself. Or it was the fabulous reputation of the place. Adolph Seilacher came from Germany and taught the invertebrate paleontology course; he came for a year, spent his sabbatical here. I audited the course. I think there were about nine of us in there, but there should have been nine hundred.

**Gary Griggs, Professor:** I decided I should offer a course in oceanography. There wasn't one here. There was a marine biology class, which was taught by Todd Newberry and a guy named Lawrence Blinks, who came from Hopkins. I put up a sign up list outside my office. Todd said, “You might want to put it outside my door.” All of a sudden one day, I hear this huge throng of people—he had let his class out; they were all running over to sign up for my oceanography class.

Everybody had to take three sciences. Nobody wanted to take calculus, nobody wanted to take chemistry, so they took marine biology, oceanography, and astronomy. So, in March, after teaching this class with eight people, I walk in—and I still had a tie and a coat—and there were two hundred and sixty hippies, dogs and tie-dye and patchouli oil, sitting on the floor. I have such a fond memory of it. I had never really taught, except this first little class. Here I'm teaching *Oceanography*. I'm really excited. I love it. Here are these kids. I'm two or three years older than they are. I just remember being very humble about it. I was enthusiastic. At the end, after the quarter was over, the thing that I will never forget is they all stood up and clapped. It was the most amazing feeling.

**Burney Le Boeuf:** I have been the director of research at Año Nuevo Island for the State Department of Parks and Recreation since 1967. When I came here, Kenneth Thimann was the Crown College provost. He said, “Well, we have an island nearby. If you came here, would you consider doing research on seals? It's only a half hour away.” Of course, I answered yes, because I wanted the job.

It wasn't until December that I visited the island in the company of Richard Peterson, a young assistant professor of biology who had been trained at Johns Hopkins University School of Medicine and Oxford University. He had done his PhD thesis on fur seals in Alaska. And so here I am, I'm coming from a laboratory, basically, and suddenly I'm on this remote island surrounded by hundreds of noisy seals and sea lions. It was an amazing sight. I had many questions. It was December and the elephant seals were just starting to breed. When I saw the seals for the first time, it was obvious that some males dominated others and this implied a hierarchy. “Is that so, Dick?” He didn't know.



---

Figure 1

Burney Le Boeuf at the sea lion sculpture on Science Hill, 1986

Photo by Shmuel Thaler

---



---

Figure 2

Elephant seal weaner pup, Año Nuevo State Park, 2019

Photo by Irene Reti

---

We went back to Santa Cruz, and Dick Peterson and I wasted little time in writing a faculty research grant, a small grant, to get things started. I started going out to the island and got hooked very deeply right away. We divided up the work, so that Dick was in charge of the sea lions and I was in charge of the elephant seal project.

I was spending long weekends on the island and during the week did my teaching. The work took off very quickly. We were able to publish three papers in the prestigious journals *Science* and *Nature* in the first two years of our research. Then we got funded by the National Science Foundation.

We had bunk beds with a roof over our heads. The island had a lighthouse, and the lighthouse keepers had a very ornate Victorian house, but it had been abandoned by the time I came on the scene. The seals and sea lions had taken it over. There was sand all over the inside and the windows were popped out. But there was an old foghorn house, and there was what was called a gasoline storage area, which was the cookhouse for us. It was primitive. We had to take in our own water and our own gasoline, and of course, all food and drink, but it was perfectly all right. We didn't have a radio; we didn't have TV. When you were there over the weekend, it was very private, and isolated. You couldn't go out to Safeway to get more supplies. The simplicity was refreshing, both to me and, I think, to the students who accompanied me. Not much was known about seals and sea lions in the late 1960s. These animals, like most others, had not been studied in depth in their natural habitat.

From the time I got here, the Año Nuevo research showed that Santa Cruz had a very strong marine research component. At the same time, we started building a laboratory down at the Long Marine Lab. Ken Norris was here, with a great reputation for whales. We hired several

other people in the subsequent years; they continued to do marine research and we became well known for this research.<sup>10</sup>

**Gary Griggs:** The campus's original master plan was written in 1963.<sup>11</sup> Marine science was recognized as something the campus should develop, in part because we were the only coastal campus in the University of California north of Santa Barbara.

I remember sitting at a meeting at the old Whole Earth Restaurant on campus. Ken Norris had brought his assistant, his secretary from Hawaii, Patty Poodry. And here were Dean McHenry and myself. Ken was talking about the need to have a marine lab and running seawater, because we had a Center for Coastal Studies and the beginning of teaching, but there was no marine lab yet. Ken said, "You've really got to have a place where there's seawater." Ken studied dolphins and could see the need for that. He'd done that in Hawaii and UCLA. So, Dean McHenry said, "I've got a friend down here," who was a couple, Donald and Marion Younger,<sup>12</sup> who owned Younger Lagoon and all of the land from where the access road to the UCSC Coastal Biology campus comes in [in 2012], up the next couple of hundred acres. McHenry said, "I'll talk to them."

So, Dean McHenry met with Donald Younger, and he said he'd give us this sliver of land next to the lagoon. Ken was the idea guy; Bill was the get-it-done guy. Ken was an incredible scientist. Students loved him. People loved him. Great ideas. Just incredible stuff he'd come up with. Ken Norris and Bill Doyle worked together. Ken was this wonderful folksy guy. When people said, "How come you're studying dolphins in captivity?" He said, "Well, I'm giving them a sabbatical from the wild." He had a way of thinking about it.

Bill Doyle got into the nuts and bolts: “We need a building. We need the seawater system.” He brought in Dick Pierce, who came in as a researcher, but ended up being the go-to guy, and found this funky old surplus boat someplace, and found all these surplus trailers, and they found this whale skeleton up the coast they brought in.<sup>13</sup> Jack Baskin got involved and gave some money.<sup>14</sup> Somehow, they put that whole original lab, the two buildings and all the marine mammal tanks together with private money. Ken had dolphins. People started coming down there to look at what was going on. They brought in a doublewide trailer and started a docent-training program, a little public education, a little aquarium.

**Robert Adams:** There was one other thing the campus started with that’s very important, and that’s the Lick Observatory. Astrophysics here is one of the top departments in the science division.<sup>15</sup>

**Donald Clark:** Then the University of California decided to give the Lick Observatory an intellectual home at UCSC. Lick Observatory was somewhat of an orphan, in that it was up on Mt. Hamilton. At one time, it had actually been an independent campus. Its work was all with graduate students.<sup>16</sup> It really didn’t have much to do with undergraduate astronomy, or anything at the Berkeley campus. But it was transferred to the Santa Cruz campus. The habits of astronomers had changed over the years. They no longer felt the need to reside on the mountain. So the university shifted jurisdiction of Lick to UCSC, along with instruction, even though a graduate division had yet to be established.

**George Blumenthal:** When the campus opened, all of the astronomers from Lick Observatory moved to Santa Cruz. They’d been given a choice.

They had been located at the top of Mount Hamilton. That’s where their homes and their offices were. But there was a movement within the University of California to move them onto a campus. And it was felt it was inappropriate to have these professionals not associated with a UC campus. So, after a lot of machinations, they were ultimately given the choice of joining the UC Berkeley faculty, or coming to Santa Cruz, this brand-new campus. And they chose the brand-new campus, largely because so many of them were feuding with people at Berkeley, and they just couldn’t imagine joining the Berkeley faculty.

**Albert Whitford, Director, Lick Observatory:** Due to political shifts in the University of California, Lick Observatory in the mid-1960s needed to move to a teaching campus and become the nucleus of a teaching department in astronomy. By coming to a new campus, we could write our own prescription.

The move happened in November 1966. The astronomy board advertised for graduate students, a group that would arrive in the fall of 1967. We got a very good group. We wanted to emphasize the theoretical astrophysics side of this pairing of observers and theoreticians on the campus, a group that we hoped would be amplified by new appointments from campus budget support.

**Donald Clark:** Suddenly the University Library acquired the finest astronomical library in the United States, rich in historical materials as well as current material. Scientists in certain fields can depend on the literature of, say, the last five years. Astronomers have a historical background deeper than most of the sciences, so we had this historical collection. Up in Special Collections, you’ll find something that you shouldn’t expect on a new campus: all of the proceedings of the





---

Figure 3

Lick Observatory buildings in snow

Circa 1900-1907

---

French Royal Academy. There are also the proceedings of societies of other countries, astronomical societies—*Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Sciences*, whatnot. So here we had the influx of the astronomers.<sup>17</sup>

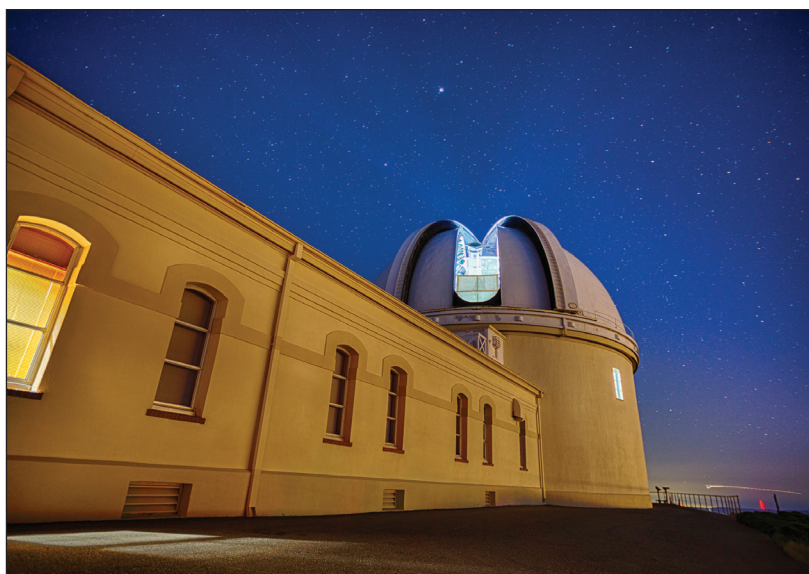
**George Blumenthal:** What attracted me to Santa Cruz in 1972 was outstanding astronomy. This was one of the best departments in the country, or the world, so why would I not want to be associated with it? They had some great people here. It was because of Lick Observatory.

**Albert Whitford:** In the nationwide competition for the very best graduate students, Lick Observatory has fared very well. We always get some of the first ten. I recall on a trip to Chile meeting a senior graduate student from Yale University who said, “Well, I thought Yale had the inside track on that chap, and he decided he’d go to Lick.”

**Michael Nauenberg:** The importance of Lick in the development of science at UCSC cannot be overestimated.

**Dean McHenry:** We started administering Lick affairs in ‘65, and we got them moved here in ‘66. It sort of dropped in our laps. It was something that we were glad to have happen. It gave us some prestige in the world of science that we hadn’t expected to have, including three members of the National Academy. We launched, almost at once, a PhD program in astronomy.

**Todd Newberry:** It never occurred to us that we were on the humanities campus. We were in the complete university. There was a sense of contemplating what we were teaching or doing, of asking that brutal question—“so what?”—that makes you step back from your own work, asking: why am I doing this? So what about your results, or about the subject you’re teaching. So what? Why are you doing it that way? To the extent that that’s a profoundly humanistic question, then yes, it’s a humanities campus.




---

Figure 4

Lick Observatory 36-inch telescope, 2017

Photo by Jonathan Chang

---

## Crown College: Adapting the Experiment to a “Science and Society” College

**Kenneth Thimann:** One of the times when I was visiting before coming in September of ‘65, I was there when Dean McHenry got a call from the Crown Zellerbach Foundation saying they had heard about UCSC and they would like to endow a science-oriented college.<sup>18</sup> We agreed we would accept the offer and he asked me what it should be called. I said it should be called Crown College.

So, it was decided. I had a lot of fun making a little letterhead with a crown on it. We had to be very careful about that. The printer suggested a crown and it was nothing but a coronet, a miserable thing. On the other hand, we couldn’t very well use the royal crown of Great Britain. But I got a picture of the royal crown of Denmark and we used that, making some slight changes.

**Angus Taylor, Chancellor:** The focus at Crown College was science and society, a very well-conceived idea. I think Kenneth Thimann pulled it off very well.

**Kenneth Thimann:** In 1965 and 1966 we spent a lot of time arguing with the architects. They had some funny ideas. But one of them I thought was the silliest. Crown’s dining hall was to be L-shaped. Well, anybody who knows anything about colleges knows that in the dining hall is where you have your major sessions—speakers, shows, whatever—and an L-shaped building is entirely wrong. You’ve got to have a hall. But they couldn’t see that. Architects are so sold on their own ideas; they don’t think about how a building will be used. They only think about what the building will look like.

I went up with McHenry to their office time after time in Palo Alto. Finally, I had to say, “I

can’t accept this. We simply can’t take it.” Then they really had to revise it.

**Mike Fresco, Student:** Crown’s beautiful—paneled rooms and red carpeting and wooden chandeliers in the dining hall.

**Kenneth Thimann:** When we opened, I had decided we would have speakers on one night a week—College Night. Crown College architect Mr. Ernest Kump told about designing the college and arguing with me. It was very entertaining.

The college was barely ready for occupancy in September of 1967. They were still doing finishing touches and they wouldn’t let us in. We finally got very mad and went in anyway. There were trenches all over and I was afraid students would break their legs.

**Marilyn Shea, Student:** I was at Crown the first year it opened. It was chaos. You took your life in peril getting to the Commons to eat and there were still open ditches. My mother drove up with me, and she was going to fly back, so we came by the campus on Saturday, although we couldn’t move into the dorms until Sunday. She wanted to see what it looked like. We got here about 4:30, and they were madly working to try and get the roads ready so that we could drive up to the dorms the next day. They had bulldozers going, and it was almost dark, and they were frantic.

It took about two or three months before the landscaping was anywhere near in. For a long time, I lived in the lower quad, and the lower quad was completely ungraded. Luckily, my dorm room was to the back of the dorm; the people in the front were constantly being wakened up at eight o’clock in the morning with those jackhammers



---

Figure 5

Crown College landscaping, 1968

Photo by UCSC Photography Services

---

underneath their windows. But I don't think, for all the dust in the rooms and stuff like that, I would exchange it. It was a unique experience.

**John Taub, Student:** The orientation at Crown College is more scientific. The students are, academically speaking, more involved with the sciences. I would say, in general, they're more removed from political and social activities. The serious students are pre-medical majors and scientists and they tend to be more compulsively organized than the other students because you have to be to be a science major.

**Frank Andrews:** I came to Crown College in 1967, the year that Crown started. I fell in love with the students. We spent five years in Crown College in Rutherford House as dorm parents. My wife, Jeanie, is really good at that and she cooks wonderful stuff. We always had a breakfast for everybody in our dorm, with their guests, every Sunday morning because the cafeteria didn't serve breakfast on Sunday morning. The Upper Quad was boys; the Lower Quad, down by the Crown provost's house, was all girls. Now, we did have some intervisitation. And a lot of marijuana smoke.

**Kenneth Thimann:** We got students to vote on the names of the houses at Crown from lists of names. We had what I thought were rather careful lists of outstanding scientific names and some of them were not voted for by anybody. We never had a Pasteur building, for instance. That disappointed me very much. The only reason why we had Clark Maxwell, a mathematical physicist, was because of the popularity of Maxwell House Coffee. They said they wanted to be called Maxwell House.

**Robert Adams:** When I came to Crown the first year, there was Aaron Waters,<sup>19</sup> Kenneth Thimann, Larry Blinks—the full professors were practically all in the National Academy. They were there because of Kenneth, and because of Francis Clauser, and because of people like Aaron Waters, who was very eminent in his own field of geology. So the sciences flourished very quickly. The eminent scientists start with Crown.

**Bud Kretschmer:** The Crown Chamber Players had free concerts. They had a marvelous collection of musicians—Rosario Mazzeo<sup>20</sup> and his wife Katie Clare Mazzeo.<sup>21</sup> Willie Van den Burg was a cellist/conductor from the Stokowski era with the Philadelphia Orchestra. The Crown programs were splendid. Kenneth Thimann was a big financial supporter.

**Kenneth Thimann:** We had endless discussions about how the college would be run and what its interests would be, educational policy and all that sort of thing. We had to deal with the scientists anchored to their labs, whereas humanities people can just lecture and read and write almost anywhere. They can do their work in the college. It was a little more complicated with science.

We had to get a senior preceptor.<sup>22</sup> He was a psychologist who was interested in youth, Max Levin. Levin was with me for many years and he was very good with students.

**Michael Nauenberg:** I was involved in Crown College. We had regular faculty meetings. We discussed programs. I was on an executive committee, and I came to discuss programs and other things. I got to know a lot of the faculty through the college. We also had events where we would invite faculty from other colleges.

We had not only the core course to think about, but interdisciplinary courses at upper



---

Figure 6

Crown Chamber Players: William Van den Burg (cello), Herbert Rogers (piano), Julia Zaustinsky (violin). 1966

Photo by Eric Thiermann

---

levels, especially for seniors. We had a lot of very interesting courses. We had one class on problems of Western civilization, in which I had Max Levin, the senior preceptor, and an economist, Sven Arndt,<sup>23</sup> and we focused on the economic, biological, and psychological aspects of the problems of Western civilization. I learned a lot and I hope the students did.

**Ed Landesman:** I remember teaching a seminar on *Responsibility*, a senior seminar in Crown, with a philosopher and a political scientist, who were both in Crown. I had the students read Jacob Bronowski's *Science and Human Values* and Rolf Hochhuth's *The Deputy*, and we talked about responsibility. I took the scientific point of view. The philosopher did his part, as did the political scientist. It was the hardest course I ever had to teach, but it was wonderful. It was out of my field. There were people that felt that was not the correct thing to do—if you're a mathematician, you should just be teaching mathematics. But my feeling is yes, we're mathematicians or physicists or whatever, but at the same time, we're academicians, and we know about other disciplines besides our own specialization. We may not be the greatest experts outside of our specialties, but you get three academicians together, each of whom has viewpoints on certain aspects of a discipline, and each of whom have read articles and books about that discipline, and you can do quite well.

**Burney Le Boeuf:** One of my avocations was wine making, wine discrimination, and viticulture. So, I taught a course in Crown College for about ten or eleven years on that subject, at first with Lawrence Blinks, who was a professor emeritus in biology, then with Joe Miller, an astronomer. It was a very successful course and it embodied the specialness of courses taught in the colleges. It

was very exclusive because we could have no more than thirteen students. This limit was practical: one bottle of wine gives about fifteen people a reasonable sample. We taught the course once a year. There was a great deal of competition to get in the course.

One of us gave a lecture on a grape or a wine-growing region of the world, and this was followed by a practicum, a wine tasting. Each student had six to seven glasses of wine in front of them and we'd do sensory evaluation for about an hour. Of course, wine loosens the tongue, and it was a delight to see a professor emeritus, a member of the National Academy of Sciences like Lawrence Blinks, in the same room drinking wine and becoming very informal, talking to students who were barely twenty-one. That was superb, some of the best experiences I had as a teacher. Was the course a success? Joe Miller and I agreed that we had more students go into some aspect of wine or viticulture business, as a result of taking this course, than in astronomy or biology, our professional disciplines.

**Robert Adams:** The whole notion of Crown College was very impressive. Kenneth Thimann himself—just going around the college with Kenneth—I remember him talking about the notion that he might have Crown stamped on the silverware. Well, you just knew you were somewhere else. It was an absolutely magnificent site.

**Michael Nauenberg:** I was participating in the design and the development of Crown College. My early experiences there were extremely favorable. Through Crown College, I met the biologist Cedric Davern. Eventually we teamed up and gave a college course on evolution, both molecular and astrophysical evolution. What I had hoped for at UCSC had, in fact, materialized.

## Endnotes

1. The 1965 *Undergraduate Program Catalog* acknowledged that “some teaching will be done most effectively in special facilities outside the colleges; that in the sciences, especially, there will be courses that must be housed in centralized facilities which serve the needs of many colleges.”
2. Francis H. Clauser was a aeronautical engineer who served as vice chancellor for academic affairs and was later named vice chancellor for science and engineering. Chancellor Dean McHenry chose him to spearhead the development of an engineering program at UCSC. Clauser also worked closely with Lick Observatory and was involved in the development of the marine sciences program. After the UC Office of the President decided to postpone the establishment of an engineering program at UCSC, Clauser left the campus in 1969 to become chair of the Division of Engineering and Applied Science at the California Institute of Technology. He died in 2013 at age 99.
3. Jean H. Langenheim, *The Odyssey of a Woman Field Scientist: A Story of Passion, Persistence, and Patience* (Xlibris, 2010), 230-233.
4. The astute reader may be surprised to discover that the development of science at UCSC, especially graduate programs in science, was somewhat haphazard. McHenry and Kerr were aware of the possibility that Big Science in the Cold War period could divert resources away from a liberal arts emphasis and also shift the focus from undergraduate to graduate education. For that reason, their original plan was to build up undergraduate programs in the humanities and social sciences for a few years, only later turning to the sciences and the development of opportunities for graduate study. The arrival of luminary scientist Kenneth Thimann changed all of that, as Thimann insisted that UCSC needed graduate programs sooner rather than later, and McHenry eventually acceded. The campus’s first graduate commencement was in 1969. Ironically, UCSC’s science departments—notably astronomy, earth sciences, and marine sciences—are now among the internationally highest-ranking programs in their fields.
5. For the first year, all UCSC courses were taught in Natural Sciences I, later called Thimann Labs.
6. Jean H. Langenheim, 230-233.
7. Harry Beevers came to UCSC in 1969 as a professor of biology. He died in 2004.
8. Ray Collett came to UCSC as a founding faculty member in geography in 1965. The campus intended to have a geography major at that point, but that later evolved into environmental studies. He was a Fellow of Crown College. Collett became founding director of the UCSC Arboretum, serving in that position from 1965 to 1997. He died in 2012.
9. Joe Bunnett came to UC Santa Cruz in 1966. Bunnett helped build UCSC’s chemistry board in the late 1960s and 1970s. He died in 2015.
10. See Burney Le Boeuf, Stephanie Kaza, and Kenneth T. Briggs, *Natural History of Año Nuevo* (Pacific Grove, CA: Boxwood Press, 1981).
11. *Long Range Development Plan for the University of California, Santa Cruz*. San Francisco (John Carl Warnecke and Associates, University of California, Santa Cruz. Campus Planning Committee, 1963).
12. The Younger family dates back generations in Santa Cruz history. Donald and his wife, Marion Younger, donated Younger Lagoon and forty acres of land for the site of UCSC’s Long Marine Laboratory. See the Hihn-Younger archive at Special Collections at <https://library.ucsc.edu/speccoll/hihn>.
13. Dick Pierce came to UCSC as a researcher in 1970, studying the diving physiology of marine mammals. Pierce helped Ken Norris select the site for and establish the Long Marine Laboratory. In 1976, Pierce became assistant director and the key player in the design and development of the Institute’s Long Marine Lab. Pierce died in 2011.
14. Jack Baskin is an engineer, business proprietor, and philanthropist. He founded UCSC’s Jack Baskin School of Engineering.
15. Lick Observatory was completed in 1888 at the summit of Mount Hamilton, near San Jose, California. It is named after James Lick (1796-1876), who left \$700,000 in his estate to purchase land and build a facility that would be home to “a powerful telescope, superior to and more powerful than any telescope yet made.” The observatory was originally transferred to the Regents of the University of California in 1888, and functioned as an independent campus of the UC system until 1958, when it was made part of UC Berkeley. On July 1, 1965, the administration of Lick Observatory was officially transferred to UC Santa Cruz.
16. Lick Observatory is a research unit and has never conferred academic degrees.



17. Special Collections at the UCSC Library preserves UA 36: Lick Observatory Archive.

18. Crown College opened in 1967, as the third college in the UCSC college system. While some science courses were offered through Crown, many were offered through the boards of biology, chemistry, physics, earth sciences, astronomy, etc. Many college-based courses were co-taught by several faculty members and were quite innovative. For example, in 1971-72 Burney Le Boeuf in biology and Joe Miller in astronomy co-taught Crown 144Q (1971-72), *Enology* (winemaking); Lawrence Blinks (biology) and Ray Collett (geography) taught Crown 144B, *The Problem of the Pollution of Air and Water*. Not all Crown courses were in science. Courses taught in 1971-72 included *American Country Music*, *The Visual Arts*, and *The Fortunes of Faust*. Also see Crown College Records: UA 103: <http://pdf.oac.cdlib.org/pdf/ucsc/uarc/UA103.pdf>.

19. Aaron Waters founded UCSC's earth sciences board in 1967. Waters retired in 1972; he died in 1991. His papers are available at UCSC Library Special Collections.

20. Rosario Mazzeo's career as a bass clarinetist included thirty-three years with the Boston Symphony. After retiring from the symphony and moving to California, Mazzeo focused on teaching and ensemble playing, joining the UCSC faculty and founding the Crown Chamber Players. Mazzeo was also a prominent photographer. The UCSC Library has a collection of Mazzeo's photographs.

21. Katie Clare Mazzeo has performed piano and harpsichord solo and chamber music recitals in Europe and the US.

22. A senior preceptor was something like a college-based dean of students: a faculty member who worked closely with the provost to steer the college's faculty advising and academic mission. Max Levin served as Crown College's senior preceptor from 1967 to 1982.

23. Sven Arndt was an economist who taught at UCSC from 1970 to 1991. He died in 2018.

## Illustrations

Figure 1. Burney Le Boeuf at the sea lion sculpture on Science Hill. 1986. Photo by Shmuel Thaler. Courtesy Special Collections, University Library, University of California, Santa Cruz. UA 50: UCSC Photography Services: ua0050\_neg\_0285-4127a\_09.tif.

Figure 2. Elephant Seal Weaner Pup. Año Nuevo Reserve. 2019. Photo by Irene Reti.

Figure 3. Lick Observatory buildings in the snow. Circa 1900-1907. Courtesy Special Collections, University Library, University of California, Santa Cruz: Lick Observatory Records: Photographs: UA 36: ua0036\_pho\_1344.tif.

Figure 4. Lick Observatory, 36-inch Refracting Telescope. Photo by Jonathan Chang, 2017. Campus Photo Archive: Communications & Marketing Department, UCSC. Copyright UC Regents.

Figure 5. Crown College landscaping, 1968. Courtesy Special Collections, University Library, University of California, Santa Cruz. UA 50: UCSC Photography Services: ua0050\_neg\_03216b\_03.

Figure 6. Crown Chamber Players: William Van den Burg (cello), Herbert Rogers (piano), Julia Zaustinsky (violin). 1966. Photo by Eric Thiermann. Courtesy Special Collections, University Library, University of California, Santa Cruz. MS 290: Eric Thiermann photographs of the University of California, Santa Cruz: ms0290\_neg\_0068\_40.

## Chapter 7

# A Living, Growing Campus

The Chadwick Garden and the Arboretum

*You can think of this place as having given birth to an element of culture. It's the genesis of a movement. The Garden was between Big Sur and San Francisco on the coast. It was organic from the beginning. It was right in the middle of those two centers of the back-to-the-land movement and the alternative culture of the late sixties and early seventies.*

—Steve Kaffka

### “A Righter Way of Living”:

#### The Chadwick Garden

**Jim Nelson, Student:** There was concern about the relationship between this growing university complex on the Cowell lands that it had acquired and the history of the Cowell lands, and the history of the Native Americans. There was concern about how this university was going to maintain its sense of place, the connection with the uniqueness of the land. How does the university fit into this beautiful forest land on the marine terraces?<sup>1</sup>

Then there was a visiting poetry professor named Donald Nicholl, from England, who gave a talk, “A Sense of Place.”<sup>2</sup>

**Jasper Rose:** I invited Donald Nicholl to come to campus. You couldn't help be impressed by

Donald because, to begin with, he was six foot five or something. He was very, very tall. And he had a kind of educational spread which went with that tallness. So he knew all about everything. He spoke in a North Country way. He had a very strong sense of his own accent and his own position. He represented the whole world of European education and scholarship and Yorkshire and Paris.

**Jim Nelson:** At the end of the talk, somebody asked, “How can we develop this sense of place here?” Nicholl laughed and said, “Well, there are three ways,” and the third one was: plant a garden.

In the audience listening to this talk was Page Smith, and Paul Lee, and also a woman named

Freya von Moltke, who was living with and taking care of a very prestigious professor named Eugen Rosenstock-Huessy.<sup>3</sup> He had been one of Page Smith's mentor professors at Dartmouth. He was a German Jewish man who had fled Germany during the rise of Nazism and Hitler. He was a religious person at a time when there was a lot of academic, intellectual conflict between science and religion. Rosenstock-Huessy tried to keep them together and openly spoke of his religious faith and spiritualism.

After this talk, there was this dialogue. An idea came up of starting a garden, a student garden. Freya von Moltke's late husband, the Count Helmuth James von Moltke,<sup>4</sup> was also a German man who was involved in politics and religion in Germany and had connections with philosopher/social reformer Rudolf Steiner<sup>5</sup> and those people in Germany. And he didn't flee the country. He stayed and tried to oppose the rise of Hitler and eventually was arrested and implicated in a plot to assassinate Hitler, and imprisoned and tried, and got to speak about God and this whole conflict of science and religion in the trial. But he was eventually executed by Hitler. In the last months of his life, the only person that was able to see him was this prison chaplain, who communicated back and forth to his wife, Freya. And one of his last wishes he expressed to his wife was that, "I see this great shadow, this darkness coming. And when it eventually passes, go somewhere, find somewhere in the world where you can start a garden, where young people will learn of creation, because there's so much destruction in the world."

Freya held that wish in her mind until 1967, when Don Nicholl was talking about a garden, and a sense of place. So, she said, "Well, I know the perfect man to start this garden." Alan Chadwick had been a longtime friend of hers. She knew that he was a consummate gardener and was committed to his vision of beauty and health, and maybe

organics. So, she wrote him a letter and asked him to come and start this garden. That story links it back into history, and to this human struggle to develop a righter way of living on the planet.

**Hal Hyde:** Alan Chadwick arrived at UC Santa Cruz in 1967. Alan was fiftyish. He was gaunt, sun-tanned, had blond cropped hair, and always wore clean but well-worn British khaki shorts, and stockings below his shorts and high leather boots—army boots, I guess. He was a veteran of the British army in North Africa. He was a charismatic character who immediately won everyone over. His project was turning a piece of hillside into a garden. He staked out, just below Crown and Merrill Colleges, a four-acre spot on the hillside.

**Jasper Rose:** Alan was quite an extraordinary figure. He wasn't part of the normal beginning planned for the campus. He was extramural and he was a surprise. You never knew what was going to happen, and then suddenly there was Alan. He was a little bit like a very, very grand vegetable.

**Hal Hyde:** Loosely affiliated with Cowell and Stevenson Colleges, with kind of the amused blessing of Kenneth Thimann, whose Crown College provost home was close by, Alan was hard to pin down as far as whom he was reporting to.

He was kind of a Pied Piper, a very interesting, charismatic gentleman. He started growing flowers. He had specific rules and opinions and methods, and touted the French intensive method, as he called the growing of plants and flowers, sometimes called double-spaded beds, raised beds, natural manure, fertilizer, working it into the soil. Horses were okay. No machines, no rototillers. It was all by hard work: spade work, hand watering. Hoses and pipes okay; all organic; no sprays. He was almost like a slave driver to willing students and apprentices. He kind of hopped around and



---

Figure 1

Alan Chadwick and  
students, 1971

Photographer unknown

---

was everywhere in the garden. And it worked. There were soon armloads of flowers being delivered all over campus by beaming, bright young people.

**Jean Rose:** Then he got disciples: students were so impressed by him they wanted to help him and join. He had a group of students who helped develop the Garden and made paths, stones around it, and planted things—flowers, wonderful flowers everywhere, and vegetables. There was a hut in which they would all eat. Alan, as he got more established, would invite people from the campus to come and enjoy a meal with the students and himself. We were invited several times and treated like royalty.

**Inigo Rose:** I remember the dinners at the Garden, served in a polytunnel, with fantastic salads. I always felt loved by Chadwick, and laughed when he told his stories. Wrestling with lions in Africa, playing tennis at Wimbledon and violin for important orchestras were all part of his tales. He used to catch the dead animals on the road as he rode his bicycle up to campus, seven to eleven squirrels sometimes. He got me into riding.

**Jean Rose:** When Jasper was provost, every week we were given a big bunch of beautiful flowers to put in the provost house. I would go to the Garden and collect it, always a little frightened of Alan because he had a powerful temper and could be quite terrifying.

**William Rose:** Alan had been, I think, in the navy, and had experienced the awful side of war. My brother and I were playing at soldiers in the garden next door to him, and Alan got so upset by that. He said, “Oh, war is so terrible! You nasty boys. How can you play at something so foul?”

We were little innocent boys. We had no idea. He wanted to do something that was truly pacifist. I think that gardening is what did it for him.

**Paul Lee, Professor:** What was unique about Alan Chadwick was that he could reveal mysteries to you that nobody else knew about or had a clue. He’d even act it out. The nuptial flight of the queen bee. The layer of shellac in a seed, what that was for—and on, and on. Everything sprang to life around him. The Garden became his place of such bountiful productivity and excess and all the highest-quality foodstuffs. He’d inveigh across how they could reduce the entire apple crop in America to Delicious, and it tasted like crap because of its shelf life. When there were 300 varieties of apples. That was one of the things he was really keen about. He was the first guy to extol heirloom species, diversification—twenty kinds of salads. He was onto all that way before it caught on anywhere else.

He came out of the theater. He was an aristocrat by birth. The family estate was called Pudleston, which sounds like a joke, but I’m convinced there was a Pudleston. He had silverware and dishes, place settings from Pudleston. He kind of cultivated a legend about himself. He had this aristocratic bearing, and he had come off the British stage, so he was a stickler for elocution. He was ruthless with the students about learning how to speak clearly. He’d have students memorize, say, the Friar’s speech from *Romeo and Juliet*, which has a lot to do with medicinal herbs. And comportment: “Can you stand up and square your shoulders, please?” He always had a kind of balletic character just by the way he carried himself, and he wanted to transmit that to students.

So, he ran a kind of charm school. Callow youths would stumble in, often coming off of drugs. He’d try to whip them into shape, and show them how to behave, and act, and comport

themselves, and speak. It was all part of what he was about. As well as fine cuisine. He was a superb chef. And wines. He wanted to exude a cultured life, even though he lived in the simplest possible way, and wanted for himself nearly nothing.

**Hal Hyde:** Administratively, he was a real pain. He wanted undivided attention. His outreach was tremendous and he hated bureaucracies, something I could appreciate, but I was in the role of a bureaucrat and there were other, more important campus planning and administrative issues. There was a student-funded A-frame building, which was moved from Cowell College to the garden, and Elizabeth Penaat gave him an old electric stove that she had at home.<sup>6</sup> Soon we found that Alan was kind of camping out and living in this place. Then he began complaining that his boots were all wet all the time and he was getting fungus on his feet.

There were all kinds of interesting things going on. Additional people were needed. Budgets were filled out, but it didn't ever mean very much. Apprentices. There were flower children flocking in from the Haight-Ashbury to Santa Cruz to Big Sur. Some were students and some were not, and Alan didn't care who were students, as long as they did the work in the garden. Should students get academic credit? Should there be bathroom facilities? What about non-students? Faculty involvement. Historians and artists growing flowers. It was all pretty interesting. The regular ag people like Kenneth Thimann thought this was all very bizarre. What about rototillers? And whenever questions were raised, the questioners were always bought off with armloads of flowers, and later vegetables for the officials to take home.

**Paul Lee:** People would complain about Chadwick being kind of the head of a cult: "Organic—what's that about? He doesn't use scientific procedures.

There're no fertilizers and pesticides from Monsanto to use. What is the university standing for there? And he plants by the moon?" So, people would beat on McHenry over that, and McHenry would say, "My father was a gardener, and he planted by the moon." You could see them just pulling in their horns.

Birds would come and land on his shoulder. He'd talk to doves. Life forms exploded at his fingertips. It was a place of such abundance. It was just unbelievable what he accomplished. Norman O. Brown called Chadwick a wizard. And in a way, you know, he was a wizard. He was this unique life force that blew through here just when everybody thought that most of that had been stamped out.

McHenry was a real support, whereas he could have easily done us in. He defended it against such criticism. We got a letter from an agriculturalist emeritus, which I think is polite for old fart. He complained that a cult had fashioned itself on a slope here at UCSC. They didn't use scientific procedures, and they should be removed immediately, because what did the university stand for?

**Hal Hyde:** McHenry liked the flowers and thought this was a wonderful thing for students to be doing: to be working with their hands in the soil. It was reminiscent of McHenry's own boyhood in Lompoc on a farm and his own continuing interest in his place in Bonny Doon. McHenry really appreciated this relationship of people to the land. Chadwick was a charmer. We sometimes talked about how he was hard to manage, but Dean was willing to put up with him because the results were so good.

**Robert Adams:** I remember my first advisee. We had the Chadwick Garden then and she came and handed me a tomato and said, "I have just picked this and I thought you might like it." And Santa Cruz, for me, has always been that way.



---

Figure 2

Planting seedlings, Chadwick  
Garden

Photographer unknown

---

**Steve Kaffka:** We wooed faculty. We would invite selected faculty up to the Garden for lunches. It was quite a nice event on the porch of the chalet. Vegetables from the place. We had Norman O. Brown up for lunch. We had this great lunch for him, and I tried to memorize a passage out of Virgil's *Georgics*, in Latin, because I had taken Latin in high school. We had this little toast. I got two thirds of the way through it, and I lost track of the last few lines, and Brown finished it! Very impressive. I mean, he didn't know what I was going to do. That created a nice relationship between us, because he said, "You know, I thought people came up here to get away from studying and from this kind of stuff." He said I could be a graduate student with him after I graduated, if I'd wanted to.

The work ethic that Alan embodied was basically the only thing I knew as well: there was only one way to do things, and that was to work constantly, dawn to dusk, which everybody did. I think one of the most powerful things that Alan taught had nothing to do with particular gardening techniques; it had to do with being in your body and being able to physically effect change in the landscape with your muscles, and have that direct, intimate connection with the land.

**Paul Lee:** Chadwick adhered to biodynamics, a system of horticultural agriculture developed by Rudolf Steiner: a clairvoyant, mystic figure at the early part of the 20th century. He was the founder of anthroposophy, an offshoot of theosophy, which was an effort to preserve the occult stream of Western thought that was being snuffed out by science. From the point of view of the ordinary person, it looks like complete loony tunes. But Steiner was a unique figure. Steiner was extraordinary. He was a renaissance man: he developed eurhythmy as a dance form; he was one of the early adult education teachers for

factory workers; he was an extremely sophisticated philosopher and wrote a very good history of philosophy. He was a biblical scholar and a deeply devoted Christian. He revived an archaic form of Christian worship and trained priests. He was an architect. He designed what he called the Goethiana.<sup>7</sup> His main source of inspiration was Goethe. At a young age, when Steiner was maybe nineteen or so, he was already a scholarly figure. He had good editing talents and was hired to edit the scientific writings of Goethe at the Weimar Archive. Goethe did a lot of work in botany and botanical studies.

Steiner brought up his interest and his work in Goethe's botany to develop biodynamics. It's strictly organic, and you have to get into the whole world view of Steiner to understand what it's about. He was a sophisticated composter. He knew how to create the most fertile soils through composting technique. But it's all tied up, also, with astral forces and etheric forces and emanations that have to do with the fertility of soils. The whole cosmic connection, which he had in spades, is something that is largely cut off from us unless maybe we're interested in astrology. This esoteric tradition was largely discarded in the development of Western thought during the seventeenth century. This is all suppressed. It's regarded as superstitious magic.

Chadwick must have kept quiet about it. He used it as his secret up here. He was smart enough to know that he couldn't really come on as a proponent of Steiner biodynamics. So he had the French intensive garden system as a kind of screen or shield that he could display and talk about openly. That was the production system developed around Paris for the highest quality products to supply the Paris market. They have these great open markets in all the arrondissements and there's one that is biodynamic, in Paris. The whole place is devoted to biodynamic production. But otherwise the entire system is French intensive.



Raised beds, double digging, all that comes from the French intensive system. And that's what he became known for here.

**Steve Kaffka:** You can think of this place as having given birth to an element of culture. It's the genesis of a movement. The Garden was right between Big Sur and San Francisco. It was organic from the beginning. It was right in the middle of those two centers of the back-to-the-land movement and the alternative culture of the late sixties and early seventies. It was centrally placed and timely.

**Jim Nelson:** Joe Williamson, who was the editor of *Sunset Magazine*, had come to cover some gathering of the Camellia Society, which was meeting in one of the university buildings. At lunchtime Dean McHenry said, "Come with me. I want to show you my garden," and took him over and showed

him and introduced him to Alan Chadwick. They saw beautiful flowers and beautiful vegetables, and it was done organically without pesticides and all without chemical fertilizers.

Shortly thereafter, *Sunset Magazine* came out with an editorial saying, "DDT should be banned." Rachel Carson had been campaigning for that for quite a few years. But Joe said that if they hadn't seen Alan Chadwick's garden, they wouldn't have had the courage to make that editorial stance. Organic gardening at that point was really anecdotal. Nobody took it seriously. Everybody assumed that meant you'd have scabby, funky-looking apples and bug-eaten flowers, which is not true at all. Alan's garden and that visit that Dean McHenry brokered to Alan was a turning point in *Sunset Magazine* starting to embrace organic gardening.<sup>8</sup>



---

Figure 3

Sunflower

Photo by Lee Jaffe

---



---

Figure 4

Chadwick Garden. 1971

Photographer unknown

---

## “One Amazing, Grand Experiment”: The Arboretum

**Hal Hyde:** My first involvement with the Arboretum was in 1964 when Emil Schmidt from Castroville donated many species of *Eucalypti* that he had collected. We got them as a gift and placed them in an area off Empire Grade Road, surrounding the propane plant that was going in there for the campus. The location was chosen by the Campus Planning Committee. Dean McHenry encouraged it and I had to do some of the pacing off of where the actual spots were. At this same time, my staff was checking out possible proposals to establish a golf course on the southwest corner of the campus, looking at the open-space land for possible revenue to the campus, and a symbiotic relationship as exemplified by the highly successful Stanford golf course.

**Ray Collett, Founding Director:** The Arboretum quite likely occupies the only and last possible major site in the United States where one might readily grow diverse genera out-of-doors nearly side-by-side. Most of the botanic gardens and arboreta of this world are in monotonous places and have beneath them just one material (the rock underlying the Arboretum includes granite, schist, limestone, and several different sandstones, overlain in places by alluvial and marine terrace deposits), or slight variations on one material. It indeed might be instructive for anyone to look for a property with comparable geologic diversity. Where would one go? If one found it, could it be bought? Would it be near services? Would it be near a university?

What does this diversity mean? It means places for calcophiles,<sup>9</sup> places for specimens with mandatory chilling requirements, places for almost everything. Such a propitious site for

the development of an Arboretum is unlikely to become available ever again.<sup>10</sup>

**Arboretum Bulletin:** We set out early to become a horticultural resource. We also believe that plants are living art. As centuries pass, all manner of glitter will tarnish. Americans (and others) in the pursuit of happiness will spend staggering sums on fast cars and things better not mentioned. Too often happiness won't happen. But—for all the reasons that make art art—special plants, including special plants costing almost nothing, will continue as a means to beauty. For this reason we have made the Arboretum a storage place for beautiful plants. Beautiful plants can be lost and, just like anything else that is beautiful, need to be carefully stored.<sup>11</sup>

**Hal Hyde:** Professor Jean Langenheim had numerous species of pine which she was using, based on her research with Kenneth Thimann, and she had a lot of them up in the greenhouse on the roof of the Thimann laboratories. These were then available and went into an area somewhere near where the *Eucalypti* had been placed. Renowned horticulturalist Knowles Ryerson enthusiastically supported it and we also got support from Kenneth Thimann and the biology staff.<sup>12</sup>

The emphasis at the start was as a library of plants. But that changed with Knowles Ryerson, once Dean McHenry's interest in those areas of Australia and the South Pacific developed. All these people worked with Ray Collett, then assistant professor of geography, and he was given the assignment to take charge of that and develop this library of plants. It soon began to emphasize the South Pacific flora particularly, because the plants in this Mediterranean climate were very compatible.



---

Figure 5

Hummingbird on Protea flower, UCSC Arboretum, 2019.

Photo by Jeff Roisman

---

*Arboretum Bulletin:* During the years since the founding of the Arboretum, we have done what we could to explore the singular possibilities of its site. Since conifers are certain to remain of great scientific interest, we began with them as a specialty, making sure that we obtained those that haven't been available for investigation and that won't become available on another campus we can think of. We are reasonably sure that more genera of conifers are growing in our Arboretum than anyplace else.<sup>13</sup>

**Phyllis Norris, Friends of the Arboretum:** We had a couple of students who worked with Ray Collett on primitive angiosperms [flowering plants]. The reason we had them in our collection was because two of Ray's students who graduated and took a trip to Indonesia and that part of the world started sending Ray back plants. He'd given them a list and he'd suggested some plants. They were kids, and they made inquiries, and they ended up sending back these cuttings of these angiosperms that people hadn't collected before. Ray was of the opinion that perhaps it was because they were students, that if they'd been professional botanists they might not have been taken as freely to wherever these various plants grew. But they sent the plants back. Ray, through his amazing skill, managed to coax roots on them and get them to grow. And we ended up with this remarkable collection. I think about the Arboretum as being, from the very beginning, one amazing, grand experiment with remarkable plants and people who care for them.

**Brett Hall, Arboretum Manager:** I came to UCSC in 1975 to finish my undergraduate degree in biology. The summer before classes started I came to visit the campus to try to find a job, because I had work study, five hundred dollars. I came and visited Crown College. I got an appointment with

the bursar. His name was Don Van Den Berg.<sup>14</sup> I was going to be at Crown College. I asked him if they had anybody hired to take care of the gardens around Crown College. He laughed. He said, "No, Campus Facilities has that all under control."

So, then I said, "Well, are there any professors in biology who hire students for research?" He thought for a moment and he said, "Well, you know, Ray Collett is starting an arboretum. He might need people." And, of course, I asked, "Well, what's an arboretum?"

So, Ray Collett and I came down to the Arboretum. He came down with me and basically showed me where the tools were hidden in the bushes. He waved an arm out to the Protea Garden and said, "Well, I'm sure you've seen weeds before." And that was kind of the indication to go out there and weed. So that's what I did for the first several months. I just weeded and weeded and re-weeded. Then, little by little, I started meeting some of the other students who were here. I started working as a groundskeeper.

About that time, I started camping in the Arboretum. I was living in my Volkswagen anyway, up on campus, and sleeping in the forest behind Crown College. So just one night over Christmas break I decided to pull into the Arboretum. There was no gate and I just slept. I remember a couple of days later Ray came along. He had heard about it from some of the other students. A couple of days later, he presented me with this letter that he had written to the Campus Police, indicating that I was the new security guard of the Arboretum. That was my introduction to my caretakership, which is still current today, thirty years later, at the Arboretum. I was very fortunate that there was such a pioneering opportunity, and lots of room for somebody who was eager, with a lot of extra energy to burn, with no ties anywhere.

Ray Collett and I would take these trips for a week or so up into the Klamath Ranges, and



---

Figure 6  
UCSC Arboretum, 1990  
Photo by Joel Levick

---

a couple of times all the way up to northern Washington. He introduced me to our flora, and so much biogeography. I was able to get these free lectures, ongoing, all about biogeography and plant evolution. We'd see things, and we did a lot of plant collecting together. I eagerly fell into my role of collecting and putting things in the coolers in bags and taking notes and keeping track and all the rest.

**Dan Harder, Arboretum Director:** A lot of research was done in building this collection. The collection was built with direction and intention, first understanding what conditions were here. Ray Collett and Dean McHenry and Brett Hall used their influence and energies to find plants that like the Mediterranean climate. That's where large populations of people have chosen to live. Due in large measure to the burgeoning human populations in these areas, floras in Mediterranean countries are threatened. The Mediterranean regions ultimately need protection, particularly the Mediterranean basin and South Africa. And they have interesting plants that do well in gardens here.

**Brett Hall:** Ray's intense love of the natural world, and his ability to see things that most normal people like me don't see—to be able to get that from him, that was always a wonderful experience.<sup>15</sup> He would see things and notice plants growing in places that you might not see. Then we'd stop and go out there. He noticed things. He could smell things from afar. He'd smell something and we'd go find that fragrance. Or he would key into a variation in flower size, and then he would come back and he'd bring ten examples of all these very divergent extremes within that population.

One example would be his interest in the genus *Correa* [a genus of plants with bell-shaped flowers]. There was one trip where we went to Australia largely in pursuit of *Correas* in southern Victoria

and South Australia, and we went out to Kangaroo Island. I remember Ray's absolute fascination with the variation in *Correa pulchella*. I still have this photo of all of these different petals—ranging from orange to red to white, and from three inches to a quarter inch—all lined up on the page. Those are the kinds of things that he noticed.

**Dan Harder:** Ultimately, botanical gardens are the only places that have the expertise and the breadth of knowledge to figure out how to grow an endangered species that may be dying out. An ecologist isn't going to do it. That expertise is here.

In the first brochure that he wrote for the Australian garden, Ray Collett said something to the effect that these gardens serve not just the practical and scientific areas of these collections, but they serve as reminders of the floras from the shores around the Pacific. We serve conservation education. It is important for people to see what kind of plant life there is around the world, and to see it in a really sophisticated way, with labeling, with plants that come from real places in nature, and not just from nurseries.

**Arboretum Bulletin:** The UCSC campus must acknowledge and develop its resources. Moreover the campus needs to do something special, and that is hard to do for a campus rising in the shadow of both Stanford and Berkeley. Between them, they fiercely embrace just about everything of academic value. But there is one thing all their money cannot do. It cannot transport the academic resources rooted into the ground of the choicest horticultural site of all. These are the resources of the forests and brushlands and of the coastal cliffs—the frogs and the owls. These cannot be brought to Stanford or Berkeley.<sup>16</sup>

## Endnotes

1. Santa Cruz sits on a series of ancient marine terraces, rather like broad stair-steps ascending from the shore of Monterey Bay. These tiered shelves of land were serially cut by the ocean and then pushed upward in elevation by a process of geological uplift. See: <http://www.mobileranger.com/santacruz/the-cool-staircase-shaped-hills-north-of-santa-cruz/>.
2. Donald Nicoll was a British historian and Christian theologian. Another Oxford-educated professor who came to UCSC, he had known Jasper and Jean Rose in Keele, England. Nicoll was a professor of religious studies and history; he chaired UCSC's religious studies board for three years.
3. The writings of Eugen Rosenstock-Huessy (1888-1973) spanned the disciplines of history, theology, sociology, and linguistics. He was born in Berlin, Germany into a secular Jewish family and converted to Christianity in his late teens. Rosenstock-Huessy served as an officer in the German army during World War I and was part of a generation of German intellectuals who were traumatized by that experience. He then pursued an academic career in Germany as a specialist in medieval law, which was disrupted by the rise of Nazism. Rosenstock-Huessy fled to the United States. He is also known as the close friend of and correspondent with the German-Jewish philosopher and theologian Franz Rosenzweig.
4. Freya von Moltke and her husband Helmuth James von Moltke were part of the resistance to Hitler as members of the Kreisau Circle, most of whom were imprisoned and executed by the Nazis. Later in life, Freya von Moltke was companion to Eugen Rosenstock-Huessy (see note above). She traveled widely after World War II and gave lectures such as "Germany: Past and present," "Germany: Totalitarianism versus democracy," and "Women's position in the new Germany." She died in 2010 at almost 100 years old. See also: the film *Freya!* One might note that there is a strong link between those who resisted the Nazis and the formation of UC Santa Cruz, through figures like Page Smith and Jasper Rose, who were connected with this intellectual circle.
5. Rudolf Steiner (1861-1925) was an Austrian philosopher, social reformer, architect, and mystic who invented the biodynamic approach to agriculture and the field of anthroposophy, which takes a wholistic, spiritual approach to mental health, education, and agriculture. Alan Chadwick was a disciple of Steiner's and synthesized Steiner's agricultural approach with other traditions, such as French intensive gardening, which emphasizes double digging of raised beds, among other techniques. For much more on the history of the Chadwick Garden and the impact that Chadwick and his successors at the UCSC Farm and Garden had on the international development of organic farming and sustainable agriculture, see: Irene Reti, Sarah Rabkin, and Ellen Farmer, eds., *Cultivating a Movement: An Oral History of Organic Farming and Sustainable Agriculture on California's Central Coast* (Regional History Project, UC Santa Cruz, 2011). Also see the accompanying website for the project at <https://library.ucsc.edu/reg-hist/cultiv/home>.
6. Elizabeth A. Penaat was a founding member of UCSC's administrative staff. In 1975, when Hal Hyde retired, Penaat was named vice chancellor for operations and employee affairs. Penaat was one of the first women charged with overseeing the business operations of a major US university. She helped start the campus's building, business, budget, computing, personnel, accounting, housing, and public-safety activities.
7. The Goethianum, in Dornach, Switzerland, is a domed structure of timber and concrete that serves as the world center for anthroposophy, Steiner's mystical philosophical movement.
8. *Sunset Magazine*, March 1969. This article is available in UCSC Library Special Collections in the University Archives.
9. Calcophiles are calcium-loving plants.
10. "Memo from Ray Collett to Acting Dean George Gaspari, October 15, 16, 17, 28, 30 and 11/1/77." This excerpt is from a series of memos (available at Special Collections) in which Collett responded to a request from Academic Vice-Chancellor Eugene Cota-Robles for a review of the Arboretum.
11. *Arboretum Associates Bulletin*, June 1985.
12. Knowles Augustus Ryerson was a horticulturist and an early exponent of the California avocado industry. He died in 1990 at age 97.
13. *Arboretum Associates Bulletin*, June 1985.
14. Don Van Den Berg served as Crown College's bursar in the 1980s and 1990s. A UCSC alumnus, he graduated in the early 1970s. Van Den Berg died in 2012.
15. Ray Collett and Elizabeth Calciano collaborated on a self-guided tour pamphlet of the UCSC campus's natural and cultural landmarks. See *The Campus Guide: a Tour of the*



*Natural Environment and Points of Historical Interest* (Santa Cruz, Calif.: University of California, Santa Cruz, 1969).

16. *Arboretum Associates Bulletin*, June 1985.

## Illustrations

Figure 1. Alan Chadwick and students, 1971. Courtesy Special Collections, University Library, University of California, Santa Cruz. Alan Chadwick Garden: G730UU C432 A319 CB.

Figure 2. Planting Seedlings, Chadwick Garden, 1970. Courtesy Special Collections, University Library, University of California, Santa Cruz. Alan Chadwick Garden: UCSC2.160.

Figure 3. Sunflower. Photo by Lee Jaffe.

Figure 4. Garden Project: beds on sloping hillside in the spring. 1971. Courtesy Special Collections, University Library, University of California, Santa Cruz. Alan Chadwick Garden: UCSC2.137.

Figure 5. Hummingbird on Protea Flower, UCSC Arboretum. 2019. Photo Courtesy of Jeff Roisman.

Figure 6. UCSC Arboretum. 1990. Photo by Joel Levick. Courtesy Special Collections, University Library, University of California, Santa Cruz. UA 22: 25th Anniversary Photography Project: ua0022\_pho\_003.

## Chapter 8

# The Rising Counterculture

*The hippie movement was coming out of the cities of Boston and New York and San Francisco. Santa Cruz became kind of a way-stop from the Haight Ashbury to Big Sur. The people in the community of Santa Cruz blamed a lot of that on the university.*

—Hal Hyde

### “You Could Feel a Little Tension in the Air”

**Frank Zwart:** UC Santa Cruz was pretty spectacular. It was so different than Southern California, and so different than Pasadena. You either love or get driven crazy by the landscape here. Some friends, after a year or two here, found that it was just too remote. There was just not enough going on. So they would transfer to UC Berkeley or UCLA, and were much happier there.

**Susan Sward:** It's going to take the town at least ten years to catch up with the school. And that's going to be a rough ten years for the kids that are here because, you know, you can say “Oh, we're the pioneers,” and get all excited about it, but that isn't so good. Because you go down and you can do a lot of things—walk around and look at the gingerbread houses, go out on the wharf, have some fish and chips—but when the weather

gets bad and with the policy of discouraging cars, you're kind of in a bind. I mean, you're up on the hill, and there's one movie theater in town, and there's just not that much to do. At all. I mean, there's no San Francisco or Los Angeles at the base of the hill.

I suppose I never realized what a city person I was till I came here. I'd always criticized Los Angeles—the smog, the traffic, “isn't it terrible,” you know. I want a rustic retreat type of place. But Santa Cruz has shown me that it's hard, and I think this is one of the main criticisms the kids have about this: isolation. This one girl characterized it in a letter she wrote to the university paper. She said, “I suffer from dry rot on the weekends.” And it's not that you don't talk to boys or see boys almost all the time. It's that there's a dearth of activity, in just a fun, college type of way. Because

you have to study hard, I mean as far as I'm concerned, to stay in. And there ought to just be fun things. So, the people that you tell this to, often say, "Well, there's so many *cultural* activities. There's music and there's art." And I say, "Yes, I want that, but I also want just the pure college fun that I don't have at Santa Cruz."

**Angie Christmann:** It took a while for the students to make an impact on the community. Everyone lived on campus. Mostly people would stay here on campus, which was absolutely wonderful because you had seniors there to kind of keep the lid on and show them how to study and all that. Of course, students went downtown on the weekends and went to the movies. But Santa Cruz was quite small and kind of a sleepy little town. This was a retirement community. It was a bit stodgy.

**Frank Zwart:** But I was always perfectly happy at Santa Cruz. The scale of things was very, very pleasant. You knew lots of people in your class.

**Susan Sward:** Santa Cruz should be characterized primarily as a retirement town. Until more of the faculty move in, and more of the students move off campus, and it becomes more of a college town, you run into prejudice on the part of many of the townspeople. I just want the town to be more, what would you say, more "for us." The town and the university are too separate. It would be much better and a much healthier situation if there were more of a unity.

**Elizabeth Calciano, Oral Historian:** I can remember being absolutely shocked one day in 1962 in Santa Cruz when I was in the line at the bank. And two older women—retired, I would say—were talking about, "Oh, that university,

UCSC, is coming. I know that's gonna be terrible! It's just gonna change everything. What a shame!" I was in the next line over. I thought, Holy cow! I never thought anybody would think that!

**John Daly:** We had no reason to be concerned about campus growth because we had, at that time, plenty of water. We had good Pacific Gas & Electric services, good phone services. People in the Santa Cruz community were enthusiastic. They said, "Fine, bring them on. We want more students, more students," even though McHenry was saying, "Well you're going to have a campus the size of Berkeley [27,500] here." I was sitting there at that table with the city manager. I think we were all saying, "Fine, that's good, Dean. Good. Good." If we had stopped to think a moment—I think the city only had twenty-five thousand people at that time.

**Clark Kerr:** You might say that 27,500 became a kind of a magic figure for UCSC's ultimate enrollment. When I was chancellor at Berkeley (when the regents were expecting UCB and UCLA to take the total load) we decided the maximum total number of students we could take and meet certain conditions we laid out, was 27,500. Without a separate study, UCLA then immediately picked 27,500 as their figure, too. Once Berkeley and UCLA had 27,500, everybody else had to have 27,500—they wouldn't take less than 27,500 because they didn't want to be rated as in any way inferior to the two big campuses. I've always looked on that as an artificial figure because it didn't fit any campus except Berkeley and we'd gone through the most careful study of the situation—how much land we had, how much land we didn't want to cover with buildings, how high buildings ought to be because everybody moves for ten minutes and then nobody for fifty minutes. And we made a very careful study to get out

27,500. It became an artificial figure that everybody else picked up and they wouldn't settle for less. It was not based on anything that they had except that they wouldn't take less.<sup>1</sup>

**John Daly:** By 1965, the students were coming into town. They were using up all the rental spaces,

which we were happy about, especially after Labor Day. But there was already more traffic. There was already a little tension developing. That might have been because the students were partying a little bit more than the average Santa Cruz resident. I don't know what it was. But you could feel a little tension in the air.




---

Figure 1

Pioneer class in trailer, 1965

Photo by Eric Thiermann

---

## “No Danger of Any Crisis”:

### The Intervisitation Controversy and the Quiet Beginnings of Campus Protest

**Neal Coonerty, Owner, Bookshop Santa Cruz:** When the city fathers worked to bring the university here, it was the early sixties. They saw a very conventional university. They saw football fields and teams and the typical things a university had. This university was established in 1965, when cultural changes were just exploding, and had its own idea of what it wanted to be. It modeled itself after English universities with colleges. It was not going to fit into the civic, chamber-of-commerce boosters’ idea of what the university was going to be.

**George Von der Muhll:** I can vividly recall how, as a graduate student at Harvard, I went to hear a talk by a man I’d never heard of, [California] Governor Edmund “Pat” Brown, who opened up for his audience a dazzlingly optimistic, exuberant, unlimited vista of more freeways, more dams, more parks, more city planning, more education for everyone that could hardly have contrasted more with the cramped, parochial infighting of Massachusetts politicians over a sharply limited turf. In such an expansive view of non-zero-sum politics even the most utopian dreams could be made to seem fiscally realistic. California itself was indeed an unfettered dream.

In such an atmosphere, it was easy to conclude that setting up a new campus meant making sure it had the funds needed, not asking hard questions about the degree to which the aspirations of the campus outran anything that anybody would want to pay for, or whether students would be able to use their training to obtain a job. Californian society was not being ripped apart by a battle over desegregation, as in the South, and the Vietnam War was still well below most people’s horizon,

so the challenge of building consensus for new undertakings was eased. California was about to change in the mid-sixties, just as Cowell was opening the doors of its trailer park.<sup>2</sup>

**Dean McHenry:** The relations with the police department and sheriff’s office have never been very warm and intimate. Well, the first week the students came, most of them were without cars. We had the Santa Cruz transit bus available, and they chipped in four bits apiece, thirty of them, and had a beach party. The youngsters had a good time at the beach, were getting acquainted for the first time, and a sheriff’s office prowl car came, probably on a call from somebody, and they ran several of them in for a violation of curfew law, which I didn’t know existed, even. And they hadn’t any idea, and it isn’t enforced against Santa Cruz residents anyway, in practice, I believe.

They caught two of our best young people, entering freshmen, with beer cans in their hands. It seems so harmless for kids of eighteen to have a can of beer. The sheriff’s office threw the book at them. They brought them into the station, and they had to be turned over in the custody of somebody at the university. Indeed, that’s when I learned something about Jasper Rose’s temper. He was called down there, and he just blew his top at the sheriff’s people. They said, in effect, “Who in the world is that creature?” So, after that we got new rules that the person to be called was the registrar, Howard Shontz, who was an old pro at this and handles people well and has had lots of military experience.

**Glenn Willson:** Jasper Rose, who is very English and has a richly English voice, had one splendid



---

Figure 2

Pioneer class, students on the beach, 1965

Photo by Eric Thiermann

---

brush with the police, when they called up and objected to the fact that some Cowell students were having a party on the beach, at which they were drinking beer. Whereupon Jasper barked down the phone, “Well, my man, why worry me about these simple frolics? Why shouldn’t they sit on the beach and drink beer?” So, you can imagine the rather touchy relationships in those early years between the local police people and ourselves.

**Jasper Rose:** As senior preceptor I had to look after almost all undergraduate forms of behavior, which, of course, included drinking. The fact was that the students misbehaved a little bit. But the relationship of student discipline and the campus and the university police hadn’t been worked out. We were trying to work it out, and trying to make sure that the students weren’t run over by the police.

**Dean McHenry:** The district attorney, Dick Pease, rather arrogantly summoned us to a meeting. The police people and the sheriff’s people began to tell us how we should run things. I probably went too far, but I told them that I thought our students, who came from good backgrounds and were a mighty gung-ho, mighty high-class select group, ought to be treated with the same respect that permanent residents of Santa Cruz from the best families were treated.<sup>3</sup> I said, “Perhaps you would not have booked for a first offense somebody from the Haber family, or one of the other families here, and I don’t think it’s the proper thing to do that to our students.”

I think we should deal with these problems ourselves. College is a period in which young people make an adjustment to adulthood, and we ought to have a sort of a transition zone in which to operate. To my knowledge, no student of the university has ever been convicted in Santa Cruz County of a crime, certainly none involving drugs.

I can remember three instances in which there have been arrests in town, and each time they’ve gotten off on a technicality, or stupidity of the arresting officer, or something of the kind. The first case we had last fall was in Cowell. Herman Blake went down the hall and said, “It smells like somebody’s smoking marijuana. Who is it?” He knocked on a door and said, “Anybody in here smoking marijuana?” A boy said, “I am.” Well now, he would never have said that to a police officer, and a police officer would have to have a warrant to be there. We suspended him. Two weeks, or something like that. A terrible blow—the only child; a terrible blow to his mother and father—but they knew damn well he could have gotten ninety days in jail, or something more perhaps.

**Russell Smith, Student:** There’s a certain point where students have to start feeling able to make their own decisions. When you’re up here it’s very easy not to make your decisions. It’s not like having to pay the gas bill, plan your diet, decide what you’re going to eat, where you’re going to eat, and when you’re going to eat. It’s just a matter of yes or no.

**Marsha Ehrenberg, Student:** As far as the social life goes, there’s a problem: there are not a lot of places to go. There’s a great difficulty, because there is no intervisitation, of finding a place for students to talk together.

**Glenn Willson:** As time went on, we came under a number of pressures. One was the pressure of students saying, “Why should we be denied? Why should we have to live with these ridiculous archaic rules ordained from the center of the campus?” I don’t mean that they were put out unimaginatively, or rigidly, or unpleasantly. They were simply put out as orthodox, traditional instructions.

**LADIES  
WHO ARE THE INVITED GUESTS  
OF RESIDENTS MAY VISIT THIS HOUSE  
AT THE FOLLOWING TIMES**

IN STUDENTS' ROOMS: between 8:30 p.m. and midnight on Mondays.  
between 7:00 p.m. and 12:00 midnight , Tuesdays thru Sundays.

IN THE LOUNGE ON THIS FLOOR: between 10:00 a.m. and midnight,  
Sundays thru Thursdays; between 10:00 a.m. on Fridays and  
1:00 a.m. on Saturdays; between 10:00 a.m. on Saturdays and  
1:00 a.m. on Sundays.

IN THE LOUNGES ON OTHER FLOORS: between 1:00 p.m. and midnight daily.

**Guests who are not members of UCSC  
must sign the Visitors' Book on  
arrival and departure.**

---

Figure 3

Stevenson College dorm visiting rules,  
1968

---



**Margaret Zweiback, Student:** When we came here the first year, we were given intervisitation rules for the trailers. They were presented to us as, “There will be no intervisitation [between male and female students], and in addition to that there will be no discussion of this rule.” I mean, as authoritarian a thing as possible. Well, nobody objected to that. Nobody even questioned the fact that there would be no discussion on it.

**Glenn Willson:** We had remarkable, complex visiting hours for men and women—when they should be out of each other’s houses and whether you could have the door closed or opened, and all the rest of it. It seems, looking back on it, incredible. But there it was. Initially, I don’t think anyone thought about it very much.

**Marsha Ehrenberg:** Last year in the field house it was so big, if you were in one corner and someone else was in the other you did have privacy. But the common areas next to the cafeteria and the lounges are not big enough, so that if one couple is in there, whether they’re kissing or just talking, no one else can come in there and they still maintain their privacy. So, something, whether it’s to open the bedrooms, or some other solution, really will have to be done to give people some place to have privacy together.

**Susan Sward:** I’m on the committee which is opposed to the stand the chancellor has taken on the intervisitation rule. For two years, we’ve been approaching the university on this issue saying, “We want it changed. Please do something about it.” And it was really interesting what one faculty member said, “Of all the things to spend so much energy on, it just seems ridiculous. But,” he said, “you’ve been handed a ludicrous rule, so you have to spend time discussing it, debating it, the different issues.” According to the polls we

have recently taken, I think something like 90.7 percent of the student body wants a substantial change, and 9.3 percent are satisfied with the present condition.

**Linda Luder, Student:** While I was resident assistant, there was a petition for a change in some policy concerning intervisitation in the dormitories. I really felt that many of the students should have gone in individually and talked to Provost Kenneth Thimann and expressed their feelings that living in dormitories had to compare to living a personal, individual life, or else everyone was going to move off campus, and resident living was not going to be successful in the small colleges. I honestly felt that if they’d gone in and talked and shared their ideas with the administration, they would have been a lot more successful than sending in letters which were attacking before they’d even given the administration a chance to understand. Understanding and communication is the key to it all.

**Glenn Willson:** We came under the pressure of all these tendencies that were crowding in upon the world and forcing us to take some notice. The students were very vocal and very argumentative. Cowell responded with their kind of paternalistic view of the situation, which meant that they tended to cover up bad cases: they used to try very, very hard to handle matters on a very individual basis. They didn’t get involved, as far as possible, in great public arguments.

In Stevenson, the faculty was a bit more volatile, a little more impatient of the total idea of worrying about students. A lot of them, being social scientists, were a little more aware of the sociological changes that were going on. Provost Charles Page was a rather cool and a rather mischievous and highly individualistic spirit. All this

built up both a more permissive and indifferent atmosphere than I think applied in Cowell.

After Charles had gone, and I became provost of Stevenson College, I inherited the situation. I found myself arguing that fundamentally you can't go against a massive movement of this kind and what you must do is to roll with the punches and give a little here and there. Either you fight the whole thing head-on and take the consequences of doing so, or you start to change the system.

We started to change it, and I suppose the only real unpleasantness that I had was, on the one hand, with a few students who were on the extreme edge and who made everybody's life miserable, not just mine; and on the other hand, with the chancellor and his officers, whom I thought were over-rigid in their reactions, and unwilling to yield on the matter of a relaxation of the rules governing residence.

So, there were one or two rather unpleasant meetings at which provosts spoke our minds. We simply said that we couldn't go on like this. I can't remember the exact wording, but it was to the effect that it was one thing for Dean to sit in the center of the campus and say what should be, and quite another thing to live on the periphery and to handle a situation as it developed. That if he was going to, say, hold onto the notion of segregated housing and segregated quads and rules that were okay for the fifties, and not yield a bit, then we were going to have continuous trouble. So, he yielded and the yielding helped enormously in some respects. But you were pushed never to stop yielding.

**Page Smith:** Dean McHenry is basically tactless in his dealings with students. If you push Dean, he pushes back; I supposed that's human. But he's quite rigid and has a very low boiling point. It wasn't only the visitation issue, the whole manner of parietal rules and girls' and boys' residence halls.

That was such a constant, unending interminable issue, which was made more difficult and complicated by—in my opinion—Dean's rigidity. I am very conventional and old-fashioned; I certainly went along completely with the original rules, the notion of segregating the sexes, etc. But it seemed to me that the life of the college itself began to be imperiled by issues that weren't worth it, and at that point I was ready to give way. It usually took six months longer to get Dean to yield.

**Russell Smith:** The students seem to have strong feelings about the chancellor. In general, he is resented, most directly because of the intervisitation. He is the ogre, in that he is not letting us have it. Partly, it's that we have to have an ogre on campus and he happens to be it. But I think he's set himself up for it. When confronted, like when they want something from him, they want something changed, he seems to see it as a sort of potential Free Speech Movement, where "this student is out to overthrow me, and by God I'm not going to let him do it."<sup>4</sup> That wasn't what was going on, but now there's a tendency to think that we have to wrest things from the chancellor. It's unfortunate, but there's no danger of any crisis coming because the college system doesn't encourage mass movements.

I think that's a problem that will never be really changed until the students are given some, either freedom to make important decisions, or given a political structure so they can make their own rules—being able to override higher authorities. The university is set up under the regents, under the president, under the chancellors, and they're not going to give up their power. If the students wanted that sort of thing, they should go off by themselves and build their own university. And that won't come either; it's too nice here.

**Susan Sward:** We have a rather homogeneous student body, I'd say. I'd characterize them, for the most part, as middle class, upper middle class, and many of them liberal. There're not at all the type of oh, what, Free Speech Movement that you find at Berkeley. It would be much harder here to get a mass thing going.

**Ellen Marie Bulf, Student:** The whole hippie movement isn't much of a thing here the way it is at Berkeley. It's one reason I'm interested in going to Berkeley, so I could view it more closely, although it does exist here.

**John Dizikes:** In terms of the antiwar movement, in the very early years we were thought of as backward, and Berkeley would send down delegations of people to stir us up. I went to talks where Mario Savio and others came down to fire us up. I was amused at that and aware that many of our students were more placid or accepting.

**Jean Rose:** They were protesting in Berkeley. I felt the students in Santa Cruz felt they ought to protest. But they were really very happy and so they found it a bit silly to protest. But I remember I drove Jasper onto campus and I met a procession of protestors. They looked so sheepish when they saw me. You know, they didn't really feel cross at all, but they thought they ought to, because Berkeley was.

**George Von der Muhll:** For the first two years or so, what excited people were the instituting of narrative evaluations in place of letter grades, the kinds of interdisciplinary and experimental courses they were taking, and the rules regarding dormitories and unisex bathrooms—things like that. They did not feel themselves to be deeply responsible for improving the nation as a whole.

They were not asking, "Why are there so few poor African Americans from Oakland on this campus?" This relative insulation from society was quite strong in the early years, and it made it easier to work on the innovations of the campus without having to be constantly aligning with one side or the other on what role the United States was playing in Vietnam and in Latin America.

**Dean McHenry:** A university is a *terribly* vulnerable institution. A dozen devoted wreckers can bring almost any campus to its knees, given the student and faculty sympathies and possibility of outside support.

**Tilly Shaw:** I arrived wearing dresses and I remember I wore my last hat as I came into California and then I never wore a hat again for a long time. I used to wear a hat to church. I began wearing pants and dressing more informally.

**Nancy Pascal:** We had kind of an unwritten dress code in the registrar's office. The woman who was the assistant registrar, who was sort of the day-to-day manager in the office, was a great person and she was very, very good at her job, but she came out of a different era. The young women in the office asked me to go to her to get a little relaxation in the dress code, so they could wear pants to work. I mean, we didn't wear pants! You wore your girdle and your stockings and your skirts and some of the younger women in the office, they were ready for a change. She finally agreed, but it had to be pantsuits, none of this really casual stuff. We had a certain standard to uphold. So, I conveyed that back to the other women in the office and they said that was okay. Well, of course, that was just the camel's nose under the tent, and pretty soon there were jeans and things.

## “There Was So Much Changing”: The Counterculture in Town and on Campus

**George Von der Muhll:** By the time UC Santa Cruz opened to students, we had moved very quickly from the early Johnson years to the late Johnson years, in which people were extremely angry, in which a moral anger on all sides reached a culminating peak, in which all across the United States there were demonstrations. And suddenly drugs came on the scene, and that had its own impetus.

**Tilly Shaw, Professor:** There was so much changing. It was the period when we were waiting for new records to come out with The Rolling Stones, Dylan, the Jefferson Airplane, and the Grateful Dead, who now have their archives on this campus.<sup>17</sup> So there was a lot going on with popular music. I’m basically a classical music type, a little bit diffident about jazz. And yet, this is a period of my life, where I’m back—as I was as a teenager—where I understand it as somehow mixing in some mysterious way with hormones and feelings and so acquiring an appreciation.

I loved the music of that whole period. And it was very important everywhere. It was going on in the Fillmore and it was going on in faculty parties. I didn’t even know how to think about it. Everybody was dancing and the dancing was a new form of dancing, so you could dance by yourself or with other people, because it was dancing at a distance. It seemed like wonderful music. Dress was changing and hair was getting longer. I never knew what was going on back at Yale. I closed one door and opened another one, and here these things were.

**Angie Christmann:** Everyone was listening to the same things: Crosby, Stills and Nash, and Jimi Hendrix, the Grateful Dead, Jefferson Airplane.

**Katie King, Student:** I was in a group called Women Together and we would have women’s rap groups. I remember sitting in one of the lounges at Crown and I mentioned that I was a gay woman. The person sitting next to me literally got up and walked and sat on the other side of the room. That was before Kate Millett came out in 1970.<sup>5</sup> There was all of this stuff emerging about women’s liberation and lesbians and they were definitely not the same thing.

**Tilly Shaw:** There was a certain amount of marijuana around and I didn’t know quite how to deal with that. I’d read about it in psychology textbooks. So it was a very different social scene. And part of that was sponsored by the college, too. For quite a few years, they had big parties at my house because I had a house that lent itself. They were always buffets and dancing parties. We would take the rug up and it would be largely dark and somebody would provide a dance tape.

**Elizabeth Calciano:** The hippie movement came along, so then you had two fashions. You had the fashions that store clerks and bank tellers and oral historians and secretaries and faculty wives wore—those fashions. And then you had this other counterculture fashion. The two didn’t really intertwine, although I remember shawls became fashionable there for a while among the “regular” folks, as opposed to the—well, we called them hippies.

**Neal Coonerty:** Santa Cruz was quite a different place at that time. There was a cannery in town. There was a lot of seasonal work; it was a lot of retirees. There were something like thirty-six or thirty-seven empty storefronts on Pacific Avenue. It was pre-university. Before Bookshop Santa Cruz

came along, which was in November of '66, there was about an eighteen-month period when it was the Hip Pocket Bookstore. Ron Bevirt, one of the people who was associated with Ken Kesey and the Merry Pranksters, had started the bookstore.<sup>6</sup> This very hip bookstore was here before anything else was here, and it ran into problems. The owner was a Merry Prankster, so he had, sort of, no limitations. He was running a bookstore that was a very hip sort of place, but to pay the bills he would have things like nudist magazines, which was people in the nude playing volleyball, was the big thrill. So, he would have those to sell to local guys and that was a way of paying the bills.

Kesey and all those people were very much into LSD. LSD had not yet been put on the list of controlled substances. It was a brand-new substance that was under development and then people started formulating it themselves. So actually, he was selling LSD, legally, over the counter. You could come in and get your nudist magazine, get a copy of *On the Road*, and ask for a hit of LSD, and it was all legal.

**Rita Bottoms:** I remember getting a copy of *One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest* and opening it up and looking and realizing it was dedicated to somebody I knew named Vic Lovell, "To Vic Lovell, who told me there were no dragons and then showed me to their lairs." And then I realized that this Ken Kesey guy I had met at a wild party with my boyfriend up in Palo Alto on Perry Lane, and my friend Laurie Young who had said, "Oh, Ken got his book published," and all I thought was, *Oh yeah? Oh, okay*—happened to be Ken Kesey. But I really didn't know him except as kind of a wild and crazy person living at this house where we were all wild and crazy when we went over there.

**Harry Berger:** In the sixties at Santa Cruz there were all these guys who had been on weed all night

coming to class with the red eyes. There was a lot of that. There was a big marijuana thing going on at that time and they were trying to connect it with their relation to the world. They were treating it—gettin' high—as a way to deal with life.

**Frank Zwart:** I was really pretty much the straight arrow in Cowell College. I was not heavy into drug use. You'd walk down a corridor and you were more likely to smell marijuana smoke than you were to see empty beer cans in a wastebasket. It was really just a sign of the times.

**Harry Berger:** I remember a lot of those people. They'd be really stoned and they'd come up and say, (in a halting, slurred tone) "Heyyy pro-fess-orr, how-are-you-today?" And I would say, "Jesus Christ, sit down." I mean, in the sixties if I had a class of twenty-five, four or five of them would come in stoned. It was the way it was. And at that time we were allowed to smoke in class. I smoked cigars. So I would just light up a cigar and blow it at 'em.

**Neal Coonerty:** Well, you can see how this played with the townspeople. For a while, a church in Scotts Valley made a point of picketing Hip Pocket Bookstore. Ron Bevirt started the bookstore and Peter Demma was part of that, too.<sup>7</sup> Bevirt was always being challenged on First Amendment stuff and people were defending him. And then he had this construct of these big sheet-metal statues. It was based on the Kamasutra, so it's these male and female figures in all these sexual poses. He put one of them right above the front door, outside.<sup>8</sup>

He had this unveiling. He asked the mayor, who was Norm Lezin, who used to run Salz Tannery, to come down for the unveiling. And he invited Ken Kesey. So Ken Kesey arrived with the bus that they're all on, that they're broadcasting from the top of, and filming. People were tripping out



---

Figure 4

UCSC staff office. Sharon (Henjum) Lowry, administrative assistant to the vice chancellor of university relations, with another administrative assistant. Poster on the wall for Jefferson Airplane at the Coconut Grove, Santa Cruz, 1968

Photo by Alexander Lowry

---

on LSD and stuff. There's this scene of unveiling the statue. Nobody knew what was underneath. It was downtown, and, of course, people had gathered. They unveiled this statue and it's these people in this sexual pose out in the middle of the street. I mean, this was literally out front, right at the entry of the door. Kesey running around with all his stuff. Neal Cassady, who was the model for the *On the Road* character Dean Moriarty, started working at the Hip Pocket Bookstore. It was just too much for the town to take. Bevirt, I don't think was a particularly skilled businessman. So after about eighteen months it failed. It was closed down.

It was in the same location that Bookshop Santa Cruz opened up in, probably about nine months later. And Ron Lau, in opening up, wanted to make sure that people knew that this was not the Hip Pocket. So he had everybody dress in suits and he had bibles right at the entryway to the store. He wanted to differentiate.

They opened the store and it was slow going. I knew a lot of business people and spoke to them. I knew their anxieties. I was also part of the university crowd, because it was a bookstore and we sold textbooks to the university at that time. And a lot of the professors were customers of mine. So, I was a go-between these two worlds that were clashing.

**Hal Hyde:** One of Dean McHenry's early hires was Byron Stookey, a wonderful, creative, imaginative, and warm colleague, whom Dean entrusted with developing the academic planning for the enterprise. Byron also had input in the starting of the Whole Earth Restaurant to serve the campus.<sup>9</sup> Off campus, he got involved with the Catalyst coffeehouse, which was a lot of fun to go to. Early on, it was a student hangout very much in the Harvard Square tradition where you could nurse a cup of coffee and meet the characters around. It was an interesting time because this was also during the

time of the hippie movement, and Santa Cruz kind of became a halfway place between Berkeley and Big Sur and some of these people would be hanging out in that tradition. So, there was a lot of life and sparkle in Santa Cruz.

**Rita Bottoms:** I was a part, as many others on the campus were, of the co-op that ran The Catalyst, that got The Catalyst, saved The Catalyst, cleaned The Catalyst, scraped the paint off the roof, got that place whipped into shape.<sup>10</sup> Peter Demma had left the Hip Pocket Bookstore. It was a very important place in this community, the Hip Pocket Bookstore. Peter was always getting busted by the Moral Mothers for Christian Morality for this or that. I think he was a real pioneer and a wonderful guy.

**George Von der Muhll:** In the 1960s Santa Cruz was represented in Congress by one of its most fiercely rightwing Republican members, and he enjoyed such unquestioning support, verging on 98 percent, that he had run unopposed in the 1968 election before I came here. His name was Burt Talcott.<sup>11</sup> And he wasn't merely on the Right; he was aggressively so. He once took a visiting delegation of women in Washington by the shoulders and propelled them out of his office when they came to try to talk to him about his lack of concern over the toll of the Vietnam War.

**Rita Bottoms:** I was the only Jew in the library, probably. I don't know how people knew I was Jewish, but I got a reference desk call from the public library asking me when Rosh Hashanah was, because they knew I was Jewish. There were diverse communities in Santa Cruz, but unless you went really out of your way you were not ever part of them. I belonged to the Human Rights Action Committee. There were a number of black people in this group and I met a number of



---

Figure 5

Cowell College, 1968

Photo by UCSC Photography Services

---



different people in the community through it. But I didn't think of Santa Cruz as integrated. People were separate. It was really odd.

**George Von der Muhll:** So, there was quite a split, and it was a carryover from something that has often been forgotten, that Santa Cruz before the Second World War was on the FBI's list, not because it was filled with radicals but, on the contrary, because there was so much sympathy for Adolf Hitler and Benito Mussolini that the FBI was worried about that and had it on its watch list for that, not for loyalty to the Soviet Union. And it's worth remembering in this context that at this time students were not allowed to register to vote outside the communities they had resided in and that the 26th Amendment that lowered the voting age from twenty-one to eighteen was only passed in 1971.

**Rita Bottoms:** I went to shop at Safeway out on Mission Street, and I was looking at the magazines. I saw this sign. It said, "If you are offended by any magazine that you see on this stand, please call the manager." Well! I said, "Where is the manager?" They found him. I said, "I am offended by this sign, and I want you to know I'm offended by that magazine right there, the National Rifle—" I went through every magazine on the stand, saying why I was offended by it and finding a reason to be offended by it. I had already gathered a crowd—this poor manager. Then I said, "But I don't want you to remove any of them. I am offended by them, but I don't want you to remove them because I have no right to dictate what other people can or cannot see." I made the point. There was a round of applause. The sign went down the following week.

**George Von der Muhll:** These right-wing views definitely carried over into local residents' views of the campus community.

**Ed Landesman:** In my first year or two here, I was walking on the campus, and McHenry came by and, in a very paternal way, put his arm around me and began walking and talking with me. "How are things going, Ed?" I said things were going great. I was really happy. And as we finished walking, and we were about to go our different ways, he looked at me. I had grown a small goatee, a beard. He said, "Ed, when I was a young man, I would have never thought of growing a beard." And just left it at that, and that was it. Now he, in a very gentleman-like way, was telling me, "Get that beard off," because he was very fearful of the image of people, how the campus was being viewed. I went away thinking about it and a week later I shaved off my beard.

**George Von der Muhll:** The mayor of this city stereotyped UC Santa Cruz faculty and students; he saw them all as engaged in drugs, extramarital sex, and far-left politics. Like most stereotypes, this one had some grains of truth amid a pile of prejudices.

**Hal Hyde:** The hippie movement was coming out of the cities of Boston and New York and San Francisco. Santa Cruz became kind of a way-stop from the Haight Ashbury to Big Sur.<sup>12</sup> The people in the community of Santa Cruz blamed a lot of that on the university, which had little to do with it because these were people that were moving between the Haight Ashbury and Big Sur, and liked Santa Cruz and liked the climate. There was a great change in youth mores at that time.



---

Figure 6

Protest against US Air Force recruiters, October 1966

Photo by Steve Rees

---

**Mike Fresco:** Intervisitation is almost a cliché now. It is a big issue. And that, while the argument has manifested itself in the form of an intervisitation fight, it's bigger. It's a question of student power or student freedom, and they're trying to restrict it.

**George Von der Muhll:** The 1964 "Free Speech" movement in Berkeley, Rock-and-Roll festivals, drugs, a "Summer of Love" in 1967, and growing anger over the human costs of the Vietnam War transformed the student landscape. The Santa Cruz campus experienced a sharp change of course within a very few years, in a period of exceptionally rapid cultural change.

**Linda Luder:** Santa Cruz has been a quiet college in terms of the uprisings that are going on now among the universities. We've been accused of being very apathetic. Santa Cruz is trying now. The students are trying very hard to let it be known that they are interested and they are involved.

**George Von der Muhll:** By the late 1960s, McHenry and Kerr found that this lofty academic vision was being passionately opposed by students who refused to accept that they should be told by their professors what was worth studying and what they therefore *should* study.

The challenges of instituting a utopian liberal arts institution severed from the pragmatic pressures of society and the corporate interests of the multiversity became displaced by a growing sense that the ideas that had been worked out in the early sixties by the founders did not align very well with increasingly urgent student concerns about remaking the foundations of a society they had grown to fear and detest.

**Glenn Willson:** National politics swung attention away from new campus building and new ideas to

other issues. People came here and threw themselves wholeheartedly into building a new kind of campus. Even though they didn't necessarily always agree with one another, and there were some hard fights and battles about how the place should go, at least it was about the place.

But within two years, half of them were running campaigns against the Vietnam War, or taking off for the South (and the civil rights movement), to stand and accuse, to get the blacks into a better position. The whole atmosphere altered. The students became very radicalized.

It's hard to start a campus of an experimental nature like Santa Cruz, importing some alien notions. It's hard enough, even if you have a very steady and moderate external situation. But when you do it just before a storm breaks like Vietnam: very hard.

**George Von der Muhll:** At the same time, voters in California moved in the opposite direction, unexpectedly installing Ronald Reagan, who had come out of nowhere after his speech at the Republican Convention of 1964, as governor of California in 1966. Reagan gave very different answers to questions from the ones UCSC's planners had thought to be self evident. "We shouldn't be subsidizing intellectual curiosity" became an applause line, as did, "there are certain intellectual luxuries that perhaps we should do without." These hostile sentiments gained traction as the economy entered a period of "stagflation" and soaring costs were not accompanied by soaring revenues and multiplying jobs.

**Donald Clark:** When Reagan had been elected governor, one of the planks of his platform was to clear out these communists from the campuses of higher education. He kept talking about higher education as a privilege. "It isn't a right, and if you students don't toe the line, get out." Outside of the

campus, there was a great deal of reaction to what the public perceived as a lack of guts on the part of the administration to stand up against students.

Kerr was dismissed because Reagan felt that he hadn't handled the Berkeley affairs properly. He should have been more forceful.<sup>13</sup>

*Santa Cruz Sentinel:* Dr. Clark Kerr and Governor Ronald Reagan disagreed sharply yesterday on who triggered the firing of Kerr as University of California president. "The matter of a vote of confidence was brought up by Dr. Kerr, not the board," Reagan said in Los Angeles after the 14-8 vote by the Board of Regents for Kerr's immediate dismissal. "His request came as a complete surprise to all of us," Reagan said. The governor voted with the board majority.

"The governor's statement is completely false," Kerr declared yesterday at his El Cerrito home. "I never have asked for a vote of confidence and I didn't yesterday." Bitterness between Reagan and Kerr was kindled during Reagan's successful campaign for the governorship. Reagan charged that political effort supporting the Democratic incumbent, Governor Edmund G. Brown, occurred on the nine campuses of the 87,000-student university system with Kerr's knowledge. Their feud built up at last week's session of the regents, where Kerr opposed Reagan's proposals to slash the university budget and to charge all students tuition.

The ouster of Kerr, head of what he called the multiversity since 1958, generated shock waves across the campuses of both the university and California state college systems.

Glenn Dumke, chancellor of California state colleges, said: "To fire Kerr is probably the greatest blow to higher education since the founding of the university ninety-nine years ago."<sup>14</sup>

**Susan Sward:** The Rally Committee was set up the day after President Clark Kerr was deposed.

We set it up because we were upset at the manner that he had been dismissed, which we did not think was fitting, regardless of the man's history, regardless of what you thought of his individual decisions. Therefore we set up this committee, not only as a protest of his dismissal, because we realized that he was gone and there'd be no bringing him back, but we set it up as anti-tuition.

This was the first campus-wide rally that ever existed. We asked several speakers to address the audience. We got Mr. Hitchcock to be the chairman and introduce the speakers and Mr. Smith and Charles Page spoke. Mr. Thimann was there, although he didn't speak. We had a couple of faculty members, Paul Lee and Mary Holmes. While they didn't say anything radically new or different, it was good in that it was the communal feeling. We were all worried, and we were all upset, and here we were all gathered together in the Cowell Courtyard, more or less sharing our feelings. It wasn't that anything radical was decided. It was just more or less a statement.

**Dean McHenry:** One of the first things Kerr said after he was dismissed as UC president was, "Take care of Santa Cruz!" I think had he continued as president another five or ten years, this place would be purring along. His replacement, Charles Hitch, was sympathetic, but much less daring than Kerr. One of the factors was that we were not represented on the sports pages. We lacked that powerful he-man type of support. The public thought we were not big time, that we were pantywaists.<sup>15</sup>

**Elizabeth Calciano:** I just didn't believe that a student uprising would cause a president of a campus to be fired. I guess Clark Kerr was fired because he couldn't control these rabble-rousers. Well, people learned pretty soon: nobody could control them.



---

Figure 7

Protest rally at Cowell College against the firing of UC President Clark Kerr by California Governor Ronald Reagan. Page Smith at the podium, 1967

Photo by UCSC Photography Services

---

**Patricia Dorsey Bassett:** The rebellions of 1964 and 1965 had mobilized public opinion and created a sharp split in the regents along liberal-conservative lines, much as the loyalty oath dispute had done a decade earlier. Clark Kerr had lost the backing of several powerful regents, which contributed to his eventual dismissal as President of the University.

Ronald Reagan made campus unrest a major campaign issue in 1966 when he ran against Governor Pat Brown, one of Clark Kerr's most prominent champions. Unpalatable student activities were publicized, raising the specters of sex, drugs, homosexuality, and treason. Reagan promised a full-scale investigation of the University of California if he was elected governor, and wanted former CIA director John McCone to head it. Reagan went on to defeat Governor Brown by an impressive margin.

Kerr held on as long as he could, but Reagan intended to balance his budget through, among other things, drastic cuts to institutions of higher education and institution of a \$400/ year tuition plus \$275 fees. Regents were asked at a special summer meeting in 1966 to accept a reduction in their budget request. Kerr subsequently offered

a compromise that was not accepted. Through he had the overwhelming support of the faculty, he could not fight the Regents' majority. Kerr saw the handwriting on the wall, but refused to resign, thinking such an act would weaken the University's autonomy vis-à-vis the Regents. Kerr was subsequently dismissed as president by the regents on January 20, 1967.

The Academic Senate across UC, and even at Stanford, reacted with shock and sorrow and passed resolutions censuring the Regents' action and the manner in which it was done. The resolutions expressed unanimous admiration of Kerr as a "great administrative talent," the principal architect of the Master Plan, and the person responsible for making the University of California the best state system in the country."

The Santa Cruz Senate's resolution stated that Kerr will be particularly missed by this campus "where his bold innovation of a collegiate structure in a state university is coming to reality. It leaves to other hands a task which belonged to the Regents—the full and public acknowledgement of Clark Kerr's vision, which guided this institution into the complexities of modern time and made it a model in the world's eyes."<sup>16</sup>



---

Figure 8

Cowell College: tie-dye at the Provost's House, 1969

Photo by UCSC Photography Services

---

## Endnotes

1. Clark Kerr, “The Santa Cruz Dream.”
2. The “trailer park” referred to here is the site near the East Field House where the first UCSC students lived—not the current 42-site student “Camper Park” (often referred to as the Trailer Park) north of Kresge College.
3. McHenry is alluding here to the largely upper-middle-class, mostly white makeup of UCSC’s pioneer class, although of course not all students in the class shared those affiliations.
4. The Free Speech Movement (FSM) was a college-based protest movement inspired first by the struggle for civil rights and later by opposition to the Vietnam War. It began in 1964, when students at UC Berkeley protested a ban on on-campus political activities. The protest was led by several students who demanded the right to free speech and academic freedom.
5. According to the *New York Times*: “Kate Millett’s first and most famous book, *Sexual Politics* (1970), is credited with inciting a Copernican revolution in the understanding of gender roles. *Sexual Politics* sold 10,000 copies in a fortnight. *Time* magazine called Ms. Millett “the Mao Tse-tung of Women’s Liberation” and featured her on the cover . . . she became a defining architect of second-wave feminism.” Parul Sehgal and Neil Genzlinger, “Kate Millett, Ground-Breaking Feminist Writer, Is Dead at 82,” *New York Times*, September 6, 2017. <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/09/06/obituaries/kate-millett-influential-feminist-writer-is-dead-at-82.html>.
6. Ken Kesey (1935-2001) was an American novelist, essayist, and countercultural figure. He considered himself a link between the Beat Generation of the 1950s and the hippies of the 1960s and 70s. He wrote *One Flew Over the Cuckoo’s Nest* (1962, filmed 1975) and experimented with LSD with Timothy Leary. Kesey gathered together a like-minded group of individuals who called themselves the Merry Pranksters. In 1964, they set out together on a cross-country trip in an old bus they dubbed Further. The bus was decorated in colorful graffiti and captained by Neal Cassady—who was immortalized in Jack Kerouac’s *On the Road* as Dean Moriarty. The Pranksters journeyed on the bus to the World’s Fair in New York City before returning to Kesey’s ranch in La Honda, California, in the Santa Cruz Mountains above Pescadero. In 1965, the Pranksters began conducting “Acid Tests”; attendees would receive a cup of “electric,” LSD-laced Kool-Aid to expand their mind. LSD was legal at that time. A band called the Warlocks often played at Kesey’s ranch; they would later become known as the Grateful Dead. For more on Ken Kesey and his Merry Pranksters in Santa Cruz, as well as a wealth of material on the hip counterculture in Santa Cruz during the 1960s and early 1970s, see Ralph Abraham’s site Hip Santa Cruz at <http://hipsantacruz.org/> and Ralph Abraham, *Hip Santa Cruz* (Epigraph Books, 2016).
7. Peter Demma was a friend of Neal Cassady’s and a member of Kesey’s Merry Pranksters.
8. For more on the history of the Hip Pocket Bookstore see the Hip Pocket Bookstore Scrapbook (1960-1997). Available at the UCSC Special Collections Reading Room: MS 328.
9. The Whole Earth Restaurant was founded by UCSC professor Paul Lee, the campus-affiliated Reverend Herb Schmidt, and other local activists. Housed in a redwood building on today’s Quarry Plaza, the restaurant, which featured natural and organic foods, was inspired by, and with permission named after the *Whole Earth Catalog*. The restaurant opened on April Fools’ Day, 1970, and served the campus until 2002. Some of the produce featured on the menu was grown by UCSC’s Farm and Garden. See Sharon Cadwallader, *The Whole Earth Restaurant Cookbook* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1972); this short KRON 1971 video from the Bay Area Television Archive; <https://diva.sfsu.edu/collections/sfbatv/bundles/227866>; and this site on the Collective Museum archive: <http://iascollectivemuseum.com/linda/>.
10. The early Catalyst was both a coffeehouse and a bar. Its ambience was very different from that of its successor, the Catalyst Music Club, which evolved after a move down the street to lower Pacific Avenue in 1973.
11. Republican Burt Talcott represented the Monterey Bay area in the US Congress for eight terms, between 1963 and 1977, before losing his seat to Leon Panetta.
12. “During its heyday, which culminated in 1967’s infamous Summer of Love, young dreamers converged in the Haight by the thousands. Historians deem the neighborhood the birthplace of the hippie movement, marked by peaceful protests and psychedelic experimentation.” From the digital exhibit Haight Ashbury in the Sixties: A Vibrant Hippie History: [https://www.huffingtonpost.com/2012/10/15/haight-ashbury-in-the-1960s\\_n\\_1967664.html](https://www.huffingtonpost.com/2012/10/15/haight-ashbury-in-the-1960s_n_1967664.html).
13. A 2004 UC Berkeley article, “Ronald Reagan Launched Political Career Using the Berkeley Campus as a Target,” provides a cogent analysis of the reasons for Governor Ronald Reagan’s firing of UC president Clark Kerr: “Ronald



Reagan launched his political career in 1966 by targeting UC Berkeley's student peace activists, professors, and, to a great extent, the University of California itself. In his successful campaign for governor of California, his first elective office, he attacked the Berkeley campus, cementing what would remain a turbulent relationship between Reagan and California's leading institution for public higher education. "This was not a happy relationship between the governor and the university—you have to acknowledge it," recalled Neil Smelser, who was a Berkeley professor of sociology during the Reagan years. "As a matter of Reagan's honest convictions but also as a matter of politics, Reagan launched an assault on the university." Kerr was fired three weeks after Reagan took office. The act was the culmination of a process that began long before, when then-FBI director J. Edgar Hoover first tried to persuade Kerr to crack down hard on Berkeley students involved in the 1964 Free Speech Movement, which Hoover alleged was a front for communist sympathizers. Unable to convince Kerr, Hoover turned to gubernatorial candidate Reagan, a rising conservative star. As revealed by a 2002 investigation by *San Francisco Chronicle* reporter Seth Rosenfeld, Reagan and the FBI interacted throughout the campaign about dealing with Kerr and the student protesters." See: [https://www.berkeley.edu/news/media/releases/2004/06/08\\_reagan.shtml](https://www.berkeley.edu/news/media/releases/2004/06/08_reagan.shtml).

14. *Santa Cruz Sentinel*, January 22, 1967.

15. Don Miller, "Dean McHenry—taking a look at the way things were," *Santa Cruz Sentinel*, October 24, 1985.

16. Bassett, 13.

17. The Grateful Dead Archive at UCSC Library Special Collections comprises nearly a thousand boxes of documents and recordings, objects, equipment, and framed art images. See: <https://guides.library.ucsc.edu/gratefuldeadarchive/welcome>. Also visit the Grateful Dead Archive Online (GDAO), a collaborative collection comprising over 45,000 digitized items drawn from the archive and from digital content submitted by the community and global network of Grateful Dead fans. The McHenry Library features Dead Central, a gallery space dedicated to exploring cultural, social, and creative moments in the twentieth century in which the Grateful Dead played a critical part.

## Illustrations

Figure 1. Pioneer Class in Trailer, 1965. Photo by Eric Thiermann. Courtesy Special Collections, University Library, University of California, Santa Cruz. UCSC Photography Services: UA 50: ua0050\_neg\_00400w\_11.tif.

Figure 2. Pioneer class, students on the beach. 1965. Photo by Eric Thiermann. Courtesy Special Collections, University Library, University of California, Santa Cruz. UCSC Photography Services: UA 50: ua0050\_neg\_00400af\_01.tif.

Figure 3. Stevenson College dorm visiting rules regarding intervisitation of male and female students. 1968. Courtesy Special Collections, University Library, University of California, Santa Cruz. UCSC Photography Services: UA 50: ua0050\_neg\_05451\_01.tif.

Figure 4. UCSC Staff office. Sharon (Henjum) Lowry, administrative assistant to the vice chancellor of university relations, with another administrative assistant. Poster on the wall for Jefferson Airplane at the Coconut Grove, 1968. Photo by Alexander Lowry. Courtesy Special Collections, University Library, University of California, Santa Cruz. UCSC Photography Services: UA 50: ua0050\_neg\_04966\_07.tif.

Figure 5. Students Painting the Windows with Flowers, 1968. Courtesy Special Collections, University Library, University of California, Santa Cruz. UCSC Photography Services: UA 50: ua0050\_neg\_04390a\_17.tif.

Figure 6. Protest against US Air Force recruiters, October 1966. Courtesy Special Collections, University Library, University of California, Santa Cruz. Steve Rees photographs of the University of California, Santa Cruz MS 288: ms0288\_neg\_071\_13.tif.

Figure 7. Protest rally at Cowell College against the firing of UC President Clark Kerr by California Governor Ronald Reagan. Page Smith at the podium. Courtesy Special Collections, University Library, University of California, Santa Cruz. UCSC Photography Services: UA 50: ua0050\_neg\_01090b\_05.tif.

Figure 8. Cowell College: tie-dye at the Provost's House, 1969. Courtesy Special Collections, University Library, University of California Santa Cruz. UCSC Photography Services: UA 50: ua0050\_neg\_06437d\_01.tif.



---

Anti-war convocation at the Quarry Amphitheater. Turning in draft cards, 1970

Photo by UCSC Photography Services

---

## Chapter 9

# “Then I Got My Draft Notice”

The Vietnam War, Academic Freedom, and Campus Activism

*For a person my age and my sex, when you're faced with the military, you have three alternatives: serving, going to Canada, or going to jail.*

—Russell Smith

**Bill Dickinson:** I got here in September of 1965, and I was dreaming that I would be a US senator. Then in November, I got my draft notice.<sup>1</sup> Vietnam had escalated.<sup>2</sup> I didn't want to go. And quite apart from the fact that I didn't want to go to war at all, I didn't want to leave UCSC at that point. I had just gotten here.

**Hal Hyde:** The first UCSC students were a wonderful, bright, self-directed group and their involvement in Cowell, Stevenson, and Crown was absolutely magnificent. They sopped up the knowledge that these highly motivated professors were teaching. It was a great interaction. They were a magnificent group. That is not to say they weren't influenced by all the things that were happening in the society.

Vietnam was one of the issues. I was living in Watsonville, where the young people of that generation were going off to Vietnam and coming back in body bags<sup>3</sup>—and college students on the other

hand, who had pulled every string in the world to keep their student deferments, were acting up and doing their things here.

**Russell Smith:** For a person my age and my sex, when you're faced with the military, you have three alternatives: serving, going to Canada, or going to jail. People would prefer not going in the army for moral reasons, and they would either go to jail or go to Canada, according to which is the biggest step. I think probably a lot more people would go to Canada than are now if there were ways of doing it without having to do it by yourself. It's a big step to walk across the border at Detroit and that's the end of it. But this is a question I'm going to have to consider. I feel very fortunate in having a 2-S [student deferment] right now because I won't have to decide, hopefully, for another year or more. But you look at the paper, it doesn't look too good. It's a war every twenty years.



Figure 1

Anti-war convocation at the Quarry Amphitheater. More than two thousand students, faculty, staff, and community members protest the military actions in Cambodia and the Kent State shootings, May 6, 1970

Photo by UCSC Photography Services

**Richard Fernau:** I have to get into a draft-deferrible program, or leave the country, or go to jail, or go in the army. I don't know of anyone who is planning on trying to go to this war. They're all like running one way or another, you know. Maybe “running” puts a negative attitude—value judgment on it, but they're living in a way to avoid it. I think you have some people now who are honest enough to say the reason they don't want to go is they just don't want to go. They just don't want to be in an army. That could mean they just don't want to shave their hair or leave their friends. Some people don't want to be part of the repressive military structure, and some people feel like it's particularly the war in Vietnam that they don't want to be a part of. And some people feel they don't want to kill in general, or be part of an organization which is built on that.

I think most people would respond that they certainly do feel like they owe the country something, but maybe that something isn't going and fighting in Vietnam. I definitely feel like the Peace Corps is a viable option, or the Teacher Corps—working with an area like Tulare County, with Mexican-American kids—or being a conscientious objector. More people are thinking in terms of what they can do, if it's relevant, and what they can do for their country, if they're going to make a commitment. If they're going to do something for their country, why not make it a positive thing? They don't think of the army as a positive thing.

**Steve Kaffka:** I transferred as a sophomore to UCSC in fall 1967, two years after it opened. I had gotten swept up in the anti-Vietnam War mood of the time and was pondering both my own relationship to the larger society and also potential participation in that war when I would graduate.

**Michael Farney:** Most of my friends, roommates, and close friends are contemplating going into the

services. They're all scrambling for the air force as being the best bet because they feel that next year they won't stand a chance of escaping, or it's too risky to go on to grad school if you have a 2-S [student deferment] status. They hope to go through the Oakland induction center sometime this summer because they get their 1-A-O [conscientious objector] status as soon as they leave here. They'll all go to the induction center. Then if they're classified 1-A by the induction center, they'll immediately go to their draft board and see if their draft board is man-hungry, or if it has a good supply of men and they can wait, just to see in general what their odds are. Since they are most of them twenty-two and twenty-three, they are a bit over the age limit the draft board wants them to be, so they may escape. So they have to weigh all of these factors, and by the end of the summer they'll have to decide for sure whether or not they want to try the air force, or whether they want to try grad school. It's sort of 50-50 at this point for most people.

**Allen Hunter, Student:** I'm 1-Y, which means I have a physical deferment and that I most likely won't get called up, and only if I *force* them to deal with me will they call me. But I'm very opposed to the war in Vietnam, and I've toyed with the idea of doing some kind of non-cooperating.

**Steve Kaffka:** I decided that that war was a manifestation of the larger cultural and social forces operating, directing American life, and that if I didn't want to have to be a part of that, or wanted to somehow find an alternative way to live, I needed to learn how to grow my own food.

So I went up to the Chadwick Garden in the spring and started working there. I figured out that I could, if I lived in poverty, work there for the summer, because there was food at the Garden, and you could sleep in the woods if necessary.

I made lots of ad-hoc arrangements for staying places. I worked there full time that summer, and I took to it. I must have had some capacity for it anyway. I liked it a lot and worked very hard. I got to know Alan Chadwick, and I think by the end of that summer, since I was a student and a lot of the people who were really dedicated to the place were not students (or had been but had dropped out), I ended up being named the student president of the Garden by the end of that summer, in fall 1968.

**Nancy Pascal:** The Vietnam War was a big deal and the draft was very active. Because Santa Cruz didn't have a grade point average, for young men who were enrolled, we had to write letters to their draft boards explaining that they were in good standing and therefore eligible for student exemption. The draft boards didn't know what to make of us because we didn't have a grade point average. One of my jobs was writing the letters.

**Ellen Marie Bulf:** UCSC has changed quite a bit since 1967. It's hard to know where to start to talk about 1969. A lot of political changes and outside changes have affected it. The war in Vietnam has spread student activism over to this campus and gotten a lot of people very disaffected and disillusioned. The hippie movement, if you want to call it that, has taken over. It's become diffused throughout the feelings of the students on campus. There's more political activity. There was virtually none two years ago. Those few people who were interested in politics went to Berkeley.

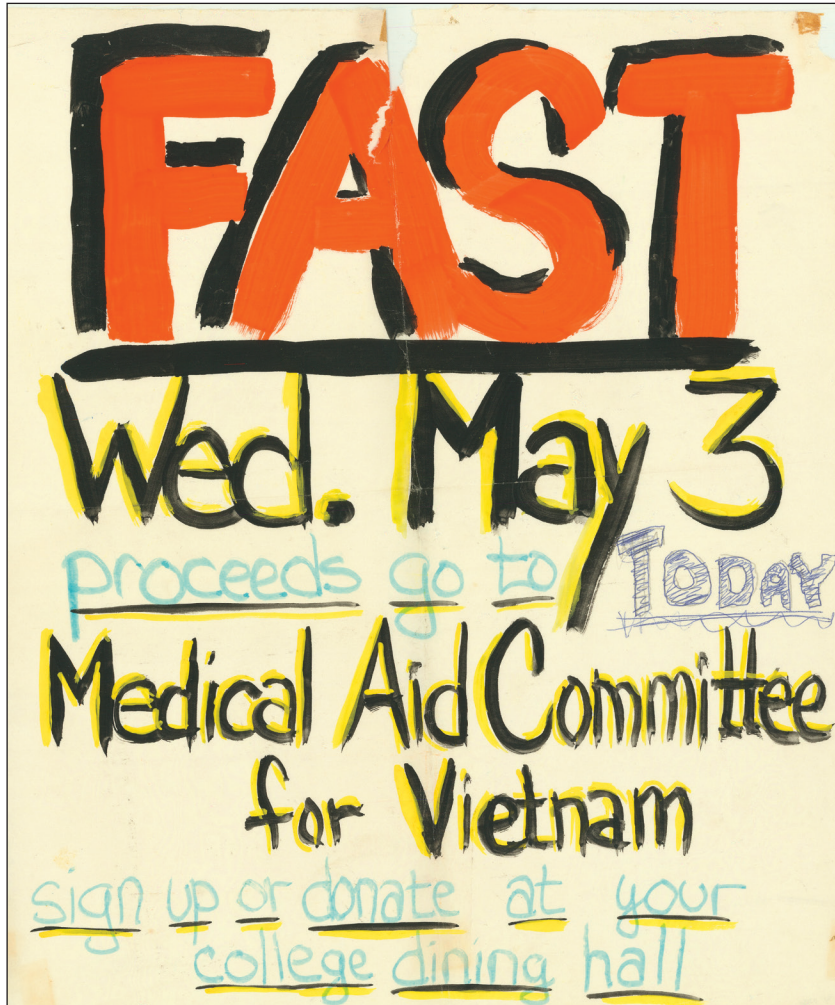
**John Dizikes:** We were overwhelmed by the concurrent development of the counterculture: flower power,<sup>4</sup> the Vietnam War, and all those things. While we continued our focus on what we were teaching, we were also tremendously involved in other elements that I think broke the focus for

many people about undergraduate teaching. And it became other important aspects: what's the role of the university in terms of American political culture?

I didn't think it was my role to protest, but I taught lots of students about what was involved in it, thought the Vietnam War was a catastrophe and students were right to identify it as such, and eventually they helped get us out of it. We would not have withdrawn from Vietnam had it not been for the protests, however difficult they were for many people to accept.

My own role was not as a protester, but as a person who talked to students about it, especially students who were uneasy about protesting and political activism. Students found out, a number of them—the men—that I'd been in the army. Page Smith had served in World War II; so had one or two of the others—but most of the senior faculty were younger than that. I'd been in the army, and for the next few years students—men—would come and talk to me in the most serious way about conscription, the draft, Vietnam. What should they do? And I would say to them, "I'm never going to tell you what to do. But I'll talk honestly to you." And mostly it was, why had I gone in the army? "Well," I said, "I was drafted, and it was a United Nations peacekeeping force in Korea. The Russians voted in favor of our going to Korea. This was the first of the united political actions." I later came to have great skepticism about it. I didn't at the time.

I was also in the army for economic and social reasons. I was drafted because I wasn't rich enough to be able to go to a college and maintain my deferment. It wouldn't have been hard to maintain a deferment—all you had to do was do 'C' work. I thought I had done awfully well, but I ended up in the army. And the other people in the army who were from colleges had also had these kinds of experiences where class really mattered if



---

Figure 2

Handmade poster, 1976

---



you didn't have money and couldn't stay in. One guy had had to drop out because of illness in the family for one semester and he lost his deferment, and so forth and so on. So, I was deeply sympathetic to the students, and I could say to them, "Do I think, if you want to go to Canada, it's traitorous and dishonorable? No, I don't think so. You have to decide. You yourself."

**Jasper Rose:** I was very opposed to the beastly business of the war in Vietnam being pursued relentlessly by the world. I didn't want a world in which young people were torn into shreds by having to make up their mind whether they were, at that particular moment, pro and anti.

**John Dizikes:** I had a colleague, a mathematician, Ted Youngs, come to me. He had been very critical of some of the things I represented in the college. But eventually he came to me and told me that one of his sons had gone to Canada. Ted said, "What the hell do you think I should do?" I said, "What should you do? Support your son. He took his moral action by going to Canada, and I sympathize with him. What else?" He said, "You don't think it's shameful?" I said, "I think not to raise questions is shameful." He went to Canada and he stayed; he's still, as far as I know, there.

All of this turmoil was not irrelevant to how we were studying and what we were learning. The question was, "What is the meaning of what we are doing?" Why do we read Plato when hell has broken out in Vietnam and elsewhere?" These were issues I was happy to engage, because I said over and over that, in my own experience, these ideas were central to the way I lived. Of course, I didn't spend my life going around reading Plato. I think I was quite grounded in the ordinary world that I grew up in. But it's what mattered to me. And I was a little impatient, I think rightly so, with students who took for granted that they could come

to this place. I thought that they were incredibly lucky to be coming to Santa Cruz, and to have full-time study at Santa Cruz.

**Allan Jamie Goodman:** When I was a freshman at UC Riverside, in the afternoons we would have bull sessions for hours, and we'd discuss the world's problems. We'd come to solutions, of course. We had decided Barry Goldwater could never get the Republican nomination in 1964 and various important things such as this, and we were certain of our conclusions.<sup>5</sup>

But around UCSC there's very little discussion of academic topics, or of world problems, except Vietnam, and Vietnam may be one of the reasons why there is little discussion. Perhaps it's stifled debate or discussion of anything else. Certainly, the daily life of the student today is centered around whether or not he'll be drafted. The Vietnam draft comes up at least three or four times a day. And in a way, the attitude of most of the students is rather totalitarian in that if you do not agree with their position on Vietnam, it's very difficult to get along with them. Vietnam seems to be the single criterion for admission to the club. Perhaps it's a reflection of what's happening in a number of interest groups such as the California Democratic Council, the United Republicans of California, and if you don't believe as I believe, then get out—it's a totalitarian liberalism.

Most of the students who agree with the US involvement in Vietnam are forced to be silent because their position is so unpopular, especially on the campus—on most campuses, I suppose. But as a result, there is no discussion of economic problems, or welfare problems, or academic subjects. It's something that very much interests me because I can remember all these discussions at Riverside. The freshmen on the third floor discuss intervisitation and the food. We discussed the food at Riverside, but we discussed the faculty; we

would be discussing this year the fact that 17 million people are going to starve in India, and not so much the fact that Saga Food just lost its contract for campus food service in the dining halls, which itself puts the students in a very bad position because the understanding is that the next food company is even worse.

**Page Smith:** The typical UCSC student was a child of middle-class professional or successful business parents from Los Angeles or San Francisco, although many were certainly from small communities as well. They were very, very outstanding academically and rather neurotic, maybe that’s not the word, but excessively preoccupied with—well, all those problems that concern people whose orientation has been most exclusively intellectual. They arrived here at a time when the whole pattern of that life was coming under very severe criticism.

There was a general introspective mood in the air, along with the activism. I sometimes said that it seemed to me that half the student body was acting as a lay analyst for the other half, and they would sort of switch over. There was an extraordinary preoccupation with people’s emotional and mental states all the time. Everybody was tuned into this, which was a phenomenon of the sixties.

**Allan Jamie Goodman:** Maybe it’s also a result of the fact that the students on this campus come from much higher-income homes than those when I was a freshman at UC Riverside. Of course, the general standard of living has gone up, but the average student around here has parents who make about fourteen thousand dollars a year or more.<sup>6</sup> We had a lot more farmers’ children at Riverside. There were a lot more local community; maybe it was a somewhat more rural orientation, but still you would think that urban children would discuss these problems because they are more urban affairs. But they don’t. It’s very curious. I

think this senior class is very peculiar. Most of us were born so close to the end of World War II that we have a somewhat different sense of perspective than the freshmen and sophomores do. I can remember when my father was making absolutely no money whatsoever. Most of the freshmen around here have never seen hard times; their parents have never had financial problems.

**Hayden White, Professor:** Look here, the thing that made possible the resistance to the Vietnamese War was the drafting of the children of the middle class. That meant the drafting of the children of my colleagues and professors. This radicalized a large number of people who otherwise would have had no interest in politics. Many faculty were disaffected by the duplicity of the government. This was a war that was fought for reasons that no one was really clear about except General Motors.

**John Dizikes:** I always taught my classes that if there were students who, out of principle, would not come to class because they weren’t going to come on campus that day if there was a strike, I would offer an alternative class for those people who wanted to have one in one evening, or another time. I felt it was my responsibility to go to class for those students who wanted to be in class. I was not ruling them out because a minority or even a majority said, “No, no, you can’t go to class.” To me, going to class was a crucial thing. I was there to offer class. But if people, out of principle, didn’t come, I was perfectly prepared to meet them, if they thought they needed it at another time. So that’s how I dealt with that, from beginning to end. I tried to represent the students who, for whatever reason, weren’t protesting, who were fully students, engaged maybe as good citizens as the others—but also to respect the courage of the people who protested.

**Ed Landesman:** My former wife played a major role in opening up my eyes to many liberal causes, which was really good for me. I became much more involved, as far as my understanding about civil rights, about the Vietnam War. I had been in a very sheltered existence, the way I was raised. I now was beginning to understand students' viewpoints on all types of current events. I didn't always agree with everything they did, but at least I was able to gain an understanding of what they were experiencing.

One incident that I still remember was a group of students coming to me and saying they would not be at a certain exam I was giving on a particular upcoming day because there was going to be a march, and how did I feel about that? What would I do if they didn't come to take my exam? I thought for a moment, and I said, "You know, if you truly believe in that, you should do that, and I'll give you a make-up exam, but you need to understand also that a make-up exam often can be harder because of the way you write it up relative to how the original exam was written. Nevertheless, you have the right to do what you believe in, and I will go along and give you a make-up test." Events like this got me thinking about things that I had thought little about before. It was very good for me.

**Page Smith:** I think one of the things that's easy to forget about Santa Cruz is that every other campus that I know of in the University of California system and throughout the country went through the most bitter divisive experiences as a result of the whole Vietnam thing, but not at Santa Cruz. The episodes or moments when it seemed that Santa Cruz was at its best were in that period of crisis. Our particular eccentric form of localization of the collegiate system was remarkably effective in coping with, meeting, or responding to those situations, and faculties and students preserved a

great deal of comity and goodwill through them. I found, to my astonishment, that among the faculty here there weren't those bitter divisions between Right and Left that I knew existed on other campuses. How deep and bitter those divisions were and how much their effects are still felt on some campuses, I didn't know until I went to some kind of conference of conservative faculty members. I heard tales of bitter strife. Everybody was giving testimony, and when it came to me I said, "Well I'm sorry, I guess I don't belong here. I can't identify with these battles and campaigns and curious controversies because we, for whatever reason, have been spared them."

**Glenn Willson:** I remember Tom Hayden coming here at the height of all the worst of the problems, to give a talk.<sup>7</sup> It was much better than rabble-rousing stuff. It was good; it was quite sincere, but it was extraordinarily radical. Instead of getting an audience of 15,000 on their feet yelling and stamping, he got an audience of perhaps five or six hundred here at UCSC, who took him apart, and asked him questions, and turned the whole occasion into a sort of rather quiet political seminar. He went away somewhat discomfited, I think.

We had our rows on the Santa Cruz campus, yet we were too small and were too far from the television cameras to attract the worst sort of contrived publicity. But even in our own dealings, it seems to me that it was probably more effectively damped down here and turned into some acceptance of the difference between the generations and so on, by the fact that we were so close to the students: we could talk to them. The "them and us" was nothing like as bad here as it was at UCLA or Berkeley.

**Henry Mello, Santa Cruz County Supervisor:** During the Vietnam War, the students marched down to the county office building and we met

with them. During the Kent State incident in 1970, National Guardsmen just went out and started shooting students.<sup>8</sup> I spoke out then against our involvement. I was not an antiwar protester, so to speak, but I said, what are we doing over there? We lost an awful lot of boys over there. Men and women got killed. The history of Vietnam is horrible. When John F. Kennedy was president, we were involved. US participation in the war had started with President Dwight Eisenhower.

Questions came from the students. They invited me on the campus. In fact, the chancellor called me. Students were questioning US involvement in Vietnam and the administration didn't know how to respond. So they asked if somebody would come up to the campus and sit around and answer some of the questions and talk with the students. I went up and there were several hundred students in the dining room at Stevenson. They asked me a lot of questions, many questions on national policy. I was on the Santa Cruz County Board of Supervisors then. I didn't have any jurisdiction. But I was a person they could rap with. Congressman Burt Talcott wouldn't come near the place.

I went up there and talked to the students. I wasn't defending the war. I was agreeing with them, but I said, quoting something I'd read: "America, right or wrong. When it's right, we maintain it to be right. But when it's wrong, we make it right. We get ourselves involved and try to change from being wrong to being right, by doing the right thing." So, I quoted that to the students. I made sure I was quoting somebody else, but I said this is what I believe in, because I think we have to involve ourselves in the decision-making process, and in ideas, so that we can do the right thing and not stand out there and throw rocks at the institution and break windows. That doesn't solve a thing. You just have to get out and try to

change the course that we're going on. You don't do it from the outside; you do it from the inside.

**John Taub:** The caliber of the instructors here is fantastic. Each person is very good in his field. Some people have gone outside of their fields. In fact, Mr. Domhoff has gone into the area of sociology and he's written a book *Who Rules America?*<sup>9</sup> He has divergent interests from psychology, but all very good. He's also prominent in his field. You can tell whether a faculty member is consistent with his beliefs by whether or not he participates in, or advocates political activities which, in theory, he accepts. Now Dr. Domhoff is participating in the strike. He's been participating today in the strike for approximately ten hours. He talks about revolution; he teaches revolution; he wrote a book about revolution; and he's participating in it.

**Bill Domhoff:** In 1967, SDS [Students for a Democratic Society] nationwide called for an international student strike day. There was a little bit of SDS on the campus. They asked me to speak. I spoke in the quarry. I called my speech "How to Commit Revolution in Corporate America."

As we were coming up towards the time of this strike, the chancellor sent out a notice to all of us that pointed out that you're not allowed to strike if you're a faculty member at Santa Cruz, or at a UC. You can be fired for striking. This was just general information. It didn't say anything related to this teach-in kind of event and the student strike. I figured, and others figured, it was aimed at intimidating us over this event.

I was annoyed. I called the regents' office. I said, "I want to talk to one of your lawyers." I said, "Look, I want to send you up this piece of paper that McHenry put out saying you're fired if you're involved in the strike. I've been asked to speak to the national student strike day. Can I be

fired for this?" He said, "No, you cannot be fired for speaking at an event."

I didn't have a class that day. So it wasn't like I was cancelling a class. I began my speech by saying, "I appear before you here today by the courtesy of the Regents of the University of California. I have been told by these men, good and true, that I will not be fired for participating in the strike. And I want you to know that I am just an unpaid consultant. It's perfectly legitimate for any professor to consult. We have a lot of examples of that. Most of them are paid. Most of them consult for corporations. I'm consulting for you, and I'm unpaid. But I do expect this to be on my *vitae* and to count towards my tenure."

One of my research assistants volunteered to deal with the phones. We were coordinating all of these things in my office, mostly to do with teas that were being held, meetings with people in town, where two or three students would go and explain to the town people why they were against the war and so on. And my wife was coordinating this with all of her many friends and contacts, too.

Over in Stevenson College, Bill Friedland's office was the main place. They were the more leftist office. Students would meet in the Stevenson College Library and decide what they were going to do. They decided they were going to block Highway One. They blocked it at River Street, that big intersection. But they got eased off the street, as these trucks inched forward.

I thought it was not very smart. These people weren't the cause of the war. They were truck drivers who were trying to make a living, people who were trying to feed their kids. You know, everyday life, which a student doesn't have a conception of. I was a guy with four kids. You've got to get these kids to various places. There're schools; there's food. You've got to have formulas, diapers, whatever. So everyday life, they were blocking that.

**Bill Friedland, Professor:** In either the first year or the second year, Chancellor McHenry called me in and said, "The president of Safeway has called me, and has asked the question: 'What are UCSC students doing picketing my stores?'"

McHenry said, "Educate me." I explained the character of the community studies department—the major, the requirements. I emphasized the fact that we did not instruct students where they could do their field study. *They* made the decision. As soon as he heard that, McHenry said, "That's fine. I'll get back to you." He sent me away. That was the last I heard of it. The fact that students chose—that was their academic freedom. So it was no problem for McHenry. I don't know what the president of Safeway did about that, but we had other fish to fry.

**Henry Mello:** We had a big rally at the courthouse by the park, along the San Lorenzo River. They put up some speaker stands and Democratic Assemblyman John Vasconcellos came down because he was really truly against the war. They had about twenty speakers, I was one of them, speaking out against the war. They had some local city council people and local activists that spoke. There were about 2000 people there. For Santa Cruz it was a big event.

**Glenn Willson:** There was one dreadful case in which there was a big meeting at the Civic Center, one of the big protest meetings about the war, and the Monterey Tactical Squad was ordered up, and set about the students as they came out. There were running fights through the streets and the students came back and showed us all their bruises and said how dreadful it was, and how one or two of them were locked up. We had to go down and bail them out. Those sorts of things were unpleasant.

That shouldn't give you an impression that the whole place was in a constant state of uproar

and dreadful trouble. It wasn't. I very rarely had unpleasant relations with students. There were times when you had to draw a line and nobody likes the line being drawn. On one occasion, the only occasion in my life when I've actually manhandled a student, a character who was a thorn in all our sides marched into my office one day when there'd been a lot of trouble, leading a procession, and walked in past my secretary through the open door. I was in talking to somebody. My temper broke and I picked him up and threw him out through the door, whereupon I was penned in my office for four hours. Philosophy professor Carlos Noreña battled his way in, and having been a Jesuit priest, he comforted me.

**Jasper Rose:** It was a strange world for me in many ways, but it was a strange world for everybody. Anything could be supposed to be about to happen then, in terms of these possible wars, and possible armies.

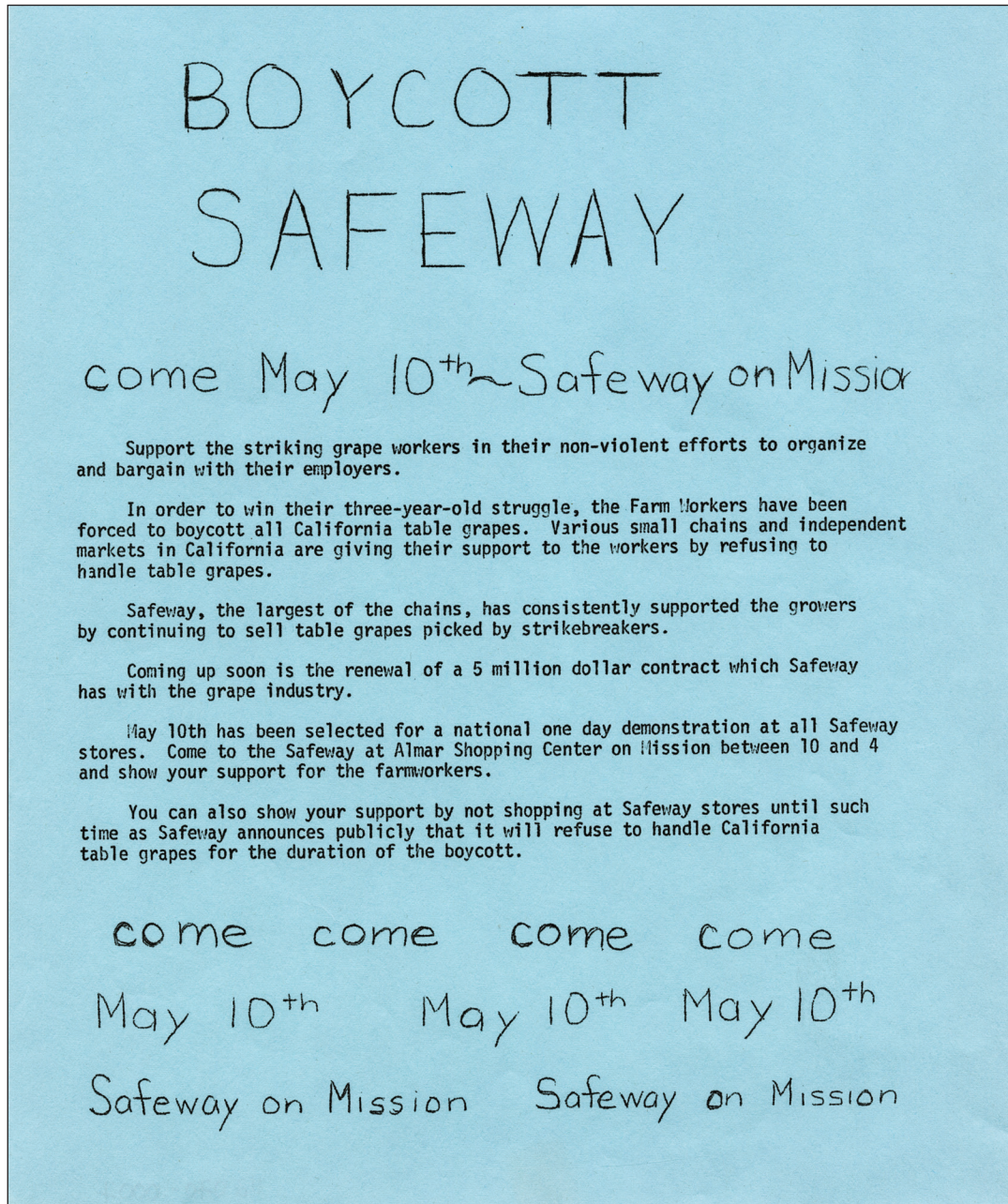
**Glenn Willson:** It was a bizarre period. Kenneth Thimann was once visited by a girl who walked into his office in broad daylight, stark naked. She walked in, and said she wanted to see him. So, Kenneth simply got up, and took his raincoat which was hanging on a peg, and he said, “Well, do put this around yourself.” Knowing Kenneth, you could just imagine it. But it was the crazy kind of thing that was happening, crazy. The McHenrys had people sleeping under their windows at night in protest against something or other. One's nerves were on a ragged edge.

**Dean McHenry:** Well, I think if they engage in political activism as individuals, it's up to them. I think it's unfortunate when they represent themselves as coming from the university. It's bad in public relations. Take the grape boycott—I have a tremendous emotional sympathy and great

personal admiration for United Farm Workers co-founder Cesar Chavez, and no grapes have been served at our table for more than a year.<sup>10</sup> Yet when Peter Braun, now at Merrill, organized this park-in at Lucky's supermarket and some of the other markets, it tripled the sale of table grapes in Santa Cruz because they generated an *enormous* amount of ill will towards the university. When I say this to Peter, he says, “Well, we're making converts. In the long haul, it's going to do some good.” But really, all they've done is get rid of a certain amount of their own aggression and frustration. They haven't helped the cause any. If they'd go out and work on Saturdays and contribute the money they earn to the strike fund, it would be a lot more constructive, in my opinion. I can't believe that they're so stupid as not to see this.

**Glenn Willson:** I remember some heartbreaking episodes. I remember being with Dean McHenry on one or two nights when he had to go and address multitudes of students who were willing to tear the hair out of his head. This basically very liberal man was treated as though he was a fascist. To some extent, on occasion, he reacted rather as though he was a fascist, but under the strain I couldn't blame him. And he must have thought, sometimes, as the years of that went by, what's the point of trying when everybody seems to be willing to do things which are going to pull the thing down around their ears?

**Dean McHenry:** These demonstrations were just calculated to get the dander up of very moderate people, who might have been sympathetic if things had been handled politely. Shave off the beards and dress like human beings, and hand out circulars in town—but obstructing sidewalks and filling up parking lots with their jalopies and all this is just calculated to make people detest them.



---

Figure 3

United Farm  
Workers flyer,  
1969

---

I can't understand it. Perhaps it's because I never studied abnormal psychology.

**John Dizikes:** How many doctors and lawyers at parties in the evenings would say, “What in God's name is going on up there?” And I'd say, “They're your kids, they're all middle-class children from professional families. Who do they think they are? I didn't train them, I didn't tell them how to behave, God knows I'm shocked too. But it's a university; they're here, they're expressing themselves.” On the other hand, the students came in and shopped and spent their money, right? “Come on,” I'd say to the townspeople, “Look, all you really care about is that they be good consumers. What do you care about whether they're dressed or not dressed, or what they're drinking?” No, it was a shock, as it was to the country as a whole. The counterculture was terrifying, and people never recovered from it.

**Dean McHenry:** When I go to the Kiwanis Club they say, “Why don't you fire all those professors? Expel all those students.”<sup>11</sup> I say, “On what grounds?” “Well, they're troublemakers.” I was a card-carrying member of the American Civil Liberties Union before most of the young faculty were born. And I was a member of the American Federation of Teachers before most of them were born.

**George Von der Muhll:** Some student in one of the off-campus residences hung up a Vietnamese flag in the window, and the mayor of Santa Cruz announced to everybody who would listen that he was going to go there personally and rip it down and have that student expelled from the room. He was going to have the student evicted. He was told by his own attorney, “Don't do it. What you want to do is against the First Amendment.” But the mayor didn't care; he was accustomed to having

his way and he was confident that the community he knew best would back him. He said, “I don't care. I am going to do it because I'm a loyal American, unlike the students.” So, he went up to the house and tore the flag down.<sup>12</sup> I wrote a letter to the *Santa Cruz Sentinel* simply saying that many of our most important liberties came from the actions of people whom many would find quite annoying or obnoxious people.

**Dean McHenry:** There's very little that an administrator can do about these kinds of protests. When there are specific violations of university rules, you can bring charges. But there's very little that can be done. And whatever is done, or whatever rules there are, they figure out ways of circumventing them. For example, tonight and tomorrow night, there are kinds of meetings that are being scheduled by various groups, usually the same group of radical students who dominate each one of these—student mobilization and various others—SDS [Students for a Democratic Society]—and they'll say there's going to be a meeting. So and so, who is a striking professor from San Francisco State, will be in the audience, and will answer questions or take part in the discussion. They're avoiding filing of papers listing them as speaker. And even if they put in the papers for the speaker, the only grounds on which you can deny the right to speak is that the facilities aren't available, or the person, in the opinion of the chancellor, will not contribute to the educational objectives of the institution, or something like that.

Last year we held up permission for Black Panther Eldridge Cleaver to speak on campus. We held it up, getting legal opinions on whether we could deny it on the grounds that he was a convicted felon, and in the course of the delay, the sponsor, Mrs. Michael Fader, withdrew the request for Cleaver, and they brought Bobby Seale.<sup>13</sup> We specified some things: one, they couldn't bring



arms on the campus. Bobby Seale did come. There was no denial, but a postponement, until we worked this thing out. The legal opinion is that we can't bar a guy because he's a felon.<sup>14</sup>

**Russell Smith:** Eldridge Cleaver last spring was denied a speaking permit, and it's an example of how the chancellor gets uptight about certain things, and won't issue permits to student organizations.<sup>15</sup> Last spring was a good safe quarter to have Eldridge Cleaver come and speak here. People would have had a chance to see him, and now the man's in Cuba and you can't go to Cuba.

**John Ellis:** Dean McHenry had extraordinary blind spots about freedom of speech. I sat on cases as chairman of the Committee on Privilege and Tenure, where he was attempting to discipline people for exercising their First Amendment rights. I'll always remember the strange episode when he objected to a faculty member's political speaking. The faculty member was making left-wing, anti-Vietnam war speeches. To be sure, he was talking about people burning draft cards, but actually that's protected speech as well. But Dean issued him a formal warning that he'd better cut that out or else—the "or else" meaning or else he'd be fired. The faculty member appealed to us, the Privilege and Tenure Committee, for our protection. He said, "The chancellor has no power to warn me or to stop me from exercising my freedom of speech." We held a hearing. We heard the chancellor's side; we heard the young guy's side.

I did some rooting around. I found the regents had voted about ten years before that to adopt a resolution which read something like this, "Freedom of speech on the University of California campuses shall not be limited beyond the purview of the first and fourteenth amendments." Those are the amendments of freedom of speech, freedom of assembly and so on; liberty and property, all those

things where the government has to leave you alone to do your own thing unless you're infringing on other people. All due process amendments.

So I showed this to Dean and said, "Dean, look, this makes it totally clear. If this guy had the right to say those things anywhere in Santa Cruz, then he had the right to say them on a campus. What the regents have said here means that freedom of speech is the same on campus as off campus." Dean had argued precisely that it was limited by the fact that it was on campus and there were students there. This was about 1968.

Well, I tell you. I was surprised at what happened next. A huge smile came over Dean McHenry's face. He beamed with delight. I thought, what's he doing that for? I've just shown him something that totally destroys the position he's taken up. He beamed with pleasure at me and he said, "I wrote that resolution." He was the one who had presented it to the regents for their adoption, originally.

I believe he's probably still quite a civil libertarian in fact, but it doesn't extend to someone rocking the boat in his ship. Santa Cruz was his creation and no one was going to screw this up. If a faculty member speaking on campus was going to get the townies writing letters to the *Sentinel* saying, "We should get rid of these bunch of commies on the UCSC campus," it so offended Dean that there were people in this world who didn't love his campus anymore, even if they were just dingbats in Santa Cruz (there aren't even half a dozen of them anyway)—it so offended him that he went after people and tried to discipline them and went against everything he stood for, went against academic freedom.

**Robert Adams:** Only on one occasion did Dean McHenry and I have a major drag-out. I had okayed \$15,000 for the purchase of birth control stuff for the health center. Dean was furious. Hal

Hyde was there, I remember that. Dean blew up at me, and I said, “As far as I’m concerned we ought to be passing out condoms in the dining halls the way they used to pass out cigarettes.” He was furious. Then it finally got down to Hal saying, “Well, this is a new generation.” I said, “Dean, you were a Marine, weren’t you? Didn’t they give you a sex lecture?” Well, that was the one time he overruled me.

Dean McHenry had a hell of a time with the student riots, with the whole late sixties, but I don’t think it was because he was unnecessarily unsympathetic to the antiwar movement. I think it was much more of a personal reaction. He never did understand the longhair. It was defiling his campus. This campus was his sort of virgin Cinderella. I don’t mean to be Freudian about this; this is simply true. Anything that would sort of defile the campus, he was against. He thought that these student demonstrations would do damage to the Santa Cruz campus. Well, I suspect it did, but there were broader social issues that one had to think about.

**John Dizikes:** There was ferment and concern and that was wonderful, because education mattered to me, and it was good to know that it mattered to many students above and beyond their own success in the place as an institution. I was proud to be part of an institution that had that reputation. Why am I here, after all? Does it matter to me here that we’re involved in an immoral war? And how should that reflect on my status as a student?

**Richard Fernau:** The draft colors male students’ lives. You can bury it and push it aside, and it pops up again. You live your life avoiding the draft. I don’t know. It’s a real difficult thing. You look at next year, and you’re not free.

**Bill Domhoff:** One of the faculty said we’ve got to give our draft cards in solidarity to this group that’s coordinating all of this at Princeton, where we turned in our draft cards to show solidarity. Well, you had to have your draft card on you at that time. If you didn’t, you were subject to a fine or jail or whatever. They certainly could arrest you. So I said, “Okay, man, I’ll give you this, but”—I was partly joking, but I said, “But this is going straight to the FBI, you know.” Because by then I had read all the stuff on all the spying and had just written a chapter for a book of mine called *The Higher Circles*.<sup>16</sup> I had a chapter on all of the behind-the-scenes stuff that had been uncovered in the sixties and had put it in a more power-elite context. “Oh, no,” he said, “Bill, that won’t happen.”

**Russell Smith:** The day after this demonstration, the sit-in, the civil service investigator started coming around. He’s been turning up, and he’s talked to all my employers, and he’s talked to people downtown who know me. He went to see a friend of mine (he’s also in the same program). He went to visit him and his girlfriend. They never talk to the person themselves. They always talk to people around. I’ve got my passport, and I’m saving my money to go to Canada. I’m not sure if I’ll go there. I would go to Canada with the assumption that I can always come back to the draft. They’d rather have me in the army than in jail. It’s cheaper.

**Bill Domhoff:** But when I got my FBI file, there it was. Within thirty days, the FBI had written a letter to the attorney general saying, “We have reason to believe that Domhoff doesn’t have his draft card on him.” And then there was this photocopy of my draft card. So they did have an in. They did have the Princeton radicals wired and it was going straight to the FBI. They did have a

list. They did have files. It's come out later, they did have lists of people that were considered dangerous. I don't know whether I made that list or not. But I sure didn't feel dangerous. I never did anything that was unusual. I'm at home changing diapers. I wasn't that active. Who knows what I would have done if I was a single guy five years younger?

**Bill Dickinson:** I went up to the Oakland induction center, not fully sure of what I was going to do. At the beginning of the line, this doctor examined your ass, and at the end of the line, the same doctor was doing the psychological exam! It was killing me to think that I was kissing my US senate career goodbye, but I decided I would just tell him that I was gay, and that I thought I might be mentally unstable. He wanted to know why I thought I was homosexual, was the word. And I said, "Well, I lived in an orphanage and—" I'd read all these books about the theories of what makes you gay. So all I had to do was tell some stories that weren't false: "And by the way, my mother's schizophrenic, and my older brother was in the army and he became schizophrenic and is living in a Veteran's Hospital." So the guy stamped me 4-F. I hoped like hell nobody would ever ask me how it came to be that I got through the physical. I always waffled, kind of. I just said, "I flunked the physical." And somebody would say, "How did you do that?" I'd say, "I told them I was crazy."

**William Shipley:** Marc Okrand is the guy who wrote the Klingon language that they use in Star Trek.<sup>17</sup> He was a linguistics major here. He was gay. Mark is about five foot, two inches and he weighed in those days about 115 pounds. Well, the draft situation was that if you weighed less than 110 pounds, you could get out of the draft. So, Mark and I were having these discussions. Should

he tell them he was gay? We were a little worried about what that might mean for his future, if that information got recorded by the army. So, we decided that what he ought to do is go the other route. He fasted for two weeks before he went to the physical and he was down to 109. He got out of the draft that way.

**Bill Dickinson:** So I came back to Santa Cruz thinking, well, I've just kissed my senate career goodbye. But being young, I was easily distracted and soon went off onto something else anyway. I thought I was probably the only gay person in the whole school at that point. I'd wonder about people. I'd look at somebody who was really attractive and think, I wonder if he's gay? It might well be that my life would have been better if I had told the truth at that moment, but it didn't feel safe to. And remember, I loved being at Santa Cruz and I didn't want to mess it up with anything. I was afraid that something bad would happen, nothing specific, and it was such a small community, that if something bad did happen, there was not going to be any way to fix it. Who wants to be ostracized from the place that finally feels like heaven? So, the place that finally feels like heaven requires that you take an important part of yourself and just keep it under wraps.

**Murray Baumgarten, Professor:** The students had different stakes than they do now because it was also the time of the Vietnam War and the Cambodian incursion.<sup>18</sup> The draft meant students had to make a real choice—accept being drafted or stay in school. And why were they in school? For what are they studying? That coincided with a worldwide critique of industrial society and industrial education. Clark Kerr was president of the university, and his specialty was industrial economics, so there was an easy way to do a critique. There were all kinds of things going on. I

think there was also an increasing realization that the Holocaust had made us pause in our headlong rush into modernization and progress. The Holocaust, after all, made us wonder if the benefit of modernization was simply that you could produce death on an industrial scale.

**Jasper Rose:** I was interested in a humane postwar world! But what sort of possibility did it have of existing by the late 1960s? It was a horrible prospect, the prospect of another war.

**William Rose:** My father used to tell us about one of his colleagues, Kenneth Thimann. He liked him a great deal. I remember him saying, “Poor fellow, one of his inventions was used for Agent Orange. I don’t know how he can live with it; there he is in a lab and he’s invented something that is used, or was used in that time, to cause incredibly cruel deaths for people.”

Pacifism was what people were standing up for in the 1960s. They didn’t want any more war. We all forget this. We are quite quiet and passive about these things now, but there are underlying tensions. We’re all glossy, but when they started the university these people were hopeful. People back then were hopeful. I was a little boy. I could see their hope.

**John Dizikes:** Two of my students decided to go in the army. They’re the ones who are commemorated in the goat sculpture at Cowell College. They were both students of mine. One of them, Jon Warmbrodt, came in time after time to talk about the morality of fighting, or not fighting, and why he felt, ultimately he should go. It’s the most tragic kind of story.<sup>19</sup>

**Dean McHenry:** There was a student named Skakel who was killed in the army in Vietnam about a

year ago. He was writing letters to the editor of *City on a Hill Press* and they were published quite extensively up to the time of his death: “A Report from Vietnam” by Cpl. Callibernus, or some such pen name he used. I think he was drafted because he took off a year between high school and college and went around the world and worked here and there. I remember the boy quite well. He worked in a uranium mine in Australia, shipped around as a merchant seaman. I think the draft board felt that he wasn’t making normal progress, and he was drafted.

Another of our former students was killed in Vietnam during January. His name is Jon Warmbrodt, a graduate of Cowell College. He joined the Marines, went through boot camp, and despite a slight physical disability, a slightly club foot, he managed to get an exemption, went to Quantico, and graduated a second lieutenant, platoon leader’s class. He was here Thanksgiving and visited with us (we took him out to dinner one night) and shipped to Vietnam later that week. About two months later, a land mine exploded, and he was gone. I think that’s our first Marine officer that’s gone, too. He came by and picked up my last set of Marine uniforms. We’re the same size.



---

Figure 4

Jack Zajac, "Sacrificial Goat," bronze sculpture honoring George Skakel and Jon Warmbrodt, 1970

Photo by UCSC Photography Services

---

## Endnotes

1. According to the online oral history exhibit *Resistance and Revolution: The Anti-Vietnam War Movement* at the University of Michigan: “During the Vietnam War era, between 1964 and 1973, the US military drafted 2.2 million American men out of an eligible pool of 27 million. Although only 25 percent of the military force in the combat zones were draftees, the system of conscription caused many young American men to volunteer for the armed forces in order to have more of a choice of which division in the military they would serve. While many soldiers did support the war, at least initially, to others the draft seemed like a death sentence: being sent to a war and fight for a cause that they did not believe in. Some sought refuge in college or parental deferments; others intentionally failed aptitude tests or otherwise evaded; thousands fled to Canada; the politically connected sought refuge in the National Guard; and a growing number engaged in direct resistance. Antiwar activists viewed the draft as immoral and the only means for the government to continue the war with fresh soldiers. Ironically, as the draft continued to fuel the war effort, it also intensified the antiwar cause. Although the Selective Service’s deferment system meant that men of lower socioeconomic standing were most likely to be sent to the front lines, no one was completely safe from the draft. Almost every American was either eligible to go to war or knew someone who was.” <http://michiganintheworld.history.lsa.umich.edu/antivietnamwar/>.
2. The Vietnam War lasted from 1954 to 1975 and became a protracted conflict that pitted the communist government of North Vietnam and its allies in South Vietnam, known as the Viet Cong, against the government of South Vietnam and its principal ally, the United States. Called the “American War” in Vietnam (or, in full, the “War Against the Americans to Save the Nation”), the war was also part of a larger regional conflict and a proxy manifestation of the Cold War between the United States and the Soviet Union and their respective allies. For an excellent documentary on the Vietnam War that has screened at UCSC many times, especially during the 1970s and 1980s, see *Hearts and Minds* (1974), available in full online at: <https://archive.org/details/HeartsAndMinds1974>. Also see the PBS ten-part documentary by Ken Burns and Lynn Novick, *The Vietnam War* (2017) available online at: <http://www.pbs.org/kenburns/the-vietnam-war/about/>.
3. More than 58,000 American men and women were killed in the Vietnam War. See: <https://www.archives.gov/research/military/vietnam-war/casualty-statistics>. Millions of Vietnamese (many of them civilians) were killed.
4. “Flower Power” was a slogan used in the 1960s and early 1970s as a symbol of nonviolent resistance to the Vietnam War. The expression was originally coined by the poet Allen Ginsberg.
5. Barry Goldwater ran against Lyndon Johnson in the 1964 presidential election. Johnson won by a landslide.
6. This is roughly equivalent to \$97,000 today.
7. Tom Hayden (1939-2016) was an antiwar and civil rights activist. He was one of the founders of the leftist group Students for a Democratic Society and drafted SDS’s most famous manifesto, the 1962 Port Huron Statement, which called for a “radically new democratic political movement” in the United States that rejected hierarchy and bureaucracy. The statement is often considered to mark the emergence of a “New Left” in the United States.
8. Members of the Ohio National Guard shot and killed four students at Ohio’s Kent State University and injured nine others on May 4, 1970, during a Vietnam War protest. The tragedy was a pivotal moment for a nation polarized by the conflict in Southeast Asia. The student movement organized a nationwide strike that forced the temporary closure of colleges and universities across the country, including UCSC. Kent State University has collected oral histories from witnesses to that event and created an online exhibit at: <https://omeka.library.kent.edu/special-collections/kent-state-shootings-oral-histories>.
9. William Domhoff published *Who Rules America?* in 1967. He documented and argued against the concentration of power and wealth in the American upper class. The book became a best seller and has been reprinted many times.
10. The Delano Grape Strike lasted from 1965 to 1970. According to the website for the United Farm Workers: “On September 8, 1965, Filipino American grape workers, members of the Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee, walked out on strike against Delano-area table and wine grape growers, protesting years of poor pay and conditions. The Filipinos asked Cesar Chavez, who led a mostly Latino farm workers union, the National Farm Workers Association, to join their strike. Cesar and the leaders of the NFWA believed it would be years before their fledgling union was ready for a strike. But he also knew how growers historically pitted one race against another to break field walkouts. Cesar’s union voted to join the Filipino workers’ walkouts on Mexican Independence Day, September 16, 1965. From the beginning this would be a different kind of strike. Cesar

insisted the Latino and Filipino strikers work together, sharing the same picket lines, strike kitchens and union hall. He asked strikers take a solemn vow to remain nonviolent. The strike drew unprecedented support from outside the Central Valley, from other unions, church activists, students, Latinos and other minorities, and civil rights groups. Cesar led a 300-mile march, or peregrination, from Delano to Sacramento. It placed the farm workers' plight squarely before the conscience of the American people. The strikers turned to boycotts, including table grapes, which eventually spread across North America."

11. The Kiwanis Club seeks to help children and communities through volunteer service. Before 1987, it did not accept women as members.

12. This was Mayor Richard Werner, mayor of Santa Cruz from 1969-70.

13. The Black Panther Party was founded by Bobby Seale and Huey Newton in 1966 to strengthen the civil rights of African Americans, and especially to stop police brutality against African Americans in the Oakland area. The Black Panther Party also ran social programs, such as a Free Breakfast for Children program, a ride service for people who wanted to visit their family members in prison, and a childcare program. See Stanley Nelson's 2015 documentary *The Black Panthers: Vanguard of the Revolution*. <http://www.pbs.org/independentlens/films/the-black-panthers-vanguard-of-the-revolution/>.

14. The UCSC Library Special Collections is home to the Ruth-Marion Baruch and Pirkle Jones Photographs and Papers, which include a large collection of photographs of Black Panther Party members in and around Oakland, California. Documentary photographer, poet, and educator Ruth-Marion Baruch was best known for two 1960s photographic series, *The Black Panthers* and *Haight-Ashbury*, the former of which she collaborated on with her husband Pirkle Jones, also a documentary photographer and educator. The collection consists primarily of photographic prints and contact sheets, in addition to correspondence and other papers related to photographic projects and exhibitions. Many of the photographs have been digitized and are available at: <http://digitalcollections.library.ucsc.edu/collections/fx719m62f>.

15. Eldridge Cleaver (1935-1998) was a writer and activist and one of the leaders of the Black Panther Party.

16. (New York: Random House, 1970).

17. Marc Okrand graduated from UCSC in 1970. Klingon was based on Okrand's studies of Mutsun, the language

spoken by Amah Mutsun native people in the Monterey Bay area.

18. In March 1969, President Richard Nixon secretly ordered bombing raids in Cambodia, a move that escalated opposition to the Vietnam War and galvanized protests across the United States.

19. See the Santa Cruz Public Library's page on Jon Warmbrodt: <https://history.santacruzpl.org/omeka/items/show/4901#?c=0&m=0&s=0&cv=0&xywh=-130%2C0%2C521%2C345>. The account includes a description of the manner of Warmbrodt's death: he disregarded his own safety to save wounded soldiers under his command, an act for which he received the Silver Star.

## Illustrations

Figure 1. Anti-war convocation at the Quarry Amphitheater. More than two thousand students, faculty, staff, and community members protest the military actions in Cambodia and the Kent State shootings, May 6, 1970. Courtesy Special Collections, University Library, University of California, Santa Cruz. UCSC Photography Services: UA050: ua0050\_neg\_07000\_08.tif.

Figure 2. FAST (Medical Aid Committee for Vietnam) handmade poster. 1976. Courtesy Special Collections, University Library, University of California, Santa Cruz. UA 70: UCSC Ephemera Collection: ua070-0025.

Figure 3. Boycott Safeway United Farm Workers (UFW) flyer. Courtesy Special Collections, University Library, University of California, Santa Cruz. UA 70: UCSC Ephemera Collection: ua070-0007.

Figure 4. Jack Zajac, "Sacrificial Goat" bronze sculpture, honoring two UC Santa Cruz students, George Skakel and Jon Warmbrodt, who died in the Vietnam War. 1970. Courtesy Special Collections, University Library, University of California, Santa Cruz. UCSC Photography Services: UA050: ua0050\_neg\_sc0293d\_02.

## Chapter 10

# “It Was the Wave of the Future”

## Escalating Protests and a Campus Divided

*It was like King Canute saying to the ocean—“Go Back!” There was the wave of the future and it was about to engulf us all. What I thought was just something happening at Santa Cruz was the future.*

—Page Smith

**Rik Isensee, Student:** The time that we were here, from 1968 to 1972, was such a tumultuous time in this country. There was the anti-war movement; People’s Park.<sup>1</sup> We had demonstrations on campus. We blocked Highway One. And there was a strike, and somebody blew up the kiosk at the base of campus. Kent State and the charged political environment led to a conscious awareness of all kinds of social issues and involvements of many people. Politics was big deal on this campus.

**Kenneth Thimann:** The regents met here in 1968. At that time, the regents used to meet on different campuses each time. When it came their turn to meet here, we were in the thick of it. It was difficult for me because they met in the Crown College dining hall. Well, that was a very unsatisfactory meeting. They met in there and all these kids and lots of people from downtown came and joined in the riots. It was not limited to students. There were a lot of leftist activists wearing berets.<sup>2</sup> The

student demonstrators made the regents’ meeting almost impossible because they stood outside and hammered on the doors, so the people inside could hardly hear themselves speak. The police came around, but they were too few in number, as well as incompetent. There were a lot of people who I’m sure were not students at all, but they were about the age of students. They came in and began shouting in the meeting and made it very bad.

I was sitting in the Crown College office and all these people were milling about outside. There were even one or two of our faculty among them, especially a mathematics professor. I thought that was very bad, sort of encouraging the demonstrators just by being there, making them feel they were all the more official. The demonstrators had a bar across the campus entrance and tried to stop cars coming in. When the regents were going around to view the rest of the campus, they lay down in front of the regents’ bus. All these things really were not putting over any real point.



If they'd had a real point, it might have been justified. But they didn't really seem to know what they were doing or why they were doing it.

**Hal Hyde:** It was the height of the Vietnam War. We did the best we could, with campus police and police from other campuses, city, and other sheriff forces, plus all the able-bodied men from Buildings and Grounds, Business Services, and the Physical Planning Office. Dean and I personally manned the main door. This rush of students came and we got knocked over. We found ourselves sprawled outside on the ground, where students were quick to help us up.

**Kenneth Thimann:** It was particularly difficult for us because the entrance to the dining hall is right opposite the entrance to the Crown College office. So, we sat in the office and people kept coming who were scared stiff. We took them in and let them sit in the office, parents or visitors. They saw all this going on and they were terrified. At any moment, the crowd might have burst into the office. So, it was a somewhat unsettling occasion. There was nothing we could do about it. I mean, several hundred people, compared to a half-dozen of us. But we stuck it out.

Then Governor Reagan arrived. He was a UC regent. There was a policeman who parted the crowd to allow Reagan to walk through to go into the dining hall. But Reagan would have none of it. There were TV cameras turning, so he just plunged into the crowd and elbowed his way through while the cameras were turning—made a very nice little piece of publicity.

**Hal Hyde:** Prior to that regents' meeting, Regent Max Rafferty, who was state superintendent of public instruction, was expected and the students were waiting for him in front of Crown College. As he approached, they unfurled a large banner from

overhead that said "Welcome Max Rafferty. Fellow Draft Dodger." With that, they all started jumping around on canes they had prepared, alluding to Max Rafferty having received a 4-F draft deferment because of a bad leg. This sent Max Rafferty into wild disarray. It was actually pretty funny. In meeting the press, Rafferty characterized UC Santa Cruz as a "cross between a hippie pad and a brothel."

Later, I was on a bus showing the campus off to a group of the regents, including Governor Reagan, and the bus was stopped, police came and asked me to come with them, for my protection from the Black Panthers. I had earlier ordered a group of them off the campus. It was a pretty difficult time.

**Kenneth Thimann:** There was a big meeting after the regents had left, in one of the dining halls. Dean McHenry appeared. He was very, very brave because they were all furious with him and shouting him down. He managed to make himself heard and had them quiet down and listen to what he had to say. Among other things he said, "You see, I don't have horns." I think it had an effect. Many people would have disappeared at this point, or gone into hiding.

**Dean McHenry:** They came to the brink of violence a couple of times. There were agitators saying, "Let's rush the door." Let's do this, and let's do that. I think it was the most turbulent meeting in the regents' history. They've now decided not to meet on campuses. They've decided to meet at airports and University Hall. I thought we were awfully lucky to get away without violence.

**Jasper Rose:** My feeling was that we were being revealed as more or less incompetent at organizing and looking after our own flock. It wasn't at all a good affair, from the point of view of undergraduate business. We were losing our sense of control



---

Figure 1

Dean McHenry at UC Regents' meeting at Crown College with student protesters, 1968

Photo by Frank Zwart

---

and discipline. This was just very unfortunate and very, very difficult, and particularly difficult for people who were responsible in some kind of a way for undergraduate behavior. I mean, as much as anybody was, I was involved in the disciplining of students. And one was concerned, of course, because it might become a very serious business, and the local police, or the local way of dealing with things, could suddenly interrupt, and the university would no longer have any independence whatsoever.

**Dean McHenry:** There are a lot of things I'd do differently if it happened again. I'd have more plainclothesmen there. There ought to have been more identification of people. The whole episode did UC Santa Cruz a lot of harm in the public eye.

**Ellen Marie Bulf, Student:** Two years ago, student activists were much more optimistic and willing to talk to administrators, or to talk to public officials and try to make themselves understood, make themselves liked. Now their feeling is much more destructive and bitter. They feel that they're not getting anywhere.

**Elizabeth Calciano:** The campus itself and the ideas of the students had been undergoing considerable change, but the stress, confusion, and concern caused by the student strike of 1969 accelerated this process. The triggering factor was the People's Park controversy at Berkeley in May and June of 1969.

**Audrey Stanley:** People's Park emerged and that was an extraordinary occasion. And the People's Park—I knew it was sort of being used politically on both sides. But on the other hand, the idea of the People's Park, the idea of community, of communal effort—which was kind of born in Berkeley

in many respects and spread rapidly throughout the country, I think was very important. I did visit the park. It was a magical thought, in the middle of an urban landscape, to insist that this was a park and planting things and growing things. Then they brought the National Guard in. I went on the People's Park march after the initial protests, and made my will beforehand because there had been shootings earlier. And the National Guard was in with fixed bayonets.

I danced most of the way, because there was music. It was unnerving. And I thought, I haven't survived World War II to be surrounded by barbed wire and guns and the army.

**Elizabeth Calciano:** The People's Park controversy and the manner in which it was handled aroused students throughout California. There were efforts on all campuses of the University of California system to indicate student support of the Berkeley young people and to demonstrate the students' horror of the hard-handed actions of the University of California and the police. On the Santa Cruz campus, the reaction took the form of a blockade of the Central Services [now Hahn] Building on May 19th and then a student strike which, due to lack of organization, was rather sporadic on Friday, May 23rd, but came into full force on Monday and Tuesday, the 26th and 27th of May.

**Ellen Marie Bulf:** I sat around for a while and watched the takeover of Central Services. I really had mixed feelings about it at the time. Then a student who was shot at Berkeley died that night and the next day I was in a much more militant mood. I think everyone was. If the takeover had come the next day, I think I might have participated in it. I was very upset and most people were. Most people still are. There are meetings happening all over the campus—almost no classes going on at all.



---

Figure 2

Students voting to strike in May 1969, Merrill  
College dining hall

Photo by Frank Zwart

---

**Elizabeth Calciano:** Not all students, by any means, took part in the student strike. Many of them took advantage of the opportunity to catch up on sleep, or to finish term papers, or to prepare for the exam period that was soon to be upon them. Among those actively or passively supporting the strike, there was also great disparity in their support of the official strike demands.

**Glenn Omatsu, Student:** The occupation of Central Services was spurred by the beatings and things that were going on at Berkeley. And if you talk to a lot of the black students, and some of the Chicanos, and even some of the Asian Americans, you'll find that a lot of them were really upset. We really felt bad that it took something like the shooting or beating of white kids to motivate white kids to action. Like last quarter, Berkeley was on strike, and one kid, one Mexican-American kid, was beaten over at Berkeley and he was in a coma for a few days and they thought he was going to die, but he didn't, fortunately. But nothing happened at other campuses. Black people get killed in the ghettos every day. Black people are beaten at other campuses—still nothing happens. The same way with Chicanos. And as far as Asians go, in Vietnam, people are being killed every single day, but still nothing happens.

Then one kid gets killed at Berkeley, and he just happens to be white, and suddenly all the white students decide that this is enough and that this has got to stop. So, a lot of the Third World people are really upset about this kind of mentality or commitment to things. Most of us are supporting the strike, but we're supporting it with the reservation that the action at Berkeley is connected with everything else that's going on. The same thing that's happening in Berkeley is happening in Vietnam. The same thing that is happening at Berkeley is happening on a lot of other college

campuses all around the place, but it just happens to be the colored people who are getting hit.

And it's really harder sometimes to make some people understand. People will come out and say something like, "I condemn the violence that's happening at Berkeley." They don't realize that the violence that's happening at Berkeley isn't limited to Berkeley alone. It's one big thing that's happening all around the place. There's one petition or something that was going around condemning the violence at Berkeley. Well, it's striking out at symptoms, erasing symptoms. You're not striking at the basic cause.

**Richard Fernau:** I know some who were involved with picketing for the student strike, some who just struck, and some who just stayed home and weren't sure what they were doing. No matter where you stood on the spectrum, it really affected people's lives. The whole spirit of the strike amongst the radicals was to polarize the situation—you know, whether you stand with Governor Reagan, or whether you stand with the liberals or someone on campus. They (a lot of them are my friends) wanted to force people to think about it.

It's a very, very complex situation, because what you'll have is the real radicals, who just will take off their clothes, run around, scream in the microphone, "Power to the People," and, you know, they just upset you. I mean, they were just really upsetting. You just don't want to be lumped with those people. They'll be screaming, "Get the Park back. Get the Park back," or something.

I was talking to Page Smith about it, and what he was striking for (and more what I was thinking in terms of striking for a while, and a lot of my friends) was the university's role, or Reagan's role in the university. Some people were thinking in terms of concrete reforms, or just getting politics out of the university, putting hiring and firing back in the chancellors' control, putting a lot more

## PREAMBLE

The acts of violence - shootings, beatings, use of gas as a weapon - that have occurred in Berkeley around the issue of the People's Park since Thursday, May 15, constitute one more episode in an escalating series of violent confrontations that have been occurring in this country for too long. Third World peoples especially have been the victims of such acts for years. Last week 116 people were shot in Berkeley, and one is now dead. We decry the use of violence as a means to implement policy. We stand on the belief that such action will do nothing but worsen already serious tensions, and we demand the immediate cessation of the use of violent measures to resolve conflict.

Some have spoken of the People's Park struggle as a "tragic mistake," and have expressed concern in one form or another about the violence. We must put this question to them: which came first - the black liberation struggle or white racism; the self-determination struggle of the Vietnamese people, or outside intervention; the People's Park or the state's refusal to respond to the needs of the people. When a man lies dying of cancer you don't treat the symptoms, you remove the tumor. We understand that repression is a consequence of resistance to oppression. Those who speak only of violence address neither the oppression by the state nor the resistance of the people. Yes, we decry the violence of the state. Yet even our attempts to mourn the death of James Rector were met by repression - tear gas, CS nausea gas, and blister gas. The way to end the violence is to end the oppression. If we neglect this fact, then our negligence can only contribute to the violence which has fallen and continues to fall on our brothers' and sisters' heads.

The University's action in Berkeley affects not only the Berkeley campus; it also points to serious problems here at Santa Cruz. The University administration has allowed itself to become separated not only from the needs of the community surrounding it, but from the students and faculty as well. The University must be held responsible to those who constitute it, those directly affected by its policies. Regents and administrators can no longer act on behalf of the University community without student and faculty approval. The University must be responsive to our demands, now and in the future.

Therefore, we call for a University-wide strike.

---

Figure 3

UCSC Student Strike  
Statement, 1969

---

freedom on each campus and with the faculty and with students. Other people were obviously interested in People's Park and the whole question of property and socialistic, communistic leanings. A lot of them were very childish, revolutionary notions, sort of: down with private property. For most people, it was a horribly frustrating experience, because there were so many reasons why they wanted to support the strike. They wanted to support the general feeling of what an atrocious thing happened at Berkeley, and the violence, and that whole business, and that the university precipitated the violence and sort of stood with it. They wanted to protest that. People have a right to demonstrate without that kind of thing happening.

**Elizabeth Calciano:** While the People's Park controversy had been the catalytic agent and was the main focus of the grievances, nonetheless, underlying all this was the factor that the time was ripe for student activism to emerge at the Santa Cruz campus. A feeling or philosophy had been sweeping campuses across the country. It was ignited here by the People's Park controversy, but it should not be overlooked that other grievances, varying from somewhat major to the downright inconsequential, had been building up among the students on this campus over the preceding four years.

Perhaps more important than the grievances themselves was the fact that there had built up among the student body a feeling that they could get no hearing, no recourse, from the university administration. Much of this sense of frustration focused directly on the chancellor's office and on the chancellor himself; it also spilled over into a feeling that the whole university establishment (i.e. statewide administration, the regents, the governor) was unwieldy and unresponsive. Whatever the case, the four years' accumulation of grievances, the prevailing opinion that students must

act, and the appalling example of the violence at Berkeley, all fused into our student demonstration.

**Margaret Zweiback:** In many ways, the chancellor has done fantastic things for UCSC. We've got a great reputation. We've got, I don't know how many people, applying for faculty positions, but pretty much we're able to pick and choose. It's a beautiful campus. The college system is working. But there's been a tendency, on Chancellor McHenry's part, to feel that the preservation of the institution is more important than the individuals in the institution. For instance, we went to talk to him, saying that there was a lack of communication between the central administration and the students, and we felt that he had to start getting out to students more. And his response was, "I don't have the time to do this because I have to be out seeking money to build this institution."

Well, now, as chancellor, perhaps this was the only answer he could give, but I think, as we've seen over this past year, this has been a disastrous thing for the student body. There is absolutely no communication anymore between the central administration and the students—a tremendous amount of alienation. The chancellor's actions have alienated a great many faculty members. People have labeled the Central Services "The Citadel." It has no relation to us.

It's a very, very sad thing. It didn't happen the first year, because the first year Cowell College *was* the university. A lot of central administrators had their offices in Cowell College and there was really that feeling of the university is us, and we are the university, whereas now we see the university as being the students and the faculty, and they see the university as being the buildings and the secretary.

**Dean McHenry:** The students think there's an attack on academic freedom and they don't really

listen. I think this is one of the big complaints about this generation of students. The university’s supposed to be a place of reason and calm collection of facts, and decisions based on facts. Instead, these last two, three years, there’s been a tendency to value an emotional outburst: “Don’t bother me with facts.”

**Linda Luder:** Unfortunately, when the students sometimes overreact, or simply demonstrate, the police and the students, the administration, everyone seems to overreact. Unfortunately, this brings about so much closed-mindedness. It immediately makes people afraid to try and consider both sides. The students feel that the police are against them and they fight them off. And the administration, I think out of fear of the student power now, fights the students before they start listening to them.

I don’t know all the details of what’s going on in Berkeley now with People’s Park, but it seems to me very practical that the students should take over a university lot, which is not being used, which was one of their housing districts. They moved in and simply wanted to plant trees and seemed to do constructive work for the community, although they didn’t go through the correct channels to get permission to do this. But if they would have more respect for the university, and if the university would have more respect for the students, rather than fear—if they didn’t start out feeling this hostility in the beginning—I think a lot more communication would take place. I have sympathy for both sides.

**Catherine Howells, Student:** After People’s Park, the shooting in Berkeley, and the helicopter with the chemicals,<sup>3</sup> the citizens, even of Santa Cruz, stood up and said, “Wait a second.” And the students realized that, yes, the community can be on our side. I think people are beginning to realize that you have to talk to people downtown on a

one-to-one basis. What they’re trying to organize now in Santa Cruz is to go to the Civic Auditorium and have a dialogue with any interested people of the community and students once a week, because people haven’t known what has been happening up here on the hill, and they’re afraid. They hear rumors and they’re afraid, and once you go down and start talking to them, they realize that it’s not true. You have to break down this fear.

**Patricia Dorsey Bassett:** The May closedown of UCSC and simultaneous strike created a surprising opportunity for positive interaction between the campus population and the community. Businessmen offered students financial aid and moral support. Police and students met at social gatherings. Contacts were made with senior citizens and retirement homes, community churches, labor unions, and public schools. The May 8 Summary of Student Response contains the following reflection:

“UCSC is only five years old and shares community resources with a generally conservative population. Ever since our school’s establishment, the community has been apprehensive about what they feel is an invasion by a new generation and lifestyle. The disparity of viewpoints has been so great that no real communication existed. In the last seventy-two hours, however, we have found ourselves both talking and working together. We have come to share a sense of hope for our community and our nation.”<sup>4</sup>

**George Von der Muhll:** One of the things that I think made this campus different was that the students decided, on the occasion of the Kent State shooting, to put into practice some of their rhetoric about people-to-people conversations, rather than mass rallies and shouting. When President Nixon ordered the bombing of Cambodia and other actions indicating his intention to escalate the war,



one might have expected the students here to join together to demonstrate in large, noisy protest rallies, as students were doing elsewhere. There were some of those rallies here as well, but also something quite different. Several groups of students decided that, if they were men, they would cut their long hair and shave, everybody would put on nice clothes instead of jeans with holes, and they would then go downtown and try to find people to whom they could say, “Would you call in a group of your neighbors for tea? We’d like to try to explain to them why we feel so strongly about the Vietnam War.”

It was, to some extent, the nonviolent legacy of Martin Luther King, Jr. The townspeople were stunned. This was not UC Berkeley on the Cowell Ranch. This was a very different approach. The students were seeking person-to-person, neighbor-to-neighbor respectful conversations with people. It drained away a great deal of the tension that existed between town and campus. I myself was very impressed.

**Hal Hyde:** Demonstrations were a drain on all of us. We needed new approaches from police leadership and Dean and I taught them about taking necessary personnel actions. In one of the demonstrations—and I believe the issue was Berkeley’s People’s Park—there was a sit-in and then a camp-out on the lawn of University House, the chancellor’s home. Assistant Chancellor of Student Services and Registrar Howard Schontz, the police, and I, plus others, had spent most of the night trying to talk with the leaders and negotiate an end to this situation. Dean was consulted on it. Finally, everybody was ready to pack up and leave, and I was getting ready to leave, when Dean, and I don’t know, it was either pique or fatigue, turned on the sprinklers on those who were left. We were soon back to another angry confrontation.

**Marilyn Shea:** I recognize that Chancellor McHenry is responsible for this campus existing. At the strike meeting, I felt very deeply that he didn’t have very much faith in the students. I’m sure that most of the students share his interest in this campus, and the people that were out in the picket line have a deep concern about seeing this campus not hurt. Over and over again, during the week prior to that meeting, we had said it was going to be noncoercive and nonviolent, and he didn’t seem to have enough faith in our ability to carry out our words. He felt it was necessary to go and get the temporary restraining order. That was a demonstration of a complete lack of faith in the students.

In the two years that I’ve been here, Chancellor McHenry has become further and further removed from the students. I’ve talked with Chancellor McHenry on several occasions and I think he’s a really nice person. When he left the strike meeting on Sunday night, I felt a great deal of empathy for him, because he looked like such a sad man, and I felt that it was so unnecessary, because most of the students here have the same concerns he does. They think that what’s happened in Santa Cruz has been very worthwhile, and they don’t want to jeopardize it either.

That’s the most tragic thing about this: the communication between the students and Chancellor McHenry has broken down. I’d give anything to see it reopened. I don’t think our goals and his goals are that different.

**Donald Clark:** A few days before my first Academic Senate<sup>5</sup> meeting I was called upon by Page Smith and several others to see if I wouldn’t call an emergency meeting of the senate because of the Angela Davis case.<sup>6</sup> It was held down at the Barn Theater. Turmoil had taken place between the Free Speech Movement and that October 1969 meeting. The People’s Park incident in Berkeley; the riot over the presence of the navy recruiting officers in Berkeley;

the strike at San Francisco State had already taken place.<sup>7</sup> Before that meeting, they had the riot at Harvard, with bloodshed.<sup>8</sup> All the student turmoil about Vietnam and the deployment of ICBMs [intercontinental ballistic missiles]. Students felt that since they were paying for their education, they ought to be the ones to dictate the content of their courses. They should be able to have a vote in the senate meetings on academic affairs. All of this was in the background. But here was something that they could put their finger on and focus on to tell the regents that they were dead wrong.

So here I was, my first meeting, with members of the press there, with a case that was hot for many, many reasons, because of the content. The regents were threatening to fire Davis, since she was an avowed communist.

I must confess that it was very difficult for me. I perhaps was more conservative in my beliefs and what I brought to my vision of a university than many of the faculty—most of the faculty. I certainly felt that in terms of academic freedom, this was a serious concern. It just made me uncomfortable that it had to be over that particular case. It was mixed up with all of the feeling that the students had that there hadn't been enough representation of blacks and minorities on the campus. Here was all of that core feeling brought to focus on Angela Davis. I tried to run the meeting with complete objectivity, and yet I found it uncomfortable, I confess that very readily. Off campus, feelings ran very high, with people saying, “This was ridiculous. She ought to be just kicked out without any question.”

About this time, I was in a barbershop, waiting my turn for a haircut, when among those ahead of me, three or four men were discussing the terrible things that, according to them, took place up on the hill, and they ought to get out baseball bats and come up there and give these students and faculty a lesson. I was almost sick to my stomach.

I just walked out. I'm not saying this was typical of the town, but it was another expression of the sentiment in the town.

**John Dizikes:** I think we reached a stage where we were regarded in a clichéd and trivial way as a radical place, when we weren't really. It's largely been exaggerated. While American culture formally pretends it likes nonconformity and individuality, it's a bunch of sheep. It has a herd-like instinct, and the minute anybody or any group is genuinely independent, then the culture, as a whole, is nervous and worried.

**Richard Fernau:** I'm not sure what will happen at graduation. There's grumbling about having our own speaker, or having a guerrilla theater run down there and sort of, you know, dance around the podium. You feel like you want something to happen if McHenry says things that are politically offensive to people here, or they feel are irrelevant to their experience at the university. Many kids last year felt sort of taken advantage of, because they were all sort of standing up there, or sitting down up there, and then to have this man in front of you speak maybe for you. You felt like he wasn't representing what you felt. So people wished that they had arranged something where they could walk out if something really offensive was said.

**Clark Kerr:** Well, the worst episode, from my point of view, was the commencement in 1969. I had been invited to come down and give the commencement speech by the graduating class. I came, thinking back on that wonderful evening when the pioneer class had arrived at UCSC—to be met by the commencement being taken over by guerrilla theater, with people coming up on the stage and throwing their diplomas at McHenry and me, and one of the speakers accusing us of having developed this campus in order to reduce



---

Figure 4

Protestor at 1969 Commencement

Photo by UCSC Photography  
Services

---

the revolutionary fervor of the students by putting them off here in the wilderness and creating a campus which would take their minds away from the revolution.

**Donald Clark:** At the all-university campus commencement exercises in the quarry in 1969, Clark Kerr was to be the principal speaker. Things started out pretty calmly, but I could see around the seated group in the quarry, university security officers, mostly in plainclothes. The occasion was pretty dramatic. The administration had, through suggestions from the provosts, picked three students to speak, one girl and two young men. I don't recall too much about the first two speakers, but I vividly recall the third one, who went on and on and on and on and made a really violent attack upon the university and Clark Kerr, and in the middle of it took it upon himself to bring the academic graduation to an end and have a meeting of the Free University of Santa Cruz to award an honorary degree to Huey Newton.<sup>9</sup>

As master of ceremonies, I was really torn. I didn't know what to do. After fifteen minutes or so, I went up and told him, “Your five minutes is up.” He said, “See what the university is trying to do. They're trying to gag me.” I could easily have brought the whole thing down by just raising an eyebrow and the security would have taken care of it. I would have liked to have shut off his microphone, but the controls were in back of the rostrum, and there was no way to do it.

A rather sad thing, from my point of view, was that J. Herman Blake, for whom I have the highest regard, was asked to accept the degree for Huey Newton in absentia, which he did.

**Herman Blake:** So, the student activists took over, and McHenry stepped back. He didn't call the campus police. He just stepped back and let them do it. I believe before they started they had come

to me and asked if I would accept the honorary degree for Huey Newton. I agreed, but I didn't know they were going to do what they were going to do. I wanted to see that thing end, so, when they conferred this honorary degree on Huey Newton, I was glad to take it; then that's off the agenda. I'm not saying at that time I had that consciousness to the degree I have it now. I'm not saying that at all. But I knew I didn't want to see that become what it became. I wanted it to end because you're violating the integrity of those who came for the real reason. And that was, I think, a kneejerk reaction of some angry young people whose anger they themselves didn't understand.

**Donald Clark:** This was then followed by Clark Kerr getting up to speak. Forty-five minutes of his time had been taken by this student. He just said, “Look, there's no sense in my talking.” It was sad. I was able to read the speech he would have given. It's too bad, because this was after Clark had been fired by Reagan and Company. Clark was talking about the role of the university and student relations and the like. I think the students would have been amazed at some of the things he was ready to say. Also, during the ceremony various students stood up and waved Vietnamese flags and carried on.

**Clark Kerr:** I didn't give my commencement speech, but I made some remarks along the lines of: when we began planning this campus, nobody had in mind what the situation would be in 1969. That would have taken foresight beyond anybody's ability, and certainly ours. We created this campus to be a beautiful and inspiring place for the students, and for no other reason. That was a bitter experience, to have those diplomas thrown at us, and be accused of being imperialists and fascist pigs trying to destroy the revolutionary spirit of young people by

creating a beautiful environment for them. I didn't come back to the campus for two years after that.

And then they seized the stage and they gave this honorary degree to Huey P. Newton, who was in jail, accused of murder and so forth. It was a fascinating afternoon, too, because at one point the people at the guerilla theater tried to get the audience to rise and applaud what they were doing. They first faced the students and about a third stood up; then they faced the faculty and one by one the faculty rose until very few remained seated. Then they kind of gestured to the parents out around the amphitheater there in the quarry—not one stood up. It was a spectacle to see the different types of reactions. And among the three reactions, the one that surprised me most was the faculty, their not wanting to seem, presumably, not to be “with it.”

**Donald Clark:** The next day I was downtown at the local United Cigar Store. I walked in and was accosted by a local insurance agent, who read me the riot act. He had gone up to see one of his children graduate and this deplorable thing happened. You can imagine the reaction of the staid, conservative people of Santa Cruz to what took place that particular day. The insurance agent asked, why didn't I do something about it—I was in control and I was the marshal, blah, blah, blah. If I had caused any police intervention, there could have been a riot.

**John Dizikes:** I was there at the 1969 takeover of the commencement and I was deeply embarrassed by it. I found it a form of protest that was completely unsatisfactory and destructive. That was a cheap, symbolic, and rude effort to show that they were not to be intimidated by authority and whatever. I didn't like it at all. That was one of the numerous cases of protest that took a form that seemed to me

unproductive. I also didn't think taking over places, administrative centers, was very effective.

But I came to wonder about that because it made the administration take students seriously. If you did it my way, standing outside and arguing and discussing, you might do that for ten years and not get anywhere. So, I think some of it was excessive, okay, but much of it ultimately was justified. It is better to be excessive in caring, in being involved, than to be indifferent. The tendency for students in institutions is to be cautious and careful and indifferent.

**Richard Fernau:** People feel strongly about Santa Cruz. They like some of the things that are trying to be done here, and being close to the faculty, and working with the faculty. Then, somehow, it's like the whole outside world came in and said, no matter if you like Santa Cruz or not, it's part of the University of California. It's the University of California that's responsible for what happened at Berkeley and so you strike.

You say, “Okay, I just happened to be born when I was. I just happen to be living in the sixties, but that doesn't mean I have to be revolutionary. That doesn't mean I have to be a Reaganite. I can leave. I can just avoid it all.” Just bury your head in the sand.

A lot of people think the whole lid's going to blow off, and you just don't even want to be here at all. I think most people are up in the air about the future. Ten years ago, you went to college to get a job, to fit in. Right now, it's an open question. Everybody wonders: what do you do when you get out? People want to do something creative, and they want to do something socially responsible, they really do. They don't get out and go to Defense Department technology supplier Ampex Corporation, just sort of sign up. No one knows what to do for next year, much less five years from now, or ten years from now. They don't even know

if there’s going to be a United States, or whether a big conservative regime is going to come and find this interview and put me in jail in five years.

**Donald Clark:** It’s hard for me to talk about the climate of the campus in 1969, 1970, 1971. There was a pretty wide split between some of the younger members of the faculty, who were more sympathetic with the students, and less sympathetic senior faculty members. I firmly believe that there was a dilution of good academic instruction during this period. Students wanted—one of the buzz words I remember at that time—was they wanted a more “relevant education.” But to the credit of the university, these questions were all handled within the senate framework. It was all handled by some of the cooler heads of the senior faculty, without having the need for administrative intercession, or for public disclosure, which I think would have fanned this feeling that the university had gone berserk, that the faculty were just a bunch of nuts.

There were reasons why the storm was weathered. One was the Academic Senate felt that the students should have a voice. They drew the line as to how far it went, but they should have a voice. They didn’t believe they should have a vote, particularly on those things relating to the curriculum. The senate jealously guarded that. They permitted or developed programs which brought student members onto all of the committees except for the Committee on Educational Policy, as I recall.

I came to Santa Cruz in the great period of blossoming, when money was available, when the new campuses were being planned, three years before the opening. All of the excitement of what Santa Cruz was going to stand for—experimental teaching programs, an emphasis on undergraduate teaching, closeness between students and faculty—it was an exhilarating time. It was thrilling. Then to have this political climate, the turmoil and unrest, the sniping at the university,

and feeling like a pariah when you went into a department store downtown and they found you were from the university.

**Kenneth Thimann:** Those were the times. Thank goodness that’s all over. It’s curiously different now. It all stopped in 1972. Suddenly. And made everyone think somebody’s been orchestrating this. I don’t know whether it’s true or not.

**Ellen Marie Bulf:** The papers have promulgated a myth about the silent majority, the hard-working students that go to classes and don’t make trouble. I think the silent majority is a complete myth. It’s a fabrication of the press. The majority is only silent because there hasn’t been a big enough issue raised yet for them to become active. I think that when the majority does become active it will be quite radical.

I think that the original “hippie” types, if I can use that word, who were mostly interested in the philosophical/religious revolution of people’s thoughts, and who dropped out in order to live a different kind of life, will not return into the establishment. Most of them haven’t. The ones that went to Haight-Ashbury, for the most part, left in order to go to communes elsewhere in the city and in the country. Most of the student radicals can’t return to the establishment because most of them have arrest records. They can’t get jobs; they can’t get passports; they can’t vote if they have a felony, and of course, possession of marijuana is a felony. If you stay in circles that use marijuana for very long, you’re quite likely to get arrested, especially in this town. Most of the student radicals have been arrested at one time or another on felony charges, so they can’t vote. The establishment simply is set up so that these people tend to be left out, even if they want to go back.

I’m probably going to go to Harvard Graduate School in education next year. Whether I’ll stay

there, I really don't know. I've been going to conferences lately about new vocations which are really outside the establishment and have gotten to know a lot of people involved in them. Others are community service agencies, such as they have in the Haight Ashbury. There're quite a few of them, the medical clinic (there's one called the Off Ramp), certain coffeehouses, and counseling services and so on. I've been talking to people in these kinds of fields and getting more and more interested in that kind of work. Intrinsically, it's just much more interesting than staying in school. I've pretty much decided that if I'm not really enjoying Harvard when I get there, that I'll go and do something more like teaching, getting involved in community service agencies, something like that.

**Allen Hunter:** A number of us have been talking about doing something as a group after we graduate from UCSC. I don't know whether that will happen. There's been a lot of frustrating discussions about how we'd come together, what would be the basis of the community, whether there would be land available and where it would be, and then also the reasons for wanting to do this. I think that there are reasons for doing it, for having a living-group situation for a while, rather than going to work for other people, or going to school. Living with a group of other people and maybe farming together. What I would prefer is to be near a community like Santa Cruz, or a large city, and have several part-time jobs, so that we could support the group and some of us involve ourselves politically; other people read, or play musical instruments—just more or less try to put some distance on where we've come from. The type of society we have now is not terribly satisfying. Maybe some things in it were once appropriate but are no longer appropriate, and different ways should be thought up or experimented.

**Elizabeth Calciano:** In the spring of 1969 and the years immediately preceding, while the causes differed, the rallying cry was "Student Activism." It remains to be seen whether student activism of the sort we saw in the late 1960s (in all ranges of the spectrum, from peaceful, quiet picketing to violence and death) is going to go down in history as a phenomenon of the sixties, or whether this "quiet period" we are now in 1970 is merely a deceptive lull, and student activism will go on to even greater heights, or take an entirely different direction.

**Page Smith:** UC Santa Cruz took part in and was part of a remarkable transformation in the way in which people felt about themselves in the world. That was seen here in its more extreme form. I think often of the famous so-called pastoral letter where I took students to task for what I thought were just the results of the general openness or looseness at Santa Cruz—barefoot, hair too long, not as clean as they should be, raunchy clothes, public demonstrations of affection, and a whole series of things that, to my very old-fashioned conventional way of thinking, were going too far, getting out of line, and really hadn't anything to do with what I thought of as being a more experimental, open, informal nature of the place. It just blew the lid off. It was like King Canute saying to the ocean—"Go back!" There was the wave of the future and it was about to engulf us all. What I thought was just something happening at Santa Cruz was the future.



---

Figure 5

UC Santa Cruz student at the Human Be-In,  
Golden Gate Park, January 14, 1967

Photo by Eric Thiermann

---



## Endnotes

1. In 1969, UC's proposed use of a plot of land off Telegraph Avenue on the south side of the UC Berkeley campus triggered an armed confrontation between police, students, and local residents. It was the most violent confrontation in the University of California's history. Berkeley resident James Rector was shot in the stomach and died; the assistant manager of the Telegraph Repertory Theater, Alan Blanchard, was permanently blinded. More than a hundred other people were hospitalized and thousands were teargassed.
2. For an explanation of the beret's significance to radical revolutionary figures in the 1960s see: <https://mic.com/articles/146546/the-history-of-the-beret-how-a-peasant-s-hat-turned-into-a-political-statement#.YngXxIVYH>.
3. "On May 20, 1969, National Guard helicopters flew over the Berkeley campus, dispensing airborne tear gas that winds dispersed over the entire city, sending schoolchildren miles away to hospitals. This was one of the largest deployments of tear gas during the Vietnam era protests. Governor Reagan would concede that this might have been a 'tactical mistake.' It had not yet been banned from warfare under the Chemical Weapons Convention." See: [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/People%27s\\_Park\\_\(Berkeley\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/People%27s_Park_(Berkeley)).
4. Bassett, 35.
5. Donald Clark chaired the Academic Senate from 1969 to 1971.
6. Angela Davis (b. 1944) was most recently Professor of Feminist Studies and History of Consciousness at UCSC; in the 1960s she was a member of the Black Panther Party and the Communist Party and an assistant professor of philosophy at UCLA. In 1969, Governor Ronald Reagan and the UC Regents attempted to have her barred from teaching at any California public university because of her political beliefs. Following widespread protest from academics and civil rights advocates, Davis was reinstated.
7. The strike at San Francisco State College lasted five months.
8. Students at Harvard University went on strike on April 9, 1969, in protest of the Vietnam War.
9. A few years later, in 1974, Huey Newton (1942-1989) earned a BA from UCSC (Oakes College) in Intercommunalism-Education. In 1980, he earned a PhD in history of consciousness from UCSC. His doctoral dissertation is in the UCSC library: "War Against the Panthers: a Study of Repression in America."

## Illustrations

Figure 1. Dean McHenry at UC Regents' meeting at Crown College with student protesters. 1968. Photo by Frank Zwart. Courtesy Special Collections, University Library, University of California, Santa Cruz. Frank Zwart Papers: MS289: ms0289\_neg\_0019\_39b.

Figure 2. Students voting to strike in May 1969: meeting in Merrill College dining hall. Photo by Frank Zwart. Courtesy Special Collections, University Library, University of California, Santa Cruz. Frank Zwart Papers: MS289: ms0289\_neg\_0056\_18.

Figure 3. UCSC Student Strike Statement, 1969. Courtesy Special Collections, University Library, University of California, Santa Cruz. UA 1: Dean McHenry Papers: ua001\_126\_0006\_01.

Figure 4. 1969 Commencement: unidentified academic at the podium watching protester. Courtesy Special Collections, University Library, University of California, Santa Cruz. UCSC Photography Services: UA050: ua0050\_neg\_06279g\_17.tif.

Figure 5. UC Santa Cruz student at the Human Be-In in Golden Gate Park, January 14, 1967. Photo by Eric Thiermann. Courtesy Special Collections, University Library, University of California, Santa Cruz. Eric Thiermann Photographs of the University of California, Santa Cruz: MS 290: ms0290\_neg\_0026\_38 2.tif.

## Chapter 11

# The Changing City on a Hill

*When I got to UC Santa Cruz, it was definitely a post-sixties moment. Leaders like Herman Blake and other faculty of color had penetrated the institutions. It was 1970. We were pioneers of people of color in the academy.*

—Michael James

### “A Change is Gonna Come”

**Herman Blake:** We kept saying to faculty and the administration, “A change is gonna come. A change is gonna come.” Aretha Franklin used to sing that song, “A Change is Gonna Come.”<sup>1</sup> And I tried to get them to see. We’d say, “Look at the composition of the elementary schools in Los Angeles and San Francisco. That’s your future.”

**Glenn Omatsu:** The courses that are taught here, and the people who go here, the general perspective is entirely from a white viewpoint. The first thing that’s going to have to be changed is that they’re going to have to get more Third World people on campus, particularly from the surrounding areas.

**Herman Blake:** I’m the first black in the social sciences. There were Asians, but in terms of black and Latino and Native Americans, I’m the first one on the campus. I come the second year.

**Glenn Omatsu:** I grew up in neighborhoods with heavy concentrations of ethnic populations. I went to East LA. College. East L.A. College is about 50 percent Chicano, about 10 percent Negro, about 10 percent Asian-American, and the rest would be white.

When I came up here, it was a total reversal, because the campus was entirely white. At that time, there were about two black students in Stevenson, maybe about two or three Chicanos, and a few Asian Americans. When I was first walking on campus, I had some kind of feeling of unhappiness. I couldn’t really figure out why. As I look back on it now, I realize that this was the reason.

**Herman Blake:** I had one incident at Cowell College where a faculty member slipped and called me the N-word in my office. It caused me

some upset, but not much. I noticed that he and a number of others used to get a little bit upset about the fact that these, as he put it, “white girls” were coming to my office. Well, they were my students. But sometimes they’d just come and sit because they were needy students. They looked for role models in others, and that’s what we did. That’s what a scholar did, in my opinion, an academician.

**Glenn Omatsu:** I realized I was poor the very first day I was moving in. I moved in literally with a few boxes of books and a few other kinds of things. I saw everybody else moving in with what I considered were really expensive things—stereo sets, televisions, all kinds of furniture. Going to the dining hall for the first time was a revelation. My parents had grown up during the Depression; as a result, they always taught me to value food and never to leave anything on your plate. When I went to the dining hall, it shocked me on the first day. I would see fellow students take all this food and throw it away. They would just eat a little bit and throw it away.

**Diane Lewis, Professor:** The campus surprised me because the students, compared to the students I had been teaching at San Francisco State University, were so privileged. They reminded me of the undergraduates at Cornell, who are very affluent and wealthy. It was a very privileged place. A lot of the students were there because their parents wanted them to be, and didn’t seem to know why they were here.

**Glenn Omatsu:** The number of black students was really, really small. The number of Latinos was almost nonexistent. The number of Asians, we could literally count. At the end of my first year, when we formed an Asian American student group, we were actually able to visit every single

Asian living on campus, just by going to the student directory and picking out the names.

We realized there was a vacuum at Santa Cruz. The first formation that we formed was not Asian American. It was actually a Third World group. Since there were not that many people of color on campus, all the people of color got together and we formed a Third World organization.

**Richard Vasquez, Student:** There was a lot of social activism going on. You were supporting the antiwar movement, so you did some demonstrating, some picketing. You were supporting farmworkers; also some picketing. That was our “fun.” There was a commitment to combine social activism with academics. We had a group called the Chicano Student Committee, made up of students, faculty, and staff when it started. Eventually, it became just students, and we would talk about Chicano issues or Latino issues. My [choices of] friends were based on their commitment. I didn’t hang out with people just because they wanted to go to the movies, or sit around and drink beer just to socialize. We didn’t do that when I was going to school. We talked about what was going on in our community.<sup>2</sup>

**Linda Luder:** Santa Cruz is known as a white country club, and I definitely agree with that. There aren’t enough black students on campus. If this school really is representative of the people of California, and if the taxpayers are paying for students to go here, the black student should be able to get an education here and be *helped* to get it by understanding that they haven’t had the preparation, and they need financial aid. I think it would really help the students on this campus to understand the minority prejudice that exists in the country. I think then if we had a black studies program, it would help these black students to gain an appreciation for themselves and their own

culture, as well as the white students too. This is an essential move in overcoming prejudice in our country: starting in on the lower levels and in these schools.

**Glenn Omatsu:** This university, if it's really going to function the way it should function, it's going to have to be oriented more towards the local community needs. This community is predominantly a Chicano community, and you're going to have to get more of the people from the community coming up here, and more services from the university going out to the community.

**Dean McHenry:** We're much interested in Mexican kids, and the family unit is so tight, and the father so dominant, that it does take a year or two to argue them into letting the kids come. The Negro families are less organized and often you can get Negro youngsters to come on fairly short notice. But since our big push is going to be with the Mexicans, it's not going to be until the fall of 1969 that we really know how well we're doing. It's the biggest minority in California, and in my opinion the most underprivileged, perhaps outside of women. But they're a majority, aren't they?

We are not that far from Fresno County and Merced County—the Mexican population must be in the factor of three to one, for Negro. And so, with minimum travel time and so on, we've got loads of Mexican youngsters, and nobody's doing much for the Mexicans. Almost every good college and university in the country is looking for very bright high-achieving Negroes, but hardly anybody's looking for Mexicans. So, I think the Mexican American is our big frontier.

**Kenneth Thimann:** We used to have a lot of students who were going to medical school. I saw that practically none of them were Chicanos. In fact, we didn't have too many Chicanos in the

university, but we had a sprinkling. Then I realized that they need doctors with Spanish background, because, at least in California, so many rural districts have a largely Chicano population. So, I got some money from one of the foundations in New York to start the Chicano Pre-Med Summer Program which would get them in and teach them before they had to cope with the courses in the fall. That was the idea. A lot of them had dropped out after the freshman year because it was too hard for them. I figured a lot of that was because they weren't properly prepared: they'd all been to rural high schools and the English was poor and the teaching was very second rate. So, we got them in and gave them English language, mathematics, chemistry, and biology—four subjects for the summer. Then they enrolled in the fall.

We took over one of the dorms for them. We didn't dare do it for a very large number. We limited it to fifteen because I thought that was all we could take care of. I hired a couple of graduate teaching fellows to give the courses and I took part in some of the courses myself. Then in the fall, they enrolled and gradually they did better; they did fairly well. Some of them did get into medical school afterwards. I figured what was needed was an input of well-trained Chicanos for medicine in the West.

**Page Smith:** Dean McHenry was very anxious in the beginning to have Mexican Americans. But it was a very uphill job. And, of course, when the Chicanos began to come in numbers they immediately got in rows with Dean and depicted him as a very harsh, racist kind of a person, which always seemed to me to be the height of irony.

**Kenneth Thimann:** There was an informal meeting at Central Services. A whole lot of students gathered. They were claiming that McHenry was racist. Now, I don't know where they got

this. Poor McHenry, he was very hurt by that, because from the first, he had hoped we would get minorities here. One of his first tries was when he persuaded a little black girl from some high school to come to UC Santa Cruz and she was the only one. The poor child—she was so scared, she ran away halfway through the term. McHenry would have loved to start off with a nucleus of black students. Well, this was very early on, but somehow the Chicanos held it against him. They said he was racist. They had a big demonstration. I went to this meeting hoping to persuade them that it wasn't true. I've forgotten what their claims were, but it reminded me very much of that play of Ibsen in which they call him an enemy of the people.

**Doug McClellan, Professor:** We had a big Chicano rebellion my second or third year here, about 1972. MEChA [Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlán] came into being and they decided that, for the appointment that we wanted to make in art, they wanted somebody else.<sup>3</sup> They had a demand meeting with the board. On one side, you had a cowering board and on the other, these hard-eyed guys whispering to each other. They wanted to hire a guy named Tony Palomino, who did low-rider drawings. We wanted to hire Ed Carrillo.<sup>4</sup> So, we got down to hard-ass talking, and I remember one guy said, "Your blue eyes ain't never gonna see the problem."

**George Blumenthal:** I gravitated to Eduardo Carrillo. There was something about him that I really liked. We started to organize some evening discussion sessions among the faculty. We had a program which was Eduardo and me. I talked about thinking about the universe, and Eduardo talked about his art. I remember I found it really interesting hearing about how he perceived beauty, and how he tried to capture beauty in his pictures.

**Carolyn Martin Shaw, Professor:** I came to UCSC surrounded by whiteness. I don't know, when they said "students and faculty living together in the redwoods," if I thought they were black and white students or not. I had to reach out and see the humanity in those folks.

**Michael Cowan:** Dean McHenry wanted to build a minority population at Santa Cruz. His appointment of Herman Blake was a sign of that; hiring people like Ralph Guzmán, whom I think he probably knew when Ralph was an older graduate student at UCLA. But this was a hard place to bring them—a small town, very little local Hispanic population. And it's working class. And this was a campus which was attracting upper-middle-class white kids initially, and was seen not necessarily as a place which was going to be focused on jobs. So that working-class population, which was an important part of the Hispanic population, was not coming here. That was part of the issue. That population was growing system-wide, but it was going to the urban campuses; it was going to the California State University campuses. It wasn't coming here.

**Glenn Omatsu:** The people who come here are basically liberal. Most support the idea of Malcolm X College and everything like that. But if you start talking to people, or if they just start asking you questions on the situation of minority people in this country, you'll find certain things you didn't expect. Like, one person told my friend Ho, "Why are you minority people here at all, and why can't you just stay in your place?" You know, in a way, "Do what you're told to do. You guys are here, you should be happy you're getting a first-rate education." Then he went on to tell Ho if there were no minority students here at all, then this place would really be perfect. No trouble would be occurring at all.



---

Figure 1

Eduardo Carrillo with students painting class mural, Applied Sciences Building, 1974

Photo by UCSC Photography Services

---

And you know, he's right in a way, because if there were no minority students here, this campus would probably be functioning very well, except for the white radical people who are very dissatisfied with the system too. But, by far, on most campuses the push for educational reform has come from the blacks, and in California it's come from the blacks, the Chicanos, and Asians.

**Richard Vasquez:** I was twenty-eight years old when I came to UC Santa Cruz in the fall of 1972. I was a transfer student from West Valley College over the hill in Saratoga, California. For most of us—I think for communities of low income or communities of color—John F. Kennedy was

a sense of hope. He was a young president with young ideas, new ideas. That was taken away.<sup>5</sup> Then a couple of years later, with Dr. King and his assassination,<sup>6</sup> and then John Kennedy's brother, Robert F. Kennedy.<sup>7</sup> That was like someone hitting you in the stomach, someone taking the wind out of you: "And now what do I do?" What *do* you do? It's nice to have those kinds of people, but the work really comes down to you. What are you gonna do? They may be the president and Dr. King might be a leader, but what is going to be your role? What are you going to do to make this a better society, a better country to live in?




---

Figure 2

Grupo Folklórico Los Mejicas backstage

Photo by UCSC Public Information Office

---

## “We Were Pioneers of People of Color in the Academy”: The Founding of Merrill College

**Michael Cowan:** Merrill was, in many ways, an activists’ college.<sup>8</sup> Its theme focused on the international Third World and some of its domestic counterparts; focused on poverty; focused on social change. It drew a student body, as well as a faculty body, that was very much interested in those activities. So, we were constantly talking about those issues—not only talking about them, but students were, for example, out boycotting Safeway because of the grape strike. Merrill had a very active field program, and through Volunteers in Asia and local organizations was sending a fair number of students out into field studies. We even had a fieldwork program run by Nick Royal.<sup>9</sup> It was an exciting time. I was with a bunch of young, New Left faculty.

The ethnic diversity of the student body in Merrill was also very important. Santa Cruz, at the outset, was a very white campus. But Merrill, before the founding of Oakes, had by far the most ethnically diverse student body. And even after Oakes was founded, it still maintained a great deal of that diversity. That was a conscious commitment of the college, but it also had all sorts of other benefits. The kinds of issues we were debating in the college, the interactions that the faculty were having with the students, had a lot to do with: how does one maintain civil discourse, how does one develop and maintain an appreciation and respect for people from other backgrounds?

**Margaret Zweiback:** Merrill has a very, very tight community; a lot of caring about each other. If you find out that someone is a Merrill student, you’ve got a feeling for him. You’ve shared an

awful lot together. I really like Merrill. I’m very happy there. I feel a lot of love between everybody in that college, and that relates to the faculty and the administration, a lot of caring on different levels. We’re all in it together. Something like two-thirds of them have been involved in community action work. They’re a very young group. We’re working together, and when you work together with people, that feeling of community—that’s what builds it. We were involved in the grape boycott, involved in the strike—the Field Study Program—all of these things bring people together.

**Michael Cowan:** Merrill, like all of the colleges, was engaged in what I call the barn-raising phases. Every college founded went through a kind of barn-raising phase, of trying to build its own curricula, faculty getting used to each other, trying to develop modes of governance and interaction.

I was thrown into Merrill governance. We met endlessly. We must have met two or three times a week in either fellows’ meetings or steering committee meetings, or what were called Town Hall meetings. Our provost, Phil Bell,<sup>10</sup> had not been the founding provost, but had come in because the person initially designated to be provost had decided not to come. Phil had come from Haverford College. He had also been involved in some projects in Africa through the Rockefeller Foundation and other things. So, he had come believing that sending students out, making students aware of the larger world, particularly the Third World, as it was called then, and taking courses on Africa, India, parts of Asia, the Middle





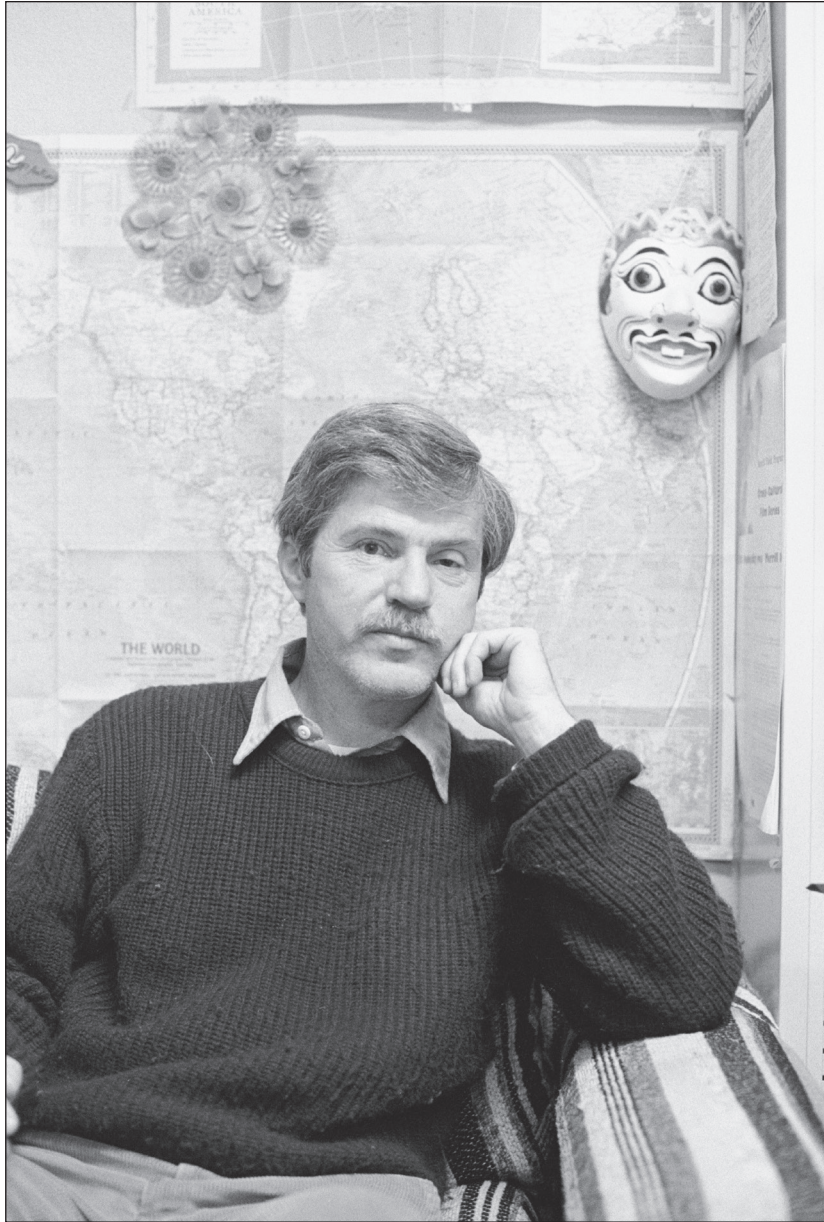
---

Figure 3

Grupo Folklórico Los Mejicas, dancing

Photo by UCSC Public Information Office

---



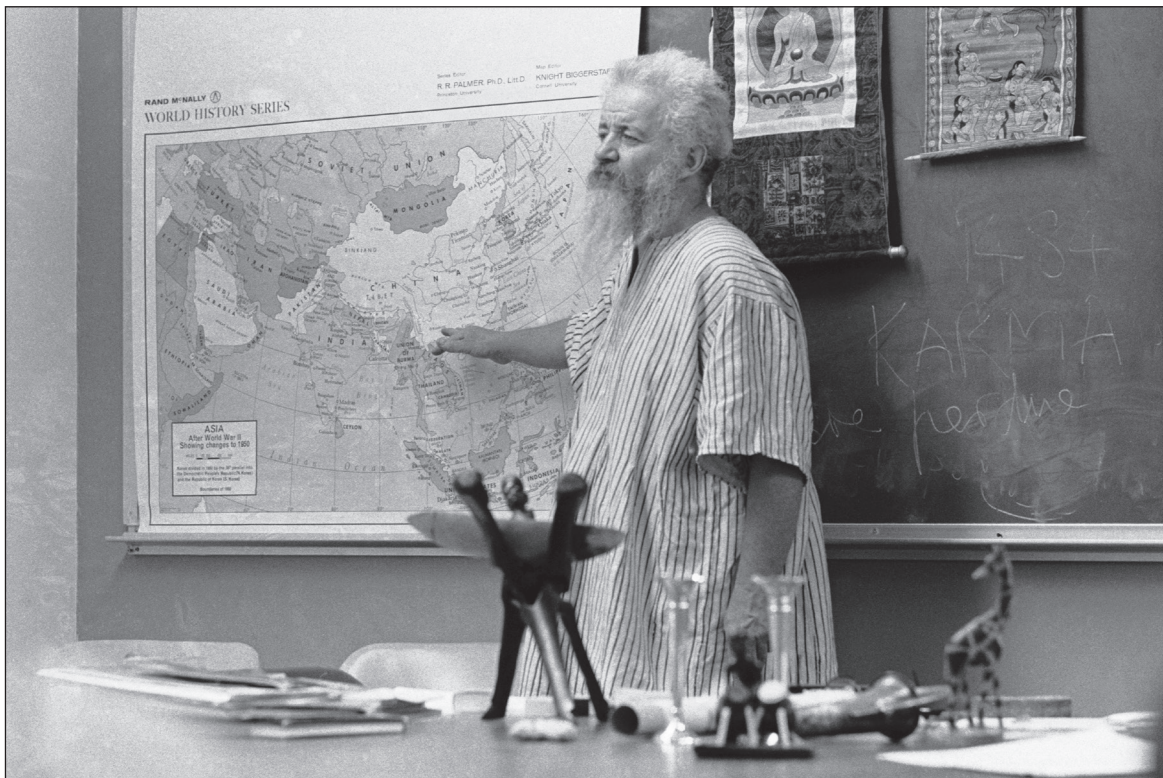
---

Figure 4

Nick Royal, Merrill College Field  
Study Program coordinator, 1986

Photo by Shmuel Thaler

---



---

Figure 5

Noel King, professor of history and comparative religion,  
teaching a class at Merrill College, 1977

Photo by UCSC Photography Services

---

East, would be very good for students. And then doing fieldwork projects.

**Mike Rotkin, Student:** The Merrill Field Program was created right at the beginning of Merrill College. I knew Nick Royal, who was the coordinator of that program, and also Jody Bruce, who was a community studies graduate who was hired as the assistant in that program. Their job was to coordinate, or facilitate, students connecting with community organizations for internships, and with a faculty member, who would arrange the credit and supervise the academic aspect of the work. The Merrill Field Program was placing most of its students internationally—small numbers of them—but they would go to places like Senegal to learn African drumming. Another student in that program went to Peru, where he learned to play the harp. He came back, and eventually became a professional harp player, playing a special kind of Andean harp. The Field Program was founded when the colleges really were the academic center of things. The idea was that most, if not all, Merrill students would want to do some kind of practical experiential education in the Third World, or related to the Third World. And, as it was being defined back in the seventies, the Third World included places outside the United States, in the undeveloped world, particularly in the global South, as we now call it, but also in inner cities in the United States, in places where there were large numbers of people of color.

**Herman Blake:** We admired Merrill. John Marcum and John Isbister and others who built Merrill did an extraordinary job. That was an extraordinary place. They didn't hire any faculty who hadn't lived and worked abroad for at least two years. They had a different gestalt. It was outstanding.

**Richard Vasquez:** Teatro Campesino performed its first acto, *Carpa de Los Rasquachis*, at Merrill College in the dining hall.<sup>11</sup> I was drawn to that kind of theater because it spoke to my experience. Having been a farmworker, I could relate to that experience. I was drawn to, not only the performance arts like Teatro, but also to any art. There were a lot of artists coming out. Malaquíás Montoya in Berkeley;<sup>12</sup> José Montoya<sup>13</sup> was Royal Chicano Air Force. All of these things were new and needed support and help. I wanted to be there to participate. Los Mejicas started while I was here.<sup>14</sup> I was drawn to Ritchie Valens not only because of his song “La Bamba,” but his music.<sup>15</sup> Those were the kinds of things that were going on. For me, it was about incorporating culture into an academic environment.

**Olga Nájera-Ramírez, Student:** I entered UCSC in fall of 1973. Merrill College was very lively. There were a lot of Chicanos. Merrill had a lot of Mexicanos. Crown not so much; Stevenson some. But Merrill was like a real place—that's where Mexican folkloric dance troupe Los Mejicas started. I think they might have had bilingual dorms? Anyway, a lot of my girlfriends lived there and I used to hang out with them. We used to have dances. We had the Crown-Merrill Rec Room and we used to use that for rehearsals for Mejicas. I remember also going to parties and dances in there. That was the first time I heard Little Joe.<sup>16</sup>

**Richard Vasquez:** There weren't any taquerias in Santa Cruz. The more popular food was pizza. Somebody would say, “Well, I've got some frijoles.” “Well, I've got some beans,” “I got some tortillas.” We all came together and we ate.

**Olga Nájera-Ramírez:** The parties were awesome, the Chicano parties, because people had

costumbres like mine. They didn't just show up in flip-flops, jeans, and a T-shirt to a dance. Oh, no. We pressed our clothes. The guys cleaned up. And they were dressier. I was telling my girlfriend in high school, she was still in high school, I said, "Oh, Velina, you should see the way—they're like us. They dress up." In our generation, if you went to a wedding you looked dressed up. A *como pudieras*, however you could, but you did. And it wasn't like all casual. The non-Mexicano parties, the mainstream parties, I never went to. People would just hang out the way they still do, and they were very casual. But the Chicano parties—they dressed up and they had funk music, they had Tower of Power.<sup>17</sup> They had Mexican music, getting into Tejano music. They did the gamut. I found my world. I really did. I thought, okay, this is the Chicano person. I thought, this is exactly me. It blends all my parts. It's not like: Mexicano at home, mainstream at school. This blended everything.

**Mark Lipson, Student:** I taught a student-directed seminar with a couple of other environmental studies students to develop a plan for a student housing co-op. We ended up negotiating with the university to take over part of the Merrill dorms. They had these kitchens in the dorms for people who wouldn't, or couldn't, be on the meal plan. There were these big kitchens that took up two or three dorm rooms worth of space, and people were assigned to them individually. There was nothing co-operative about it. But at that time the dorms weren't full up. They were losing money. They weren't meeting their bond service goals, because there were empty dorm rooms, so they were willing to give us a lease on twenty spaces in Merrill College, and let us take over those kitchens. We had a self-selected twenty-person co-op in the dorms there. We called it PAD, People's Alternative Dwellings.<sup>18</sup>

**Michael James, Student:** It was 1970. We were pioneers of people of color in the academy. We're maybe the second generation of EOP students and middle-class students of color in the University of California system. There were four hundred of us on campus. We were 10 percent of the entire student body, and that's mixed Asian American, Latino, and African American. Latinos were the most. We gravitated towards each other but sometimes we found out we didn't relate to each other as much as we thought. I didn't really relate to all the African Americans. There were a lot of middle-class black students I didn't relate to. I found myself relating to kids who came from the city, or who came from the rural country, because I was working class.

**Richard Vasquez:** There were very few people of color, very few faculty—one or two Latino faculty. Faculty of color, hardly any.

**Jim Pepper:** One of our very early faculty was an African American by the name of Bill Brown, who was a geographer who was recruited from Berkeley to environmental studies. Bill Brown was an example of the inordinate burden placed on junior faculty at the startup of UC Santa Cruz. Because of his minority status and the high visibility of an African American on the faculty, Bill became the sounding board for every African American student on the campus, other than those that went to Herman Blake. I think he and Herman might have been the only African Americans. I'm not 100 percent certain of that. But Bill was in Merrill College. Merrill was a Third World college. And because he was a person of color, he was inundated with committee assignments because of minority representation.

**Michael James:** White kids at Santa Cruz at the time were not just your average American



---

Figure 6

Merrill College students and families, early 1970s

Photo by UCSC Photography Services

---

middle-class white kids. These were kids who could have gone to Columbia, Yale, Brown. They were really smart white kids, so it was harder for us to relate to them. So, yeah, we gravitated toward each other and we had the BSA [Black Student Association], MechA [Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlán], ASA [Asian Students Association]. Those associations were really helpful. We had EOP, which was sort of our base. We learned a lot from each other and we hung together.

**Richard Vasquez:** Walking up to my first class at Merrill College one day, I met a gentleman, a Mexican gardener by the name of Candelario Ocampo. He and I exchanged hellos—in Spanish—and immediately I was drawn to this man. He had a mustache. He was a short man, stolid, but very open, very friendly. What I would call *mucho cariño*, a lot of caring, a lot of love. I got that from my first sense of this man and I knew he was going to be my friend. I called him my counselor because I felt I could talk to him. And whenever I would get frustrated, or want to leave the university, he would say, “No, you can’t. You know you gotta stay. You gotta finish this for your familia, your community.” Although he was a gardener, I didn’t see him as a gardener. I saw him as much more than a gardener.

**Michael James:** There was EOP, the Educational Opportunity Program office. That was it. Some of us would gather at the little coffee shop at Merrill. The campus was still a white, progressive, or liberal enclave, culturally. There was the Merrill Field Study office; counselor Katia Panas’s office.<sup>19</sup> We made the Crown/Merrill Rec Room into a Third World Center for a minute. We would just go in and claim shit, and then the white kids wouldn’t come because they might be afraid. Might be a

classroom or a building or corner, or you know, the laundry room with the coke machine.

**Evelyn Luluquisen, Student:** Somehow the students of color got judged more: Why are they here? How did they get here? What do they want? “You think you’re going to get a degree? You really think you’re gonna get a degree? You think you can finish?” Some of it was blatant. I remember being in a room and there was this white student who said, “You know, minority students, they get special treatment over in the labs.” I piped up and said, “You know, they probably have internships and they probably have work study, so they’re not getting any special treatments. For you to make this assumption is wrong.” I had just about had it with his attitude.

**Michael James:** When I got to UC Santa Cruz, that was two years after the ethnic studies rising at SF State. 1970-71 was the late Vietnam War period. South Africa apartheid<sup>20</sup> starts to emerge as an issue; the crack shit is busting out in cities all over the country. Cocaine crack, that whole thing is affecting a lot of black folks. It was definitely a post-sixties moment. Leaders like Herman Blake and other faculty of color had penetrated the institutions. They have come out of the communities and are using the institutions as a launching pad for smaller initiatives in different parts of the world. The civil rights movement had peaked and ethnic studies was starting to happen.





---

Figure 7 (left)

Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr.,  
Memorial Convocation: (left to  
right) Richard Townsend (student  
at Stevenson College), J. Herman  
Blake, Reverend Howard Thurman.  
April 8, 1968

Photo by UCSC Photography  
Services

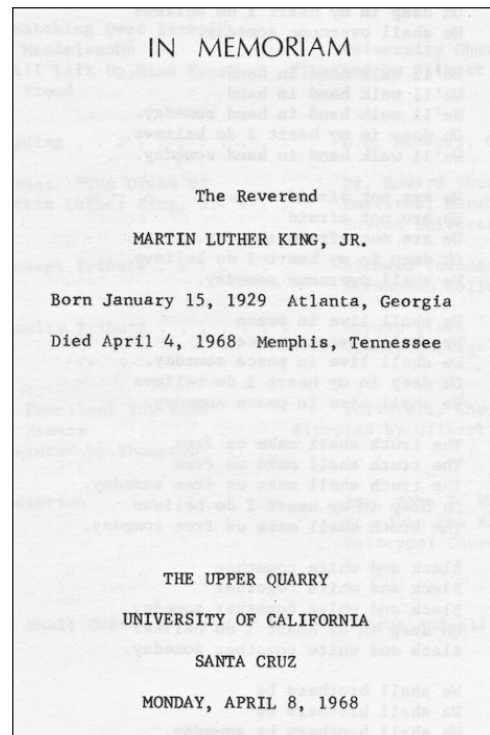
---

---

Figure 8 (Right)

Program for UCSC memorial after assassination  
of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., 1968

---





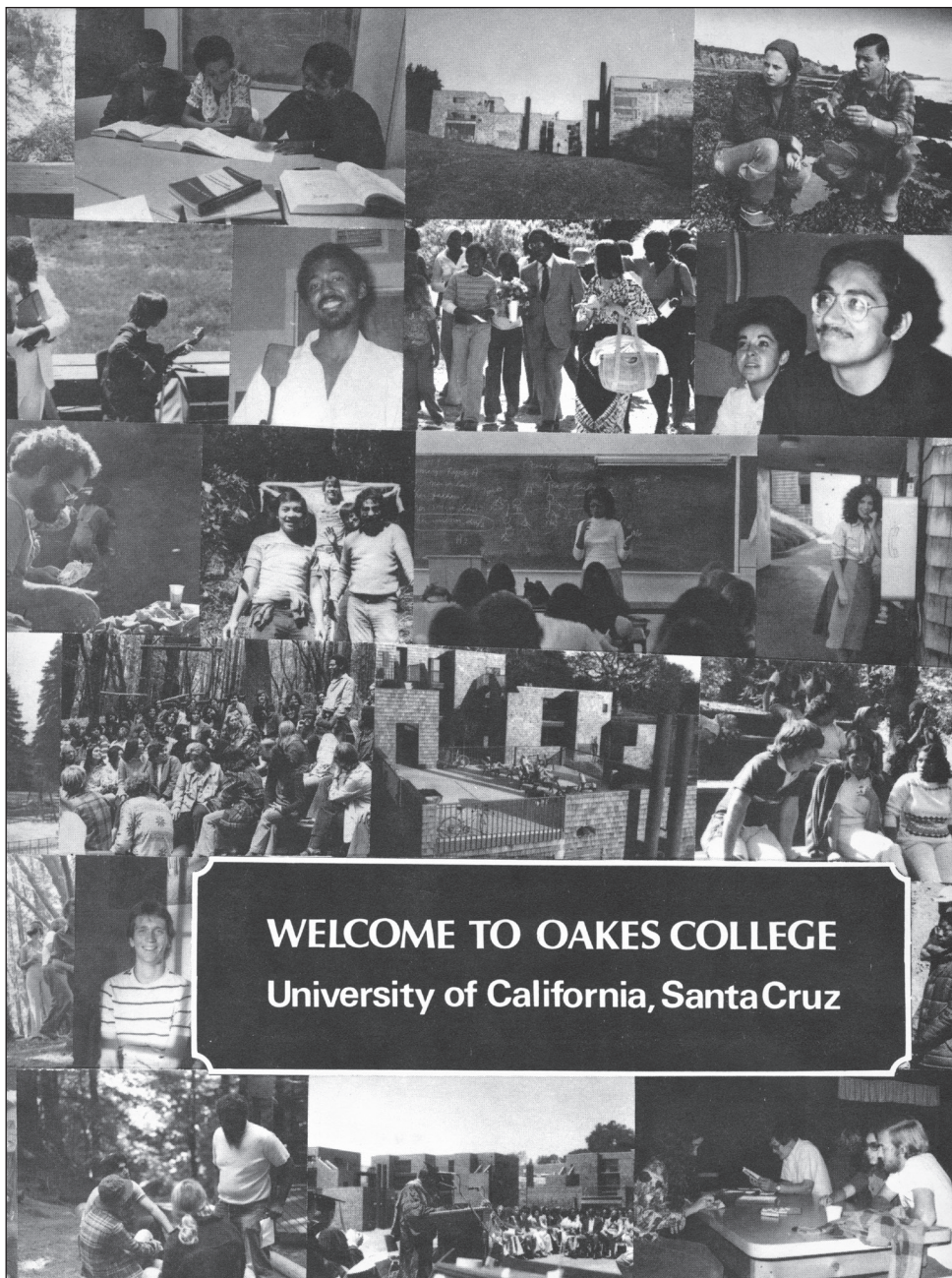


Figure 9

*Welcome to Oakes College* booklet cover. Circa mid-1970s

## “It Was All of Our Dream”: The Creation of Oakes College

**Herman Blake, Provost of Oakes College:** Martin Luther King was assassinated. Colleges and universities around the country turned to see what they could do. And before anything could be developed at the University of California, Santa Cruz campus, here comes this thing from the Black Liberation Front in Santa Cruz: “We want a black college, with a black provost, black faculty, black curriculum, black students. All black.” Which made absolutely no sense at all. In the spirit of Martin Luther King? That *really* made no sense. But I couldn’t say this then.

So, they made this claim for a black college and put it out there, and philosophy professor Maurice Natanson and others on campus said that seemed reasonable. “We ought to be able to have a black college,” and so forth and so on. But I’d been teaching and doing things in a very different context and I was very discomforted by this. On top of that, we were in a more Latino than black community. There weren’t many Latino students. There weren’t many black students on campus. And the Latinos said, “Well, what about us?” And the Black Liberation Front in Santa Cruz would say, “Well y’all can have a Chicano college later. Y’all can be the next college. We’ll take one college, y’all take another college,” without specifying anything.

I knew I had some legitimacy with the community and with the university. But I was in between. I also had a belief that you don’t build a house for yesterday’s rains—which is an African proverb. I didn’t use that at the time; didn’t even know it. But that’s essentially my whole thing: we’re going toward the future.

**Dean McHenry:** The Merrill faculty passed a resolution unanimously urging the adoption of the name Malcolm X for College Seven. And it’s just *astounding* to me. It’s bad enough for kids to sign petitions, but for the *faculty* to take this action—It sometimes seems to me, when I’m very tired, that I’m the only one who plays the role of ogre. Now Merrill Provost Phil Bell I *know* was *strenuously* opposed to the idea of Malcolm X—he told me so repeatedly. And yet he joined the unanimous group. He swung with them. And he’s not a weakling in any sense. But there was this emotional binge in the college that went all through the students and all through the faculty.

**Herman Blake:** When the Black Liberation Front argued that the college should be named Malcolm X, I was opposed from the very beginning. Never supported that.<sup>21</sup> I was opposed because I knew el-Hajj Malik el-Shabazz [the name Malcolm X adopted after becoming disillusioned with the Nation of Islam and embracing Sunni Islam], and the thing that hit me was Malcolm X was not who he was when he died. I felt that naming the college after Malcolm X would have a depressing impact on what we were trying to do academically because people would be caught up in the name, not in the other kinds of things.

But more important to me than anything else was Malcolm X was once Malcolm Little. And he was, as Malcolm Little, a criminal. As he said to me, he was a thief for many years—that’s a criminal. He went into jail as Malcolm Little. There he was converted to the Nation of Islam. He developed new understandings and new insights. And when he developed new insights

and understandings, he changed his name from Malcolm Little to Malcolm X.

Later on, he changed his name again to el-Hajj Malik El-Shabazz, symbolizing a change in his philosophy and his perspective. If we were going to honor anything, we had to honor that. Furthermore, that change in his philosophy and his perspective was informed by his experiences on college campuses, which reflected liberal education and liberal learning. He constantly read. He was a very well-read man. And he was constantly challenged. He came to understand that some of those challenges he dismissed as being white people, were in fact not challenges of white people—that was his perception. And when he changed his perceptions, he changed his *name*. So, my respect for him as el-Hajj Malik El-Shabazz was when he was willing to own up to his being wrong and change, he changed his name. So that's my hero: el-Hajj Malik El-Shabazz. That name change signifies to me willingness to grow in the way that I talk about in terms of liberal education.

**Dean McHenry:** The focus on the Third World I never objected to. Of course, Merrill has gone down this road with my enthusiastic support. But the proposal for Malcolm X College, in its origins, was for a black college, and it was for segregation, something I've fought all my adult years. It's a form of apartheid. It seems to me that in the long pull, only integration will work.

Now, many people who have followed the black problem and civil rights movement and so on, feel that it reached a crisis, in which they figured that there wasn't much more to be gained through federal legislation. They hadn't achieved real economic equality or educational equality; then the only way to do it now was to talk about "Black is beautiful"<sup>22</sup> and separatism and new militancy that involves quite a bit of violence. I

think this may be just a passing phase—they're flexing their muscles like the Molly Maguires<sup>23</sup> among the Irish and so on—and the main road is one of integration. This is a flash in the pan, I hope. At any rate, if anybody wants a black college, he's free to organize it, but not at Santa Cruz while I'm here.

**Glenn Omatsu:** Right now, the Office of the Chancellor and the administration has more power than it should have. And until some of this power is handed over to the faculty and handed over to the students, there's going to be a great deal of discontent on the campus. I'd like to see that changed in some way. I am working on Malcolm X College, and I hope Malcolm X College will come through. A lot of people have put a lot of time into it—faculty members and students. Working for Malcolm X College has become a fourth class to many students, and I hope that something develops on that, because if it doesn't develop, there's going to be a lot of unhappy people.

**Herman Blake:** I was aware that there were some people on the campus—staff, not faculty—who really wanted me to bring the Black Panther Party to campus. They thought I was going to turn this into a Black Panther college. So I wrote an essay on a black college, to focus it more on ethnic rather than black. And McHenry picked up on it, I believe.

**Dean McHenry:** I decided that the only way to get College Seven on a constructive line was to gamble on Herman Blake. I think it's a pretty good gamble. He could turn it into a flaming black nationalist thing. But I think he's a constructive guy. I know he's under terrible pressures from the black community, but he's resisted them before and survived. He's got high intellectual

FUND FOR THE COLLEGE OF MALCOLM X  
P. O. Box 1362  
Santa Cruz, California 95060

**one**


**PARTICIPATION SHARE**

**In The College Of Malcolm X**

**\$10 TEN DOLLARS \$10**

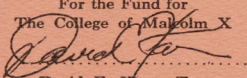
Share  
No 804

This certificate signifies the desire of the owner to share in the future of the *College of Malcolm X* — an institution devoted to the study of minority peoples for the benefit of all peoples. Expected dividend: better-educated citizens fulfilling the dream the late El Hajj Malik El Shabazz — Malcolm X.



El Hajj Malik El-Shabazz  
1925-1965

For the Fund for  
The College of Malcolm X



David E. Kaun, Treasurer

---

Share  
No 804

FUND FOR THE COLLEGE OF MALCOLM X  
P. O. Box 1362  
Santa Cruz, California 95060

Name ..... Address .....

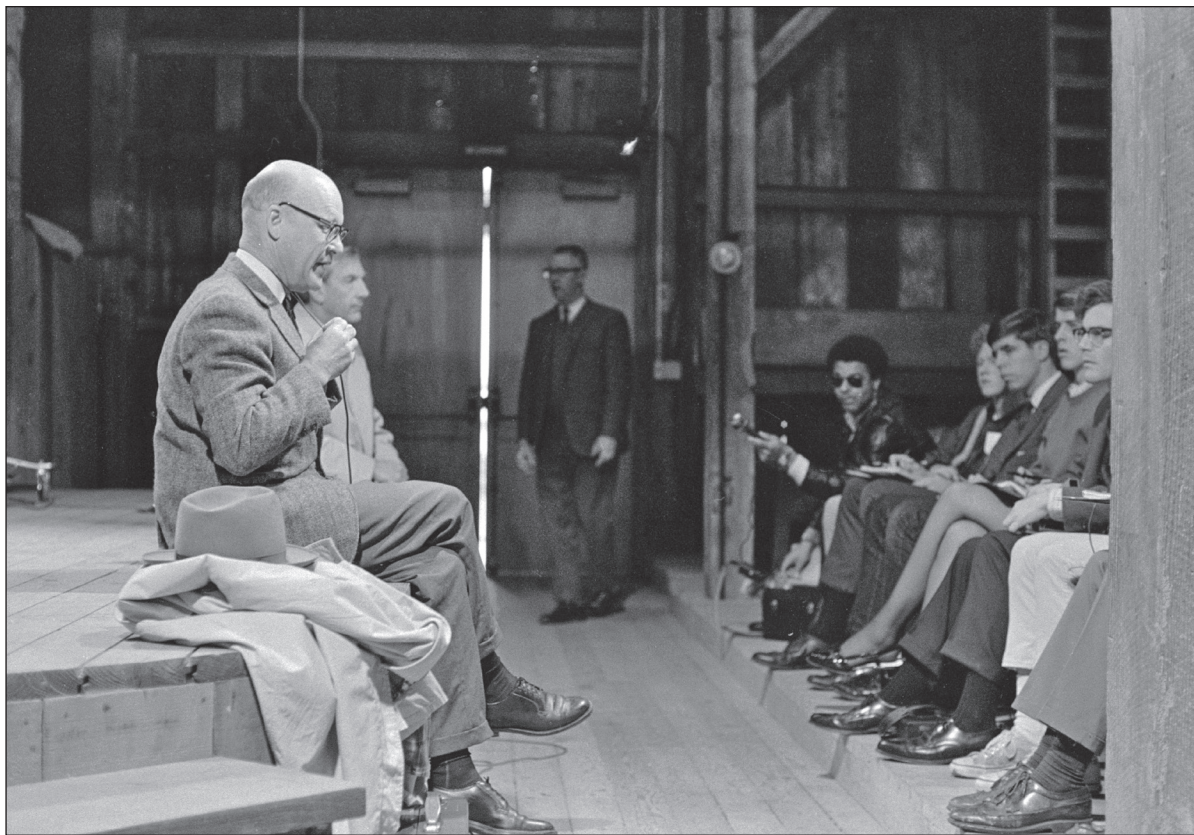
Phone .....

the amount of \$.....

Note: all contributions are tax deductible

Figure 10

Fundraising appeal for Malcolm X College, 1969



---

Figure 11

Chancellor McHenry addressing a crowd about naming the college for Malcolm X, 1969

Photo by UCSC Photography Services

---

standards, and, well, I think we're shipped for some kind of a voyage to see what he comes up with. I think he understands perfectly well that what he comes up with has to be acceptable to the regents. A lot will turn on whether Herman and his committee can draw up a program that has got breadth to it. The very idea of studying *just* the Negro minority in the United States seems to me anti-liberal in educational terms. I think they ought to study minorities everywhere under all the circumstances, and I think that Herman's inclination will be this way when he gets into it.

**Herman Blake:** I didn't know McHenry and I didn't trust him. I really didn't. But McHenry sent a representative from his office to meet with me and interview me and talk with me, essentially trying to smooth the path for me to become involved in what became Oakes College. I got the sense that what they wanted was not a token. They didn't want to have somebody up there who could be a symbol and quiet the masses, and then they go back to business as usual. Getting that signal from McHenry through his representative, I felt I could participate. And I agreed to it.

**George Blumenthal:** Before Oakes got started, there was a movement on campus for ethnic studies, and the idea was to create a college to do it. Once Herman Blake and Ralph Guzmán<sup>24</sup> got involved in the planning for Oakes; they wanted to create an environment, a *multicultural* environment. The goal was to make sure that the students who came to Oakes College, who were not just minorities, but were truly multicultural, would have pathways to success. They would learn science; they would learn to write; they would learn to be successful, and to be as successful as anyone else, and maybe more successful than anyone else.

**Michael James:** Santa Cruz didn't offer interdisciplinary studies as an academic concept. It would offer them as a life concept. Herman Blake was one of the architects of that. And Herman was also political. He was involved with the Black Panther Party; he was involved with African American legal issues. He had an eclectic sense of sociology and politics. You're not just in college to learn in the narrow frameworks of the discipline, but to learn the complex relationship between disciplines and life. That was what we learned from Herman. He worked with so many. He *raised* so many of us right.

**Herman Blake:** Ralph Guzmán had come to campus. I was in Cowell and he came to be in Merrill. He was, I think, one of the first, if not the first Latino—at least in the social sciences—faculty member. We were both, in various ways, engaged in Latino communities in the San Joaquin Valley—he from whatever he was doing with Latinos, me from whatever I was doing with poverty programs. We saw there were ways we could do some things and it became a way of opening up the university. So, we agreed not only to collaborate, but to model. We made it our business to walk around the campus together. We made it our business to, each day when we were working together, eat lunch in the dining hall of a different college. We'd go to Merrill College, or we'd go to Cowell College, or Crown College. We'd just walk in and get a meal and sit down and eat, talking to each other, knowing we're being watched, and knowing what they were seeing was a Latino and a black in cohort.

What we were doing was focusing on a different set of intellectual challenges, political issues, and all of the like. In building Oakes College, we were thinking about building a college in which we would have a different student body, recruit different students, but not exclude anybody.<sup>25</sup> Those

who were already there, and those who were traditionally coming, would be part of it, and we would recruit, particularly, Latino and black and Native American students. And I argued for poor whites. Get 'em all. If you leave anybody out, you begin to create the same thing that happened that led the Black Liberation Front to argue we needed the black college, and then the Chicanos saying, "Well what about us?" And they're saying, "Oh, you wait." No. You don't wait. Everybody comes.

**Kenneth Thimann:** I had thought that the other colleges would follow the same major subdivisions as the first three. They haven't. The idea of Oakes College as an ethnic studies center—that was a very unfortunate mistake.

**Herman Blake:** I was never enthralled by the holistic ethnic studies approach—never. I was in favor of the liberal education approach, the kinds of things that Page Smith would talk about at his best, or Bill Hitchcock, or John Dizikes, or some of the women faculty. They were, at profound levels, insensitive and unknowing about the ethnic experience, but not hostile to it.

**Kenneth Thimann:** Ethnic studies has a few interesting things, but basically you can't separate these from the main lines of intellectual life. Perhaps it's even undesirable to do so. Minority kids are very sensitive, of course, about that. All the time I was in Crown, they were always pushing for a Chicano dorm; they wanted one of the dorms to be given over to Chicanos. I resisted this because it just becomes a ghetto.

**Herman Blake:** When it came time for the Academic Senate to vote for the academic program of Oakes College, there were key people—Professor and Founding Crown College Provost

Ken Thimann was one of them—who tried their best to keep that thing from happening. They used every avenue they could. I sat there and watched them and listened to them. And it was the chair of the senate, Ted Youngs, a mathematician, a beautiful man, who gavelled them out of order and said that *Robert's Rules of Order* was designed to promote business, not prevent business, and made sure that thing went through. The faculty voted us in. The faculty was generally in support. But Ken Thimann was one of those who was adamantly opposed and Thimann was not a lightweight. Dean McHenry was on the other side. But Ken Thimann and others like this—no, they didn't want it.

Part of that opposition to us was the tenuous position of Santa Cruz in the whole panoply of UC campuses. We had one vice president for academic affairs come to one of our early convocations and say, "I'm glad to be at Santa Cruz Junior College." That kind of stuff. So, there were levels of certainty and uncertainty, security and insecurity. And within that, we were also insecure. I was. But I had a kind of confidence that it was going to work.

We had to get other people to join us. And we had no academic legitimacy. We weren't a board of studies. We weren't anything. We had no positions. So, if we're going to get anybody, we had to get people from within the campus. We began talking about who was around.

Bob Crespi came to our attention and he became very interested. He was committed to liberal education, the high expectations, the whole thing. He was an outstanding scholar, as well as out of Spanish Harlem. What we liked about him was he wasn't a cultural nationalist, tied to one ethnicity, position or whatever. Be broad. He was one. And I'm not sure how Dilip Basu came to us, but Dilip—historian, interested in civil rights,

and nonviolence, and Martin Luther King and all of those things—he also came to our attention.<sup>26</sup>

But we had no white faculty. Ralph and I figured we needed to recruit white faculty. We sat down. We made a list. It must have been twenty or thirty people we thought would be interested in what we were doing, many of them in the social sciences, a few in the sciences. We made an appointment, went and talked with them, told them about the development of what was going to be College Seven.

We went all over the campus. We picked out some of the most liberal, radical—perceived radical—white faculty, and went and talked to them and got turned down by every single one of them. Every single one. They weren't hostile. They just weren't ready to risk their careers on what was essentially a non-entity. And most of the faculty were young and still starting out. A couple of them were associate professors, had reputations for dealing with minorities in an effective way. They all turned us down, with the exception of Bill Doyle.

**William Doyle, Professor:** The invitation came as a surprise. Both Herman and I were members of Cowell College. Although we had no close personal interaction, I was always impressed by the importance, relevance, and insightfulness of his comments during Cowell College faculty meetings. We also had crossed paths at the campus East Field House, where he usually engaged a punching bag and I headed to the basketball court. I had never met Ralph before this meeting.<sup>27</sup>

**Herman Blake:** I knew Bill. I said to Ralph, “I think Bill is a good person.” He said, “Well, if you think he's a good person we ought to approach him.” Ralph didn't know Bill. Bill Doyle grew up in the Pajaro Valley, poor. But he looks like

Jack Armstrong: tall, Anglo, and all of this.<sup>28</sup> And a first-rate biologist. Ralph and others were relating to him as a white, middle-class male. But he's looking from the perspective of a low-wealth, peripheral person. He's more like us in spirit than he is like them, even though he's more like them in appearance than he is like us. Bill Doyle was priceless, priceless, because he could be in places and he could run things in terms of getting people in place. And they couldn't figure him out. Oakes faculty couldn't figure him out. Roberto Crespi looked at him and said, “He's the enemy. He's the spy they put in here.” He saw everybody as a spy that didn't look like him, until he began to realize he was making stereotypical judgments.

**William Doyle:** I was a member of Cowell College when the campus opened in 1965 and had no expectations of moving to another college. Herman Blake and Ralph Guzmán explained that they were co-chairs of the Executive Committee for College Seven [Oakes College] and that they were responsible for faculty recruitment and the detailed academic program planning.<sup>29</sup> They discussed their joint vision of and general plan for Oakes College. Courses offered by the college would help students understand their own racial and ethnic roots, help students understand and respect students from different backgrounds, and serve as springboards to the wide variety of career opportunities available to them. They expected that the student body would include students from diverse cultural and social backgrounds, with many from disadvantaged or poor family backgrounds, and/or who were the first generation in their families to go on to higher education.<sup>30</sup>

**Herman Blake:** Ralph wanted to know, “What's wrong with him? Everybody else turned us down and he didn't. Must be something wrong.” But it was something *right*. Eventually, Ralph came





---

Figure 12

William Doyle, 1981

Photo by Carol Foote

---

to see that, because as we began talking and we expressed our views, Bill said, “The one thing that they had never been able to do at Santa Cruz was teach the sciences in the colleges. They didn’t have the facilities. And if there was anything you could do that was unique and special, it was to figure out how to do that.” We did, and it marked us in a very positive way, atypical way. Essentially, it undercut a lot of that negativity that was perceived around the campus.

**George Blumenthal:** Not long after I arrived, I got a note to go see the vice chancellor for science, Matt Sands. He said, “You ought to join a college.” I kind of had expected that. I was fine with that. He said, “I think you should join College Seven (later Oakes College).” And he said he wanted to arrange a meeting with Herman Blake and Ralph Guzmán, who were the two founders of College Seven.

So I had a meeting with Herman and Ralph. Herman always dressed in a black leather jacket. He had a beard. He did not look the part of the college provost. Ralph Guzmán looked much more the college provost type. We had a very good meeting about what the college was about. I was actually quite impressed with them. But I wasn’t sure.

So I made an appointment to go see Bill Doyle because Bill had already decided to become a founding member of Oakes College. I went to see Bill to make sure that this made sense, that I wasn’t getting sucked into something unknown or crazy. Bill is a solid citizen, a very reasonable man, a very sensible guy. Talking to him for ten minutes made me realize that if this was good enough for him, it was good enough for me. So I signed on and that’s how I became a founding member of Oakes College.

**William Doyle:** Herman and Ralph also discussed the need for college graduates of minority backgrounds to return to their home communities. They stressed that there was a great need in those communities for professionals educated in the science/medical/technology areas. A strong college program in the biological and physical sciences was a priority. Ralph and Herman did not want Oakes College to be primarily for minority faculty and students. They stated that the recruitment and support of minority faculty and students was an obligation of all UCSC colleges, not just Oakes.

In face-to-face discussions with people, you get an impression of who they are and what they stand for. I was impressed with the openness, directness, intellectual strength, and commitment of both Herman and Ralph. I also was impressed with the overriding importance of the college emphasis to the University of California and society.<sup>31</sup>

**George Blumenthal:** From day one, Oakes College made it very clear that science was an important part of the college experience. Herman—from his first day as provost—was committed to having a strong science program in the college. That is one of the reasons the Oakes science program developed the Oakes Science Center. I don’t think the college could have been anything like what it was without that strong foundation in science, science education, and science rigor. The goal was to be multicultural, but also to make sure that people moved into careers and that that multiculturalism permeated the entire campus *including Science Hill*.

Herman really wanted science to be a big thing. And one of the things he found in his travels was some college in North Carolina had developed a unique kind of science center, with a unique way of doing laboratories and having flexibility, where you could move benches around; you could

have many different configurations, and do it in a way that gave maximum flexibility, given that you had only a small facility. Herman saw it and really liked it, and was interested in whether or not we should replicate that at Oakes College. So he wanted a couple of the scientists to come on a trip with him to North Carolina to look at this college. Bill Doyle was one of them, which made total sense. He asked me to be the other, which I thought made absolutely no sense, because I'm not a laboratory scientist. But Herman was insistent. Herman wanted me to do this. So I said sure.

So we went to North Carolina. We toured the college and we toured their facility and we liked it. Bill and I kind of agreed, this is what Oakes College should do. And ultimately, that's what Oakes College did. We built the Science Center.

**Gwen Lacy, Staff, Oakes College:** I remember the planning class for Oakes the spring of 1972. There were about twenty-five students in the class which met regularly with Herman and sometimes with the architects. They worked with a huge model of the college, which was mounted on a board. The model was topographic, showing where the buildings would be in relation to the hills and trees. The apartments were nearest the ocean, as requested by the students, so that they would have ocean views from their living quarters. The academic administration building was further back against the trees, and separated from the apartments by a small hilly mound called the Marcellus Barrier, after the student who suggested it. It was to provide at least a symbolic separation of the residences from the administration.

**Herman Blake:** Very early on, Dean McHenry's development staff came to me because they were trying to name College Five. The naming process had gone through to Merrill College—corporate. Crown College—corporate. Cowell

College—founding. Stevenson College—sentimental, never resulted in much money. College Five—jumped over.<sup>32</sup> Kresge College—corporate.

They came to me and said they had found a donor prepared to make a gift of substantial sorts to the campus, which would lead to a name for College Seven. We talked about it and I said to them I could not accept that name. I could not agree to that. I had a choice. I didn't discuss this with the faculty. I didn't discuss this with anybody. To this day, I have not discussed it with anybody. I said that this was a name that reflected the exploitation of people at the bottom. Not just black people—Americans. And people who had used that exploitation to build a financial empire. I said they were our exploiters. I could not accept that our exploiters would become our benefactors. So, I said no. That name has never come to Santa Cruz. Never come to Santa Cruz. *Never* come to Santa Cruz.

What I liked was 'Oakes' is not a corporate name. And if you think about it, even though it's spelled O-A-K-E-S you could think about the trees on the campus, still. So, you're not getting caught up in a dynamic which has negative implications. The Oakes Fund was started by a lawyer. He and his wife got a lot of money from interests in the oil industry in Oklahoma and other places. He had died, Roscoe Oakes, and his wife, Margaret Oakes, without children, and left all their money to the San Francisco Foundation. The Oakes gift came and the name came. There hadn't been a gift that large to the Santa Cruz campus—1.2 million dollars. We asked for 1.5. We got 1.2 for endowment and physical facilities. They enabled us to expand our counseling program, so that we had three counselors rather than the one that the other colleges had. We were able to develop programs in the sciences through hiring additional people who had faculty roles. We never hired anyone who could not pass the approval of the

traditional boards, so that whatever courses they offered were considered meritorious and acceptable for academic credit within the university.

**Gwen Lacy:** Herman did a lot of traveling during this period and began fundraising. That summer we hired two more staff members: Mary Joan Rodriguez,<sup>33</sup> who became student records assistant, and Julie Chang, who was our first financial assistant and also did student activities and housing. Our first students, who entered that fall, were housed four to an apartment in Married Student Housing,<sup>34</sup> and on the fourth and fifth floors of Dorm B, College Five, above our temporary offices on the second and third floors. Both staff and faculty had offices on these floors, with the steno pool at the end of the hall, and one preceptor apartment on the second floor. Professor Pat Bourne lived there as preceptor and put on some nice get-togethers for faculty and staff. The celebration when the college received the million-dollar grant from the San Francisco Foundation and its name, Oakes, was held in Pat's apartment.

**Herman Blake:** Now, that 75,000 dollars activists raised to try and develop this Malcolm X College went into what they called the Malcolm X Memorial Fund, which became a part of the endowment available to the provost of Oakes. I said to the faculty that as long I was leader of the college, I would not spend from that seventy-five thousand dollars. I would just allow it to continue to grow. I know subsequent provosts have talked about how good it has been to have independent money that the university doesn't control.

**George Blumenthal:** Ron Saufley joined Oakes College. Ron looks like a white middle-class lawyer, and he actually had gone to law school in his past. That was his demeanor, but he was anything

but that. Ron and Herman were a team. Ron was kind of his chief of staff and his chief fundraiser. Ron was originally hired just to be the fundraiser, and then he took on more roles within the college.

Herman was great at fundraising. He would go to foundations. He was already well known. Herman had made the list: I forget which magazine, *Forbes* or one of the national magazines, had a list of the twenty most influential educators under the age of thirty-five. And Herman made that list. So he was getting a national reputation. They would go to some big foundation. Herman had an appointment and they showed up. And there was Herman with his long beard and his black leather jacket. And there was Ron dressed in a suit. They'd go in to see the president of the foundation, and the president would get up from behind his desk, put a big smile on, and say, "Dr. Blake, I am so happy to meet you," and walk over to Ron Saufley and shake his hand. And when you think about it, this is a great strategy. What a great one-up strategy.

**Jim Gill, Professor:** I learned of Oakes in 1972 when I was living in Australia. I was a graduate student and I had written to Santa Cruz about the possibility of coming here to work, to teach. I heard by return mail that Oakes was just about to enter its first year as an academic entity. It interested me, halfway around the world, as a place with the diversity of people that I very much missed by going to Australia, where things are more homogenous, as a place where that diversity of people could be retained or regained at a research-oriented major university. I was looking for a place where I could continue with the research that I loved, and at the same time remain engaged with the social problems that I thought important. I don't know if I would have come to Santa Cruz in the first place if Oakes had not been here.

**George Blumenthal:** Jim Gill was in earth sciences. Jim: a solid guy. He, almost from the beginning, was teaching earth science courses. I co-taught a course with him. Jim was really committed. And he was an overall good citizen in those early days of the college.

**Diane Lewis:** I'd been teaching at San Francisco State for about ten years. It was a very tumultuous time. Students were demanding changes in the curriculum, and teachers were going on strike, and there was a lot of divisiveness between minority and white students, and between teachers on strike and those who weren't. Students were being hauled off to jail; there was blood on the campus. I went on strike and came back.

Herman Blake came up to San Francisco State to give a talk. He was talking about this innovative new college that he and Ralph Guzmán were starting, which was devoted to attracting nontraditional, underrepresented students, and nontraditional faculty. It was very appealing. The idea was to implement a lot of the demands students of color had in terms of a curriculum that was meaningful, that helped them learn, that had something to say to them, and that would prepare them as change agents in their own communities.

At that time Herman was working on a book with Huey Newton called *Revolutionary Suicide*.<sup>35</sup>

**Herman Blake:** Huey Newton was revolutionary, anti-establishment, and with an incredible desire to overthrow those who were hostile to and would imprison others for political reasons. I was attracted to Huey for his revolutionary actions, which is why I would devote that much time to a book.

**Diane Lewis:** Herman talked about this new college he was hoping to establish. And I knew somebody who already taught here in the

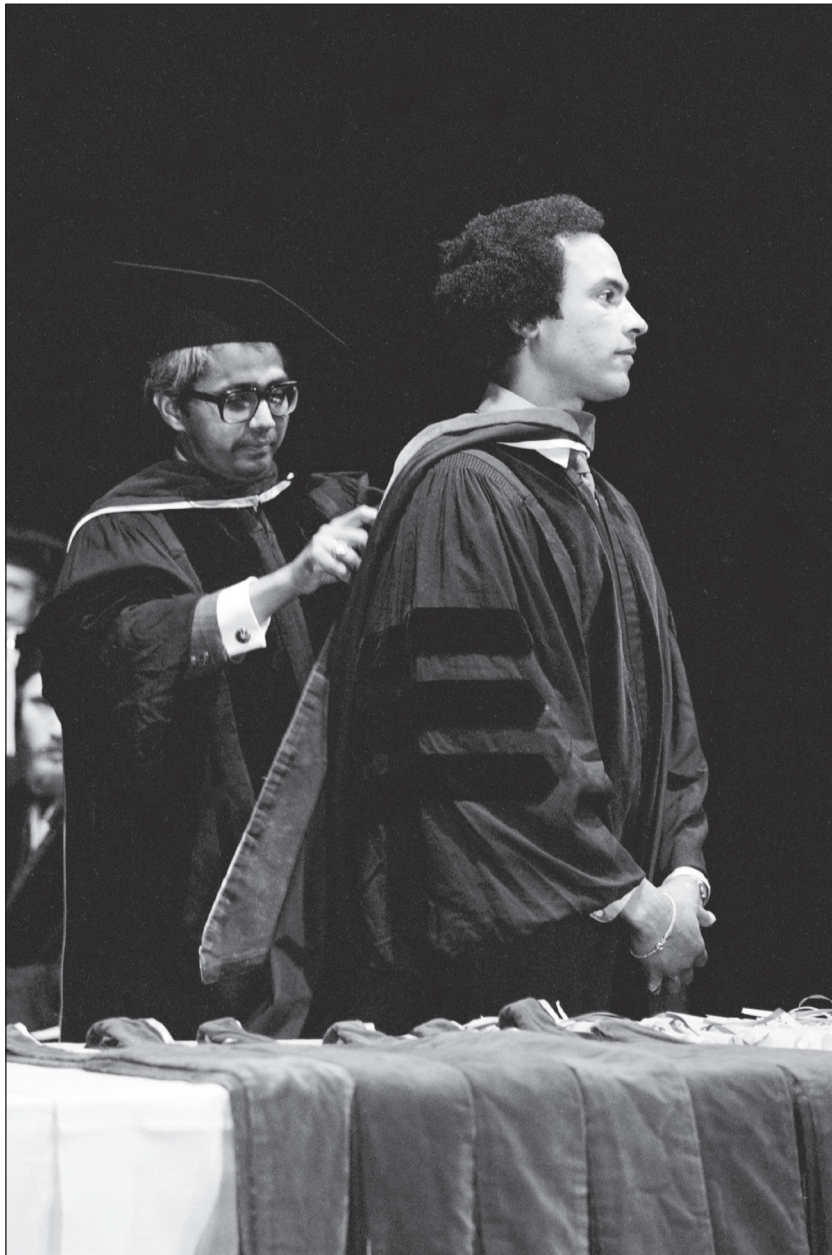
anthropology department, a woman named Nancy Tanner.<sup>36</sup> She knew Herman, she knew me, and she was telling me about it. I was also very impressed with Herman. He was dynamic and charismatic.

**Herman Blake:** We opened in the fall of 1972 with about two hundred students and a small cadre of faculty and administrators. But we were all over the place. We just started, okay? So, we didn't "open its doors" and that concept. We'd been moving along. We'd been putting people in place—faculty—and we'd been recruiting and bringing students on board. And there we were. We didn't even have a place where we could gather as a college. So, we started having retreats at the orientation time. We'd take them off for two days or so, faculty and students. That's where we did the orientation and the introduction to the college and all of that.

**Don Rothman, Lecturer:** In 1972, I first heard about Oakes College the first year that Oakes opened. I heard about Oakes from Dilip Basu who teaches Chinese and Indian history and who was a friend of mine at Berkeley graduate school. He got a job teaching at UCSC and got me interested in teaching at Oakes College.

**Valerie Simmons, Professor:** I was affiliated with psychology and with Oakes College. So I taught in the Oakes core course and got to know Herman Blake and Don Rothman and all of the early guys—and they were mostly guys.

But my office the first year was at Stevenson. They didn't think much of Oakes. I could tell. I went through my first year and I was miserable in psychology. My colleagues were fighting with each other all of the time. I would go over to Oakes and teach the core course and laugh with Herman. It was the most wonderful experience teaching. We



---

Figure 13

Huey Newton receiving his PhD in history of consciousness: hooding ceremony, 1980

Photo by Carol Foote

---

would actually sit down and talk about teaching, talk about what makes a difference for students. I never heard a word about anything like that in psychology, ever.

**Don Rothman:** Herman knew that since I was teaching writing at Merritt College in Oakland, working mostly with black students, working-class people, that I'd be interested in Oakes. I needed a full-time job. I was committed to working with non-traditional students at the university. I was finding myself more and more interested in working with those people whose success was not guaranteed, for whom teaching made a difference—people who were not at all sure what was expected of them at the university, and who would really value the efforts that I was willing to put into helping them learn how to write.

**Herman Blake:** When we started Oakes College, we thought that students were going to come with deficits. We started with the notion: we've got to figure out a way of dealing with the deficits without getting into a remedial mode because remediation and the concept of remediation is ultimately self-defeating. So how do you deal with that? We didn't know.

We worked very, very hard at getting students to succeed. And we were successful. But when we began to look at *why* students were succeeding, we realized that they often were plugging into assets that we didn't know. We just didn't understand. And it wasn't necessarily our work that got them through their deficits to success. It was their calling upon strengths—family, social group, peer group, attitudes and beliefs—that led them to persevere and succeed.

**Kathie Olsen, Student:** I had my first child. But Redding was not a good place to raise kids. So,

we moved to Santa Cruz and I really burned out on working in the legal profession. I was tired of being typecast, and tired of not making any money, and being treated as: "Gee you're wonderful. You're brilliant. We couldn't do without you. But no, we're not going to pay you a living wage!"

Somebody said, "You should go to college." At this point I was thirty-two, thirty-three years old. I said, "There's no way. I barely got out of high school. My grades were terrible. Nobody's going to take me." And they said, "Well, go to Cabrillo College." So, I took three classes at Cabrillo, and absolutely thought I'd died and gone to heaven. I mean, I was being given student financial aid to go to school and read books. I'd always been a reader. It just never occurred to me you could do something like that. So, I went, and it was wonderful and I loved it. But we couldn't afford for me to keep doing it.

And somebody said, "Well, if you could only get into UCSC—they have more money to give you financially, and they even have student housing." At this point, I'm pregnant with my second child. I knew I couldn't get in normally. I didn't qualify. A friend of mine said, "Write a letter to Herman Blake and tell him the story of your life, tell him what's happening with you. Throw yourself on his mercy. You're right. There's no way you're going to qualify otherwise."

I went to take the SAT. I had this great big pregnant stomach. I'm in my thirties, with all these nineteen-year-old kids. I hadn't done mathematics in—I don't know how long. I got something like a 98th percentile on the English and something like the 15th percentile on the math. It was ridiculous. So, I wrote him this letter, and told him the story of my life, and told him how much fun I was having in school, and told him how much I loved it, how I couldn't sustain it unless I had more help, and that there was no way I was going to get more help at Cabrillo

because they didn't have it to offer. But I knew UCSC did, and could he help me? Well, I didn't hear anything until two months later I get this phone call from somebody at Oakes saying, "Fill out your paperwork and get it up here! Where's your paperwork?"

So, I applied, and they let me in. Those days you were able to have enough financial aid to sort of live, and they were able to get me into student housing right away, which was another miracle. I was halfway through my freshman year. That was it! I just loved it. I ended up majoring in anthropology with an interest in medical anthropology and graduated four years later with honors.

**Sheila Coonerty:** Oakes was the beginning of the change of UCSC. Herman was going to be able to develop a college that would make it easy for people to come in who weren't part of the so-called norm. It all started with Oakes and it started with Herman's dreams. Oakes allowed him to create a whole academic community for people who never would have thought of going to college, whose family didn't go to college, who were from other backgrounds than white middle class, or upper class, or upper middle class. The dream was larger than just wanting to do that. He created the environment where there was safety, there was support, there was encouragement. And yet, the man could not lower his standards. He never did lower his standards. But he made it possible for you to reach them.

**Herman Blake:** We realized that we needed to focus on the assets that the students brought. If you focus on the assets that the students brought and begin to push them to higher levels of achievement, they will deal with the deficits.

Donald Rothman was perfect in this, in helping us understand when you read a student's paper, they may have a lot of grammatical errors.

They may have spelling errors or other errors. But you don't sit down and go through and identify all of the errors and say, "You got to improve." What you do is you show them the good parts: "Here's a great idea. Now, you can strengthen this idea in this way." And when the student realizes they had good ideas, but the language, grammar, and spelling was clouding those ideas, then they want to learn how to deal with those things that are clouding the ideas—but they hold onto the idea.

**George Blumenthal:** Don Rothman was committed from day one. He was committed to the mission. He was committed to writing. He was committed to the importance of writing as a way of organizing one's thoughts, and writing as a way of succeeding in college. Don thought about issues of pedagogy. He thought about how pedagogical issues could be transformative in people's lives. He epitomized what was so right about the place. He's one of the few people I would send my students to.

I also loved talking to Don because when issues would come up, he'd always have an opinion. He'd always have thought about things rather deeply, frankly, much more deeply than I. I learned a lot from him. He was very special. And you know, if goodness can be a measure of success, he was really a key player in the success of Oakes College. In fact, for me, leaving aside Herman, he would be *the* key player. He was kind of the soul of the college, from my perspective.

**Sheila Coonerty:** It was Blake's dream, but it was all of our dream. It was the late civil rights period, where we all still hoped that we could be one society, one people, that got along regardless of color. And of course, after that there were very difficult times. He had prepared us for that with the kinds of things he taught in the *Black Experience* class. He read this one poem of LeRoi



Jones, later Amiri Baraka—I guess he read it in every class he had ever taught. It's about how be-bop got its name. The origin of be-bop had to do with the white police hitting the black man on the head. He read the poem at the very end of class and the room went completely, deadly silent. And at the end of it he said, "I've never taught this poem to a group of white students anywhere where they didn't think it was funny." It wasn't funny. It was devastating. It was written as if it could be funny, but it wasn't funny. Blake said, "I've never had people understand what it meant. This is the first time."

**Don Rothman:** Those first few years at the college involved almost everyone who was here completely. The distinction between my professional and private life was virtually nonexistent. I thought that a writing class would be a good place for people to evaluate what was happening to them in the new environment and confront some of the real shaky problems that were influencing how they were doing as students and as people.

A writing class needed to have a true intellectual center, and not be separated as either "remedial" or skills-oriented, but to be seen as another place, another environment, in which serious ideas could be analyzed and communicated. When I first got here, the only writing classes offered on campus were through UC Extension. The students had to pay a \$45.00 fee for a noncredit course. I realized that this was absolutely intolerable. We need to offer writing classes for full credit, and they should be offered as part of the regular academic program, without any extra fee being assessed. We simply started offering Oakes 15 and Oakes 16 as writing classes for credit. Within about a year, the rest of the campus was doing the same.

**Herman Blake:** When you're writing every day, your environment becomes your data. You become more observant. You become more educated by your environment. And in the process, you begin to develop these inner feelings, because not only do you write, ultimately you can begin to write about what you think about, what you're seeing in your environment. It's empowering. It's insightful. I did it myself. As I was going through certain things, I wrote long essays as a way of figuring things out.

Don Rothman developed courses in Shakespeare and tragedy and was taking students to San Francisco to see *King Lear*. I came out of my office one day and here are these sixty students, Latino and black and others, going to see *King Lear*. I said, "What the heck do you want to see *King Lear* for?" They were taking tragedy with Don Rothman. And what Don realized, and the students realized, is that he was teaching the students, but as the students came to own the material, they were teaching him. It became a partnership in the learning process. Everybody became a learner.

**Don Rothman:** The writing classes are a wonderful model for what should happen in a culturally diverse society. People discover what they think and what they want to say to the world. And then, despite the differences between them and other people, they work on strategies to communicate. Because ultimately, the ability to affect other people is so important that it's worth that struggle. And that is what I think Oakes represents.

**Conn Hallinan, Lecturer:** They had this very small journalism program at Oakes. It was two courses in newswriting. Don Rothman hired me. Don Rothman studied a guy by the name of Paolo Freire,<sup>37</sup> who was from Brazil and had this system

for teaching literacy. Paolo's argument was if you get people to read and write about things that are important to their lives, and where they think they can make a difference in their lives or in society, then people have an incentive to learn how to read and write.

That's what they did at Oakes. They built a core course around making it cool to be literate, to be a good writer. That was picked up by the Writing Program at UC Santa Cruz and spread through the rest of campus. The use of the core course at Oakes was to teach students how to pass the Subject A.<sup>38</sup> Don Rothman and Herman Blake got it started as a tool for passing the Subject A exam [writing skills assessment], and they were so successful that the campus could not resist, particularly since the rest of the Writing Program also was very progressive and was a really good writing program. That has spread systemwide in the University of California.

Don had this philosophy about writing. He said writing is what prevents us from feeling the shame of silence in the face of oppression. Writing is not an abstraction. It's a way that you can deal with inequity, oppression, and unfairness, whatever it is that you are feeling.

Journalism is one of the few areas in which an individual can make a difference. I had students come through like Martha Mendoza, who won the Pulitzer Prize for revealing a massacre that the US Army did during the Korean War, which opened up this whole area of history.<sup>39</sup> Good writing is something that allows you to communicate with people that you would never meet, never know, but can still influence. That was Don's view of the world and of Oakes College.

**Herman Blake:** We built this core course at Oakes that had seven faculty in it. The idea of seven faculty from different disciplines teaching together with different disciplines as background became

a model of building the community, the community of learners.

We didn't want to have remedial courses or other special things. But we had different ways of meeting these kinds of needs. Our math and chemistry teacher, Peter Nemes, would sit in on courses in English and other disciplines that Oakes students were taking, to see how he could incorporate some of those concepts or ideas into his teaching of math. Ray Charland, who was a counselor, would sit in on courses that the students were taking, to see the kinds of demands put on them that would lead them to have personal kinds of confrontations, or issues that they would have to deal with. The idea was to spread the pattern of intellectual growth and development from the classroom, to the residence hall, to wherever people gathered, and make it constant learning. What I was doing ultimately became the core course, *Values and Change in a Diverse Society*.

**Diane Lewis:** We were encouraged to be interdisciplinary in our approaches to our courses. The courses for the college were yours to design. I would teach courses like *Women in the Criminal Justice System*, or *African American Culture*, or *African American Women*. Sometimes you would co-teach a course with someone from a different discipline. You could teach whatever you thought would be of interest and helpful. You would also teach at least three courses for your discipline. There you always had a certain leeway, but you always had to teach the introductory course, take turns teaching that.

**George Blumenthal:** Biologist Victor Rocha and I co-taught an Oakes College course on the origin of life. He taught the cellular origin of life: What is life? What does it look like on earth? What's the cellular basis of it? What's DNA? And I talked

about life from the standpoint of the universe: Where do the elements that compose our body come from? How did the earth come about? The second generation of stars produced the earth. We know it's the second generation because we have things like calcium and phosphorous and oxygen. Those weren't there in the original soup. So we are recycled stardust.

**Diane Lewis:** Herman had to fight for many of us. He never said it, but I think we were considered an experiment by other colleges. He protected us and fought for the college and for the concept. Because there were a lot of traditionalists; they were curricular traditionalists. They didn't like the idea of experimenting with new curricula and this whole idea of ethnic studies, or feminist studies. None of that, to them, was legitimate. So, it was a struggle. You're always fighting against the status quo and you're trying to establish something new, or something more equitable and fair.

Oakes was a very exciting place to be. You had time to do your research. You felt that what you were doing had meaning and purpose. You were working more or less with the kinds of students you would work with at a place like San Francisco State. These weren't the privileged students who were there because their parents wanted them there. They were there because they wanted to be, and they wanted to have a better life for themselves and their communities. I can't remember any big difficulties. I thought it was a privilege and an inspiration to be here.

**Jim Gill:** Most of my early teaching at Oakes was an attempt to teach introductory geology in a nontraditional way. I taught an Oakes discussion section of the board introductory course. Then I designed two introductory geology courses that covered half to two thirds of the same ground as the board's course, but covered them in a different way. One

of those I only taught once and then dropped. It was called *Volcanoes and Earthquakes*. It was an unabashedly geology course—nothing but geology—but it focused on those two phenomena which, of course, are quite common in California. I taught it as a small class, but out of that class of fifteen or so, three students ultimately became geology majors, and two are now two of the very small number of Chicano people in graduate school in California in geology.

There may not be a lot of jobs for black sociologists or Chicano historians, but there are millions of jobs in the sciences because there have been so few minority people. In my profession, I think I could count on two hands the number of PhD black and Hispanic practitioners in the US. So many places feel the need, if at no other level than the affirmative action office of their corporation.<sup>40</sup> But, by virtue of there being so few people in those fields, it also meant that those fields were not benefiting from a diversity of viewpoints.

**Dave Kliger, Professor:** Oakes wanted to get minority students involved in science. I figured, I can contribute to that. So, I asked to transfer from Kresge into Oakes. I didn't come in the first year of Oakes. It was probably the second or third year. There was a Science Center. It was set up so that you could teach labs and science classes there.

**Jim Gill:** I think those of us who have taught in the science program at Oakes would be disappointed if all we did was increase the number of black and Chicano doctors or engineers. It isn't enough just to have more people passing courses in physics or whatever it is; however, by virtue of doing that, one could change those disciplines and be more effective in bringing those disciplines to bear on minority communities. Obviously, there's a dearth of doctors in an inner city. We didn't

just want doctors, but doctors who would feel a sense of social responsibility.

**Roberto Crespi, Professor:** The usefulness of Oakes as an academic unit is to get this small number of students of color on this campus some decent professional training. Now, how can I be against that? If it's important to create black doctors and lawyers, then Oakes College is important. My criticism is that that's not *all* that's important. I'm not that happy with that as our success story. I don't want to destroy it. I think it is important that the health professions be open to underrepresented people in those professions. But I'm not an affirmative-action fool, to think that that changes the world we live in. Affirmative action is certainly no long-range objective of mine.

**George Blumenthal:** Crespi always wanted the more radical path. And he felt that at a certain point, Oakes College was selling out. Roberto Crespi thought, lived, breathed and everything—students. Roberto was committed to the concept of Oakes College, but probably committed in a slightly different way than the rest of us. For him, it was almost ideological. Ideology crept into his discussions and perceptions. Roberto and I disagreed a lot, but not in a mean and nasty way. I enjoyed my interactions with him, although I sometimes walked away from them completely puzzled because I sometimes felt like I didn't get it.

I think he cared more than anyone else. He was committed more than anyone else. He worked for students more than anyone else. He didn't just talk the talk; he walked the walk. I give him a lot of credit for that.

**Roberto Crespi:** I think the biggest function Oakes performs is a *social* one. Our students feel safer here, in the dorms and walking around, and

for that alone, I support Oakes College. If we had no academic program at all, I would support Oakes College. Some people point to it and say it's a sort of ghetto. We have no right to tell our one hundred black students to spread out among the eight colleges. They will quit in a week. Even at Oakes, they have a rough time.

Oakes has a function of socially supporting students who would be victimized by a non-supportive atmosphere at other colleges. I hope the university opens to more students, but obviously that's not going to happen without a fight. I support Oakes' *de facto* function right now of providing at least a *social* setting where students can feel supported.

**Elba Sánchez, Student:** Roberto Crespi was the only Latino teaching at UC Santa Cruz at that time who was real people, gente. Students could talk to Crespi. He had total understanding of what our situation was on campus as Latino students. He had been one of us. He was this lone Puerto Rican kid at Harvard, so you can imagine what his experience must have been. And he was a student much earlier than we were. I think that things must have been really tough for him. He was smart, really smart. And he was not afraid to fight. He was muy peleonero and muy mal hablado. Anybody who came near him he would start [makes yelling sounds]. And there was something about that, that I just thought, you know what? That's kind of what you have to do around here. I admired him and he really excited me intellectually. He's the first one that started talking about Marx and Lenin. He's the first one that had an analysis that made sense when talking about my Chicano/Mexicano community, and why the Latino community was where it was, and why they didn't want us to learn about ourselves.

**Evelyn Luluquisen:** I started off at Cowell. Cowell was very traditional Greek—although it didn't have sororities or fraternities. My advisor and teacher for Western Civ core course was trying to be more open to minorities, but he didn't know how—I mean, he tried. I felt out of place. I didn't have many friends at Cowell.

My next door neighbor was a young black man. He and I became very close friends. But he was not in my classes. He was a political science major and I was doing whatever I felt like doing. He was a middle-class black student from St. Louis, so he spoke—how should I say it—in an educated manner. I was a Filipina woman from Oakland. I was just speaking my regular street language and I thought, you know, this is the way you speak English. One time he said, “Girrrl, you blacker than me!” That's how I also learned about class differences.

I knew I felt out of place, so I wanted to go someplace different. Oakes College seemed to be a little more open. I thought I'd give it a try. I got in. I could have gone to Merrill, but I didn't like the dormitories at Merrill. I wanted something different. I found the classes more interesting. I took a class with lecturer Kathy Cowan, a class called *Literature of the Third World*. We read Artemio Cruz, Zora Neale Hurston, maybe even Toni Morrison. I thought, oh, this is what I like. Okay, I can do this.

We had a residential preceptor. The father, the husband, was a police officer for UC Santa Cruz. He was black, the wife was Korean. So I got to know her and she taught me how to make kimchi.

Herman Blake wanted to make a community that was mixed, multicultural, people of different backgrounds and social class. It was an experiment, and it worked because we all had to bump into each other. For students of color, Oakes was a safe haven. It was a place where we could be ourselves without being judged, like, “Oh, how

come you're acting like that? All you people just like loud music.”

**Gwen Lacy:** Many of our students don't feel comfortable on campus away from Oakes. A safe and accepting environment has not been provided at other places on campus. There have been hostile looks and cold treatment by both students and staff at other colleges and administrative units, though attempts are being made to change that, at least by some units.

**Evelyn Luluquisen:** Oakes College was a community. For students of color, it was a safe haven. It was a place where we could just be ourselves without being judged. There were few minority students at the time. All of the minority students, we'd look at each other and go (gasps) (surprised voice) “You're here, (deep breaths) you're here!”

**Dave Kliger:** I learned a lot from Herman. Herman was great. Herman could see the strain that was placed on a lot of faculty at Kresge and other places. So, he took faculty development very seriously. He didn't want to burn out faculty. He took student diversity very seriously and cared about making this a good experience for students. But he also cared about the faculty. He thought that it was important that all of the ethnic groups should understand each other and work together and appreciate each other's diversity. That often didn't happen.

**Herman Blake:** I ran into this situation where I came to realize how little I understood. I used to give an examination at the end of the course where I'd ask the students to write an essay about their own group—we talked about these different groups—and then from that carry that into a discussion of a very different group. Contrast and

compare. It was not that simplistic; what I really was trying to do was see if you could step into the shoes of another. And I got the papers. It was always a take-home exam. I never give sit-in classroom writing exams. A take-home exam—use all the books and notes you want to use—and if you have to turn to books and notes you're already lost.

At the end of this I got it back and this one young lady who had been sitting through the whole class wrote—because I always say, “Students are not required nor expected to agree with the views of the instructor”—she wrote and said, “Look, you don't know what you're talking about.” She didn't put it in those words. She said, “I've been sitting in your class all semester, and you say, ‘Write about your own group.’” And she told her story. Her grandmother was Chinese. And her grandmother had married a “white man.” From this marriage her mother was born. Her mother who was—we would have said, “half Chinese and half white,” whatever those things mean. And her mother had married a “white man.” And here she came, blonde, blue-eyed, but raised by her grandmother, speaking Chinese, cooking Chinese cuisine, and engaging in Chinese culture. She came to my college, as she put it, because she thought that was a place where she would be welcome. She found the Chinese students were uncomfortable with her and she with them, because she was more Chinese than they were—the Chinese Americans. She didn't fit. But she didn't fit amongst the European Americans because of her unique qualities. I'd looked at her and I had always thought she was white. That was my assumption in my lectures and all of this. She always had a furrow in her brow, indicating, “What is this about?” And she says, “I come to your college and it just doesn't work.”

Well, afterwards I called her in, thanked her, gave her a very good evaluation, appreciated the criticism and asked if I could use her story—not

with her name, but wanting to use her account. She said, fine. I incorporated that into the class. And in incorporating it into the class, I said, “I'm not going to make any assumptions about who you are. You tell me who you are. But I'll make no assumptions.” People would come to me and they say—this still happens now—they say, “Is he black or white?” I'd say, “I don't know.” “What do you mean, you don't know?” I said, “Well, I didn't ask and he didn't tell me.” “But can't you see?” “Oh yeah, I can see. But that's not what you asked me.” They say, “Is he black or white?” I say, “You're asking me about a cultural dynamic, which you think is symbolized by a physical presentation. I don't know.” Oh, people get mad at me. They think I'm unreal. All this stuff. But we did this at Oakes.

**Kathy Cowan, Lecturer:** The love that Herman gives so freely is undoubtedly the basis for all of Oakes. I watched him deal with students. He never, never turned them away with a sharp word or rebuke, even when they were intruding. He was very loving and calm and understanding. I think that Herman never forgets that for this student, this university is an alien environment. Now, I'm not saying that Herman doesn't get on students' cases where they're not following through on their work, etc. He's very severe, but lovingly so. I know a couple of students who assuredly would have flunked out if he hadn't taken them to task. And he says, “Look, what are you doing here? Do you expect to be given—” That's the one thing he does not want, he says to the faculty, “Don't make concessions. That's only hurting them.”

There was a teacher here—a black man—and he'd do things like looking up students who weren't showing up. He'd go over and get them out of their apartments, saying, “Why aren't you in class? Do you see how you're hurting yourself?” This is the kind of thing that a lot of the students

need, because they have a tremendous sense of insecurity. The insecurity is so great that it prevents them from succeeding because they have this feeling that they really shouldn't be there anyway. That's at the basis of the whole thing: how can one ever hope to succeed, so why bother? It's really hard to work with those students; it's so deeply rooted in their psyches. They need other minority faculty; they don't need a white person like me to tell them that, even though I did on some occasions. But why do they want to believe me? They can believe someone who is of the same color and same background. I think they very much appreciated what Oakes was. Very few of them ever left.

**Herman Blake:** We placed emphasis on learning students' names. And not only learning their names—learning their names the way they pronounce them. So many of our young people were used to getting into situations with Anglos who would say, "Why'd your mother name you after Jesus?" Well, it's Jesús. And I used to say, "Can you think of a better role model?" But some people thought that was sacrilegious, who were not from Latino culture. So, our staff, we argued, had to learn students' names; learn students' names the way they pronounced them. And it wasn't just the Latinos. It was anyone. Because so often people who had Greek names, they were used to shortening them and Anglicizing them. So, somebody would come and say, "My name is John Pappas." Well, you'd say, "Is it Pappas or Pappandros?" Well, it's really Pappandros and that's what they'd like, but to make it easier for everybody they say Pappas. "No, we'd say, Pappandros. That's your name; we'll call you by your name." That was an important part of creating the sense of community.

You take it a little bit further. We said everybody was a teacher, so you don't engage in small

talk just to pass time or whatever. Somebody comes in, and if they've got a textbook that shows they're studying German—this is among the staff, now—you ask them, "Well, how do you say this in German? How do you say that?" In other words, ask them some questions that would stimulate their learning, reinforce their learning.

**Ray Charland:** I'll never forget our first Oakes graduation. We had thirteen students. One of them was a grandmother, a young grandmother; she was about thirty-eight or something like that—but, that was quite a class. Dr. Ralph Guzmán gave the commencement address. It was such a small group. We met at Performing Arts in the little theater. Guzmán was speaking of some of the Third World programs that had come out of the sixties, and he said that a lot of them did an injustice to the students because they did not stress academic excellence. He said that anybody that passes a Third World student just because they are a Third World student is a racist. I don't know if those were exactly his words, but that's what he was saying. He said that Third World students had the right to expect that they were going to have the highest standards held up to them, too. And that nobody does anybody a favor by just passing them along. I resonated to that and appreciated his enunciating that clearly.

**Herman Blake:** We had a situation where our students planned the graduation, and white students, coming from their backgrounds, wanted to make it like a camp. You'd sit around and sing camp songs and play the guitar. And Latino students, particularly, came to me distraught because they spent all this time going to college and they're going to go to a camp ceremony?

We were able to bring the students together, and once the white students understood what this meant to those Latino and black students, they



---

Figure 14

Oakes College commencement, 1975

Photo by UCSC Photography Services

---



*mandated* caps and gowns. Got mad at one Latino professor because he showed up in a suit and didn't even sit up on the platform. He only did it one year that way. They did a lot of other kinds of things, including bilingual programs. And when these white parents began to say, "Well, this is America. Why aren't we doing this in English?" it was the white kids who were carrying the argument. That was the *community*.

**Diane Lewis:** The first graduating class for Oakes College had about twelve people in it. Each one was from a minority or working-class background. Most all were the first generations of their family to attend the university, and several were from farmworker families. As children, they worked in the fields. That first graduating class from Oakes—I've never forgotten it. It was so inspirational. Herman was right. You could bring about positive social change by working together across ethnic, cultural and class lines, because all of those people went out to do important things for their communities.

**Don Rothman:** The people I'm friendly with and feel close to at Oakes are committed very seriously to political and social change in the world. They don't see themselves as just scholars working on an abstract and theoretical level with important problems. Ultimately, they have accepted the responsibility for being in the world to try to improve it.

**Herman Blake:** We invited educator and civil rights activist Septima Clark to come and spend two different periods of time, of one month each, as a visitor in residence.<sup>41</sup> We paid her very generously. The assumption was that she would come and visit classes and talk with students, faculty, and others. And she did. But Septima's vision and her approach were so broad that she not only

visited, she started talking. She began to teach. She would say to the students, "Well, where are you on the Equal Rights Amendment? And where is your state? And what are you *doing* about the Equal Rights Amendment?" The students—some of them weren't doing anything, hadn't even thought about it. As they listened to her they would say, "She's been at this for fifty years. Fifty years. We spend a semester, or a year, trying to do something, and if it doesn't change, we give up and we go on to something else. She's been at it for fifty years."

**Don Rothman:** We're saying at Oakes that the responsibility of the university for educating its citizenry for the society is an essential responsibility and can't just be overlooked. Higher education cannot be just an opportunity to create technicians. We've got to make a commitment to creating people who will critically interact with the issues of their time, have some sense of history, have some sense of the importance of negotiating and compromising and working with each other through difficult problems. I know of no other institutions in society that are attempting to do this. So, we have to do it. We are committed to struggling because most of us don't want to be part of an institution that perpetuated an anti-human technical attitude towards education and passivity in terms of being a citizen.

**Herman Blake:** Oakes College did not fit any mold of the other colleges, in terms of the students we recruited. We weren't the only college recruiting low-wealth and minority students, but the other colleges in no way attracted them like we did. We weren't, in my opinion, just repeating a Cowell College model: have a provost house, have a library, *a* core course, and all of that. I saw this as very, very different. We didn't have a library. We had a science center, a science program, and we



---

Figure 15

Septima Poinsette Clark, educator and civil rights activist, with Oakes College students, 1972

Photo by UCSC Photography Services

---

were trying to build rapport and relations between groups which had a history of some very difficult problems and challenges, even here in California.

I had parents come to me and say, “I went to a historically black college, and this is as close to it as I’ve ever seen outside of that environment.” I understand that. The community we were building among faculty was an important part of that. I felt it was going to take a good seven years to begin to really institutionalize processes and values. By values, I’m really talking about almost a gestalt, a collective consciousness which goes deeper than simply a set of shibboleths on the page.

**Don Rothman:** Oakes is a place where people have accepted struggle and there’s never been any complacency. While that’s difficult and we often feel beleaguered, our struggling opens us up, sensitizes us to the very real struggles of other people in the world, and to many of our students as well.

**Herman Blake:** When we built Oakes College, we planted seven hundred daffodil bulbs. I did that because I knew the winters in Santa Cruz, the rain. Come springtime, the students had cabin fever and they wanted to get out. I wanted those flowers to blossom in a way that gave another vision, a view of the world.

We had that meadow and the overview of the bay. Students wanted the bay view, so they put the academic building and the faculty offices up towards the woody side. And the students had the view in these apartments, with the laundry place in between, and the patios where they could gather and barbecue and do other kinds of things. We’d have gatherings on Friday evenings. The students would sit there and watch the sunset and applaud God: “Yay God! God!”

**Don Rothman:** The issues that we have rallied around at Oakes are the issues on which our survival depends.

**Herman Blake:** I always said to the students, “When you get to the table and you know that you’re a full part of the process, the institution, where you’ve been denied in the past, don’t just feel good about having succeeded. Think about who’s not there. Always ask yourself the question, ‘Who’s not here?’”




---

Figure 16

Don Rothman, 1980

Photo by Carol Foote

---

## Endnotes

1. Aretha Franklin, 1967. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=k6YCxXQ6Scw>.
2. In April 1974, Leon Panetta, then an attorney in Monterey, represented a group of Chicano faculty, staff, and students in an anti-discrimination complaint against UCSC. See: “Concilio de Asuntos Chicanos v. Regents of the University of California, et al, U.S. District Court Civil Action No. C-72-1928-SC.” (available in UCSC Library Special Collections). The case requested that the campus, “develop an Affirmative Action Plan on behalf of Chicanos in the academic and non-academic job categories as well as with regard to present and prospective Chicano students at the University of California.” According to the brief: “In early 1967, the University of California at Santa Cruz initiated its first Educational Opportunity Program aimed at attracting minority students to the campus. But in the 1971-72 school year, some five years later, of a total undergraduate enrollment of 4,094 students, only 176 were Chicano or 4.2 percent, compared to a Chicano student population of 30 percent in the nine counties surrounding UCSC and a 16 percent statewide Chicano student population in California. With regards to faculty ... of a total of about 350, only 7 are Chicano, or approximately 2 percent. Virtually all of the Chicano staff is located in lower management and unskilled areas.”
3. In 1969, Chicano students held a nationwide conference at UC Santa Barbara. The name Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlán was adopted by the conference attendees as a way to unify multiple campus-based groups. Aztlán is the name of the (possibly mythical) ancestral place of origin of the Aztec peoples, perhaps in what is now northern Mexico or the southwestern US; the word comes from Nahuatl roots meaning “place of the heron.” MEChA chapters took root on California college campuses and then expanded to high schools and schools in other states. It soon became one of the primary Mexican American activist organizations, advocating for Chicano and other ethnic studies programs across academia.
4. See the website about Eduardo Carrillo’s work at Museo Eduardo Carrillo, <https://museoeduardocarrillo.org/>, which includes a documentary film about Carrillo entitled *Eduardo Carrillo: A Life of Engagement*, the description for which states: “Carrillo performed a role that so many first-generation Californians play: of translator, storyteller and holder of culture. Though he came of age when the Chicano movement reached its peak, his artistic response to the struggle was not rage but the reverse, a reverence for his Latino roots, a joy in the practice of his art and music, and a respect for the life force within everything.” There is also a video of the memorial event held for Carrillo at UCSC in 1997.
5. President John F. Kennedy was assassinated on November 22, 1963.
6. The Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., was assassinated on April 4, 1968. Senator Robert F. Kennedy was assassinated June 6, 1968.
7. Robert F. Kennedy was attorney general from January 1961 to September 1964 and US Senator from January 1965 until his assassination in June 1968.
8. Merrill was founded in 1968 as the fourth college. Merrill College devotes a substantial portion of its current website to documenting its history: “From its early years, Merrill was a stimulating interdisciplinary environment with young faculty from widely diverse areas like history, sociology, literature, politics, anthropology and economics. The founding faculty were keen that the college should focus on the ‘Third World,’ in the sense ‘of newly emergent and re-emergent civilizations and cultures, especially those of hitherto oppressed, neglected, or under-privileged groups.’” These same founders declared likewise in the 1969-70 *Merrill College Working Handbook* that “the poverty of two thirds of the world’s people will be a primary concern of Merrill College. We will be equally concerned with related problems our society shares with the world: prejudice, alienation, and mismanagement of power, environment, and human rights.” <https://merrill.ucsc.edu/about/merrill-history.html>. Also see: UA104: the Merrill College Records archive available in Special Collections: <http://www.oac.cdlib.org/findaid/ark:/13030/c8wq094b/?query=Merrill+College+Records>.
9. The Merrill College Field Study program was the first such program at UC Santa Cruz. It cultivated global citizens by working with students to create internships and fieldwork that aligned with the students’ unique interests. Directed by Nick Royal, the program endured for twenty-five years, but was cut during the budget crisis of the early 1990s. The Merrill Field study program was resurrected in 2014, thanks to contributions from Merrill alumni and other sources.
10. Named provost of “College Four” (Merrill College) in September 1967, Bell officially assumed leadership of the college the following February. A month into Bell’s tenure, the Charles E. Merrill Trust donated \$650,000 toward the construction of the college. Bell died in 2007.

11. Now more than fifty years old, Teatro Campesino is an internationally celebrated theatrical production company. According to Teatro Campesino's website: "El Teatro Campesino and its founder and artistic director, Luis Valdez, have set the standard for Latino theatrical production in the United States. Founded in 1965 on the Delano Grape Strike picket lines of Cesar Chavez's United Farmworkers Union, the company created and performed 'actos' or short skits on flatbed trucks and in union halls, taking the 'actos' on tour to dramatize the plight and cause of the farmworkers. In 1971, the company moved to San Juan Bautista, a rural town of 1,600 people located on the periphery of the major metropolitan centers of Northern California." See: <http://elteatrocampesino.com/our-history/>.

12. Malaquíás Montoya (b. 1938) founded an art collective called the Mexican-American Liberation Art Front while he was at UC Berkeley in 1968; he became a very influential muralist.

13. Originally called the Rebel Chicano Art Front, the Royal Chicano Air Force (RCAF) was founded in 1970 in Sacramento, California, by José Montoya (1932-2013)—the brother of muralist Malaquíás—and Esteba Villa, and became one of the most influential art collectives in the Chicano art movement in California in the 1970s and 1980s; its influence continues today. Montoya died in 2013.

14. Grupo Folklórico Los Mejicas de la Universidad de California en Santa Cruz, established in 1972 at Merrill College, is one of the campus's oldest student organizations.

15. Ritchie Valens (1941-1959), born Richard Steven Valenzuela, was a Mexican American singer, songwriter, and guitarist and a founder of the Chicano Rock and Roll movement. His hit song "La Bamba" was groundbreaking because it was sung entirely in Spanish and fused traditional Latin American music with rock.

16. José María De León Hernández (b. 1940), known professionally as Little Joe, melded the traditional Tex-Mex style of norteño with influences of country music, blues, and rock to create the hybrid known as Tejano music. See: <https://www.allmusic.com/artist/little-joe-mn0000261573/biography>.

17. Tower of Power is an R&B-based horn section and band; it began in Oakland, California, and has been performing since 1968.

18. People's Alternative Dwellings (PAD) was founded at Merrill College in 1979 as the first official housing coop in UCSC dorms.

19. Katia Panas was a longtime psychological counselor who worked at several different UCSC colleges.

20. Apartheid (from the Afrikaans for 'apartness'), introduced in South Africa in 1948, was the ideology supported by the country's National Party (NP) government, calling for the separate development of the different racial groups. In the 1960s, the international anti-apartheid movement began pressuring corporations that had invested in South Africa to divest from their holdings. In the 1980s, this movement was very active on college campuses, partially because many universities, including the University of California, had invested in South Africa. Ultimately, the movement did help bring an end to South Africa's apartheid system.

21. When he was a graduate student at UC Berkeley in 1963, J. Herman Blake and his professor John Leggett conducted an interview with Malcolm X. The interview is available for listening at the UCSC Library or online at: <https://www.c-span.org/video/?318826-1/reel-america-1963-interview-malcolm-x>.

22. "Black is Beautiful" was one of the slogans of the Black Power Movement. The point was to disrupt the racist notion that African American physical features are inherently ugly and that black people should straighten their hair and use creams to lighten their skin. The phrase itself was invented in 1858 by John Rock, an African-American abolitionist who was the first black person to be admitted to the bar of the Supreme Court of the United States.

23. The Molly Maguires was a secret political protest group that emerged in Ireland in the 18th and 19th centuries to fight the fencing and enclosure of land by the upper-class landlords. The movement spread to Pennsylvania, where the Molly Maguires fought exploitation of coal miners by mining companies.

24. While Herman Blake has always acknowledged Guzmán's key role in co-founding Oakes College, and does so in his oral history, at some point there was a falling out between the two men and Guzmán left Oakes. Blake did not choose to reflect on this in his oral history.

25. UC Santa Cruz's seventh college, eventually named Oakes, opened in 1972. Plans for the college began in 1966. Its thematic focus was to be on urban issues. In 1968, the Santa Cruz Black Liberation Front asked the administration to make College 7 a black college, with black students, faculty, and administrators, and to name it Malcolm X College.

26. Dilip Basu came to UCSC in 1971 as a faculty member in the history board. Initially named a fellow of Stevenson

College, Basu joined Herman Blake in the founding of Oakes College in 1972. Basu died in 2016. See his obituary at: <https://news.ucsc.edu/2016/03/basu-in-memori.html>.

27. See William T. Doyle, *UC Santa Cruz: 1960-1991 Campus Origin, and Early Program and Facility Development in the Sciences, with Special Emphasis on Marine Sciences* (Lulu.com: 2011), 62.

28. Fictitious Jack Armstrong, “the All-American Boy,” was created by General Mills as an advertising trope; it became popular as the basis of a radio serial. Cartoon-like visual representations of the character depicted a tall, square-jawed WASP male.

29. Ralph Guzmán came to UCSC in 1969 as a politics professor. Born in Mexico, Guzmán immigrated with his parents to the United States, where he worked in the fields. He studied political science at Cal State, Los Angeles, became active in the early Chicano movement in Los Angeles, and then served in the Peace Corps in Venezuela and Peru. Guzmán returned to Los Angeles, where he became one of the few Chicano graduate students (and first to receive a PhD in political science) at UCLA. Guzmán co-founded Oakes College with Herman Blake and later (1982-1984) served as provost of Merrill College. He served as Deputy Assistant Secretary of State of Latin America in the Carter Administration. Guzmán died in 1985 of a stroke, at age 60. See his obituary, written by UCSC Professor David Sweet, at: <http://texts.cdlib.org/view?docId=hb967nb5k3;NAAN=13030&doc.view=frames&chunk.id=div00025&toc.depth=1&toc.id=&brand=calisphere>.

30. See William T. Doyle, 62.

31. See William T. Doyle, 62.

32. College Five was named Porter College in 1981 after the local Porter-Sesnon family gave UCSC a donation of seventy acres of Porter-Sesnon land. See: <https://porter.ucsc.edu/about/about-porter-college-name.html>.

33. Mary Joan Rodriguez worked as records assistant at Oakes College for nineteen years and loved mentoring students, whom she called her “babies.” A third-generation Santa Cruzan, Rodriguez told colorful stories about events in Santa Cruz in days gone by.

34. In the early days of the campus, the apartment complex near the west entrance was known as Married Student Housing. By 1977 it had been renamed Student Apartments; in the 1980s it became known as Family Student Housing.

35. Huey J. Newton with J. Herman Blake, *Revolutionary Suicide* (Random House, 1973; republished in 1995 with introduction by Blake).

36. Pioneering feminist anthropologist Nancy Tanner came to UCSC in 1969. Her research, writing, and teaching focused on three areas: dispute and conflict resolution, human communication, and sex and gender. Tanner died in 1989. The UCSC Library has a small collection of her work. See: <http://pdf.oac.cdlib.org/pdf/ucsc/spcoll/ms75.pdf>.

37. Paolo Freire’s book *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, first published in 1968, advocates (among other ideas) for a radical revisioning of education that encourages the co-creation of knowledge by teacher and student, rather than a “bank account” approach to education in which students are considered empty coffers to be filled with information by the teacher.

38. Hallinan is referring to the Core Course sections that, in addition to working with the course lectures and readings, focused on helping first-quarter students who hadn’t yet passed the Subject A (UC-wide university-level writing proficiency) exam to improve their writing skills to the point where they could pass.

39. Charles J. Hanley, Sang-hun Choe and Martha Mendoza, *The Bridge at No Gun Ri* (Henry Holt and Company, 2001), about the killing of South Korean civilians by the US Military in 1950. It won the Pulitzer Prize for investigative journalism. Today Mendoza is an Associated Press journalist whose reports have prompted Congressional hearings, Pentagon investigations and White House responses. Her investigation into slavery in the Thai seafood sector led to the freedom of more than 2000 men and won a 2016 Pulitzer Prize.

40. “‘Affirmative action’ refers to both mandatory and voluntary programs intended to affirm the civil rights of designated classes of individuals by taking positive action to protect them from, in the words of Justice William J. Brennan Jr., ‘the lingering effects of pervasive discrimination’ (Local 28 of the Sheet Metal Workers’ Int’l Assoc. v. EEOC, 478 US 421, 106 S. Ct. 3019, 92 L. Ed. 2d 344 [1986]):” <https://legal-dictionary.thefreedictionary.com/affirmative+action>.

41. Septima Poinsette Clark (1898-1987) was a teacher and civil rights activist whose citizenship schools helped enfranchise and empower African Americans. One of the places Clark taught was Tennessee’s Highlander Folk School, an institution that supported racial integration and the Civil Rights Movement. Rosa Parks attended one of her workshops in 1955. See Leslie López, “An Interview with

Herman Blake: Understanding Education for Justice,” in the Herman Blake oral history at <https://escholarship.org/uc/item/4m01p3bz>. López writes, “This interview not only helps illuminate the history of UC Santa Cruz as a politically engaged campus with a tradition of extended undergraduate field study, but also connects the campus, and particularly Oakes College, with a larger history of grassroots education in transformational politics in the US.”

## Illustrations

Figure 1. Eduardo Carrillo with students painting class mural, Applied Sciences Building, 1974. Courtesy Special Collections, University Library, University of California, Santa Cruz. UA50: UCSC Photography Services: ua0050\_neg\_sc4648b\_27.tif.

Figure 2. Grupo Folklórico Los Mejicas backstage. Courtesy Special Collections, University Library, University of California, Santa Cruz. UA 128: Public Information Office Records: ua128\_021\_0011.

Figure 3. Grupo Folklórico Los Mejicas dancing. Courtesy Special Collections, University Library, University of California, Santa Cruz. UA 128: Public Information Office Records: UA128: ua128\_021\_0010.

Figure 4. Nick Royal, Merrill College Field Study Program coordinator, 1986. Photo by Shmuel Thaler. Courtesy Special Collections, University Library, University of California, Santa Cruz. UA50: UCSC Photography Services: ua0050\_neg\_0275-4045d\_10.tif.

Figure 5. Noel King, professor of history and comparative religion, teaching a class at Merrill College, 1977. Courtesy Special Collections, University Library, University of California, Santa Cruz. UA50: UCSC Photography Services: ua0050\_neg\_sc6631n\_24.tif

Figure 6. Merrill College students and families, early 1970s. Courtesy Special Collections, University Library, University of California, Santa Cruz. UA50: UCSC Photography Services: ua0050\_neg\_sc4876d\_09.tif

Figure 7. Martin Luther King, Jr., Memorial Convocation (1968): Richard Townsend (student at Stevenson College), Herman Blake, Reverend Howard Thurman. Courtesy Special Collections, University Library, University of California, Santa Cruz. UA50: UCSC Photography Services: ua0050\_neg\_04918\_04.tif.

Figure 8. Program for memorial after Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. was assassinated, April 3, 1968. Courtesy Special

Collections, University Library, University of California, Santa Cruz. UA 70: UCSC Ephemera Collection: ua070\_0111\_01 and ua070\_0111\_02.

Figure 9. Cover of *Welcome to Oakes College* booklet cover. Circa mid-1970s. Courtesy Special Collections, University Library, University of California, Santa Cruz. UA 70: UCSC Ephemera Collection: ua070-0061.

Figure 10. Participation share in fundraising appeal for Malcolm X College (later Oakes College). 1969. Courtesy Special Collections, University Library, University of California, Santa Cruz. UA 70: UCSC Ephemera Collection: ua070-0008.

Figure 11. Chancellor McHenry addressing a crowd about naming a college for Malcolm X, 1969. Courtesy Special Collections, University Library, University of California, Santa Cruz. UA 50: UCSC Photography Services: ua0050\_neg\_06072\_06.tif.

Figure 12. William Doyle, 1981. Photo by Carol Foote. Courtesy Special Collections, University Library, University of California, Santa Cruz. MS 259: Carol Foote photographs of the University of California, Santa Cruz: ms0259\_neg\_bk7\_82\_24\_23.tif.

Figure 13. Huey Newton receiving his PhD in history of consciousness: hooding ceremony, 1980. Courtesy Special Collections, University Library, University of California, Santa Cruz. MS259: Carol Foote photographs of the University of California, Santa Cruz: ms0259\_neg\_bk5\_80\_93\_33.tif.

Figure 14. Oakes College Commencement, 1975. Courtesy Special Collections, University Library, University of California, Santa Cruz. UA 50: UCSC Photography Services: ua0050\_neg\_sc4876d\_25.tif.

Figure 15. Septima Poinsette Clark, educator and civil rights activist, with Oakes College students, 1972. Courtesy Special Collections, University Library, University of California, Santa Cruz. UA50: UCSC Photography Services: ua0050\_neg\_sc2261b\_03.

Figure 16. Don Rothman, 1980. Photo by Carol Foote. Courtesy Special Collections, University Library, University of California, Santa Cruz. MS259: Carol Foote photographs of the University of California, Santa Cruz: ms0259\_neg\_bk5\_80\_55\_e.

## Chapter 12

# “A Male Academic Locker Room”

*I encountered all kinds of misogyny; the anger was often very deep. When I used to go to the all-university meetings, people would ask me to get them coffee. I would make jokes, but it got to you. It was very much of a men's club.*

—Helene Moglen

**Ronnie Gruhn:** In the early days, it was a very homogeneous campus. Most of the students were white. They were upper middle class in terms of income. And it was an essentially male institution. There were very few women strewn around the faculty. Some were more senior, like Jean Langenheim. They lived up there in their own universe of being more advanced. And then, there were a few stray assistant-professor women strewn about. Some of them were told they weren't going to get tenure and they left, and they probably wouldn't have gotten tenure. A few of us stayed.

**Page Smith:** We talked a great deal about trying to get a large proportion of women on the faculty. The problem in those early days, in recruiting women, was that women scholars were—except for the ones that had emerged as people with reputations—almost nonexistent. If somebody had the time, it would be interesting to look at all the letters of application that came into the college from prospective faculty. I can't remember

any, *any* from women. And I *think* I would have, since I was committed to the notion of having women well represented on the faculty. I even had this fantasy that I would have a faculty of *nothing* but women presided over by me. That was never anything more than a fantasy.

**Hal Hyde:** Dean McHenry's attitude was pro hiring women faculty and he encouraged Mary Holmes at Cowell. There were very, very few women in the initial appointments. There wasn't a big pool out there.

**Patricia Dorsey Bassett:** The 1965-1975 Academic Plan for UCSC specifically recognized 'a special need for women faculty members,' and suggested tapping a 'large reservoir of trained and partially trained women scholars whose roles as wife and mother have become less demanding and who could be persuaded to return to part or full-time teaching.'<sup>1</sup>





---

Figure 1

Faculty meeting,  
1960s

Photo by Ron Ruby

---

**Angie Christmann:** Mary Holmes was the primary woman faculty member in the early days of Cowell. She was an art history teacher. I really resonated with how she expressed herself, how she was interested in visual arts. She wasn't afraid to take a role in the Greek Culture Break. She was the seer. She'd tell fortunes, basically. She was always game for things.

**Michael Cowan:** Dean McHenry and Page Smith both claimed, and I think they were both sincere about this, that they very much wanted to hire women at the outset. The use of networks rather than open searches inhibited that. If you're looking for people at Harvard, and Yale, and Princeton, you're not going to find any women.

**Hayden White:** These guys were really very conservative people, many of whom, though, had disdain for bourgeois, commercial, consumerist culture. They wanted something that represented quality, and quality for them meant the Ivy League-Oxford-Cambridge English gentleman, the guy who's a physicist in the day and plays the cello in his quartet in the evening and then writes his novel on the weekends.

**Ronnie Gruhn:** There was the idea that Stevenson was this male bastion, that it was the worst college in the system. It was this male-dominated bastion. Well, yes and no. There was Glenn Willson, who was very staid. But part of it had to do with the time frame when people were hired. It was a lot easier later, with the newer colleges, to hire fifty-fifty faculty, in terms of gender. Stevenson would have had to get rid of half of its faculty to become fifty-fifty. It wasn't that the male faculty in Stevenson were any more sexist than the male faculty in other colleges.

When the boys in Stevenson played poker on Tuesday night they certainly didn't invite me, but

then I don't play poker anyway. They were chaps getting together. Sometimes at parties, some fairly eminent faculty members and people in administration would have a few drinks. I remember one person who was an administrator, who said to somebody at a party, and I overheard it—he said, “Well, I know we have to have these women, but in any event, they're all lesbians.” Now, there's nothing wrong with somebody being a lesbian, but it just simply wasn't true.

**Alan Sable:** I wasn't part of the “behind-the-scenes machinations” that go on in the faculty. I was excluded from that, I think partly because of being gay. Even my straight faculty colleagues and friends were somewhat distant from me, more distant than they might be with a straight colleague, because I didn't have a wife, and have them and their wives over for dinner, and so forth. It was largely men who were married who had the power in the university at that time: straight men. There were a few junior faculty who were women. Actually, most of the people I was closest to on the faculty were women, but they had very little power because they didn't have tenure yet either. So that was a kind of handicap. I wasn't one of “the boys,” as I might have been if I had been a straight man.

**Tilly Shaw:** For quite a while, I got my companionship from women students. There were some faculty wives who were very important to me. And, of course, there were a lot of very wonderful individuals in that group.

**Dean McHenry:** I don't know of a good program in the country where a definite attempt is made to keep a spouse, a wife of a graduate student, especially one with small children, up intellectually, so that she can do the job she'll have to do someday as a faculty wife. So many of the girls who marry



---

Figure 2

Tilly Shaw, 1978

Photo by UCSC Photography  
Services

---

have so little money and their husbands are so busy, they degenerate very promptly to conversation topics so elegant as “What’s on special at the A & P this week?” or “Wasn’t that funny about Dean Martin on TV last night?” And yet, these girls often are brighter than their husbands, about 50 percent of the time, I’d judge. It’s a shame to see them go to seed and stop reading, stop thinking.

And also, they need things to do with their husbands. The husband is, for example, a scientist, as often would be the case at Santa Cruz, and the wife majored someplace in the humanities. The two of them have a built-in gap of the two cultures anyway, and how to overcome this is a very difficult problem. My hope is that we could have a very lively Extension course, a program on recent American novels, or something of the kind involving especially active participation of the graduate student wives, and the children properly cared for, but *always* arranged so that the husband and wife enrolled and took the work together and read the novels together and participated in the discussion, rather than one babysitting and the other doing it. If we could work out something of this format, I think it would be a noble experiment.

**Jean Rose:** Well the wives have to do something. A lot of wives wanted to teach because they felt left out. It was an isolated place. Up on campus, there was nothing much to do. I invented a course where we did watercolors and I set certain subjects. One of them was tide findings because we lived by the sea. And they could go out and look amongst the tide findings—bits of seaweed, shells, different things—bring them back, make a still life out of them and paint them. And from that, we began to do etchings. Aquatint was the great thing, which is a sort of tonal etching development. And this was very exciting for the students and for me.

**Kathie Olsen:** Here’s an interesting issue about the history of women at UC Santa Cruz: because of the particular and special function of the colleges as social institutions for each group who was at that college, there was a lot of socializing going on at the provosts’ houses. And it was absolutely assumed and taken for granted that it had to be a male provost, and he had to have a wife who was good at organizing social events. I mean, that was just part of the protocol. Somebody got a divorce. He had to leave the provostship because he had to have a wife there to take care of managing the provost’s house.

**William Rose:** My father [Jasper Rose] used to have Shakespeare readings in the house, which was fun. He used that house to entertain. He got my mother to do a lot of entertaining too, probably more than she should have had to do. They both threw themselves into the role of being provost and provost’s wife at the social level. They both wanted to make it dynamic. It was unpaid, really, that aspect. They had lots and lots of parties for everyone. My mother used to cook huge meals. She’d cook a chicken curry or something for 150 people, and she’d have a couple of students help her. They’d have all the stoves going, huge buckets of the stuff, at very good quality. It was quite impressive.

**Jean Rose:** Eloise Pickard Smith was quite a grand lady for me to succeed. I think I receded a great deal to begin with. I didn’t know quite how to manage what she had done. After a bit, I pulled myself together and tried very hard to be a good provost’s wife.

**Glenn Willson:** The provosts’ houses were an important element. The house gave you a base from which you could, if you so chose, launch a campaign of hospitality to bring in both faculty

and students. My wife and I started by trying to invite, every week, a group of students to come and drink and talk for three quarters of an hour. We called them “At Homes.” You have to enjoy it. And you have also to have a partner who is happy to do it. My wife was very happy to do it and much better at it than I was. So, we had a good team.

**William Rose:** They used to do a cocktail hour for the faculty on Friday nights, and, of course, they weren’t given money for the drinks. So they spent out of my father’s own salary. Some of the faculty were a bit snooty about the bourbon: “Well, I don’t think much of this bourbon. Why can’t you get good quality?”

**Jean Rose:** Yes, literature professor George Amis said, “This is not good enough. I’ll come with you to the store and help you choose what we should have.” So, this is what I did. I always provided lots of whiskey and bourbon. They loved it. On Friday, they’d come in and have a nice drink and talk to each other.

**Phyllis Norris:** Dean McHenry was an amazing man but Jane McHenry was an amazing woman. I think that they made the most wonderful team. Jane isn’t given credit, except from maybe people that knew her well. She was very much her own person, with her own warmth, and I guess, as much as anything, the stability. I don’t know that Dean was a dreamer, but as chancellor he was involved in raising money and lots of things of that sort, and Jane was always there, backing him up.

**Jean Rose:** I didn’t have any time for painting, which is my main interest in life. I had no time at all for painting. I didn’t paint until I left campus, and then I had to start again. That was

quite difficult, to sort of begin again, you know? I did spend a lot of time with the entertaining and buying food and all that sort of thing, and cooking.

**Ronnie Gruhn:** One of the things that people started recognizing in the seventies was you got to do something about women. So eventually more women got hired. Eventually some ethnic minority women got hired.

**Tilly Shaw:** There came pressure on faculty hiring: to hire more women and also more people of color. McHenry was pretty gauche about that. He said that we wanted to have fifty-fifty but there weren’t enough qualified candidates. So people became more sophisticated about how to find candidates.

There were very few women faculty. I hunted up a few; there were two at Cowell. And then there was me. There was Mary Holmes, who was a lecturer all the way through. And then in music, Julia Zaustinsky. That was it. Audrey Stanley came a little later and started out in Stevenson. And eventually Ronnie Gruhn, in Stevenson. And Sigrid McLaughlin, who was in Russian, who didn’t stay very long; Carolyn Elliot, who left to head the Center for Research on Women at Wellesley.

**Hal Hyde:** Then there was a shift in the world. And I’ve known a few old bears in the woods who thought things should not change—at Cal Berkeley, particularly. But as far as I was concerned, let’s grab hold and go on, even if I didn’t understand it completely. But I was kind of on the fringe when this shift happened. My assistant was Elizabeth Penaat, who later became vice chancellor of UCSC. She was very knowledgeable in this issue and shared with me some of her experiences with chauvinistic administrators at systemwide.



---

Figure 3

Elizabeth Penaat, Vice Chancellor  
for Operations and Employee  
Affairs, 1980

Photo by UCSC Photography  
Services

---

**George Blumenthal:** Soon after astronomy professor Sandra Faber arrived as a new assistant professor, she got pregnant.<sup>2</sup> She told me that she went to see Bob Kraft because he was then the acting director of the observatory, and I think probably also department chair, and told him that she was pregnant. I don't think there were maternity leave policies in those days. She said Bob said to her, "Look, Sandy. Do what you need to do. Stay home. Take care of your kid. Do whatever you think is right and do whatever you need. And I will support you." What more could you ask? It was unqualified support.

**Carolyn Martin Shaw:** I got the job offer at UCSC, and it was \$9,900 for the year, which I thought was great. Rich Randolph, who was chair of anthropology at the time, said, "You're supposed to bargain." It is common for women to not negotiate, to feel, "Oh, I'm lucky to have a job offer." So here you are. You're an academic; you're doing something that you like and you're getting paid for it. From that point on, I did try to tell my students to *think* about negotiation, at any rate—even if it doesn't raise the salary, to think about what kinds of things that you might need, and what kinds of leave time that you might need, to be able to be there. Men were more likely to be negotiating and more likely to want more money. And they were more likely to be *offered* more money.

**Helene Moglen:** I think as a woman dean, there is no way that I was not treated more harshly, more unforgivingly. I encountered all kinds of misogyny; the anger about me was often very deep. And this came from men, as well as women. I was the first female dean in the UC system and I think I may have been the first female administrator in the UC system. When I used to go to the all-university meetings, people would ask me to get them

coffee. I would make jokes, but it got to you. It was very much of a men's club.

The few women who were tenured here were scattered all over the campus. My support structure was largely the senior men whom I hired. As women came gradually, I did have more and more of a support system, but not at the beginning. There were very few feminists. There were very few women on the campus. I had the first meeting of tenured women at UCSC. There were twenty of us. I had them to the provost house at Kresge. And that means associate and full professors. It was the first time they had ever been in a room together and had ever identified themselves as the tenured women at UCSC. So when I keep saying "the guys" it's not just my paranoia. There really were very few women.

**Tilly Shaw:** I always had a craving for more contact with women. But I was shut into a male academic locker room listening to conversation between males about women. In literature, it was all about men—their relations to each other, patricide, fratricide. I'm hungry for coming-of-age-stories about women—women as subject, their location in the world, not always women as objects. Later, I went through a period when the entire junior rank in literature was women and the entire senior rank was men, except for me. Most of the women ended up not getting tenure and there were various degrees of bitterness about it. This was kind of traumatic. I felt a certain pressure from the times to overdefend the women. I wasn't comfortable expressing my own mixture of feelings. I've now recovered, but that was an alienated time for me, the underside of some really good things that happened.

**Catherine Howells, Student:** The worst hindrance is being a single girl applying to graduate school. I think for the master's degree not, but for a PhD, in

many respects, the scholarships and things they’d rather give to boys because they’re sure that they’re going to go through with it. There’s still the idea in many admissions boards that girls sometimes will not go through. This is changing, of course, but it is a bit of a deterrent.

**Ruth Solomon:** The very surprising thing was that the hardest people to get support from, and the people I ran up against with the most difficulty, were the women faculty. But I understood it. I could really understand it, because they were women that came up through the university and had fought their way, either to head up a department, or hold an administrative position. Believe me, there weren’t many. There were just two or three who had any influence on campus when I arrived. It was barren, as far as women were concerned.

But those women acted as roadblocks. They did not want another woman, especially somebody who didn’t come up through the university, who didn’t have the right credentials, so to speak, to make it here. That was really hard. I was shocked by it. I was shocked by it because I had come from an environment in which women were the force, in modern dance.

The lack of support from women who had come through the traditional mode of getting into the university and into their position of power surprised me, but it was not a time of women helping women. Here at UCSC, there were almost no women to speak of, and those that were here were so protective of their position, feeling that they were so special, they weren’t willing to allow any infiltration into that little sphere.

**Tilly Shaw:** I remember, also, getting really crazily angry for a stretch of time. That was rather hard. I was suddenly picking up on a whole series of male signals that I had lived fairly obliviously

with for a long time. I remember having conversations with certain particularly obtuse men. I would offer to explain what the situation was like for me as a woman. Every time I would start to say something, I’d get rebutted. They weren’t able to hear me out. It wasn’t even ideas about men and women so much. It was ideas about the academy. I didn’t know where to turn. Men were often poor listeners, incurious, whereas I grew righteous, having had to devote so much of my life to male literature.

So it was wonderful when the women’s movement happened, to see more women in the public domain, and watch how they handled all sorts of things, and what they had to say. Lots of books became available. Suddenly the world was full of information about women’s lives. There were very fine papers on the generic *he* (which I stopped using). There were regular research presentations, interest in women’s theater and women’s poetry readings. Courses started coming into the curriculum. I think of it all as simultaneous with the development of affirmative action.

We were beginning to be concerned about equity, equity within our own system and then in the larger University of California. We were sort of publicly aware, like Barbara Walters, of trying to push against the glass ceiling, Harry Reasoner not wanting to work with Barbara Walters—all these problems that women faced.<sup>3</sup> All of this was in the air.



## Endnotes

1. Bassett, 5.
2. University Professor of Astronomy and Astrophysics  
Sandra Faber is an award-winning observational astronomer with research interests in cosmology and galaxy formation. Faber came to UCSC in 1972. Her contributions to the field have garnered numerous prestigious accolades both internationally and in the US, including the National Medal of Science in 2012. For the UCSC Library's Sandra Faber Papers see: UA 35: <http://pdf.oac.cdlib.org/pdf/ucsc/uarc/ua35.pdf>.
3. Barbara Walters (b. 1929) became the first female co-anchor of a network evening news program. She worked with Harry Reasoner on ABC's flagship program, the ABC Evening News—though it was widely believed that Reasoner had not wanted to work with Walters because she was a woman.

## Illustrations

Figure 1. Faculty Meeting, 1960s. Photo by Ron Ruby. Courtesy Special Collections, University Library, University of California, Santa Cruz. UA 128: Public Information Office Records: ua0128\_pho\_cs-rr\_12.tif.

Figure 2. Tilly Shaw, 1978. Courtesy Special Collections, University Library, University of California, Santa Cruz. UA50: UCSC Photography Services: ua0050\_neg\_sc7382b\_05.tif.

Figure 3. Elizabeth Penaat, Vice Chancellor for Operations and Employee Affairs, 1980. Photo by Carol Foote. Courtesy Special Collections, University Library, University of California, Santa Cruz. Carol Foote photographs of the University of California, Santa Cruz: MS259: ms0259\_neg\_bk5\_80-78\_e.tif.

## Chapter 13

# Kresge College

From T-Groups to Feminist Consciousness Raising

*I knocked on the door and opened it, and there were sleeping lofts at different heights around. Out of one of these lofts, out of a nest of blankets, poked up these male and female heads: "Hi!" I could feel my mother next to me just turning into a pillar of salt.*

—De Clarke

### “A Real Mystique About It”: The Creation of Kresge College

**John Lynch:** I participated in a course called *Creating Kresge College*.<sup>1</sup> I took the class. I wasn't the teacher but I went every week. This was how the campus was growing—by colleges. You would add on a new college, and then hire faculty and students in that college. Kresge was the new college, so the people who were in charge of the college, the provost and the new preceptor, created a class.

Kresge Street is modeled on *Sesame Street*, where everyone meets around the washer and dryer in the middle of the college.<sup>2</sup> That was the class's idea, that winding main street. They said it was like *Sesame Street*, where you walked down the street and you bumped into people. In that huge expanse of campus, you were made to walk down a fairly narrow street, so you had to encounter people walking each way.

**David Kliger:** The people who started the college were Bob Edgar<sup>3</sup> as the provost; Michael Kahn,<sup>4</sup> psychology faculty; Matt Sands,<sup>5</sup> who was the vice chancellor for natural sciences, and biology professor Henry Hilgard.<sup>6</sup> They were the senior faculty. A lot of science folks.<sup>7</sup>

**George Blumenthal:** Matt Sands was co-author of the Feynman Lecture Series.<sup>8</sup> So if you go buy the Feynman Lecture Series, they're by Feynman and Sands. Quite arguably, certainly during his time here, he was the most famous physicist on the campus. It was interesting, because Matt was not well trusted by many of the scientists. He was deemed as having sold out to the colleges.

**Michael Nauenberg:** Another scientist who got sucked into this stuff was Matthew Sands, who

came from SLAC [Stanford Linear Accelerator] to be the dean of natural sciences. I helped to bring him here. He joined Kresge, and evidently was delighted with this whole counterculture thing.

**John Lynch:** Kresge College was initially set up to be the environmental studies college. The people who were in charge decided that you couldn't really understand the environment unless you understood yourself first. And so they began using humanistic psychology approaches, the T-group in particular, as a mode of teaching and learning.<sup>9</sup>

**David Riesman and Gerald Grant:** Robert Edgar knew little about T-groups and related movements in humanistic psychology until Carl Rogers came to Caltech in 1967 to do a year-long series of workshops with faculty. Edgar sat in and soon became engrossed with new questions about teaching and the way he related to students.<sup>10</sup>

**Herman Blake:** Dean McHenry had the notion that once you were appointed as provost and you were leading and building this college, you had to have maximum opportunity to succeed as a consequence of administrative support. And if you did not succeed, you couldn't argue it was because the campus opposed you. If you didn't succeed, it had to be because of some other things.

Kresge had that support. But they had a provost, Bob Edgar, who tried to build a college around a community model that reflected his personal dynamics, but didn't pay attention to all of the other kinds of things. And the guy who joined them, Matthew Sands, a scientist—he eventually became a vice chancellor of the sciences. They were running Kresge. I don't know if you ever heard of a Kresge graduation. They would have the nautilus shell. They'd all sit and whoever had the nautilus could speak. Their

graduations would go on for hours; when people get the nautilus they can go whatever path they wanted to go.

**Page Smith:** Kresge College Provost Bob Edgar suffered from having a utopian imagination. He was a dogmatist for the encounter-group way of learning. He headed Kresge, the first college since Cowell, some said, that really had an innovative spirit and set out to do things in a very different way. Of course, he was much more innovative, or experimental, or whatever than Cowell, and much more radical in his educational ideas than I. I think that Kresge both benefited and suffered for that. Lots of people resented having the implied injunction to “come along with us and accept encounter groups as the new panacea for the educational problems of the world, or else you're against us.” The “you're either for us, or against us” situation. So that created some problems, but I think, on the whole, his kind of innocence, in a sense, his naiveté, enthusiasm, devotion to this whole scheme, infused the college with vitality and energy, and created a kind of esprit which, in spite of some of the tensions that were created by it, gave a vitality to Kresge that the other colleges lacked.

**John Lynch:** You almost didn't have to read any books. You just had to look inside yourself and be able to say how this made you feel, or didn't strike any chord with you.

**David Kliger:** The very first year we came, there was this crisis because they wanted to take the new faculty and go off on a retreat and get to know each other and decide what the college was going to be like. There were a group of students who were in the *Creating Kresge College* class who were very much against that because they didn't think the faculty should be going off without the



---

Figure 1

Kresge Provost Robert Edgar with Kresge students, 1972

Photo by UCSC Photography Services

---

students. So, you had the senior faculty who had this very strong opinion that the faculty had to go off, and you had the students. And what the students did (they were very smart students), they sat down with the spouses of the faculty and got them angry about the faculty going off on their own and talking. So, there was this huge fight in the college in the very first week I was here. I took the sides of the students and the spouses. I said, “You’re talking about creating a living, learning community. How can you talk about a community, if you’re not going to include all of the community members?” So, I figured, I’m really off to a bad start because I’m alienating the senior faculty in the college, and the chair of the department is saying I’m doing too much in the college. I figured, I won’t be here long, but I’ll do what I think is right while I’m here.

**John Lynch:** In the *Creating Kresge College* class they had people present ideas. I came in and talked about Plato’s Academy as an ancient educational institution, what we could learn from it as a model for our class. Norman O. Brown was invited to come in. He was very good on mythology. He gave a talk about Actaeon, who was torn apart by dogs. And at the end of the talk, after a little discussion, we were led out into the woods. It was getting towards darkness, and people started barking. And this was interpreted to be as a sign that this is where Kresge College should be. So, this was how Kresge College was sited, it was where this group of people from the course *Creating Kresge College* walked out in the woods and started barking.<sup>11</sup>

**Michael Nauenberg:** Edgar was a distinguished molecular scientist from Caltech who had done pioneering work mapping genes of *Drosophila*. There was no question about his stature as a scientist. But when he came, he became even more

extreme than some of the people in the humanities. He brought with him a guru, Michael Kahn, and between the two of them they turned Kresge College into what we used to call the touchy-feely college.

**Helene Moglen:** Kresge had been started by Bob Edgar and Michael Kahn. Bob Edgar was the first provost. They were into Rogerian psychology, so Kresge was started on Rogerian psychology principles, even though several of the founding faculty were scientists, and quite distinguished scientists. Henry Hilgard was also very closely connected to them. Kresge was built with this kinship structure in mind. In the sextets, walls were moveable. So students could move the walls to suit their relational structures. There were kitchens in every apartment. Every apartment had a kind of familial feel.

**De Clarke, Student:** I was supposed to live in one of the suites at Kresge College, which had the big open plan, places [sextets] where six people would live.<sup>12</sup> I showed up with my parents in the fall of 1975 and we went to the door of the place where I was going to live. I knocked on the door and opened it, and there were sleeping lofts at different heights around. Out of one of these lofts, out of a nest of blankets, poked up these male and female heads: “Hi!” I could feel my mother next to me just turning into a pillar of salt. I knew, for one thing, my mother was about to have a conniption fit, and for another thing, I didn’t want to live in this sort of place where people are having sex on open platforms with no walls around. Kresge was living in the high hippie era. It was the style of the college. I actually came to appreciate that a great deal after I’d been there for a while. But walking into it as a sheltered child from a respectable middle-class background—I remember we marched back down to the office and my mother



---

Figure 2

Kresge College sextet dorm, early  
1970s

Photo by UCSC Public Information  
Office

---

said to the student proctor, whoever is in charge of room assignments: “My child is *not* living in that place.” They quickly shuffled rooms around and they put me in one of the apartments, where it was a little more normal. It was two people sharing a dorm room, and it was an all-girl apartment, four girls total. I was certainly relieved. It was quite a culture shock.

**Dan Haifley, Student:** A lot was going on at Kresge College. Administratively, each college was separate and somewhat autonomous. But then, the majors were also separate and autonomous, and the two intersected. Kresge College was generally known as the psychology school, although there was somebody like me who was an economics major living there and going to school there as well. It was set up much like a European village, so that people interacted all the time. I was put in with some of the older transfer students in what was called the Bitter Suite.

I wasn’t interested in strictly academic life. I was interested in looking at what some of the alternative lifestyles were as well. There was one suite that was devoted to living together and being openly critical of each other and openly interactive. I don’t know what the term was, but these were all psychology students living their experiment.

**Rachel Harwood, Student:** I toured UCSC along with a number of other universities. I chose UCSC because people smiled at me and looked me in the eye. It was vibrant, full of energy. It was a new school still, and there was a lot of experimentation, especially at Kresge College, which was the one that I entered. It was a pretty exciting place to be.

**Dan Haifley:** And then, there was an explosion of gay lifestyle, both lesbians and gay men. So I

was exposed to that, and that was good for me because there hadn’t been that growing up in suburban Southern California. This was right around the time that the gay scene was exploding in San Francisco, and Harvey Milk was running for office and still losing, although eventually he did win.<sup>13</sup> Alan Sable was a professor at UCSC at the time. I did not take his classes, but I read about him.

**De Clarke:** Rachel Harwood and I met each other as roommates my second year, in the lower Kresge apartments. I think Rachel was the first out lesbian that I ever met. I distinctly remember when she moved in. For one thing, she had more cooking equipment than any person I had ever seen in my entire life. She moved in and she had these cardboard boxes of cooking equipment. Cast-iron fry pans. We were all alarmed. We kept thinking she was going to bring more and more boxes of cooking equipment. I remember one of the roommates saying, “There’s something funny about her. I think she’s religious or something. Maybe she’s a Quaker. She seems like a Quaker.” And we all sort of formed this impression that Rachel was a Quaker, because she was very plain and simple in her manner and direct in her speech.

After she had moved in and we were doing what roommates do, exchanging life stories and all that stuff, I remember her saying, “Well, there is something that maybe I should tell you, which is that—I’m a lesbian.” I remember we were sitting two on each side of the Formica table in the kitchen, and the girl who was sitting opposite to Rachel, I’m not exaggerating, she leapt up and knocked her chair over backwards in this sort of instinctive physical, flight reaction. Rachel said the word *lesbian*, and this girl just—You’ve heard the phrase of somebody jumping out of their seat? Well, this is the first time I ever saw it in real life.

This woman jumped out of her seat, as they say. I thought it was the funniest thing.

**Carolyn Martin Shaw:** I came to Kresge maybe its second or third year. Kresge had a reputation for hippie trust-fund kids. Somebody would say to me, “You see that girl over there in those moccasins and the holey jeans? Those are really rubies she has in her earrings.”

There was a geodesic dome that was out by Married Student Housing, and that’s where Kresge had its core course meeting. We had some of our early faculty meetings there. We were asked to do things like lie on the floor, visualize different kinds of things, and divide into groups of various sorts to talk about some topic that was given. We were actually asked to touch each other. Kresge got the nickname “touchy-feely” based on some of these things. But you weren’t asked to touch in any intimate way. You didn’t have to hug people, although hugging was a big piece of Kresge back in the old days. But breaking this barrier between individuals, either touching hands, or standing behind them, or touching them shoulder to shoulder, or something that will begin to make that cluster a little bit tighter.

I remember my first faculty meeting at Kresge College, in 1972. People were sitting around rubbing each other’s feet. I’m going [gasps] oh, gosh! [stage whisper] What’s going on? Put your feet back in your shoes! And why are you touching her? Some faculty members had a really hard time with it.

**Michael Nauenberg:** I went to several meetings at Kresge when I was trying to hire people in the physics department. At that time, every appointment in the department had also to have approval from one college. For example, my colleagues and I thought that physics professor Stanley Flatté would be a very good choice for the department,

which turns out to have been the case. Stanley is a distinguished, well-established figure here. But at the time, he was rejected by Kresge on completely spurious grounds. I went to the interview that Michael Kahn gave him, and I thought I was in neverland.

**Carolyn Martin Shaw:** At Kresge, people talked about using “I statements,” how you do that. But you also almost always talked about, what is the emotional load behind any intellectual statement. Really hard stuff—particularly if you’re just used to getting in there and saying the thing that you want to say, without considering either how I feel about the thing that I am saying, because I’ve just got to get these ideas across to you, and how I feel about it doesn’t matter, or how you feel about it—where you’re coming from that my words might affect you. In Kresge, we had to consider both these things at all times. It’s a lot of work! It’s a lot of putting yourself out there in vulnerable ways.

**Helene Moglen:** It was a very interesting and strange setup. And it took all the faculty’s time. There were some younger faculty who arrived at UCSC, and were part of Kresge College, who were very, very freaked out about it. There was one room with a punching bag, which was where people could get mad. There were classrooms that had no chairs. Everybody was supposed to sit on the floor. The “library,” so-called, had mattresses on the floor, and that was where people crashed when they were sort of traveling around California. A lot of kids would crash there. It was very undisciplined. I was told that Gregory Bateson used to teach one of his classes in the sauna; there was a sauna there. It was a scandal. It was a very interesting scandal.

**Katie King:** I was taking classes from Gregory Bateson.<sup>14</sup> Bateson was bringing together art,





---

Figure 3

Family Student Housing: dome building,  
where Kresge courses were taught before  
the college buildings were completed, 1972

Photo by UCSC Photography Services

---

mathematics, logic, anthropology. He had a classical education. I was already taking ancient Greek, so I had what I would now call a trans-disciplinary excitement. Bateson fed that. So did Harry Berger, and Rich Randolph. Later on, I became a student of Shelly Errington's and she very much fed that.<sup>15</sup> Carolyn Martin Shaw [then Carolyn Clark] was one of my teachers and she fed that.

**Carolyn Martin Shaw:** Kresge was, in this non-hierarchical system, trying to make consensus decision-making. One of the things that was being said was that Kresge was trying to “wither away the state.” This is a Marxist idea, right? “We’re going to wither away the state.” The “state” is this representation of the provost in the center, and the provost’s connection to the chancellor. We wanted to wither that away. We wanted to have all of the functions that the provost is supposed to do, and all the other functions that are a part of the community-building and academic mentoring-sections part of the college, come together throughout the entire college. The staff will do some of it, the faculty will do some of it, and the students will do some of it.

Dean McHenry never accepted this notion of the withering away of the provostship and the withering away of the state, of the college. So, whenever we had to interact with the outside world, sometimes we’d have to pretend that we actually had a provost who did the work, and he’d have to go out there. Because before then, we’d try to send a little committee, or a group of people, and that was never accepted. Particularly when you have students as a part of this, you needed to have a real administrator.

**Page Smith:** I think the total effect of Kresge College was positive. It created an intense emotional-intellectual life that’s so important to the

collegiate notion. The community association, the interaction among people, is the essence of collegiate life and probably the essence of any true learning. In Cowell, we talked in much more conventional ways about community and tried in a much more conventional way to create it—college evenings, Culture Breaks etc., being examples. I thought Kresge was the only other college, perhaps besides Cowell, that has a real mystique about it. Whatever people’s reservations were, or their dislike for certain aspects of the college’s educational philosophy, there was a special feeling about being in Kresge.

**Herman Blake:** Kresge came in with this kind of gestalt of touchy-feely to the max. It was almost anti-intellectual. I’m not saying it *was*.

**Helene Moglen:** Kresge was genuinely perceived as the heart of darkness. The campus bus did not stop at the front of Kresge. They stopped at the back of Kresge, where you could see the woods, but not the college from the road.

Kresge had been organized into kin groups, which included staff, faculty, and students, and all decisions were made collaboratively. So, every decision, including how much money to spend on stamps, was made by everybody together meeting all the time.

**Carolyn Martin Shaw:** If you have this flat, as opposed to hierarchical, organization, then you have to figure out how all the participants in this organization can have a say. Given that people are supposed to sit around talking to each other, and take responsibility for the running of the college, how can you do that? What is it that will make that happen in the best way? I tried to talk about consensus decision-making, which was part of the way the Kikuyu worked when I was in Kenya as an anthropologist. It’s the way they thought



---

Figure 4

Gregory Bateson, 1972

Photo by UCSC Public Information  
Office

---



---

Figure 5

Kresge College, 1973

Photo by UCSC Public Information  
Office

---

that things would ideally work and had worked in the pre-colonial era.

Kresge started creating a system called an “advance.” An advance is the opposite of a retreat. The advance would bring together all the people, all of the Kresge community who wanted to have a say in anything that would go on at Kresge. The advance would take a really, really long time. A major piece of consensus decision-making is time. You have to spend the time to hear all these people, and then spend the time to start suggesting possible solutions and going back and forth. With a ten-week quarter system, it’s really hard to be able to have that kind of time.

**Dave Kliger:** Kresge wasn’t as wild as people talk about. There was a lot of T-grouping and there were what they called kin groups, a group of maybe twenty-five students with a faculty member, and they would meet on a regular basis. One or two nights a week they would meet and talk about issues. It was like a little seminar. People assumed that there were all kinds of wild things going on in these meetings. At least in my groups, there were no wild things going on.

This T-grouping was another experience that was really unpleasant at the time but really helped me in my career. There was supposed to be a special way of communicating in groups where you wouldn’t have a small subset of the group taking control. It would be a way to really get everybody’s ideas out. But what I noticed was there was a special language, and the special language could be used to control the group just as much as any other group. But it was great seeing that, because it was like a class for me of how to run committee meetings and groups, and how to get ideas across in groups and how not to—how people can manipulate a group and how to stop a group from being manipulated. That was really very valuable later on when I got involved in other

kinds of committees. Bad experiences are good teaching lessons, very often.

**Helene Moglen:** Kresge was also a place where some faculty kind of hung out and pulled back from the campus. Of course, there was a sense all over the campus, particularly in the humanities and perhaps in part of the social sciences and the arts, that if you were really strong in your college you would get tenure. That had happened for some people. So, there were very high stakes in doing the college work, but it was also a way of escaping certain kinds of commitments.

**Dave Kliger:** At that time, the standard load was teaching three courses in your board of studies and three courses in the college, per year. So, you were teaching six courses. And then, Kresge was a new college and they had to figure out all the things to do. So, there were lots of committees. It was a huge amount of work. I realized later that a lot of the problem was me, because I got involved in a lot of those committees. I didn’t realize that a lot of the faculty just didn’t do it. But when I get involved in something, I get involved in something. So, I was spending an enormous amount of time in the college. I remember the chair of the department sitting me down once and saying I had to stop this because I would not be getting tenure if I continued to do so much work in the college. Fortunately, he was wrong.

**Carolyn Martin-Shaw:** Faculty members were pushed to have contact with students almost all the time. You had dinner with them maybe two or three times a week. You formed really, really close relationships with them.

**Katie King:** This was also a time in which free love, and sexual autonomy, and young people

being sexual was really important. And there was a lot of drugs and drinking. And there were teacher-student friendships, and sexuality was considered a wonderful sort of energy and force. I was part of what I refer to as this kind of safe experimentation.

**Dave Kliger:** It was a difficult time. The first year I was here, there were probably fifteen new faculty in the college that came there with me. I think by the end of the second year or so, all but one of them had gotten a divorce because it was very intense.

**John Dizikes:** We had a high incidence of marriages breaking up in the early years of UCSC because young faculty—only five, six, seven, ten years older than their students—were living in the dorms, faculty in each of the dorms. Things happened. Stevenson College was an absolute snake-pit of desire. Cowell, once again, was the most conventional, traditional.

**Carolyn Martin-Shaw:** You're doing all this emotional talk to the students. They're in your core course. You're trying to do all this stuff. This can cause pressure on your marriage because you're not there. But you can also have pressure on your marriage because you're forming really close ties with others. And that's part of what was going on as well, in terms of faculty and students, sometimes moving over into sexual relations—some of which I know about. Some marriages came about between faculty and students from those early days as well.

**Katie King:** My experiences were entirely positive. I remember being completely drunk and stoned and lying around in little clumps with men and women. Nobody took advantage of anybody, at

least that I saw and knew about. That doesn't mean it never happened. But that was just not the feel of the time, for me.

We were very much into this notion of intellectual eroticism. The idea that somehow students had no power in that was just not really true. I mean, structural power: yes, that's always true. But we didn't have grades. We didn't even have pass-fail. We only had Pass/No Record. We were friends with teachers and people were doing drugs and drinking. That does not mean that sexual harassment didn't occur. It doesn't mean that people weren't raped and fucked over and a million other things. It does mean that that was not part of my experience, and that it seemed anomalous. And that it seemed possible to have free love, joyous eroticism, with these anomalous bad things happening.

**Helene Moglen:** It was very—out there. There were very few boundaries respected. There was a lot of what would later be called sexual harassment, but certainly was not called sexual harassment then.

**Katie King:** Now, I did, a little bit later on, hear more about sexual harassment, especially in anthropology.

**Helene Moglen:** Some of the stories, which I later heard from students who came back, about what had happened were truly disturbing. Some of these guys really—they were really leaders of a cult. It was unfortunate. It was a scene. All of that was certainly true. But I think perhaps what people didn't talk very much about was how abusive it was of students.

**Irene Reti:** I was at Kresge in 1981. I think it had been cleaned up by then, but there was this

romanticization of the earlier period as this kind of free period that we had lost. The abuse of power was not something I heard about.<sup>16</sup>

**Carolyn Martin Shaw:** Michael Kahn was our guru. Michael had taught us all how to talk. I think even Matt and Henry and Bob were following Michael's plan for us. He taught a class in humanistic psychology. It was taught in the quarry. It filled the quarry. I always think of him taking off his shirt, but maybe he didn't take off his shirt. They say he could pull an eagle from the sky. He was the guru. He was the master. He had charisma. He had all these students at his feet all the time. And in our dealings, he was the father of the group, who taught us how to do straight talk, who taught us how our lives could be better if we recognized that individuals are whole. They are not just brains. But if we wanted to deal with students, if we could recognize the *whole* student, then maybe we could be more effective. Not only could we be more effective, but also maybe the students could get this message and make changes in their lives that would also allow them to lead wholer and more fulfilled lives.

At the same time, he is the guy who is massaging other people's feet and getting his feet massaged. And he's really, really, touchy. He will hug you when he sees you; he will put his hand on your shoulder. I was beginning to feel uncomfortable with the attention that I was getting—verbal attention. I needed to tell him to back off.

**Helene Moglen:** There were a couple of guys over there, one of whom ceased to be connected to Kresge by the time I got there, who had very seductive personalities and really controlled, not just students, but also younger women faculty. There was a lot that was quite distressing.

**Carolyn Martin Shaw:** It took a while to get the courage to do it, and I finally did. I might have gone to his house. He was living on campus as a residential preceptor. I asked to talk to him, and I told him I was really feeling uncomfortable, that I felt that he was coming on too strong, and that I would appreciate it if he backed off. Now that's what I meant to say; I don't know what the words were. He looked at me and he was very serious when he said this. He said, "Thanks for coming to talk to me. It shows you care." What I wanted from him was to say, "I hear you. I will back off." Not that I "care" about him.

I moved into doing feminist work—feminist organizing and feminist process. But I didn't find that what I'd learned at Kresge was antithetical to changes that I'd like to see made in the world. All along, I wanted to recognize some of the goals that Kresge had. Oh, not all the methods, and not all the insidious power plays and hierarchies that were going on there, and not the taking advantage of young women that one could see so easily happening within that environment. But could we come together as full human beings and talk about the way the world is and the kinds of changes we wanted to make, without suppressing our emotions on those things? And if we brought our emotions to those things, how *would* that make a difference? Would we have greater clarity? Would we have better abilities to structure our actions?



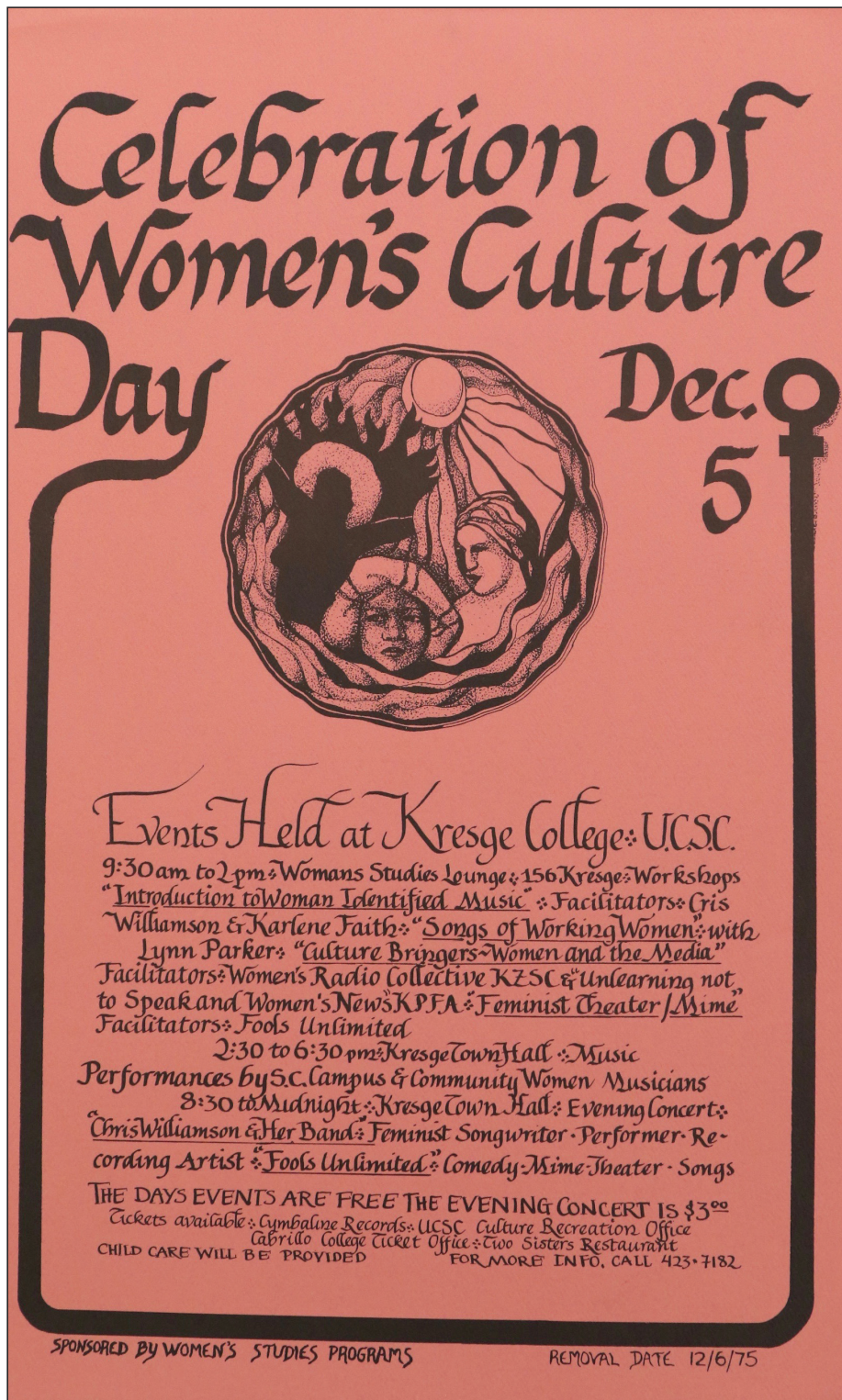


Figure 6  
 Poster for Women's  
 Culture Day at Kresge,  
 1975



## “Women and Women’s Issues”: The Rise of Feminism Shapes a College and a Campus

**Michael Cowan:** Women’s studies began to emerge in Kresge College fairly early because of the nature of the faculty who had been hired. That was when women, junior women professors, began to be hired, so you had a larger number of such faculty. Feminism was beginning to be an important part of the national—and certainly the campus—ethos. Kresge became a natural place for that focus.

**Dave Kliger:** There were very few minority faculty, very few women faculty when Kresge started. Kresge had the attitude that we needed to increase the diversity. So they would have a program where they would go to the department and say, “You need to invite women and minorities to be interviewed.” There was resistance among the departments. After a year, there were no women and minorities hired. So Kresge said, “Well, we’re not going to hire *any* faculty until we hire some women and minorities first.” That caused a huge stink among the departments. Kresge was ruining the campus.

**Carolyn Martin Shaw:** To me, there was an interesting segue from the Kresge that was male-focused and male-dominated and based on “straight talk,” to the women’s movement and working in consciousness-raising groups with women, trying to do some of the same kinds of things with women, feeling that we had a much better chance of both being honest with each other, and of trying to act on it.

**Helene Moglen:** I chose to affiliate with Kresge when I came because women’s studies was there,

and I really wanted to make a statement when I came that I was supporting women’s studies.

**Ciel Benedetto, Student:** In 1974, I came to UCSC to study religious studies. I was very interested in Indic religions and came primarily to study the Sanskrit and Tibetan languages. I took some women’s studies classes as electives. Religious studies was its own department at that time. I really needed a refuge and women’s studies helped me with having a perspective, a filter through which to look at religious studies. I became less and less interested in the spiritual, sociological, and psychological content of the material, and more and more interested in the historical content of what I was learning about religious studies. The historical impact of religion really grabbed me. I ended up becoming a women’s studies major and would have graduated with both degrees, if I hadn’t had several things happen in the religious studies department that prevented me from doing so—one of which today, I would have had a place to go and complain about, and it would never have happened. But back then, there was really no one to go to and no one to complain to.

**Carolyn Martin Shaw:** Kresge changed when May Diaz came as provost.<sup>17</sup> We brought in May Diaz after Bob Edgar. May Diaz is one of my favorite people in the world. I was on the committee to hire her. We announced that we were hiring May Diaz, and I think almost everyone—faculty and staff—working there wore the black armbands. They wore the black armbands—“Kresge is now dead”—when May Diaz came on.

May was a faculty member at UC Berkeley, and came down as provost and joined the anthropology department. May did not have a slash-and-burn approach. She did get a pretty good idea that whatever's going on there was not particularly helpful to students, and some women students especially. But she said, "Okay, there's something good going here. To the extent that there's a valid academic component to this, you have your corner of the college, and you can continue." So some of these same processes continued in the corner of Kresge—the good ones: the consensus; the sense of straight talk. And gradually, that faded away.

Then Kresge was a great place to be as a woman faculty member. I'm thinking about walking down the hall and seeing how many young women faculty were there: literature professor Madeline Moore,<sup>18</sup> sociology professor Marcia Millman,<sup>19</sup> sociology professor Norma Wikler,<sup>20</sup> and others who have left to go elsewhere. Nancy Chodorow was also at Kresge in the early days. A number of these women—I'm not sure if they were making a stand against the touchy-feely-ness of Kresge, although I know some of them were uncomfortable with it—they wanted the college to go in a different way. They were a support for this committee that hired May Diaz as provost.

**Rachel Harwood:** I took *Introduction to Women's Studies*. At that time the women's studies program didn't have any instructors of its own. It was an interdisciplinary program run by a collective of students, and most of the classes were taught by students, or by professors who were willing to structure a class so that women's studies students could also get credit. So, I took *Introduction to Women's Studies*, which was taught by two students as their senior project. We had consciousness-raising sections, and we had a lot of different interesting readings. We read *Rubyfruit Jungle*<sup>21</sup>

and we read Monique Wittig,<sup>22</sup> and a number of lesbian readings, along with other readings. I met lesbians there and in other areas of student life, and we would hang out. At UCSC, I was able to take courses that introduced me to feminism and lesbianism together, that introduced me to lesbianism, not only as a sexual choice, but as a choice that had to do with your emotions, that had to do with your beliefs, that had to do with your politics. That was a way that made sense for me. It was an easy door to walk through.

**Katie King:** In women's studies classes we were reading essays like "The Woman Identified Woman," and stuff like that, and some of the material on the homophile movement.<sup>23</sup> I know that Evelyn Hooker's work was really important.<sup>24</sup> I think we were reading everything that we could find. I think it was that year [1972] that *Lesbian/Woman* by Del Martin and Phyllis Lyon<sup>25</sup> and *Sappho was a Right-On Woman*<sup>26</sup> by Sidney Abbott and Barbara Love came out. We may have used those in the class. We would go up to Berkeley on the library jitney and go to this woman's bookstore run by this gay man named Smedley.<sup>27</sup> And that's where we first got our copies of *Sappho was a Right-On Woman* and *Lesbian/Woman*. He was part of the Radical Faeries,<sup>28</sup> and so for all these young baby dykes he was kind of a mentor.

**Carolyn Martin-Shaw:** At Kresge, we were moving from having the T-groups to a feminist focus. I'm sure that we weren't using the word "feminist" in the same ways we are now, so maybe it was "women's movement." When the women's studies group got organized, it was "women's studies." There was no department, there was no program, and there were no faculty specifically devoted to women's studies, although we had a number of faculty members at Kresge in literature

and sociology and psychology who were very interested in women and women's issues.

**Rachel Harwood:** The way they listed lesbian courses in those days—lesbian courses would have great long names and then they would put the first two or three letters of each word (and if it was a dangerous word, perhaps less) in the catalog. You'd have to figure out what it really was by word of mouth. But I guess for some people on their transcripts that was probably good, because the FBI won't be able to figure it out either. Most of my courses, at least half and maybe more than half, were taught by students. They were 42N's [student-directed seminars] in women's studies, and for women's studies they counted. They were good courses. They were pretty good quality. I do think that having professors is better. But our teachers in those courses were people who were dynamic and enthusiastic about the things that they had to offer. They were fresh. They were all guided by a faculty member and they were pretty good. Some of them were a little bit wishy-washy, but you can have that with another kind of a teacher as well.

Sharon Turnoy taught *The Women-Identified Novel in Historical and Political Perspective*. "Women-identified" was sometimes (though not always) a code word for lesbian. By it we meant the broadest definition of lesbian—any woman-loving woman, someone who saw women as central, and her identity as a woman in a strongly positive way. But we also meant the specific definition of lesbian. I think this appeared in the catalog as *womidnovhispol*.

**Katie King:** I got involved in the first women's studies course at UCSC, which was taught by Ruth Needleman, which was called *Women and Literature*. Ruth Needleman was a young faculty person.<sup>29</sup> She may have been just out of graduate

school. And she basically taught women and literature, not because she was a literature person, but because that was where women's studies was at that time. That's how you could begin to talk about women's studies.

**De Clarke:** I was not a women's studies major. I was a linguistics major, but I took several student-directed seminars. I took one student-directed seminar on women and pornography. It was another of those instances of being exposed to a degree of misogyny that I had never known existed.

**Ziesel Saunders, Student:** I was a women's studies major. I graduated in 1976. I had a girlfriend named Robin; she and I were listed as the lesbians to contact in the *Kresge Handbook*. If people coming to school were wanting to talk, they could call us. There were all these activities on campus, and different lesbian and gay groups that I was involved in. All my friends who were lesbians were involved in starting organizations in town. The Santa Cruz Women's Health Collective<sup>30</sup> and Women Against Rape—lesbians from UCSC started almost every single one of those women's organizations, and I was really involved in most of those.<sup>31</sup>

**Carolyn Martin Shaw:** The Women's Studies Collective—I don't know how it got started. I was there but I wasn't a part of it. Lots of students with really, really passionate interest in trying to understand women's position in society, women's history, what does it mean to be a woman within the university? They were willing to get together on their own and talk about this. What they wanted to do is to pull some of us in—those people who were at the university saying that their work is with women—like me, and like Norma Wikler, or Marcia Millman, or Nancy Adler, or

Nancy Chodorow,<sup>32</sup> or Madeline Moore. They would pull people in to say, “Tell us. Tell us what you’re learning; help us understand this.” They did a great job. They put on programs; they helped to educate *us* about what the issues were for young women.

**Ciel Benedetto:** The Women’s Studies Collective was a very politically active group of people. Within the context of women’s studies, I did a lot. I had been a political activist since I was a teenager in a variety of different movements and brought all of that with me. I did some work regarding preventing forced sterilization, which was a state-wide initiative at the time, through my work as a student. I also did some work with women’s health issues in prison. One of the really great things that I experienced in the Women’s Studies Collective was learning how to do administration, through course work, electives, and independent studies, and also because the students ran the program. I learned about administration and found that I actually had some ability in that area.

**Carolyn Martin-Shaw:** But when it was time to say, “Let’s move from being a caucus or a collective into something that becomes more institutionalized within the university,” these young women students felt marginalized and disenfranchised.

**Helene Moglen:** When I became dean of humanities, I wanted to make women’s studies a divisional program. And the students were furious. The students really hated me. The students were very angry. They marched outside the provost’s house. It was very painful for me.

Most of the faculty were lecturers without security of employment, but some were regular faculty. The faculty in the program were dropping like flies because it was a student-run program where students made all the decisions about

credit, about courses. Then they would recruit faculty to teach in the program. And then they would want faculty to go to all these meetings to confer, to consult about matters that they—the students—would make the decisions about. Well, there was not a lot of support among the faculty for this.

I thought of myself as a feminist, but it was clear to me that if women’s studies was going to last, it had to be not only brought into the campus, but it had to be a strong, excellent program. And that wasn’t going to happen if it was student-run, or if the students were hiring faculty every quarter to teach in it. That just wasn’t going to work. So we did make it a regular divisional program: a board.

**Irene Reti:** I think what wasn’t evident to students at the time was that Helene Moglen was a strong feminist coming from a grassroots feminist perspective. I can see, in retrospect, that what got built was one of the foremost women’s studies programs in the country. It probably never would have happened had Helene Moglen not come in at that moment and institutionalized the program.

**Helene Moglen:** When the chancellor asked me to be the provost at Kresge, as well as the dean of humanities and arts, I said, “Well, Kresge is really out of control. There are no classrooms and there’s a room with a punching bag.” He said, “Well, draw up a budget.” I asked for more than 100,000 dollars to redo public space at Kresge so that we could have classrooms, seminar rooms, so that we could have a library. I insisted that the bus stop at the front entrance.

Then what I also did was to bring most of the heavy-hitting departments over to Kresge. I brought history of consciousness. I brought American studies. We were building women’s studies. So the interdisciplinary programs were



---

Figure 7

Helene Moglen, 1978

Photo by UCSC Photography  
Services

---

there. And I brought literature, which was the largest program in the division.

The Center for Cultural studies started. Hayden White started it, but Jim Clifford was the founding director. Hayden got the money but wanted Jim to do it. Cultural studies was there at Kresge. So that meant that the heaviest hitters in the division were at Kresge. Graduate students were at Kresge, with history and literature. We had talks at Kresge; we had events. I had the budgets of both the dean and the provost. So I did a lot of entertaining and a lot of parties and bringing people together. Kresge did become a hopping place. By the time I left four years later, there was a long waiting list of faculty

who wanted to move over to Kresge. Kresge had become the cool college.

**Carolyn Martin Shaw:** I wanted us to not deny or denigrate Kresge's past. I wanted people to hold up their heads when they say "touchy-feely."

There is a past. There is a past that has to be recognized. Sometimes that past doesn't have everything in it that we want, or sometimes things are cruel, or sometimes we made mistakes. But that's the road that we traveled, and that's something that we have to look at.




---

Figure 8

Carolyn Martin Shaw, 1978

Photo by M.A. Stroud

---

## Endnotes

1. Kresge College was founded in 1971 and constructed in 1973. Its award-winning architecture—designed by eminent postmodernists Charles Moore and William Turnbull of Moore Lyndon Turnbull Whitaker (MLTW)—was modeled on an Italian hill town. According to Dan White, writing in a 2018 report on Kresge that was issued as part of a design study on the college's renovation (an infill project that will combine the renovation of existing buildings with new construction): "Santa Cruz's sixth residential college started out as an impassioned critique of trends in American education during the Cold War years, from anonymous 'mega-versities' to dorms as big as urban high-rise apartment complexes. [Kresge's] original 270 students were organized into ... small clusters, which were meant to be the center of their academic life. Each group also included a professor and a handful of staff members. These kin groups were turned into small and intimate seminars. In fact, the college was so daring that some education reporters for the country's biggest newspapers seemed flummoxed by the place. *The Los Angeles Times* alternately hailed Kresge as 'one of the most ambitious (higher educational) experiences on the West Coast' and mocked Kresge for its 'touchy-feely' approach." See Special Report: A History of Kresge College" at: <https://reports.news.ucsc.edu/kresge/>.

Kresge styled itself as a participatory democracy designed to counter the university's hierarchical nature. The college was run by two committees—Community Affairs and Academic Affairs, which made consensus-based budget and hiring decisions. Students' votes counted as much as those of faculty and staff. See also: Kresge College Records: UA 106 in Special Collections and Archives, UCSC Library: <https://oac.cdlib.org/findaid/ark:/13030/c8pg1xv9/?query=kresge>.

2. *Sesame Street* is an American educational children's television series that combines live action, sketch comedy, animation and puppetry. It has been airing since 1969.

3. Molecular biologist Robert (Bob) Edgar came to UCSC in 1970 as founding provost of Kresge College. Edgar also had a role in the beginnings of the Human Genome Project, as a key participant in the 1985 workshop organized by Robert Sinshemer to explore the feasibility of sequencing the human genome. Edgar died in 2016.

4. Michael Kahn was a clinical psychologist who came to UCSC as a professor in 1970 and helped found Kresge College. He died in 2014.

5. Physics professor Matthew Sands served as UCSC's vice chancellor of science between 1969 and 1972. Sands worked on the Manhattan Project at the Los Alamos National Lab

and, after the war, was heavily invested in attempting to ensure that nuclear weapons were never used again. He died in 2014.

6. Henry Hilgard came to UCSC as a biology professor in 1967. His immunology and human biology courses were among the most popular classes in biology, and he played a key role in the introduction of several "non-major" biology courses, such as *Cardiovascular Disease and Health*, and *AIDS: Perspectives on an Epidemic*.

7. For a history of the early Kresge College see the chapter "Communal Expressives: Kresge College at Santa Cruz," in Gerald Grant and David Riesman, *The Perpetual Dream: Reform and Experiment in the American College*, (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1978).

8. *The Feynman Lectures on Physics* is a textbook by Nobel laureate Richard Feynman, co-authored by Richard Leighton and Matthew Sands, based on lectures Feynman gave at Caltech during 1961-1963.

9. T-groups—also known as sensitivity training groups, human relations training groups, or encounter groups—are a form of group training in which participants (typically between eight and fifteen people) learn about themselves and about group processes through interaction with each other. Humanistic psychologist Carl Rogers called T-groups the most powerful educational innovation of the 20th century. T-group participation required a great deal of self-disclosure; the groups became controversial because of perceived and/or real potential for psychological manipulation by unskilled or ill-intentioned participants, and for abuse of personal information revealed during sessions.

10. Excerpt from *The Perpetual Dream: Reform and Experiment in the American College*. Includes chapter "Communal Expressives: Kresge College at Santa Cruz." (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1978), 79.

11. The editors have not been able to verify whether this story about siting Kresge College via barking is true.

12. In lieu of the dormitory-style housing provided at the other colleges, Kresge provided apartments, suites (which allowed students to have small single rooms), and octets. The octets were large housing spaces, intended for eight students, which the architects deliberately left unfinished. When the college opened, each group of eight students was given \$2,000 to design and build the inner walls and floors. The earlier octets had significant open and communal spaces, but

the ones designed later had more walls and individual rooms.

13. Harvey Milk (1930-1978) became one of the US's first openly gay political officials in 1977, when he was elected to the San Francisco Board of Supervisors. Tragically, both Milk and then-San Francisco Mayor George Moscone were fatally shot the following year by San Francisco Supervisor Dan White.

14. Gregory Bateson (1904-1980) was an English anthropologist, social scientist, linguist, visual anthropologist, semiotician, and cyberneticist who did interdisciplinary research and teaching. From 1936 to 1950, he was married to anthropologist Margaret Mead. Bateson died in 1980. The UCSC Library Special Collections is the home of the Gregory Bateson Papers. See MS 98: <http://pdf.oac.cdlib.org/pdf/ucsc/spcoll/ms98.pdf>.

15. Cultural anthropologist Shelly Errington was a longtime professor of anthropology at UCSC and one of the first women to work in that department. She received a MacArthur Foundation “genius grant” fellowship in 1981, the first year the prize was conferred.

16. Reti made these comments during her oral history interview with Helene Moglen.

17. May Diaz came to UCSC in 1974—first to Merrill College and then to Kresge, as provost, in 1974.

18. Madeline Moore was a professor of English literature at UCSC for twenty-two years and helped to establish the women's studies program. A scholar of Virginia Woolf, she also taught one of the first lesbian literature courses at UCSC. She died in 2015.

19. Marcia Millman retired in 2017 after forty-three years teaching sociology at UCSC.

20. Norma Wikler (1942-2002) was a professor of sociology at UCSC from 1971 to 1991. Among her notable publications was *Up Against the Clock: Career Women Speak on the Choice to Have Children* (1979).

21. Rita Mae Brown's first published novel, *Rubyfruit Jungle* came out in 1973.

22. Monique Wittig (1935-2003) was a French author and feminist theorist and novelist. One of her best-known books was *The Lesbian Body*, published in 1973.

23. “The Woman-Identified Woman” was a ten-paragraph manifesto written by the Radicalesbians Collective and self-published in 1970 in pamphlet form. It begins, “What is a lesbian? A lesbian is the rage of all women condensed to the

point of explosion.” This essay became one of the manifestos for the emerging lesbian-feminist movement.

24. Evelyn Hooker's research debunked the myth that homosexuals are inherently less mentally healthy than heterosexuals. Her work helped persuade the American Psychiatric Association to remove homosexuality from the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM)* in 1973.

25. Del Martin and Phyllis Lyon, *Lesbian/Woman* (Glide Publications, 1972). Martin and Lyon were among the founders of the lesbian rights organization Daughters of Bilitis in the 1950s in San Francisco, and were both editors of the lesbian magazine *The Ladder*. *Lesbian/Woman* described lesbian lives in a positive way almost unknown at the time.

26. Sidney Abbott and Barbara Love, *Sappho was a Right-On Woman: A Liberated View of Lesbianism* (New York: Stein and Day, 1972). This was another very early nonfiction book to discuss lesbianism in a positive light and to make a connection between lesbianism and feminism.

27. For many years, the UCSC Library ran a jitney to the UC Berkeley library so that students could do research at Berkeley and also so that interlibrary loan books could be ferried back and forth between libraries. Many students used the jitney as a form of transportation to the Bay Area.

28. The Radical Faeries are a loosely affiliated worldwide network and countercultural movement seeking to redefine queer consciousness through pagan spirituality and environmentalism.

29. Ruth Needleman taught women's studies and Latin American literature and studies at UCSC beginning in 1969. In the early seventies, she left UCSC to work for the United Farmworkers Union. She co-authored *Los gremios nacionales (The National Guilds)*, published by Editora Nacional Quimantú, a 1971 creation of Chilean president Salvador Allende's Unidad Popular government; the book deals with the right-wing counter-revolutionary strikes in Chile. Needleman also did labor organizing as a rank-and-file Teamster in a New York plastics sweatshop, and later at UPS in Detroit. In 1981 she became a professor of labor studies at Indiana University, retiring from that institution in 2010.

30. The Santa Cruz Women's Health Center (SCWHC) was founded in 1974 by the Santa Cruz Women's Health Collective. The collective combined a self-help women's health group that had been active in Santa Cruz for about two years with an abortion referral and counseling group. Many of SCWHC's original fourteen founders were UCSC students or graduates, or community activists in the home-



birth and women's-liberation movements. The early SCWHC provided rides to Oakland, where abortion was available, but eventually arranged for the procedure to be done in Santa Cruz. For one year, abortion services were provided in the office, but due to opposition from anti-abortionists, the collective was forced to discontinue those services and closed the clinic. In 1975, the center re-opened, obtained a clinic license from the state of California, and began to provide gynecological health care and health education— including birth control, VD testing and treatment, and pregnancy screening—to women in Santa Cruz County. The SCWHC remains a thriving organization today. For more, see the oral history *Ciel Benedetto: A History of the Santa Cruz Women's Health Center* at <https://cloudfront.escholarship.org/dist/prd/content/qt6bb2z21w/qt6bb2z21w.pdf?t=nr6y8q>.

31. Santa Cruz Women Against Rape was founded in 1972 as an “alternative anti-rape organization in which women support women” in response to “[concern] about the level of rape and violence against women in the community and the lack of sympathetic supportive services for women survivors.” They defined themselves as a “Socialist Feminist group committed to ending sexism, racism and classism” and operated as a non-hierarchical collective on a consensus basis. The organization offered a twenty-four-hour rape line and free self-defense workshops, circulated descriptions of reported rapists, assaulters and harassers on a monthly basis, and offered to support to women who wished to publicly confront rapists and sexual harassers outside of the legal system.

32. Nancy Chodorow was a feminist sociologist who taught at UCSC from 1974 to 1986.

## Illustrations

Figure 1. Kresge College Provost Robert Edgar with Kresge students, 1972. Courtesy Special Collections, University Library, University of California, Santa Cruz. UCSC Photography Services: UA50. ua0050\_neg\_sc2037\_12.tif.

Figure 2. Kresge College sextet dorm, early 1970s. Courtesy Special Collections, University Library, University of California, Santa Cruz. Public Information Office: UA 128: ua128\_019\_0014.

Figure 3. Family Student Housing: dome building, where Kresge courses were taught before the college buildings were completed. 1972. Courtesy Special Collections, University of California, Santa Cruz. UCSC Photography Services: UA050: ua0050\_neg\_sc2037\_26.tif.

Figure 4. Gregory Bateson. 1972. Courtesy Special Collections, University Library, University of California, Santa Cruz. Public Information Office: UA 128: ua0128\_pho\_0005\_gb.tif.

Figure 5. Kresge College, 1973. Courtesy Special Collections, University Library, University of California, Santa Cruz. UA 128: Public Information Office: ua0128\_sld\_b05p05s12.tif.

Figure 6. Poster for Women's Culture Day at Kresge, 1975. Courtesy Special Collections, University Library, University of California, Santa Cruz. UA 27: Out in the Redwoods Collection.

Figure 7. Helene Moglen, 1978. Courtesy Special Collections, University of California, Santa Cruz. UCSC Photography Services: UA050: ua0050\_neg\_sc7971a\_27.tif.

Figure 8. Carolyn Martin Shaw, 1978. Courtesy Special Collections, University of California, Santa Cruz. Photo courtesy of M.A. Stroud. UA 38: Regional History Project Records: MartinshawLD781S518S522015.tif.

## Chapter 14

# “Everything Changed”

## Radical Feminism and Gay Liberation

*So I said it. When I said it you could hear a pin drop. As far as we have been able to determine, I was the first professor in the United States ever to say that to a class.*

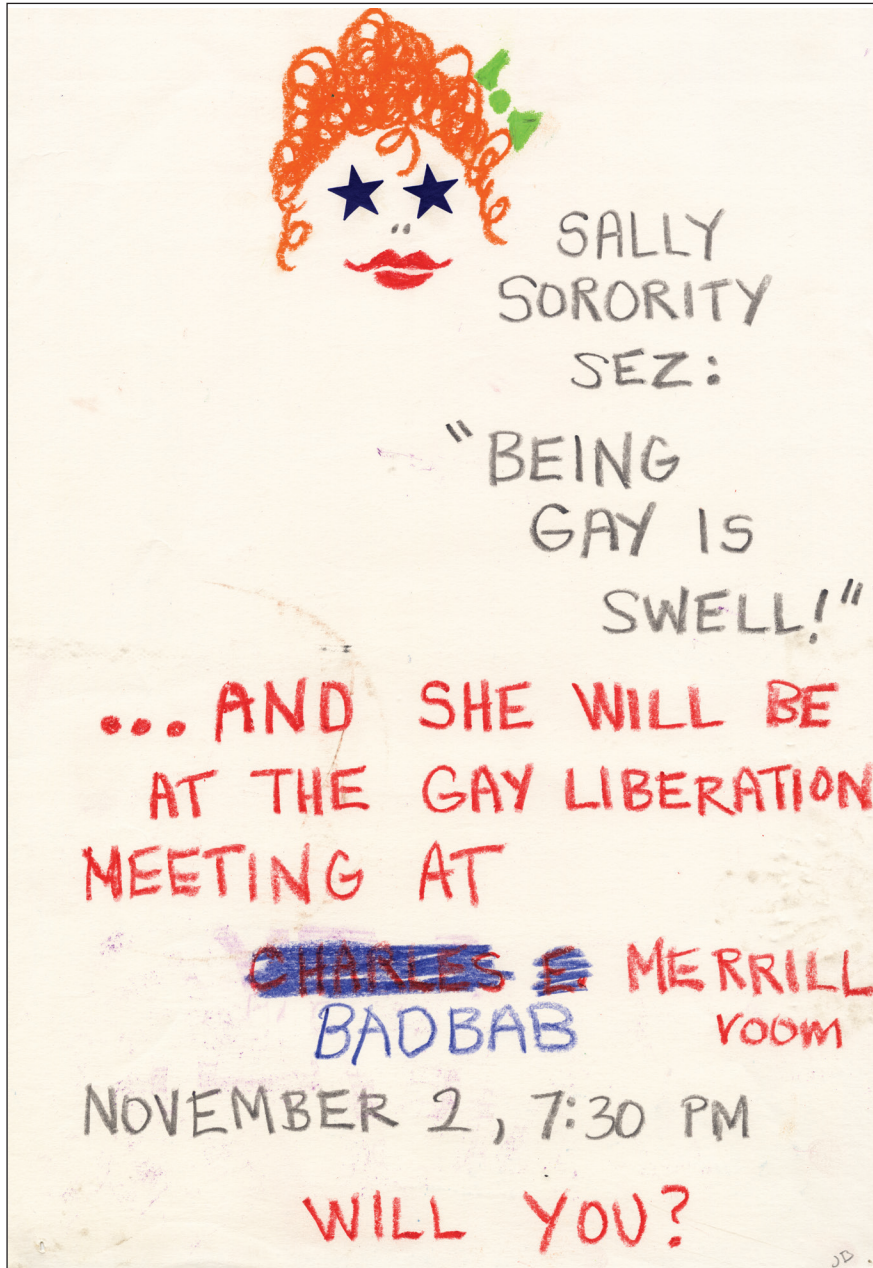
—Alan Sable

**Dave Kirk, Library Staff:** In the first years of the campus, I was going with a guy who lived in the trailers, but he didn't want me to come down there and pick him up, or meet him, or anything, or eat there. He didn't have any transportation and the bus system in those days may have come on campus once a day. So if we wanted to go to the movies, or go out, or anything, I had to come to campus and pick him up, but away from the East Field House, which was the main meeting building, and the trailers. I had to sort of park the car—talk about furtive. He could not let anybody know in the trailer unit that he was in, one, that he was going out with anyone male or female, but two, with a guy! I don't know what the real situation was of everybody living in those trailers. But that is something I had experience of, of the furtiveness of gay identity in those years.<sup>1</sup>

**Anonymous:** I graduated from Cowell College in 1971, and there was nothing “out” in the redwoods

that I knew about while I was here. I do remember in my senior year seeing a notice on a bulletin board saying, “Gay house looking for a roommate,” and thinking, oh my, this is something new. But at the same time, I don't think it was exactly an oppressive or repressive atmosphere. I thought it was an incredibly life-enhancing atmosphere. The campus was still very small. It was very easy to be queer, in the old-fashioned sense of the word. Everyone who came here was thought to be queer in those days. Because, after all, we were the hippies in the redwoods. People were doing all kinds of wonderful, strange, inventive things. And at the same time, the dormitories were still segregated into men's and women's dorms. The proctor came around to announce that visiting hours were over.<sup>2</sup>

**Katie King:** I had not come out to myself at that point. But one of the first things I did when I arrived on campus was to take out all of the books



---

Figure 1

Handmade poster, 1972

---

on lesbianism that were in the library. There were actually only two books. And then I took out all these other books from the HQ section.<sup>3</sup>

**Stephen Klein:** HQ76 stacks in the library were the place to meet other gay people. It wasn't like a small town library, where you could look at the cards to see who checked the book out, not like Lake County, or other places in the world. But would there be other people browsing in that section? Would that be a way of meeting people?

**Katie King:** I did also read Colette<sup>4</sup> and Pierre Louÿs<sup>5</sup> and those people. So I had a stack of books from the library in my dorm room, in the corner. My roommate said to me, “Katie, is there anything you would like to tell me?” I said, “No.” That was before we did the Gay Students Union. I was thinking about these things. But naturally, my way of doing this was to read all the books in the library first.

I would have been scared to come out before I came to Santa Cruz, but Santa Cruz was a fairly, “anything kind of goes” place, which was, for me, very good. I was kind of a contradictory person to myself and to my buddies because of coming from the military, and yet then also getting involved in feminist and antiwar stuff kind of right away. At the same time, I think I came across as very conservative and innocent in certain ways. But here I was, doing all these things that were sort of somehow not. The campus was a great place for that kind of safe exploration for me, of sexuality, gender.

When I first got here in 1970 and we formed the Gay Students Union, homosexuality was still against the law, was still considered a mental illness. Some of the people who got involved in the Gay Students Union had been involuntarily put in mental institutions by their parents, and some people had been prosecuted. Here we are, we are

seventeen, eighteen, nineteen-year-old people. In the state of California if you were eighteen and you were lovers with someone seventeen, you could have been criminally liable for delinquency of a minor.

**Nancy Stoller:** There were very few out faculty on campus at the time.

**Carter Wilson, Professor:** I do remember there was a guy, Alan Sable, who was in sociology, who later left and became a therapist in San Francisco. But he was not out. I remember one time at a party him saying, or us agreeing, that we would like to get to know each other better, or something like that. Then he said to me—talk about code—he said something about, well, maybe if I really knew about him, I wouldn't like him so much. I said, “Why?” He said, “Well, because of what I do when I go away to San Francisco on the weekends.” When I thought that conversation over, I thought, well, what's his secret? His secret is probably that he's gay.

**Alan Sable:** In 1971, I was co-teaching a class with a woman, Norma Wikler, also in sociology. It was a class on American society. We would always begin the first day by giving our assumptions about who we were. She would say that she was Jewish, that she was a feminist, and she was a Marxist. I would say I had a working-class origin, and I was a Marxist, and I probably said I was a revolutionary. She probably did too. One of the primary things we wanted to teach was that knowledge is biased and comes from the perspective of who is speaking, thinking, or feeling.

About a week before the class I said, “Norma, I'm also going to say that I'm gay to the class.” She was supportive, but a little hesitant. It was a crisis in our relationship. We were very good friends and had taught together several years. On the way to

the class, which was in Natural Sciences I or II, a big lecture class, a very popular class, she said, "Alan, I don't want you to say you're gay." I said, "Norma, why?" and she said, "I don't want to lose my job." I said, "You're not gay. I'm gay," and she said, "It will affect me, and it will affect you, and I don't think you should say it because you'll lose your job." I said, "Oh, Norma, that doesn't happen. This is Santa Cruz." Even then, it had this liberal reputation, even though everyone was in the closet. We were walking over together, and we were sort of angry at each other. I said, "Why do you tell me this now, three minutes before the class?" She said, "Alan, you can't risk my career because you want to say something." That was her perspective, and my perspective was, "You're just dumping this on me and you're not supporting me." We separated. I can still see us separating on the path.

Then we got in front of the class, getting organized while all the students were filtering in. We were getting our papers in piles. She came up to me and said, "Alan, you can say it," and I said, "Oh, thank you, Norma." I know she wasn't happy, but it took a kind of courage on her part. I didn't know what to do, because part of me was going to say it anyway, and then part of me thought, no, I shouldn't do that with Norma. I probably wouldn't have said it. It wasn't a full-fledged endorsement, but it was enough. She stepped over that line of being willing to take a risk with me.

So I said it. When I said it you could hear a pin drop. As far as we have been able to determine, I was the first professor in the United States ever to say that to a class. *City on a Hill* did some research; we were never able to find anyone else who had said it. There became this silence in class, and then we went on to other things and introduced the rest of the course.

**Nancy Stoller:** As far as I knew, I was definitely the only out lesbian tenure-track faculty person. Alan Sable was the only really out male gay person, and not enormously out, but out. I think people in his department knew.

**Kate King:** Some of the people who were from history of consciousness and other people too, put on a conference.<sup>6</sup> That conference ended up creating an ongoing group of people who met weekly. After a sort of beginning kind of political meeting, or sort of a catching-everybody-up meeting together, we would break up into two groups: one male and one female. The women were mostly doing feminist activist type stuff, although at that time we all thought of ourselves as gay women and gay men. I used the word "lesbian" at that time for Sappho. I studied ancient Greek and I had read the Greek lesbian poet Sappho, all that stuff. But it was still something of a literary, old-fashioned term.

**Dave Kirk:** In April of 1972, I started working at UCSC with the Office of Instructional Services,<sup>7</sup> as it was called, in what was called the Learning and Language Laboratory. In 1972, I also went to my first gay pride march in San Francisco, because the Santa Cruz gay group went.

When I started working at the university, a group of people got together; a meeting was held; a number of gay people showed up, and the outgrowth of that was starting a gay group at Cabrillo College. There was no group at UCSC in 1972. Evidently, sometime after the school was founded, between 1968 and 1970, there was a gay group on campus. All of this is legendary, because I have never heard of anybody who was in it or took part in it.

There was always talk that there had been a group, but the people had all graduated, or went away, and it died for lack of support. So, being a new employee up there, I thought, "Why isn't

everyone invited to the  
public events, workshops  
dinner for women

STATE - WIDE

# WOMEN'S STUDIES CONFERENCE

COWELL COLLEGE • UCSC

SAT. \* APRIL 17 & 18  
SUN

\* WORKSHOPS  
\* SPEAKERS  
\* PANEL DISCUSSIONS  
\* EVERYWOMAN, a play about  
women's history

WOMEN, IS THE UNIVERSITY  
LOADED AGAINST YOU?  
from the time you start til you get your PHD?

Come + discuss it!

whatever your major is:  
workshops on women in the  
arts, sciences, social sciences, etc.  
--women & the media; women &  
free community liberation schools, etc.  
Sunday-speakers from San Diego State  
women's studies program  
(maybe even a male chauvinism workshop!.....)

registration - 9 a.m. Sat., Cowell  
Dining Hall  
keynote speakers 11 a.m. - Women's Studies &  
Women's Liberation (coordinators of  
Women's Caucus, New University Conference)  
2 p.m.--  
Gay Liberation, Chicano Liberation, Black  
Liberation & the Women's Movement  
7:30 --Merrill College Dining Hall: a play

Figure 2

Statewide Women's Studies Conference, Cowell College, April 17-18, 1971

there a group at UCSC? Let's get a group at UCSC."

**Alan Sable:** Gay students started to come to me, both men and women, and said, "You're a gay professor. Will you sponsor a gay organization?" You needed a faculty sponsor for every student organization. So suddenly, they were asking me not just to use gayness as a way of explaining my feminism as an intellectual thing, but asking me to sponsor the organization and help organize it. I did. So the students came to me, and then we started to organize. That made me also come out to the administration, at least implicitly, because now on some forms I was the sponsor of this organization. At that time, homophobia was so strong that people would assume that you must be gay to do it; who would do that? It was a kind of coming out.

**Dave Kirk:** I remember a meeting at Alan Sable's office. He was a faculty member at UCSC in politics, and I remember there were about five to seven of us all sitting around in the chairs and on the floor of his office, discussing how to get a group started on campus. I pursued, with my end of the informational stuff, finding out through the student activities office what one needed to do to form a group. And with good old UCSC, all you needed was a faculty sponsor and four people who wanted to sign their name on a piece of paper to form a group. So, we said, "Well, let's do it." This was in 1975.

We created this great gay coalition and put on the first-ever Santa Cruz Gay Pride celebration. It wasn't a parade. We had no parade, but we had a whole weekend of events. There were concerts, a dance. We had public forums; we had a program with people leading panel discussions on all sorts of issues—coming out, and being gay in school, gay parents, and gay politics. We had a dance out

at Cabrillo. The great Lou Harrison, a composer of worldwide fame, gave a concert. Then we followed it up with a celebration, a picnic in San Lorenzo Park. We had probably two hundred people show up. We had organized games. We had sack races; we had the raw egg toss; we had a huge rope and we had a tug-of-war across the San Lorenzo River—the gay men against the dykes. The dykes won, of course.

After that, we had potlucks. There were events held every month, if not more often. We had a film series at the big theater on campus at that time, charged general admission. We showed gay-themed movies; even the general campus community came to see good, fun movies that had gay characters in them, positive-imagined stuff. At some point, we took over the Kresge College Commuter Lounge and we had our potlucks there for a whole year or so. One whole floor of Crown College was a gay floor and the guy who was the residential assistant for that dorm used to organize field trips and get the campus buses. We'd all go to San Francisco for gay parades, or Halloween, or other events.

**David Thomas:** I was of this generation born in the 1930s. I tried to be straight, go straight. I had had an intimate relationship with my best friend in high school. But then I went to college. All that, I was trying to put behind me. When I came here, I was thirty-two and I was not out. In fact, I was still marginally even trying to be straight. It didn't happen until another seven years or so.

For me, coming out, as for most people of my generation, was a much more protracted period. The year I came out, 1973, was also the year that I got tenure, which perhaps had something to do with it, I think—not in terms of a cold, material calculation, but more in the sense of having a certain security. I bought a house, and I began a long-term, four-year relationship. All



---

Figure 3

Alan Sable at Gay and Lesbian Alliance meeting, 1977

Photographer unknown

---



that happened within six months, so that was a serious turning point. Through the 1970s, I was out socially, but I was not yet out politically, or in my work.

**Carter Wilson:** In the fall of 1977, a friend of mine who was in politics encouraged me to get to know David Thomas, because she knew that David was gay. I guess that David was still in the closet, but she knew his circumstances. He was living with this Chicano guy, had a house full of people, friends of different sexual persuasions. I did befriend David. He was easy to befriend. At Halloween in 1977, I was invited to a party at David's house, which happened to be a house I had lived in when I first came to Santa Cruz, before David had it. It was a costume party, and I knew there would be gay people there.

I was so anxious. I was the cat on the hot tin roof, you know. I couldn't figure out a costume at that point. I went as Freud's idea of the return of the repressed. A concept costume. The way I did that, was I put on my nicest suit, which I knew I looked okay in, and then I had things like babies' rattles and teething rings and different kinds of symbols of the past returned. Nobody got it at all. But it didn't matter. It got me to the party. I was thirty-five, and I came right straight out of the closet.

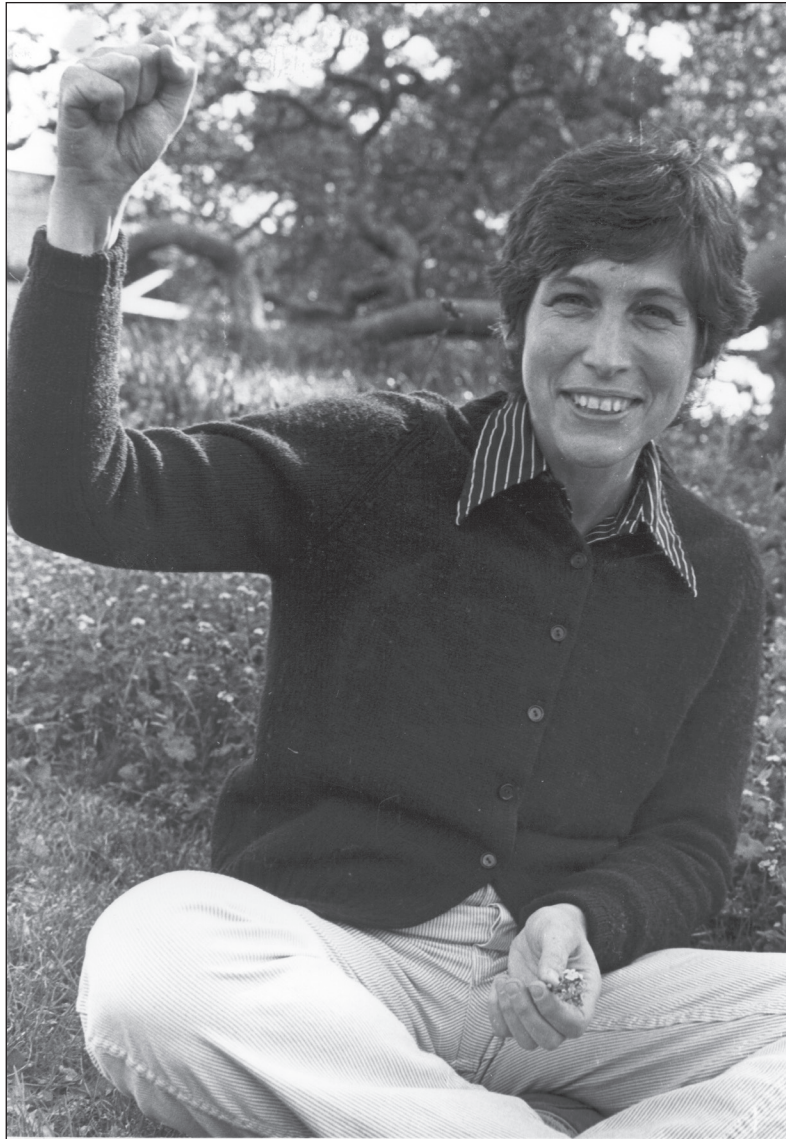
**Scott Brookie, Student:** I came out while living in the dorms in Stevenson College. My first year was 1974 to 1975. I got a girlfriend about a month after I arrived, and yet there would be times when a particular guy named Kenny and I would have sex in the bathtub room in the bathrooms at Stevenson College. And that was okay with my girlfriend. In fact, my girlfriend's other boyfriend, who was also my ex-boyfriend, also had sex with Kenny. We were a busy group in 1975-76. I was rooming in the dorms with my friend John. I had

a hopeless crush on John. Once in a while, I could get John to have sex with me, not very often—not nearly often enough.

And then I got a crush on a guy named Matthew, who somehow I knew wasn't entirely straight. I made him a very special valentine. He was a religious studies major and I took a picture of Jesus casting the money-changers out of the temple and wrote "Be My Valentine" on it in fancy script and delivered it to his mailbox. He became my valentine; he became my boyfriend; he was my first boyfriend.

But still, I was bisexual. This was 1976, so we called it being Bisexual for the Bicentennial. I marched in my first Santa Cruz Gay Pride march that year with a sign that said (oh, this is the Anita Bryant period): "Hey Anita, can bisexuals only work half-days in Dade County?"<sup>8</sup> I was still very homophobic and it was still a very homophobic time. I was aware of one professor, David Thomas. There were rumors he was gay, and I thought that was just awful; that was gross. And there was another professor, Bill Shipley, who directed a play that I was in, and there was a rumor about Bill Shipley being gay and I would check that out with people. I thought, yes, that would be a tragic thing, to be gay.

**Nancy Stoller:** It was an exciting time, that period of the mid-1970s. Politics in Santa Cruz was affected by feminism, as well as by gay liberation. A radical atmosphere had enveloped the campus from the late 1960s, and the educational atmosphere here right from the beginning—really young faculty, very progressive: supportive of engaged scholarship and teaching—was wonderful. The boundaries between the university and the community were very, very porous. For example, the Santa Cruz Women's Health Collective (which later became the Women's Health Center) had a lot of staff who were students. As a feminist



---

Figure 4

Nancy Shaw (Stoller), Circa 1982

Photographer Unknown

---

organization, the collective was also a place where there was experimentation and openness about sexuality. We used to joke that everybody involved in the health collective had slept with each other: sometimes in groups, sometimes singly, in different combinations, and so on.

There was the women's music scene. I remember in 1973 or 1974 going to a house concert for Cris Williamson while she was having her very first tour. She had just put out her first record, *The Changer and the Changed*.<sup>9</sup> It was woman-focused, lesbian music. I'm not sure if she performed on campus, but there was advertising for it. "Woman-identified" was a code word. Everyone I knew knew that it meant lesbian.

**Ziesel Saunders:** The Women's Health Collective did health education. There were lots of lesbians involved in founding the organization, but most of the services we had were pretty much for straight women, birth control and abortion. Gynecological health was for everyone, but we didn't have specific programs for lesbians.

There were places that people worked to meet each other. People worked at the cannery; people worked at O'Neill's Surf Shop. There were a bunch of places and when you're a lesbian you just kind of knew, because the community was much smaller. All the older dykes who had been in the community a long time called us baby dykes. At one point, I had meetings at my house every Friday night, and usually there were just college-aged people, but one night all these lesbians from the mountains came, and they were totally shocked at us, because they thought that we were all so sexual and so non-monogamous, and also we were stronger feminists than they were. The sort-of older lesbian community wasn't so feminist-oriented.

**Nancy Stoller:** I think that expressing in my personal life my desire and affection and love for women opened up that feeling of an openness to women that I brought with me when I did my prison work or other kinds of activism. When I would be working on something, whether it would be organizing a weekend at the prison, or teaching at the prison, or writing something, I felt a continuity between my own feelings, my research, the social practices that made my research possible, and the enjoyment of being in an environment with predominately or all women—either organizers or people who were incarcerated, or dealing with some kinds of health problems. It might not explicitly have anything to do with being a lesbian. I might be advocating about breast cancer services, or something like that. You know there is an expression: "Feminism is the theory, lesbianism is the practice?" Well, that kind of worked out in some ways for me, not my lesbianism in the sense of my sexual practice, but my day-to-day life involvement with women.

I think being a lesbian made it much easier for me to do a lot of the work that I did. It connected me to a feminist radicalism, which had at its core lesbians, and/or women who didn't pay too much attention to the men who were in their lives, and focused their attention on working with women.

**De Clarke:** Until 1985, the finals for the Miss California Pageant, that venerable institution, took place in Santa Cruz. Miss California started out as a beach tourist attraction. It was the swimsuit competition for the bathing beauties. If you go back to the teens, you see these pictures of the girls who all look like Betty Boop to us because they are all in this 1920s costume. I guess this is why Santa Cruz ended up being the home of Miss California, because we were a famous beach resort, with the Santa Cruz Boardwalk and everything.

DO YOU KNOW WHAT

**SELF-HELP**

IS ?

**SELF-HELP GIVES WOMEN**

**CONTROL OVER OUR OWN BODIES**

A group of women not long ago, banded together to seriously consider some mutual questions concerning the care of their reproductive and excreting organs. It all came about because each of us seemed to be getting the same kind of no-help from our physicians. We made a discovery at our first meeting. In order to better understand what we were talking about, we had to look. So we encountered our first, last, and only hang-up in the entire rap self-help clinic. And we did it with the help of 5% courage and 95% curiosity. With the help of a speculum, a mirror, and a lamp it became quite simple to examine ourselves for irritations, infections, discharges, changes on the cervix. We feel another important aspect of this clinic is to talk about the political implications of women being able to control their own bodies; giving abortion referrals, becoming fully aware of the great need for abolishing all laws that control and restrict women. We are continuing to live under outrageous laws and barbaric medical practices. We believe that in learning to accept the care and knowledge of our own physical selves, we will be well on the road to self determination. We will also be able to recognize problems early, so as to seek professional help quickly. We feel that by far the most important aspect of our self-help clinic is in its political implications that we women have the right to control our own bodies.

**demonstration & workshop**

**TUESDAY, OCT. 19**

**MERRILL DORM A RM. 247 10 am - 4 pm**

**925 KING ST., S.C. 7-10 pm**

*Women Together*

Figure 5

Self-help women's reproductive rights flyer from Women Together, October 1971

The Miss California Pageant used to take place at the Civic Auditorium in Santa Cruz.

**John Daly:** One of our biggest projects when I worked with the Chamber of Commerce was the Miss California Pageant, which extended our early summer season by two weeks.

**De Clarke:** Nikki Craft, the feminist activist who started out in Texas, lived in Santa Cruz for quite a while.<sup>10</sup> She was one of the first people I ever met who had a genuine, rather than a posturing contempt for authority. Many people used to say, “Oh, screw authority,” and all that stuff. But she had no fear of being arrested. She had no fear of police. She had no fear of authority in any form. She feared them in the sense that she knew that if the state becomes really fascist, the police can come and kill you. She wasn’t out of touch with reality. But she had no attachment to respectability.

And of course the Miss California Pageant was a very obvious target for feminists. Because you couldn’t ask for a more vivid illustration of the assembly line that turns young women into Barbie dolls. So Nikki and a small hard-core of troublemaking friends targeted this pageant, targeted it in every way, with ridicule, with civil disobedience.

Especially if you were a college-educated female, and you were a feminist, there was something deeply irritating about seeing these women parading around in swimsuits and high heels in order to get a college tuition grant from the Miss California foundation. In order to get access to a college education, these women had to go through a kind of semi-civilized burlesque show. They had to put on this performance of femininity and sexiness and cuteness, and being Miss Personality. This could be regarded as the pinnacle of achievement for a young woman’s life—that somehow

a bunch of creaky old people rated her ten-out-of-ten for her breasts.

For us, as young feminists at that time, knowing what we knew about the seamy side of all of this stuff, with beauty standards and turning women into sex objects, knowing what we knew about the pornography and the misogyny and so forth, we just couldn’t deal with this big, happy-face Miss California thing.

What Nikki wanted to do was make the connection between objectifying women and violence against women. When you turn women into second-class citizens, it becomes more acceptable to commit violence because women are less human than men. We were trying desperately to just get people to wake up.<sup>11</sup>

**Ziesel Saunders:** Eventually most lesbians that I hung out with got more hooked up with doing feminist stuff. I think eventually a lot of us were more aligned with doing stuff for women, and much less aligned with doing certain gay stuff. There was a larger movement to be lesbian separatists and have nothing to do with men at all.

**De Clarke:** Nikki did wonderful things. One of the statements that was made by civil disobedience was that women who had been raped had their blood drawn in small amounts, and in a public civil disobedience ceremony actually sprinkled their own blood on the steps of the Civic where people had to walk over it to go into this event. Also, there was a woman named Ann Simonton, who was a strong feminist, an advocate against sexism and misogyny in mass media and popular culture.<sup>12</sup> She was an ex-model who had modeled for *Sports Illustrated* and other big-name magazines. She had a dress designed that was made out of luncheon meat; she wore this incredibly heavy, disgusting evening gown made out of Oscar Meyer luncheon meat with someone walking behind her

with a sign saying, “Women Are Not Meat.” It was very creative.

The Myth California stuff was serious but it was also *really* fun. Nikki took a Barbie doll and made a mold. She was a ceramic artist and she mass-produced ceramic Barbies from this mold. Every one of them was hand-painted, and they each had a little sash, like a Miss California contestant. And each one had a name like: Miss Guided, Miss Directed, Miss Used. She made a huge display with this army of ceramic Barbies with these satirical sashes, and a giant globe of the world surmounted by a garland of erect penises with American flags sticking out of them, all on the back of her pickup truck. It was art. It was performance art. And it was spectacular. It was outrageous. Of course, some people were very, very upset by it.

**Alan Sable:** In June 1977, after all the students had left at the very end of the spring quarter, I got the letter denying my tenure. When the students came back in the fall, it was publicized in *City on a Hill Press*, and the UCSC Gay and Lesbian Association [GALA] started to organize around this issue. GALA made my case an issue, and also the Anita Bryant issue was coming up. They used that as a national counterpart, in a way, to what was happening at the local level. Those were the two big issues for them that year. But increasingly, as there were bigger and bigger demonstrations, and as people got more and more organized, my case became the primary focus of GALA. At one point, there were several rallies of thousands of students, actually. The campus only had five or six thousand students at the time, and we might have three or four thousand at rallies, so there was an enormous support from straight students, as well as gay students, for my case.

After I came out, I really did not feel prejudice from students. Students seemed quite open

to me. I never had any overt homophobic statements made to me. Students were quite supportive and liked me as a teacher. They were more open to how I taught, straight students as well as gay students. I never encountered homophobia. It was the faculty who had a distancing behavior from me. I never had any conscious homophobic remarks made to me by the faculty either, nothing blatant, but just kind of strange treatment as being different somehow. I think it might have been quite unconscious on their part. I know that one of the committees that considered tenure at Merrill had a student member. He reported that he had raised the issue at Merrill, and all the faculty said, “Oh, that’s not an issue. We’re not even going to talk about it. It’s irrelevant.”<sup>13</sup>

We would think it is relevant to be the first out professor, perhaps in the United States, certainly at Santa Cruz, and that might be considered an asset. Certainly today, it probably would be under the idea of diversity, but in those days, there was this kind of liberal ideology that one wouldn’t consider any of those factors. The faculty’s perspective was, well, we’re not looking at that issue at all. Which we can now understand as homophobia, and the students understood as homophobia, but the faculty wouldn’t. I understood it as homophobia at the time too. It’s that subtle kind of discrimination; it wasn’t anything overt or vicious, but it was a blindness, perhaps, to the value of other perspectives.

Some of the closeted professors I knew were gay started to shun me in some ways, because I think they were afraid of outing, even though we didn’t have that concept at the time, and even though it wasn’t an impulse on my part, or the students’ part. I think they were afraid, sort of instinctively, that to associate with me, or us, might out them. I remember two of them, in particular, at that first rally were hanging on the outskirts of the crowd listening to the speeches. One of them later

became a very major figure at Santa Cruz in terms of pushing queer studies. I went up to him and said, "It's nice to see you here" (or something), and he said, "Oh, I want you to know I don't support you at all. I think there's no place for homosexuality in the university." Another faculty at the same rally, who was hanging at the side, much less angrily and much less dismissively, actually fairly apologetically, mumbled, "Oh, I'm sorry I can't do anything to help." So, there were very different attitudes, one more an attitude of rejection, the other an attitude of apology, or almost being ashamed of not being able to be a part of it.

We gradually had more and more rallies and moved them to Central Services, and at one point actually occupied the building for a weekend. The police were called in and organized to arrest everyone. The organizers decided just to evacuate the building rather than have the arrests and the confrontation. That was probably the high point of the pressure on the university. We did have a kind of continuing sit-in for a couple months at the chancellor's office, an unobstructive sit-in in which the chancellor's wife provided cookies and things for us, which was very nice.

The ethnic group that was most supportive was (which was somewhat surprising to me) the Chicanos, as they were called at that time. Mexican Americans somewhat had the stereotype of being homophobic, but, in fact, they were the most supportive. I'm speaking of the faculty. The fact that they were very loyal came out of my history of always having supported the farmworkers. I was very touched by that. Katia Panas, who was the counselor at Merrill, and had her office next door to me. Although she had a Greek background, she somehow identified very strongly as a Chicana, and with the farmworkers' movement. We were good friends, and she was very helpful in me starting a new career as a therapist. Ralph Guzmán was there. He was one of the founders

of community studies, and he organized a lot of the first Chicano students there, or helped them connect community studies with their lives and with the farmworkers' lives. I was disappointed that the other ethnic groups, and that other radical professors, didn't take any interest in the case. I had several Marxist professors come up and say, "We don't understand how gayness is a Marxist issue," or, "Why is that a working-class issue? We know that the working class doesn't contain homosexuals." Ridiculous statements, that maybe are homophobic, but I've thought of them as more stupid than homophobic.

I remember at one point hugging the chancellor before I was fired. He had made a speech on my behalf. I hugged him in front of a rally at the chancellor's office at Central Services<sup>14</sup> and thousands of students cheered. I think they saw it as a homosexual hug or something, which it wasn't. I don't know if he was gay or not, I have no idea, but I didn't perceive him as gay. I was just hugging out of warmth and thanks for his support, but that felt good. It was the first time I had ever encountered a kind of public celebration of gayness. There was, again, enormous support from students, but lack of support from the faculty. I don't know if they were trying to see things professionally or trying to handle it as an academic question, and not trying to see it politically and handle it as a question of sexual politics. I think that's the fundamental problem. Very few people were willing to take it on as an issue of sexual politics at that time.<sup>15</sup>

**Scott Brookie:** The campus administration at that time was located in what is now Hahn Student Services. It was called Central Services then. By 1977, people were organizing about the regents divesting from South Africa. We called ourselves CAIR, the Coalition Against Institutionalized

Racism. It was one of those student movements that sprang up and took the campus by storm.

Things built to a head, and one night, May 25, 1977—right around there, give or take three days—401 students stormed the building, occupied the chancellor’s office, and were arrested for doing that. I was working downtown and helping to organize the restaurant I worked at into a union, and I didn’t want to get arrested, plus, I was kind of scared.

But I remember seeing my friend Jeremy. As people surged into the building, he was on the upper balcony and he blew me a kiss. That was the moment I came out, because I realized that gay men had this kind of freedom to do these outrageous things, like blow each other kisses from a

balcony in front of hundreds of people to a friend who was many dozens of yards away. I thought, that’s me. I’m the kind of person who wants to blow kisses at other guys. Clearly, since I’d been having sex since I was thirteen, it wasn’t about sex. It was about the freedom not to be so rigidly masculine, and not to be so isolated from other men.

So that’s when I came out. There were many speeches that day, of course, it being a coalition of student activism. The students were progressive enough to include a gay speaker. Then Jeremy blew me a kiss and everything changed.




---

Figure 6

Cover of course reader for student-directed seminar in women’s studies. Drawing by Rachel Harwood

---



## Endnotes

1. For a detailed LGBT history of UCSC see, Irene Reti, ed. *Out in the Redwoods: Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender History at the University of California, Santa Cruz, 1965-2003*.
2. This narrator has chosen anonymity for protection—a choice the Regional History Project allows narrators to make, in accordance with endorsed best practices in the oral history field.
3. HQ [Family, Marriage, Women, and Sexuality] is a Library of Congress cataloging classification that applies to many books in women's studies and queer studies.
4. Colette (1873-1954), born Sidonie-Gabrielle Colette, was a French lesbian novelist.
5. Pierre Louÿs was a late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century French poet and novelist whose books were known for their lesbian characters.
6. Statewide Women's Studies Conference, Cowell College, UCSC, April 17 & 18, 1971.
7. Now the David Kirk Digital Scholarship Commons in McHenry Library.
8. Anita Bryant (b. 1940) is an American singer, anti-gay activist, and former Miss Oklahoma beauty pageant winner; she worked from 1969-1979 as a brand ambassador for the Florida Citrus Commission, helping to market orange juice. In 1977, Bryant ran a "Save Our Children" campaign that resulted in the repeal of a local ordinance in Dade County, Florida that prohibited discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation. The success of Bryant's campaign galvanized her opponents, however, and the gay community retaliated by organizing an orange juice boycott.
9. In 1975, Cris Williamson recorded *The Changer And The Changed* with Olivia Records, the first woman-owned, woman-focused record company, which she also helped found. Her music became a hit in the emerging genre of women's music. For a history of women's music see Bonnie J. Morris, *Eden Built by Eves: The Culture of Women's Music Festivals* (Alyson Books, 1999).
10. Nikki Craft has been documenting and protesting against beauty pageants and pornography since the mid-1970s. See: <https://www.nikkicraft.com/>.
11. See *Myth California 1982 to 1983* for archival images of this protest: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=agyEAhwrVUU>.

12. For the past thirty years, Ann Simonton has led a Santa Cruz-based feminist organization called Media Watch, which challenges racism, sexism, and violence in media. See [http://www.mediawatch.com/?page\\_id=6](http://www.mediawatch.com/?page_id=6).

13. Until reorganization, colleges and boards shared the power to grant tenure; both entities voted on a faculty member's tenure case.

14. Now called Hahn Student Services.

15. Alan Sable was a professor of sociology at UCSC from 1970 to 1977; he was the first openly gay faculty member on campus, and was denied tenure. His gayness was probably an issue in his tenure denial, but that was not explicitly stated in any formal document.

## Illustrations

Figure 1. "Being Gay is Swell." Handmade Gay Liberation Poster, 1972. Courtesy Special Collections, University Library, University of California Santa Cruz, UA60: University of California, Santa Cruz. UCSC Poster Collection: ua060\_010\_0023.

Figure 2. Women's Studies conference (statewide) at Cowell College, UCSC, April 17-18, 1971. Poster. Courtesy Special Collections, University Library, University of California, Santa Cruz. UA 70: UCSC Ephemera Collection: ua070-0029.

Figure 3. Alan Sable at Gay and Lesbian Alliance Meeting, 1977. Courtesy Special Collections, University Library, University of California, Santa Cruz. UA 27: Out in the Redwoods Collection.

Figure 4. Nancy Shaw (Stoller). Courtesy Special Collections, University Library, University of California, Santa Cruz. Circa 1982. UA 27: Out in the Redwoods Collection: ua27-0029.

Figure 5. Self-help women's reproductive rights flyer. Women Together. October 1971. Courtesy Special Collections, University Library, University of California, Santa Cruz, UA 70: UCSC Ephemera Collection: ua070-0027.

Figure 6. Cover of course reader for student-directed seminar in women's studies. Drawing by Rachel Harwood. Courtesy Special Collections, University Library, University of California, Santa Cruz. UA 27: Out in the Redwoods Collection.

## Chapter 15

# “To Be More Complete Human Beings”

The Formation of College Five and the Kindling of the Arts

*I wanted a dancer in as many academic courses as possible, so they weren't just taking dance. As a benefit to the university, we could produce people that could go out as artists into the world, as a product of UCSC, and be valuable contributors wherever they went. We could teach people to be more complete human beings.*

—Ruth Solomon

### “Everything was a Stage”:

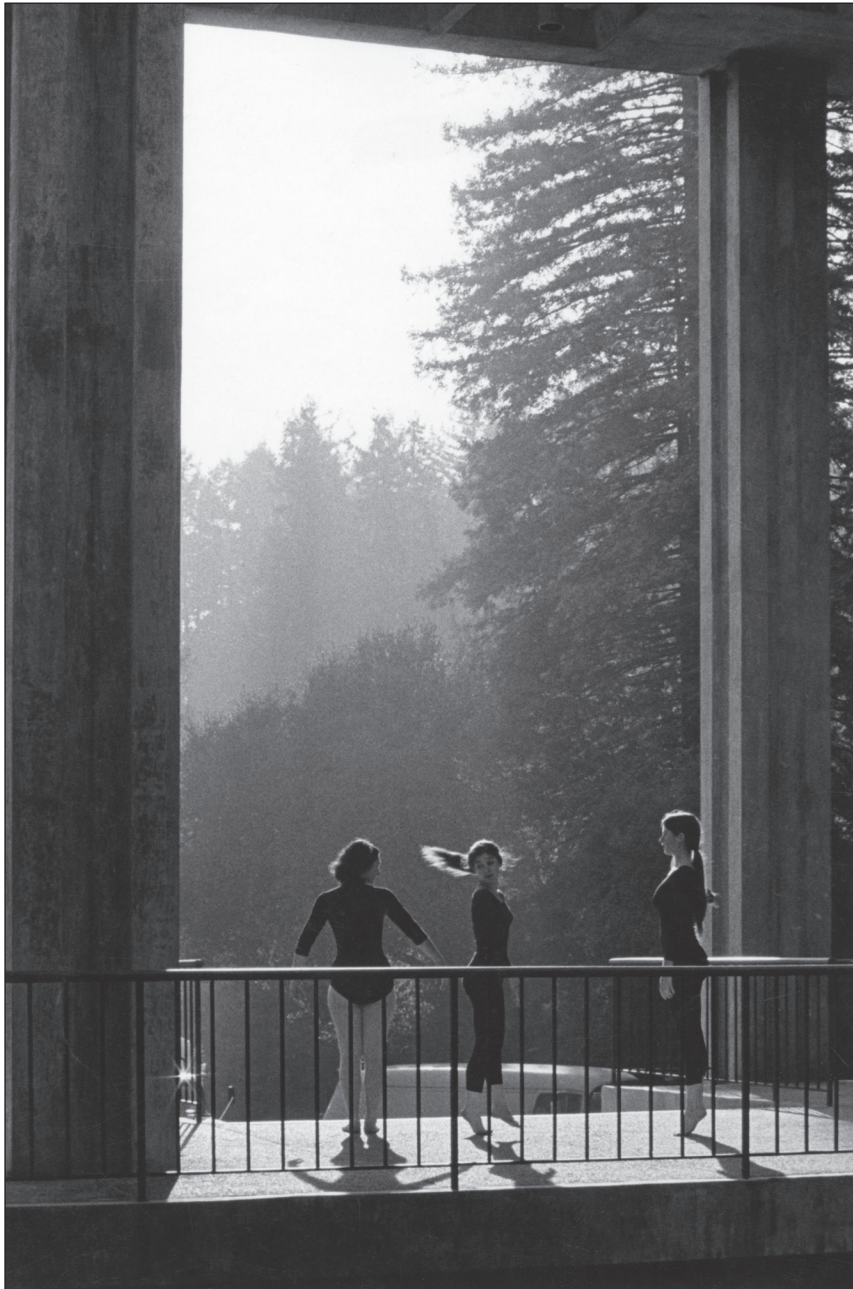
#### The Arts Struggle for Funding and Facilities

**Ruth Solomon:** When I first came, there were no studios. There was nothing. I taught my classes in Stevenson Dining Hall in between meals, with them setting up for the next meal. Everything was a stage; everything you looked at was a performance space. If it had steps, it was a stage. It was the way the sixties developed and I came here right at the end of the sixties. I would find these secret places on campus, this limestone kiln, which is a place nobody knew about, and we put dancers in the bricks in the limestone kiln, speaking the poetry of MacLeish.<sup>1</sup> That was one scene. One section was in this huge oak tree, where all the dancers hung from the tree.

**Page Smith:** My wife, Eloise,<sup>2</sup> and I felt from the very beginning that art should be part of the daily

lives of the students at the college. In that spirit, we had exhibitions in the dining hall. We tried to encourage drama and we got Althea Short, a dancer, to come on a part-time, makeshift basis since there was no formal provision for anybody in dance before Ruth Solomon arrived. We had artist Beatrice Terzian Thompson come and used college funds, money that we raised from parents and student fee money, to bring painters and sculptors to the college.<sup>3</sup> Eloise, during the first and second years, set up the Cowell Gallery.

**Jean Rose:** Eloise Pickard Smith appointed Beatrice Thompson. Beatrice Thompson was, I think, a pupil of Mary Holmes, and a brilliant teacher. Her work in ordinary children's schools was quite brilliant. This all impressed Eloise and



---

Figure 1

Dancers practicing at McHenry Library

Photo by UCSC Photography Services

---

she thought, well, we want to teach drawing to our students in Cowell.

**Page Smith:** The university began appointing people in the arts. Gurdon Woods came<sup>4</sup> and other people were appointed to the art faculty, but initially we had nobody. We had Mary Holmes and Jasper Rose in Cowell, but they were both part time, in the sense of having other responsibilities, particularly Jasper.

**Doug McClellan, Professor:** The situation with the arts in the early 1970s was more or less a balkanization. Each provost of a college had a lot to say about the hiring. So the faculty at that time was slightly dispersed and quite different. There was Don Weygandt,<sup>5</sup> Hardy Hanson,<sup>6</sup> Patrick Aherne,<sup>7</sup> Doyle Foreman,<sup>8</sup> Fred Hunnicutt.<sup>9</sup> And the guy that was running it, Gurdon Woods, had come down from San Francisco. He was a sculptor. But Cowell College, which Page Smith had developed, believed that only artists should teach art history, people who practiced the arts should teach art history. He brought Mary Holmes and Jasper Rose. They had their own inner sense of what art should be about. The Smiths were very influential because they were early and because they were both powerful people.

**Page Smith:** Dean pointed out, I think correctly, that we had to start by representing all the disciplines adequately. When you got through with all the traditional fields that had to be covered—physics, chemistry, math, and so on—there simply weren’t enough FTE’s for the arts. I suppose, in retrospect, I could have fought harder for those. I wanted Mary Holmes very much. She was in the field of art, but she’s not primarily a teacher of painting; she’s a teacher of art history and that’s her real field. Jasper Rose had this interest in painting

and wanted to be appointed as professor of history and art, or some title of that kind. So, their two appointments were pointed to as already representing a commitment to art. In adjusting and readjusting FTE’s, that’s all I could accomplish.

**Doug McClellan:** The arts were under the umbrella of the humanities, but they were thought of as sort of respite for the kids who were taking the really solid stuff. The vision of the early UCSC was so civilized, of a college with a log and a professor sitting at one end and a student at the other end, discussing Plato. The arts were just really baubles.

About the second year or third year I was here, a team came to evaluate the arts here. In a mop-up meeting, they said that the arts ought to get its act together. Dean McHenry said, “Well, we always thought that they could do that in their college as a kind of activity, a nice activity,” and Paul Brock, the head of the team, pulled his cigar out and said, “And I suppose you have test tubes and Bunsen burners in the college so people would study science?” And McHenry said the classic answer: “Oh, no. Those boys grade hard.”

**Page Smith:** Dean McHenry talked and talked about science until I was ready to pass out from irritation and boredom. But he never talked about building up art. He said that to be a great university we had to have these ten people in the National Academy and so on. He never talked about having ten distinguished artists, or the role of art in the university, the need to build that up and how important that was. That was incidental, in Dean’s view. And that’s the very traditional, academic attitude held by a great many of the faculty in the university and in Cowell. I think that often the faculty in Cowell thought that my concern, preoccupation with the arts, and Eloise’s and Jasper’s, was a kind of frivolous, peripheral



---

Figure 2

Beatrice Terzian Thompson, instructor in art,  
with printing press, 1967

Photo by UCSC Photography Services

---

interest that was nice, but wasn't serious, intellectual, academic stuff.

**Visiting Committee for the Arts:** There is considerable support for the arts at Santa Cruz. The question is whether it is strong enough in view of the cultural needs of college life and the great demands by students which are obviously not being met. The administration reports that a lottery system is used in many classes in the arts because enrollments far outnumber the places available. This apparently is not the case in other disciplines.<sup>10</sup>

**Page Smith:** The real problem was that Dean was not really sensitive to the arts. I don't think that he was opposed to them, but he had no zeal for them. They had no importance for him personally. He thought it was a good thing to have some art offered. But the fact of the matter is the campus was starved in the arts, and when this committee headed by Bert Kaplan was appointed to review the state of the arts in 1972 at Santa Cruz they came up with a very critical report. Here was a campus that was supposed to be strong in the humanities, of which art was a very important element. But it was way behind most of the other campuses of the University of California.

**Jasper Rose:** There was initially no instructor, no building, no possibility, really, of the arts. The fact is that we, the arts, were beyond what was required by academia, and in order to keep the visual arts alive you had to keep going on it. And so, I had to keep on playing with this little program and that little program and the other little program, which had no proper funding and also no proper academic description. It was a little extra, outside world.

**Ruth Solomon:** What were they thinking when they designed the Performing Arts building in the early 1970s? There was no space for dance. So I went through the architectural plans. I worked with the architects and there were two studios. And they were to be drama studios. I said, “No, one of these needs to be dance.”

Then they finally acquiesced. I actually got the allocation for a dance studio. I don't know how it went through. I don't even remember, because it was such a fight. It was such a fight. But I got the studio. But it wasn't really a “dance studio”; it was just a studio in theory.

So then one day the building is going up, and they're structuring the studios, and somebody called me—I think it was somebody from Physical Plant, where by then I had made friends with Chuck Khars,<sup>11</sup> and they called and said, “A cement truck is heading up to pour the cement base in that studio.” I said, “What?!” This was about seven in the morning.

Luckily, we lived on Bay Street at that time. I tore up there and I stood in the middle of that room, which was a dirt floor, and I said, “There is no way you're pouring that cement. If you pour that cement, it's over my body, because I'm standing here. You take that truck and shove it.” I stood there and I did not leave that whole day because I was afraid they were going to come back.

I went back up there every day and I made it clear that we were going to put a dance floor in there, and it was not going to be on cement. If you remember the Tiananmen Square picture of this lone person standing in front of the tank, you kind of get the picture, albeit on a much lesser scale.





---

Figure 3

Ruth Solomon, professor of dance, at the East Field House trampoline, 1972

Photo by UCSC Photography Services

---

## “Go Out as Artists into the World”: Launching College Five

**Page Smith:** Dean McHenry said, “Well, College Five<sup>12</sup> will be the art college and that’s what we’ll emphasize there.”

**George Von der Muhll:** From its foundation, College Five, with a donor still being sought to give it a name and potential theme,<sup>13</sup> faced two additional problems in constructing and maintaining its identity. It was, to begin with, the first college to be located on the west side of the campus, a brisk fifteen-minute walk from the campus facilities—the bookstore, the field house, the swimming pool, and several close-by cafés—that provided shared external benefits for the students and faculty of the first four more neighborly colleges on the east side.

This inherent disadvantage was compounded by the determination of its founding provost, James Hall, a published novelist, that College Five, the “arts college,” should distinguish itself from Cowell by interpreting the term more narrowly to mean a college of the “performing” or “studio” arts: painting, sculpture, musical composition, dance.

This decision, which ultimately led to the creation of a fourth campuswide division of the arts, left academic historians, philosophers, and instructors of literature and linguistics as marginalized in relation to the central theme of the college.

**Byron Stookey:** There has been serious criticism of the current College Five plan. Our academic plan’s proposal was backed by an admirable motive: to dignify the treatment of art in the university. No one, however, has been able to say how a special college would do this, and in part for this reason

that college has already been postponed one year in our planning. We are likely, in the end, to do the arts a disservice by lumping them together “in a special zoo.” Our instinct has been to exploit connections between fields; an arts college would solidify barriers.<sup>14</sup>

**Dean McHenry:** There’s a great deal of controversy about College Five, resentment from the other provosts and the boards of studies. I think the basic cause of controversy is uncertainty and possible jealousy, and both James Hall and I have insisted on sequestering a quarter of all the appointments in the college in the arts area.<sup>15</sup> The campus is quite undeveloped in music, art, drama, dance, and motion pictures, and each of the colleges in getting organized has tended to put the arts out on the edge in claiming appointments. They haven’t wanted to use one of their few precious appointments.

**Page Smith:** If you call one college the arts college then those students who are interested in the arts would feel they had to be in that college, and then you diminish the possibilities of having art activists in all of the colleges.

**Dean McHenry:** There’s been a terrible disagreement among the leading people on the campus about College Five—its nature, the extent to which it goes into the arts. Page Smith and certain others have been extremely alarmed, lest Five eclipse the other colleges and their work in art and music or whatever art form, that it draw off all the talent, the good musicians and good artists, and they be left with the dregs and not have a lively program.



It seems that when we have our worst troubles, we sometimes end up with the happiest solutions. James Hall is a novelist and a poet and has taught creative writing both at Oregon and Irvine. He's been working on College Five pretty hard, and it looks like a very balanced approach in the arts.

**Pavel Machotka:** One Sunday morning in Denver I received a phone call saying, "I'm James B. Hall, Provost of College Five of the University of California in Santa Cruz. I'm at the hotel. I'd like to meet you." He had come to Denver, I think to see me, but without having let me know. That was his kind of spontaneity and inventiveness, which I came to value during the times we worked together later. Anyway, he said [deep voice] "Pavel, think of two courses that you've always wanted to teach but couldn't because they didn't fit into any categories. They should be related to the arts. You will teach those in College Five. Then you will owe two courses to psychology." Now, two-and-two is a very generous offer for a college to make, perhaps too generous because even one-and-three was not followed by most faculty who came after.

And that is how it all began for me in 1970. Without losing much time Jim Hall said, "Pavel, I want you to design a program in general aesthetics." I said, "How do I do that?" And he said, "You'll find a way," or something to that effect. The dream was being realized.

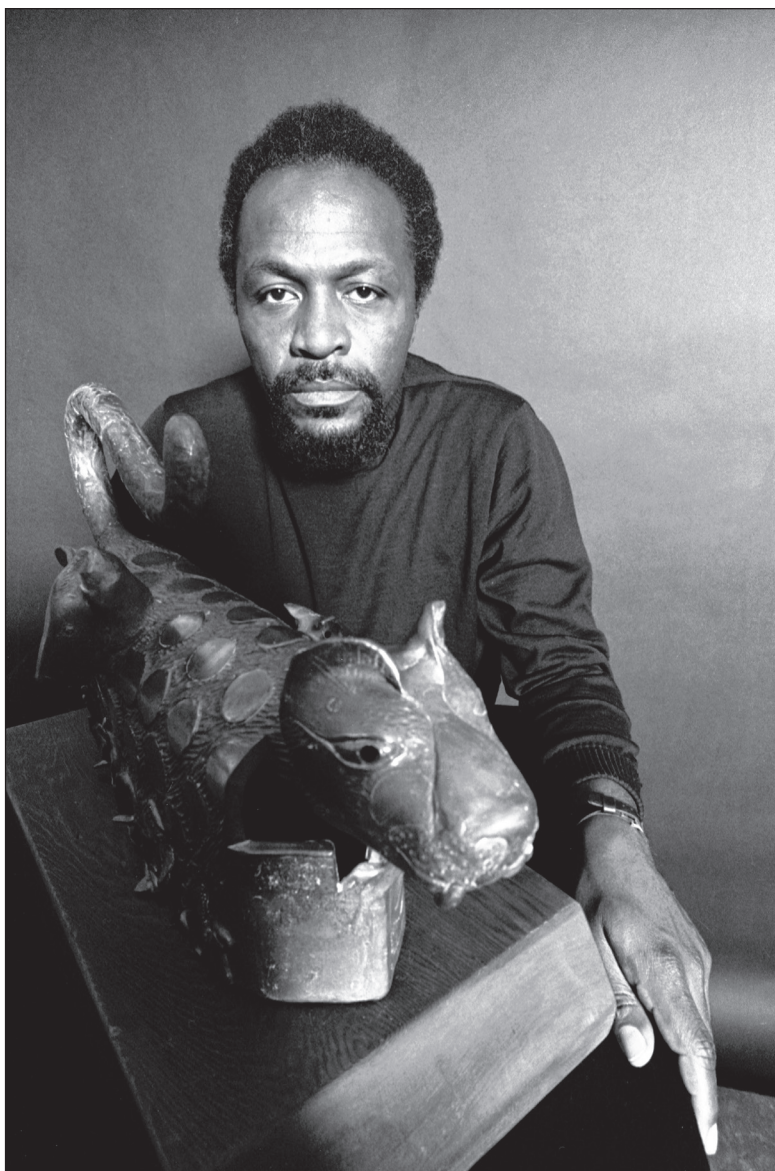
**Doug McClellan:** I'd been reading about UCSC. *LIFE* Magazine had a whole spread on UC Santa Cruz as the non-Berkeley.<sup>16</sup> And as it happened, Dean McHenry's sister was our neighbor in Claremont, though I didn't know her very well. I was in Claremont in the college system. It was the Oxford of the Orange Groves, so-called, so McHenry thought I could function in the college system at UCSC.

I came up in 1970 and interviewed with James Hall and a lot of people. James Hall was provost of College Five and Frank Barron was nationally famous for his work on creativity.<sup>17</sup> It was one of those cocktail party interviews, you know, just to see if I crooked my finger when I drank my tea or something. It had the trappings of a party, but it was an interview, to look over the merchandise. So, I was offered a job up there. At the time, half your soul belonged to the college, and half belonged to the discipline. And each half wanted about 65 percent of your time.

I took an organic gardening class. I bought Earth Shoes.<sup>18</sup> I took shiatsu [Japanese massage]. And grew side burns. What can I say? I said, "Yes!" I was looking for a house and went to Soquel. I looked at this field, and it was a gray day, and there was a beautiful, huge flowering apricot tree with a beam of sunlight on it. And I said, "I want it." It was available, so we bought it.

UCSC was quite new, not very distinguished in architecture, but on a great knoll overlooking the ocean. I think my third day here I was having coffee with monoprint artist and art faculty member Don Weygandt, and suddenly a truck-load of nude students came on top of the hill and had a ceremony.

They were trying to shake things up. Gurdon Woods, the chairman of the arts board, really wanted to wake this place up, and they got a Carnegie grant for doing various sort of alternative things. It brought lots of interest from a guy named Ken Feldman, who was on the forefront of conceptual art. Fluxus was a New York-sourced movement of expanding the concept of art.<sup>19</sup> I don't know who organized that particular caper, but it was quite a welcoming committee. They were performing some ritual. I don't know, I averted my eyes.



---

Figure 4

Doyle Foreman, professor of  
art, 1972

Photo by UCSC Photography  
Services

---

**Pavel Machotka:** Jim Hall was a man whom I admired very much, partly because he was so different from me. He was so outgoing and so relentless, almost, in his speech. He was a very verbal person, so impulsive that, listening to him, I found myself in the presence of a torrent of thought, much of it witty and original. I became his vice provost and senior academic preceptor. Informally, we worked together a lot. I became the kind of calming influence and he remained the person that he was. A very nice relationship. He was quite supportive of young faculty. He would be very critical in his words, but ultimately, when push came to shove, he would defend them and support them. I did find him very human in most of the best senses of the term. And, of course, he conceived of the idea of a college devoted to the arts, I think, unless he was given that as a mandate by McHenry. But from then on he followed that idea. Every person he interviewed should, if at all possible, have an interest in the arts.

**Ruth Solomon:** Jim Hall, who was the first provost of College Five, as it was then called, came to New York to interview me. Our interview took place in a restaurant called The Villa D'Este, or something like that, and it had fountains in it that changed colors of water. I remember shooting fountains, and we're sitting there, and I'm being interviewed for this job.

Your appointment had to be a dual appointment. So I had to be approved by College Five. All of their faculty had to vote, and the provost, and I had to be approved by the theater arts board. At that time you did not have a single appointment. You did not just belong to a board of studies.

When I met Dean McHenry it was clear I could do anything to make a program. He wanted a dance program. And Jim Hall wanted a dance program. But Jim Hall didn't know anything about dance. Neither did Dean McHenry. They

didn't know that you need a dance studio. They didn't know that you need dance students. They didn't know that you need at least a couple of faculty to do a program. I was willing to start it and do it all myself until we got going. But there was no idea here about what that meant.

**Doug McClellan:** The art board had no facilities of our own. College Five built facilities that could be used for a studio. It was very gypsy for years, until the Baskin Visual Arts Center was built.<sup>20</sup> There was a little place called Hahn Art across from Cowell-Stevenson, and we had a painting studio at the top of Natural Sciences for a time. And they taught where the lime kilns were in the Blacksmith Shop at the base of the campus.

**Ruth Solomon:** Jim Hall was a great ally, but he didn't know anything about dance. I had to teach him, and he heard me. He would listen. So I did have his support from the college.

When I came there was nothing, no place to work. I stood up in the first faculty meeting of College Five and I said, "Well, what do you think I'm supposed to do here? There's no studio. I have no space to teach. I have no space to dance, no space to choreograph. What's to happen?" Everybody was appalled because nobody talked like that to power. I mean, it was shocking. There were the English folk; there were the California folk. They were all professors, very polite, from the university, and here was this brassy bitch from New York, who just didn't know how to behave on a university campus.

But that's what it took. We walked around all the buildings that were College Five at that moment, and there weren't many, let me tell you, and they were mostly offices. But there was this one little space, it was a nine by twelve room. I said, "Okay, give me this and we're going to put a dance floor in."

I went back to the faculty meeting, which had recessed, and we went back in session for the afternoon, because it was a conclave where everybody was meeting and greeting for the very first time. I said, “Okay, we need to lay this floor. I know how it needs to go but I don’t have the wherewithal to do that. Is there anybody here who can help?” And by God, we had George Hitchcock, who had construction experience in his background, although he was a Shakespearean scholar and actor;<sup>21</sup> we had Buchanan Sharp,<sup>22</sup> who was in history; we had Forrest Robinson,<sup>23</sup> who was in literature, and a number of other faculty in the social sciences.

They all showed up the next day. George had gotten the lumber. I had told him what we needed. We bought everything within twenty-four hours, and everybody showed up. I would say there were twelve of us, and the only thing I did was make coffee for everybody. They worked their butts off and laid the most beautiful simple floor, on stringers, a cushioned sprung floor that lasted, I think, close to thirty years.

To me, that was the beginning of everything. It made me understand what was possible, that it was really possible here. And it was. It was something I couldn’t have done in New York.

**Pavel Machotka:** Once I got to know the arts faculty, which I did because many of them were in College Five, I learned that these were all people dedicated to the idea of art, to the idea of aesthetic values, to the idea of composition, of thinking like painters—in other words, not to the mechanics of how to become an artist, but to the underlying values. Don Weygandt, Doug McClellan, Patrick Aherne, and Hardy Hanson all considered art to be the most important activity that there was. And they were very good teachers, all different from each other, but very good teachers. They were the state of the art and it was a very high state.

**Jasper Rose:** There was a great freedom of developing a program at College Five, the possibility of developing some real artistic activity. This was being stamped out in the rest of UCSC by the inevitable need for a defined and narrowly developed academia, which had very little to do with art. I wanted a collegiate world which was open to the arts and to any form of artistic consideration, and also open to academia as a widespread thing.

**Pavel Machotka:** Half of the aesthetic studies major would be learning how to do an art up to a certain level, and the other half would be to write a senior thesis about that, or about some aspect of that, which might be personal, introspective, or it might be objective, dealing with the philosophy or psychology or history of what one was also trying to do. So combining practice with reflection.

This made it different from the arts, in that one did not have to reach the same degree of competence in the arts, perhaps, as those graduating in a board of study. It would not make psychologists or philosophers or historians of the people doing a thesis. But it would make them do a thesis. My aim was to educate people in an interesting way, rather than to have a brilliantly written, organized set of criteria for their curriculum. We had some wonderful graduates.

I think my psychological research became more informed by the world of art. I eventually turned to painting and became a specialist on Cézanne. Students may not realize it at the time but influence goes both ways.

**George Von der Muhll:** My greatest passion in life is classical music. I am little more than a mediocre, though sometimes ambitious, classical pianist. Nevertheless, classical piano music matters enormously to me. So it wasn’t hard for College Five to see elements of my background that went beyond my being a political scientist.



---

Figure 5

Pavel Machotka (left), Jasper Rose (center), and Grosvenor Cooper (right), in a publicity still for the University Orchestra's 1973 winter concert featuring Rose narrating Ogden Nash's verses for Camille Saint-Saëns' "Carnival of the Animals."

Photo by UCSC Photography Services

---

But I was indeed the only political scientist there, and one of only three or four social scientists. College Five soon faced the same paradoxes of Crown College—natural scientists had their laboratories; studio arts instructors had their studios. And in parallel with the scientists, the central venue for faculty-student and faculty-faculty interaction in the studio arts became the studios, while the marginalized humanities and social science faculty members were the prime occupants of College Five faculty offices and became the most visible, frequent, and persistent actors participating in the institutional life of the college.

College Five wasn't ultimately the right place for me to be, but my stay there was very educative for me because it gave me the freedom to develop one of my favorite courses, *The Use of Literature in the Study of Politics*, one that led to my writing more essays more readily than on any other single topic. The college system obliged me to ask myself a question I would never have faced on a conventional, disciplinary-oriented campus: what contribution can a political scientist make to the curriculum of an arts-oriented college in which most students are presumably more responsive to the fine arts than to analytic social science?

**Pavel Machotka:** UCSC was full of uncertainty and enthusiasm when I came. The atmosphere was one of experimentation, happiness to be here, some confusion, enormous energy for doing things. We felt we were in on the beginnings of a lovely experiment. The enthusiasm was kind of a sense of possibilities, without necessarily knowing where one was going to go with them. We came to a new university and we would ultimately find our way.

That enthusiasm and the freedom led to a number of interesting activities that a normal university would not have even thought about, or allowed. For example, Sherwood Dudley,<sup>24</sup>

who conducted the UCSC Orchestra and was in College Five, could one day say, “Pavel, why don't we do a concert of Saint-Saëns' *Carnival of the Animals* with you and Grosvenor Cooper?” I was an amateur pianist, not very good. Grosvenor too. But it seemed like a great idea. And if the conductor could invite me, then I would certainly study very hard and try to learn the piece. So, I was the second pianist. Grosvenor was the first pianist. I went through rehearsals. I had never felt the sonorous vibrations of cellos at a piano bench. So, I felt that for the first time. I have to describe it with that sense of marvel that I had because that describes those initial years.

**Ann Caudle:** I started out at UCSC in the fine arts program and instantly found myself in a situation where everyone was doing more expressive things, and I was drawing pebbles and things I found on the ground, and feathers, and dead birds. I was an art major and looked at rather askance because of the subject matter. And ended up with a professor, Hardy Hanson, who was amazing and also very, very sympathetic. He wanted people to be able to observe first, really know what they were drawing—observe the light, the quality of the light, the shadows, the textures.

**Pavel Machotka:** When I was provost, we set up our college coffee shop. So one of the projects that bound some eight students and me and perhaps some faculty together was what to name it. That may seem very trivial, but it's just to say that they cared a lot about this, and that name should indicate our connection to the arts—but something serious, or something really witty, or some pun? We were going to name it Take Five, for Brubeck. And I don't even know whether we did. It may have also been named that for a short while and then renamed later.<sup>25</sup>

In short, College Five mattered to them.



Figure 6

Dance Theater Institute Faculty  
Concert poster, circa 1970

**Deborah Abbott:** I lived at College Five. This was in the days before there was such a crowd in the dorms, so I got a double room all to myself. I painted it and moved in a refrigerator and a hotplate which, of course, is *verboden* now. I had three kittens that I had found, and a big long plank with a carpet stapled to it that went down to the outside meadow. I have really fond memories of living at College Five and being a maverick in my own way, having my cats, cooking, and baking bread, and having friends over. I took a lot of creative writing classes. I had known from early on that I was a writer, but it was exciting to be around people who were professional writers, and to develop myself as a writer.

**Pavel Machotka:** A couple of undergraduates decided to make a film as their graduating project. They wrote the script. It was a kind of James Bond film, but with irony, because the James Bond character always manages to screw things up because he's not really all that skillful. But he goes through all the motions of jumping out of helicopters and so on. So, I became that James Bond. It was a wonderful experience because I was dealing with two guys with a kind of partial competence, and me with partial competence in what I had to do. And yet, for twelve Sundays, we would film and somehow hammer the film together. I mean, everything you can think of as possibly wrong with a film is wrong with this film. Certainly, the sound is funny because they had no mixer. So, the sound would go up to the end of the sentence and then would come music. But you know—stop; go; no blending. The acting left a lot to be desired, although music professor Grosvenor Cooper was expressive and sculptor and art professor Fred Hunnicutt gave it some of his professional training. But enormous enthusiasm, once again, behind this.

**Ann Caudle:** The dead birds were my inspiration. I had been taking art classes, and I was at that point where I suddenly began to worry about subject matter: What I am I going to do? What am I going to draw? I have this series of things to do. I was with my eventual husband and we were at McHenry Library. I was explaining my dilemma—what am I going to try? You know the big windows there, how the birds would fly into them? We were standing there and he reached down and picked up a sparrow: “Why don't you draw this?” And that started that whole series and what ended up being my career in science illustration.

**Pavel Machotka:** Santa Cruz was, from the start, a campus inserted into a space rather than a campus occupying a blank, flat space, which is most often the case. That infected one's ideas about what the campus was striving to become, striving to become connected with the simpler things of life, not necessarily with a city. A city pushes you immediately towards ideas of career and certain kinds of movements, certain kinds of living situations. A forest—well, it is like a fairy tale—it could be a negative fairy tale, but it wasn't—in helping you feel that there are dreams to be realized.

**Jasper Rose:** We were part of an enormous movement. The whole business of art had to be redefined. We were only a tiny part of an enormous change which was taking place in the world of art and, in particular, in the teaching of art. Art had to be redefined, and therefore the teaching of art had to be redefined; and therefore, the teachers of teaching art had to be redefined.

**Pavel Machotka:** College Five was successful, but the reasons were structural, not competence or genius or imagination. If you have most of your faculty to some degree interested in the arts, even



though they're not practitioners of it, you've got half the battle won. The theme may have been defined by McHenry, but it was relatively easy to elaborate and put into effect. If there's praise for College Five, it really has to do with the beginnings of all that faculty being at least with one toe in the arts. There was a sense of cohesiveness, purpose.

**William Rose:** I was in the fifth year, which was a degree program they put together, a sort of post-graduate degree. They had etching and print-making, and then they had drawing, and then they had painting, bronze casting, plaster, and clay work. It was very good traditional art school stuff.<sup>26</sup>

**Jasper Rose:** Gradually we get an increase in the number of art students, and no comparative recognition, no administrative recognition and no financial recognition. So, it didn't look as though there was any, *any* future for the arts. I resented it. Here we were—we were doing something serious and worthwhile—and there was no recognition for it, and no great future of understanding why

the arts should be looked at, and that there was a place for it in education. The arts were an orphan.

**Page Smith:** But it's a mistake to judge the state of the arts at Santa Cruz simply on the basis of the very meager institutional support. The arts have overcome that situation and have been practiced by the students in quite a striking and interesting way. In terms of the quality of work done in the arts here, we're probably way ahead of places that gave much more official attention to the arts; put more money into it, had more appointments, and so on. The arts have triumphed over the indifference and lack of administration support.

**Ruth Solomon:** I wanted a dancer in as many academic courses as possible, so they weren't just taking dance. The dance faculty could interact with other disciplines, and other disciplines could interact with dance faculty. As a benefit to the university, we could produce people that could go out as artists into the world, as a product of UCSC, and be valuable contributors on many levels, wherever they went. We could teach people to be more complete human beings.



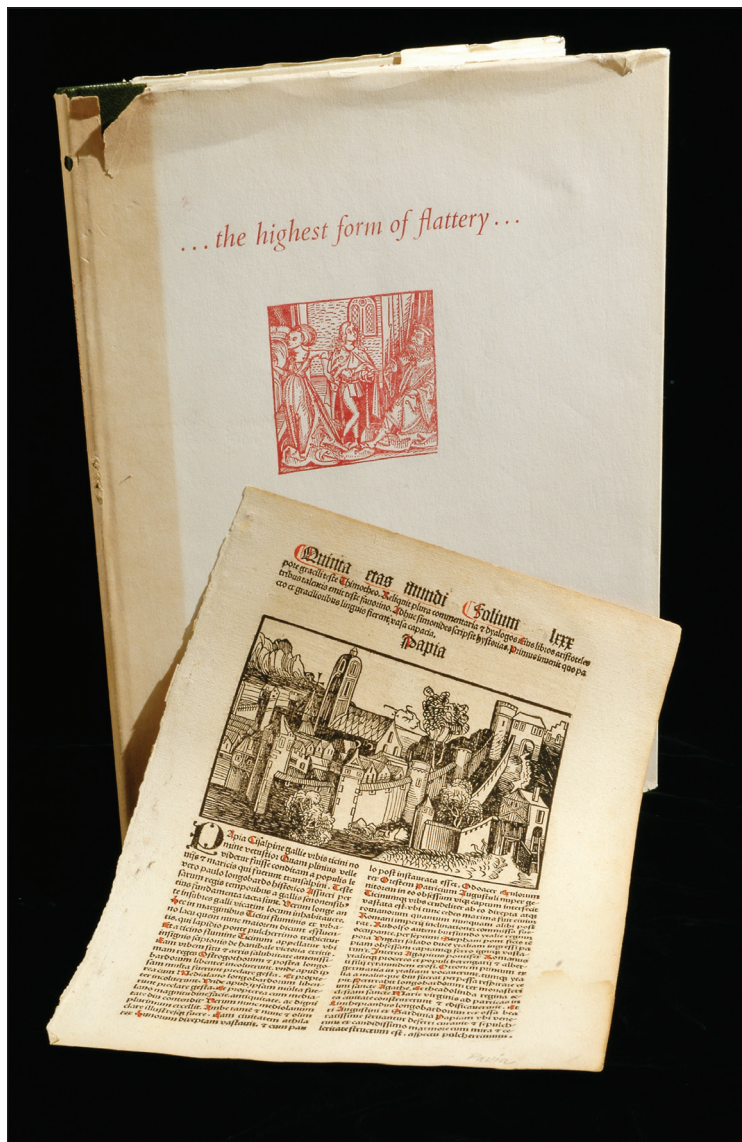


Figure 7

... the highest form  
of flattery... with leaf  
from 1497 edition of  
Nuremberg Chronicle.  
Printed at Cowell Press,  
1982



---

Figure 8

Student at the Cowell  
Press, 2005

Photo by UCSC  
Photography Services

---

## Cowell Press and McHenry Library: “The Vista of Books and Their Magic”

**Felicia Rice, Student:** I went to Laney Community College in Oakland and took their printing class. We set type by hand. The class convinced me that I was on the right track. But I needed to move out of the Bay Area. It was getting very busy. I had been a student at UC Berkeley and that was overwhelming for me. I was looking for an education near the Bay Area focused on fine printing.

I came down to Santa Cruz with a friend, and she had a friend who was a student at Cowell College who said, “There’s a press underneath the dining hall at Cowell College. You can go visit it.”

**Greg Graalfs, Student:** Cowell College had two courses of study: World Civilizations and, secondly, Arts and Crafts & Their History. This second was championed by Jasper Rose, who was a book collector and had a strong interest in the British socialist and writer William Morris, who was critical to the revival of craft traditions in England in the late nineteenth century. Morris also operated the Kelmscott Press, one of England’s premier private presses.

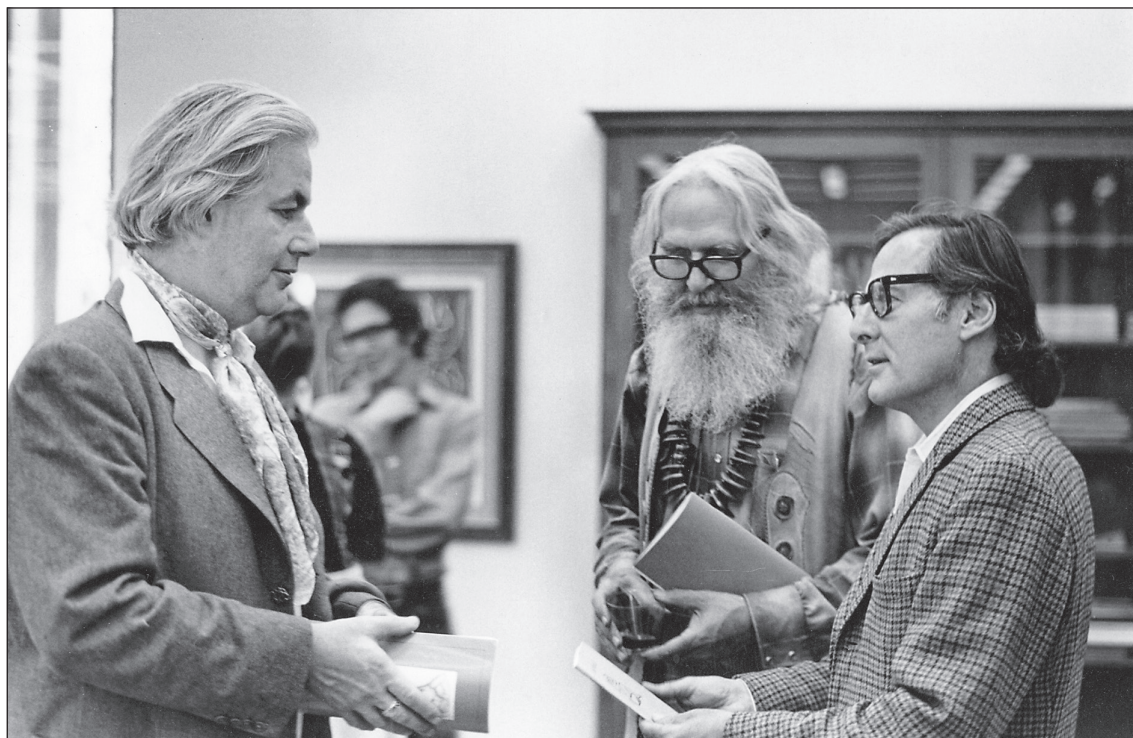
The study of book arts and printing history was first taught at Cowell College when Norman Strouse, former chairman of J. Walter Thompson advertising agency and a book collector, taught a course in the history of the book as a Regents’ Professor in 1969.<sup>27</sup> In 1972, student Peter Manston discovered an old platen press at Cowell and he taught a letterpress printing class in 1973, which marked the beginning of the Cowell Press and the practice of bookmaking on campus. Jasper Rose sponsored Manston’s student-taught seminar *Letterpress Printing*. Then sometime in 1972, Paul Lee invited San Francisco typographer and printer

Jack Stauffacher to the Garden Project founded by Alan Chadwick.

**Jack Stauffacher, Printer and Teacher, Cowell Press:** I met Jasper Rose. Jasper was teaching classes in the history of the book. He had many books printed by Baskerville<sup>28</sup> and he was really in love with the art of the book. In some prehistoric time, there had been attempts to have a Cowell press, but it was on an amateur basis—rudimentary tools given to the school, but never properly set up. Jasper, and maybe Page Smith and Paul Lee, talked about the possibility of creating the Cowell Press on a whole different level.

Finally, the powers that be decided they would like to have me to teach one semester. I said okay, I would teach with the promise of spending some money on good equipment. They said fine, just tell us what you want and we’ll get the money for you. They got a beautiful Vandercook proof press, and a huge amount of monotype Bembo. I brought some of my wooden type and bought a lovely refurbished typecase.

**Tom Killion:** I was a student at Cowell College from 1971 to 1975. I was taking a class in celestial navigation because I thought that when I finished college I wanted to find a sailboat and sail across the Pacific. I ran into somebody named Richard Bigus in that celestial navigation class, and we got to be friends. He liked my artwork, and I told him about this project I had in mind about printing pictures of Mount Tamalpais together with maybe some haiku poems I’d written. He said, “Why don’t you learn how to print? There’s a press right underneath here.”



---

Figure 9

(L to R): Jasper Rose, William Everson, Jack Stauffacher, 1976

Photo by Andrew Neuhart

---

**Aaron Johnson, Student:** The Cowell Press was located at Cowell College underneath the Cowell cafeteria. It was like a little cave down under there. It was in a quiet location. There weren't people wandering through, so, it was a good place to work. Cave-like, but it also had plenty of windows, so it wasn't dark.

One of the students that lived in the dorm with me at Stevenson had these very romantic notions of this little print shop hidden under the dining hall. He was studying politics and Russian history and he could just imagine us printing a treatise for the masses in this little print shop down there.

**Felicia Rice:** I walked in one afternoon. Jim Faris and SB Master were printing their book *Chamber Music* by James Joyce. And there was the Cowell Press, with equipment and students and a gorgeous view of the bay. I went, My God! I think this is absolutely the right place for me. It turned out that Jack Stauffacher was teaching and it was just a matter of applying to the school and making the move to Santa Cruz and getting started. I graduated in 1978. I started Moving Parts Press with Maureen Carey.<sup>29</sup>

**Greg Graalfs:** I don't recall how I first heard about Jack Stauffacher's lecture—it may have been from a poster or a professor who suggested it—but one fall afternoon in 1973, I sat in Cowell College library and heard Stauffacher discuss typography and printing history. Something in his lecture excited me and as a result I enrolled in Stauffacher's upcoming course at the Cowell Press. Little did I realize the implications of this decision. By 1976, I graduated from Cowell College with my individual major in *The Art of the Book*.

**Tom Killion:** I never got into the intricacies of type design, but was inspired by Jack's love of typefaces. His sense of what was good in a typeface, of letter

spacing and the rest of it, rubbed off. He certainly didn't teach by demonstrating exactly how to do anything. It was purely by giving you some basics and giving you a lot of inspiration about the art of it all, of type design, spacing, and page setup.

Jack was exactly the kind of bohemian intellectual that Santa Cruz students would be attracted to. People would go down to the beach with him. Jack seemed incredibly old to us in those days, but he was probably younger than I am now. He was in his forties. He looked so healthy. He had this big head of black hair, and he was always tan. He attributed his health to eating raw garlic and jumping in the cold ocean every morning. So, we'd go down to the ocean and jump in with him.

**Jasper Rose:** Jack Stauffacher was a wonderful man—very, very gifted and very interesting—and he helped to get together a world of printing. That was quite rare and the Cowell Press became quite a substantial event.

**Jack Stauffacher:** Jasper Rose was a great supporter of Cowell Press. He enlarged the vista of books and their magic. I wanted to make sure that Cowell Press would not just become a self-indulgent activity. I wanted it to be a part of the university, a vital part. I wanted to focus on the intellectual craft of books, their history and their making as an integral part of what we're all about, to talk about the alphabet, the structural history, the book through the ages: what is a book.

**Greg Graalfs:** Cowell Press was far more than a letterpress print shop where students could make pretty books. It was a laboratory to explore the history of tangible words—whether printed, cut in stone, or calligraphed—and to address the interrelationship of word and image. In addition, the influence of twentieth-century literature and visual art on typography was considered, as well

as how typography was concerned with design principles that can be applied to film, architecture, and information design. Some alumni of the Press and this environment are now bookmakers and printers and designers.

**Felicia Rice:** The potential of the Cowell Press was fueled, in part, by the magnitude of the projects that William Everson was taking on at The Lime Kiln Press with *Granite and Cypress*.<sup>30</sup>

**Greg Graalfs:** Cowell Press also had a role in bringing William Everson—poet, former Dominican monk, and respected handpress printer—to the campus.<sup>31</sup> Everson gave a poetry reading at Cowell College in the late 1960s; then in 1971 he was appointed poet-in-residence at Kresge College. The presence of an Acorn handpress in McHenry Library’s Special Collections was certainly an enticement and influenced his decision to come to UC Santa Cruz.<sup>32</sup>

**Rita Bottoms:** The UCSC Library was trying to make the case that we deserved to have a press, that we were going to have a printing program, and that we needed this fabulous, very old, ancient, venerable hand press that Lew and Dorothy Allen<sup>33</sup> were giving away—the Peter Smith-Acorn built in 1832. There were other places that were interested in having the press. UC Davis was in the running, and there were a few others. But something made them ask about us. Maybe they wanted it to go to a new place, some place just starting up. It’s kind of virgin territory.

I did the hardest sell of my life. I never doubted for one moment that the press was coming here. I sold like crazy. It was the biggest sales pitch I could muster. Everybody said, “Rita, forget it. They’re talking to UC Davis. It’s not going to happen.” And it happened. We wanted to have a press. We

were a library and we had something to offer, and the campus had something to offer.

That was the start of our printing press, and that was what became the Lime Kiln Press. The issue became: who was going to be the printer? Who was going to run the press? We had put out a feeler through a variety of people to try and find someone in the Bay Area who could do it. William Everson came to campus. He was brought by Robert Frager, who was a psychology professor. Everson gave a reading at Cowell College, and at that time was “in robes,” a lay brother in the Catholic Church.

Miraculously, when Brother Antoninus [William Everson] came to the campus to give this very dramatic reading at Cowell, as only he could give, and just make the audience very nervous and very twitchy, a few of us came out to meet him around the fountain at Cowell and ask him a few questions. It was a very underattended gathering because he made people nervous.

There was some sort of deification of William Everson because he had been a lay brother in the Church. He wasn’t a priest. People used to call him the Beatnik Priest. He was never a priest, for heaven’s sake, but he had this mythology building up around him. People didn’t know what he was. He was awesome. He was very tall, long gray hair, very imposing looking, and had this bear-claw necklace and this buckskin fringe jacket. He was this personage. I knew he was human, but other people didn’t, and were very afraid of him, and in awe of him.

**Jack Stauffacher:** I never worked with William Everson, but was an old friend of his. I’ve always had respect for his work. In the early days, when we first met in the 1940s, he was one of the finest handpress printers I’d ever met.

**Rita Bottoms:** We had a collection of William Everson’s books, his poetry, and we actually had a psalter,<sup>34</sup> and a baby psalter. The first thing I showed Bill was the small collection of his work, including some high-school annuals, which he thought was just crazy. He was very gracious, not scary at all.

I showed him the copy of the psalter, which was considered to be one of the greatest pieces of printing in the contemporary world. It was a psalter that Everson had begun for Pope Pius XII and he stopped it. He did this when he was at St. Albert’s Priory. He did it and then he stopped it because it was not perfect enough. It was considered the perfect marriage of ink, type, and paper. It was one of the great highlights of twentieth-century printing. And here we had this copy, and we were very happy about that. The “baby psalter” was composed of sheets that he had discarded, that Estelle Doheny<sup>35</sup> had gathered up and published as a little baby, this mini psalter. It infuriated Bill, because they were discards. He absolutely could not stand that. He had a fit when he saw it here. He said, “I hate that thing! I wish they’d never done it.” The baby psalter was still this special little item, so you weren’t going to toss it out. You would say, “Yes, I know how you feel,” and then put it back on the shelf.

**Jack Stauffacher:** Everson was meticulous with his inks and his paper. He was careful, painstakingly careful.

**Rita Bottoms:** The press had been moved to Special Collections. We went back into the side room and he was very impressed with the press. He took off a couple layers of cloaks and stuff and rolled up his sleeves and started mucking about in the bed of the press. I don’t even know what was wrong with it, but whatever it was he started to deal with it.

I stood there looking at him and I thought to myself, oh my word, I would give anything if he could be our printer. And I thought well, what the hell. I’m going to ask him. He hadn’t printed in eighteen years.

His life was changing. He finished doing what he was doing with the press and evidently tweaked enough with it to make it work. We were walking down the hall and I said, “Think you’d ever print again?” He said, “Yeah.” I said, “Do you think you’d ever print on that press there?” He said, “Yeah, I would.” And I said, “Good. We’ll get it to happen.” Talking way off the top of my head, you know. What the hell did I know? “We’ll get it to happen.” Terrific. With what? How? But that was it. I said, “You’ll hear from us.” After he left I ran in and told University Librarian Donald Clark, who was jubilant, because you couldn’t imagine a better idea.

The trick was to find some faculty members who we thought would be simpatico and understanding and feel strongly about Bill. Page Smith was very supportive. Bert Kaplan was very supportive. There was wonderful support from George Hitchcock, who was a poet on campus. What ended up happening, which was really nifty, is that Bill was part of some seminar at Esalen.<sup>36</sup> Robert Edgar, the provost of Kresge College, met him there, and bless his heart, came up with some “soft” money, and hired Bill to teach a class called *Birth of a Poet*.<sup>37</sup> So, we were in. This was really terrific. I even talked to Nobby Brown about this because he was very committed to the work of poets.

So, Bill was hired on soft money. I named the press. Donald Clark and I thought well, let’s make it have something to do with the campus, something in the environment. I said, “Oh, what about Lime Kiln Press?”



**Greg Graalfs:** With the Acorn handpress, Everson established The Lime Kiln Press and produced fine press works, including *West to the Water*<sup>38</sup> and *Granite and Cypress*. Students enrolled with Everson through independent studies and worked as apprentices with this master printer on his chosen projects.

So, with William Everson at The Lime Kiln Press and Jack Stauffacher teaching at Cowell Press, an improvisational choreography of students took place between these two presses on campus. Some began studying with Stauffacher, then got wind of Everson's activities at McHenry Library and went over to visit. Others came to investigate Cowell Press after beginning at Lime Kiln. The activities at The Lime Kiln Press were much different from those at Cowell Press. At Cowell Press, an egalitarian method pervaded, as Stauffacher taught typographic principles and then allowed students considerable freedom to do their own work. At The Lime Kiln Press, Everson ran his shop like a monastery or a medieval guild; in that quiet room overlooking the courtyard apprentices assumed their assigned roles, guided by the master. Despite the different atmospheres and styles, each teacher was a powerful influence and an energetic activity arose among these printing students.

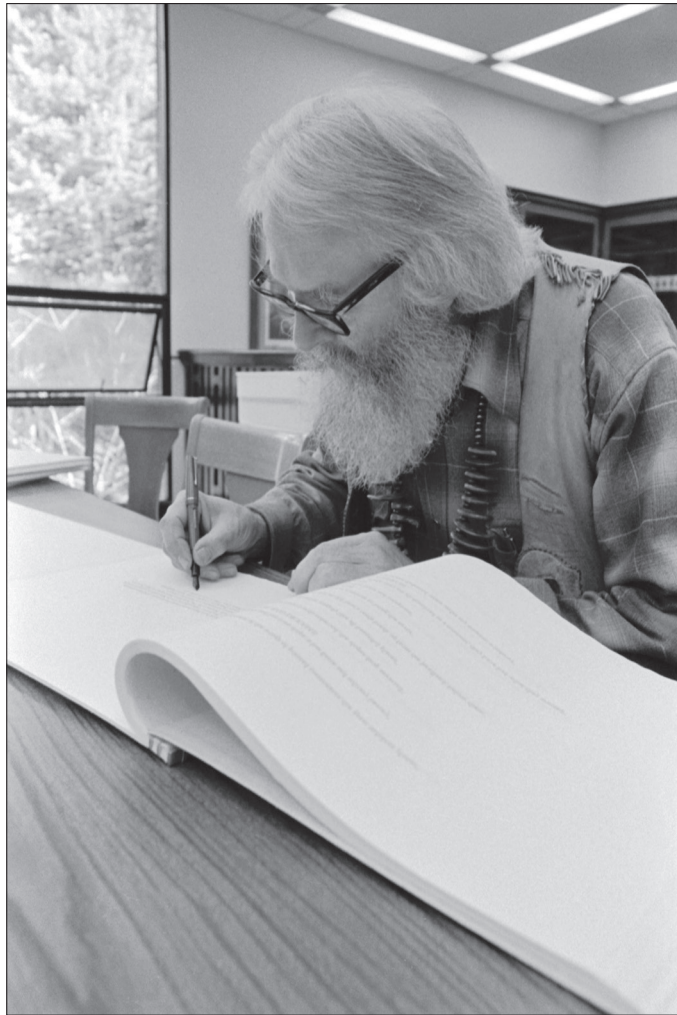
**Tom Killion:** The congruence of Jack Stauffacher and Bill Everson was at a moment in time when there was a blooming of the art of letterpress, as opposed to the technical use of the letterpress. It was the end, the sunset, of the letterpress age. Printing companies were selling off all the equipment. I bought my printing press for \$350. It was probably \$1500 new ten years before. It was *the* time that letterpress as an art form really took off. It happened that these two guys, who were so different, and were both incredibly devoted to the art of letterpress printing, of fine printing, were at

UC Santa Cruz at that time. They understood the beauty of letterpress as an art.

**Rita Bottoms:** The first project that the press did was a portfolio of broadsides, *West to the Water*. It was the work of six poets. Six poetry broadsides. We did an edition of two hundred copies of that. Each sequence of twenty-five broadsides involved the work of a different calligrapher. The second project was *Tragedy Has Obligations*,<sup>39</sup> which was a Robinson Jeffers poem with a beautiful woodcut by Allison Clough.

Then *Granite and Cypress*, a book of poems that Jeffers had written while building Tor House. The printing of the book was very unusual. It was as if it were incised into the paper, like you would incise something into the granite. That was the magnum opus of the press. It became one of the great books of the twentieth century.

**Tom Killion:** I went over to Lime Kiln Press and watched these people, who I knew from Jack's class, working on *Granite and Cypress*. More than Jack talking about type designer Hermann Zapf, it was looking at the design and watching the printing of *Granite and Cypress* that inspired me. When it was done, *Granite and Cypress* was one of the most beautiful things. I had already discovered Robinson Jeffers maybe two years before. I was crazy about his poetry. To see this book being printed was perhaps the real transforming moment for me, absolutely falling in love with fine book printing. You don't need instruction when you have something like *Granite and Cypress* in front of you.



---

Figure 10

Lime Kiln Press publication  
of *Granite and Cypress* by  
Robinson Jeffers, printed by  
William Everson. Everson  
signing a copy of the book,  
1976

Photo by UCSC  
Photography Services

---

## Endnotes

1. Archibald MacLeish (May 7, 1892 – April 20, 1982) was an American poet, writer, and the Librarian of Congress.
2. Eloise Pickard Smith was a painter, arts educator, and curator. In 1942, shortly before her marriage to Page Smith, she won one of five national scholarships to the Art Students League in New York City. At UCSC, Eloise Pickard Smith explored new materials and techniques such as handmade, molded, and embossed paper, assemblage, fetish objects, constructions, and collage. She continued working in her studio and exhibited in museums and galleries across the country. She also headed the California State Arts Council and started an art gallery at Cowell College which is still there today. Eloise founded the California Prison Arts Project, worked to start The Museum Without Walls in Santa Cruz, the Art Museum of Santa Cruz County, and the Cultural Council of Santa Cruz County.
3. Beatrice Terzian Thompson was one of the artists who created the somewhat infamous Fruit Room installation in the space beneath the Cowell dining hall in 1969. See <http://hersecretgarden.blogspot.com/2006/03/>.
4. Sculptor Gurdon Woods served as director of the California School of Fine Arts (San Francisco Art Institute) from 1955 to 1965 before he was recruited to UCSC in 1966 to create and chair what would become the art board. Woods initiated and developed an innovative program of interdisciplinary art education at the campus, bringing to UCSC artists such as composer John Cage and choreographer Merce Cunningham. He left UCSC in 1974 to direct the Otis Art Institute in Los Angeles.
5. See “The Art of Friendship,” on the friendship between Don Weygandt and Doug McClellan, *City on a Hill Press*, September 25, 2008: <http://www.cityonahillpress.com/2008/09/25/the-art-of-friendship/>. Weygandt joined the art board in 1967 and taught at UCSC for several decades.
6. Hardy Hanson arrived in 1969 and taught visual art at UCSC until 1994. He died in 2012.
7. Patrick Aherne is a painter who taught at UCSC for many years. See: <https://www.sfgate.com/art/article/Quiet-Art-That-Tells-The-Truth-Absence-of-3013169.php>.
8. Nationally exhibited sculptor Doyle Foreman’s public art installations include the Totem Pole located at Porter College—designed by Foreman and collaboratively created by UCSC students and Santa Cruz community members. Foreman taught sculpture and foundry classes at UCSC beginning in 1968.
9. Sculptor Fred Hunnicut taught at UCSC for many years.
10. *Summary Report of Visiting Committee for the Arts*, University of California, Santa Cruz: January 14-January 16, 1974. This report was written after an external review of the arts at UCSC. Available in the Dean E. McHenry Papers: UA 1: Box 128: Folder 5.
11. Chuck Khars was principal architect for UCSC in the 1970s and was the project architect for College Five.
12. College Five opened in 1969, as the fifth of UCSC’s colleges. In this collection, the editors have taken a bit of liberty with the chronology by discussing Kresge College before College Five. We opted for this sequence because Kresge’s history is so intertwined with the rise of the women’s movement, which was discussed in that earlier section.
13. In 1981, the Porter Sesnon family, a local family with deep roots in Santa Cruz County, donated funds to UCSC, with which the campus endowed College Five and renamed it Porter College.
14. From “Byron Stookey—memo to Francis Clauser, Hal Hyde, Jack Wagstaff, George Shaw: December 28, 1965,” in Dean McHenry Papers: UA 1: Box 32: folder 20.
15. James Hall (1918-2008) founded the creative writing programs at the University of Oregon and UC Irvine. In 1983, he retired as an emeritus professor from UCSC and moved to Oregon.
16. Barbara Villet, “An Old Idea Flowers Anew at Santa Cruz,” *LIFE* magazine, May 8, 1970.
17. Frank Barron came to UCSC in 1969 as a professor of psychology, teaching courses on personality and human creativity. He was renowned for his work in creativity research. He died in 2002. See: <https://news.ucsc.edu/2002/10/214.html>
18. “The Earth Shoe was an unconventional style of shoe invented in the 1970s by Danish yoga instructor and shoe designer Anna Kalsø...with various claimed health benefits. The shoes were introduced in the United States in New York City on April 1, 1970, three weeks before the first Earth Day.” [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Earth\\_shoe](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Earth_shoe).
19. Fluxus was an international, interdisciplinary community of artists, composers, designers and poets who engaged

in experimental art performances during the 1960s and 1970s; they emphasized the artistic process over the finished product. The year-long Carnegie grant-funded Fluxus project McClellan is referring to took place in 1968-1969. It resulted in the following publication available in UCSC Library Special Collections: Jack Stauffacher, Gurdon Woods, Edmund Carpenter, George Maciunas, Robert Watts, and Sidney Simon. *Proposals for Art Education*, Foreword by Gurdon Woods; publication design by Jack Werner Stauffacher. Also see: “Panel Discussion on Arts Education,” Transcript of a panel discussion held November 6, 1968, Merrill College, University of California, Santa Cruz. Panel members were John Cage, Merce Cunningham, Gurdon Woods, Siegfried Puknat, Donald Weygandt, Robert Watts, Edmund Carpenter, Sidney Simon, Patrick Aherne, Doyle Foreman, Jasper Rose, Albert Hofstadter, and Rita Berner, 1968.

20. The Elena Baskin Visual Arts Center provides studio facilities for drawing, painting, installation art, public art, sculpture, animation, intermedia, digital and traditional print media, and photography. It opened in 1985.

21. George Hitchcock was a lecturer in literature in the late 1960s.

22. Historian Buchanan Sharp joined UCSC’s history board in 1970.

23. Forrest Robinson joined UCSC’s literature board in 1970.

24. Currently a professor emeritus of music, musicologist and conductor, Sherwood Dudley joined UCSC’s music faculty in 1968. Before retirement, Dudley was also artistic director and conductor of UCSC’s opera theater program.

25. The College Five [Porter] Coffee Shop has had many names over the years, including Sluggo’s.

26. William Rose is referring here to the art board, not College Five. College Five’s aesthetic studies major was able to negotiate use of the art board’s studio facilities; there was quite a bit of overlap between the two programs.

27. Norman Strouse is known as the popularizer of the concept of the two-car American family. He helped Ford market cars to suburban families after World War II. After retiring in 1968, Strouse focused on collecting rare books, bindings and fine printing. He donated a Carlyle collection to the UCSC Library. See: <http://pdf.oac.cdlib.org/pdf/ucsc/spcoll/ms97.pdf>.

28. John Baskerville was an eighteenth-century English

businessman, printer, and type designer. The typeface Baskerville is named after him.

29. Maureen Carey graduated with honors from Cowell College in 1976 with a BA (individual major) in Book Arts. She studied under master printer William Everson, printing and binding works for Lime Kiln Press. Over the course of her career, Carey collaborated extensively with several printers throughout Santa Cruz County, including artist Felicia Rice of Moving Parts Press. Maureen was a member of the UCSC Library staff for over forty years, first lending her artistic skill and meticulous eye to the Preservation Department, later leading the Online Archive of California Unit, and finally becoming a member of Special Collections and Archives.

30. Robinson Jeffers, William Everson, Bill Prochnow, *Granite & Cypress* (Santa Cruz, CA: Lime Kiln Press, University of California, Santa Cruz, 1975).

31. William Everson established himself as a respected regional poet many years before the Beat movement of the 1950s came into being, but came to national attention when he was identified as a member of that group. A deeply spiritual writer, Everson spent eighteen years as a Dominican monk and published many of his works under his religious name, Brother Antoninus. Everson was a conscientious objector during World War II and learned letterpress printing at the Waldport Work Center for conscientious objectors in Oregon. He was intensely affected by the poetry of Robinson Jeffers. Part of Everson’s spirituality was a strong belief in the power of silence, which is why he often incorporated long pauses into his poetry readings and teaching. He left the Dominicans in 1969 to marry. Everson was stricken by Parkinson’s Disease in 1972, and its effects on him became a dramatic element in his public readings. He ran the Lime Kiln Press while serving as poet-in-residence at UCSC during the 1970s and 1980s. That press ceased operation in the 1980s, when the UCSC Library could no longer afford the cost of its operations. See: <https://www.poetryfoundation.org/poets/william-everson>.

32. Peter Smith invented and introduced the acorn-shaped iron handpress during the 1820s and 1830s in New York. The Smith press quickly became one of America’s most popular machines and came to visually symbolize the handpress in America. The Acorn handpress used by The Lime Kiln Press was built in 1832.

33. For fifty years, Lew and Dorothy Allen were master printers and publishers of the Allen Press in Marin County, California.

34. Francis J. Weber and Roger Pennels, *The Unfinished Salter* (San Fernando, Calif.: Junipero Serra Press, 1986).

35. Carrie Estelle Betzold Doheny worked as a telephone operator at the Petroleum Exchange Center until her marriage to oil tycoon Edward Laurence Doheny in 1900. She became one of the most renowned American book collectors of the twentieth century.

36. The Esalen Institute was founded in 1962 in Big Sur, California. Esalen played a key role in the New Age and human potential movements in the 1960s and 1970s, incorporating encounter groups, wholistic medicine, Buddhist meditation, yoga, and other modalities to increase human consciousness.

37. See the short film online: *Birth of a Poet: William Everson*: <https://archive.org/details/ucsantacruz>.

38. William Everson, *West to the Water: Six Poets, a Santa Cruz Portfolio*. George Hitchcock, Mary Norbert Korte, Peter Veblen, Naomi Clark, John Skinner (Santa Cruz, CA: Lime Kiln Press, University of California, Santa Cruz, University Library, 1972).

39. Robinson Jeffers, Allison Clough, and William Everson, *Tragedy Has Obligations: [a Poem]* (Santa Cruz, CA: Lime Kiln Press, 1973).

## Illustrations

Figure 1. Dancers practicing at McHenry Library. Courtesy Special Collections, University Library, University of California, Santa Cruz. UA 50: UCSC Photography Services: ua0050\_pho\_6006\_16.

Figure 2. Beatrice Terzian Thompson, instructor in art, with printing press, 1967. Courtesy Special Collections, University Library, University of California, Santa Cruz: UA 50: UCSC Photography Services: ua0050\_neg\_03034c\_01.tif.

Figure 3. Ruth Solomon, professor of dance, at the East Field House trampoline, 1972. Courtesy Special Collections, University Library, University of California, Santa Cruz. UA 50: UCSC Photography Services: ua0050\_neg\_sc1964a\_10(2).

Figure 4. Doyle Foreman, professor of art, 1972. Courtesy Special Collections, University Library, University of California Santa Cruz: UA 50: UCSC Photography Services: ua0050\_neg\_sc2321\_27.tif.

Figure 5. University Orchestra's winter concert, 1973. Camille Saint Saen's "Carnival of the Animals": publicity still with Pavel Machotka, vice provost of College Five,

Grosvenor Cooper, professor of music, and Professor Jasper Rose, narrator of verses by Ogden Nash. Courtesy Special Collections, University Library, University of California, Santa Cruz. UA 50: UCSC Photography Services: ua0050\_neg\_sc2372\_04.tif.

Figure 6. Dance Theater Institute Faculty Concert poster. Zeeva Cohen, Lynn Dally, Kelly Holt, Ruth Solomon, Byron Wheeler. Circa 1970s. Courtesy Special Collections, University Library, University of California, Santa Cruz. UCSC Poster Collection: UA 60: ua060\_017\_0009.

Figure 7. ... *the highest form of flattery* ... with leaf from 1497 edition of *Nuremberg Chronicle*. Printed at Cowell Press, 1982. Courtesy Special Collections, University Library, University of California, Santa Cruz. Regional History Photo Collection, Cowell Press Oral History.

Figure 8. Student at the Cowell Press, 2005. Courtesy Special Collections, University Library, University of California, Santa Cruz. Photo by UCSC Photography Services. Regional History Photo Collection, Cowell Press Oral History.

Figure 9. (L to R): Jasper Rose, William Everson, Jack Stauffacher, 1976, at UCSC Library Special Collections Reception for Artiste Maillol Collection. Photo: Andrew Neuhart. Courtesy Special Collections, University Library, University of California, Santa Cruz. Regional History Photo Collection, Cowell Press Oral History.

Figure 10. Lime Kiln Press publication of *Granite and Cypress* by Robinson Jeffers, printed by William Everson: Everson signing a copy of the book, 1976. Courtesy Special Collections, University Library, University of California Santa Cruz. UA 50: UCSC Photography Services: ua0050\_neg\_sc5859a\_11.

## Chapter 16

# “Environmental Warriors”

## The Genesis of Environmental Studies and College Eight

*We get accused from time to time of being too action oriented. Well, hell, if you can't take informed action in the world, if the university isn't in some way about informed action, what the hell is it about? I think you've got to act to be a human being.*

—Jim Pepper

**Jim Pepper, Professor:** I came to UCSC in 1972. I'm here primarily because of Dick Cooley and his vision in setting up an environmental studies program that had both a theoretical and an applied dimension, a program that integrated theory and practice.<sup>1</sup> We have a flagship program at the undergraduate level. When you go to major conferences that deal with environmental issues, people look with envy at Santa Cruz because we have the largest single faculty in the US in environmental studies.

**Dean McHenry:** A lot of Northern California is well forested, has a beautiful natural landscape, and a varied one. Inevitably, I think, in the next hundred years, there're going to be millions and millions of people come in. For example, the whole coastal slope between Santa Cruz and San Francisco, mostly San Mateo County, is, I suspect—maybe even in my lifetime, certainly in yours [the interviewer's]—going to hold to a

couple million people. Are they going to be put in little cracker boxes, ticky-tacky places such as you see in Daly City and South San Francisco, right out there in the open, exposed to the elements and every one identical? Or are you going to take the contours of the land as nature left them, with the natural trees, and have a sensitive development that does something for the spirit of man? If we could develop a school of planning related to landscape design that could do this, it would be closely related to conservation.

**Jim Pepper:** Environmental studies, at root, should have this deep kind of philosophical, cultural matrix with which it examines questions. I argue with students often, and say, “Show me, environmentally, why it's better off to not locate something in Santa Cruz and instead locate it in Fresno. Can you demonstrate the differential environmental effect between putting it here and in Fresno?” And almost invariably the answer is, “Well, because

Santa Cruz is a more environmentally something, something.” Can we prove Santa Cruz is more ecologically important to the health of the planet than Fresno? I think not.

How do you not get stuck in any particular academic paradigm, any one single academic and intellectual tradition? Environmental studies is more than just a group of disciplines working on things called “environmental.” It should, at its core, have some very important historical and philosophical pieces that deal with basic questions about self and other, that is self and earth, that raise philosophical questions, that raise moral questions, that raise historical questions, and anthropological questions.

**Dean McHenry:** I’m sure that planning of the urban type, or re-planning of urban slums, is not really something that would fit very well with us. But there might be a new approach to planning, a kind of utopian idealistic approach, in which you took the natural landscape, primarily in northern California, and planned its development for the use of man, with a very sensitive hand and eye—much as the problem we’ve faced on this campus: you go into a beautiful forest and you make it habitable for man, but you keep the best that nature had there. Contrast the approach that has been taken at some new universities with the approach we’ve taken. They begin by putting in mighty bulldozers and knocking down the forest that stood there for two hundred years, or for eons. And then, after you’ve scraped it all away, put up the skyscrapers. And then, suddenly you start planting little trees, hoping that in another hundred years that it won’t look so bare.

**Paul Niebanck, Provost of College Eight:** There’s no question that Dean McHenry personally played the significant role in the genesis of environmental studies at UCSC.

**Dean McHenry:** We have a very important appointment: Professor Grant McConnell, who is the chairman of political science at the University of Chicago.<sup>2</sup> In addition to being professor of politics, he is going to be academic assistant to the chancellor for natural resources studies. His administrative job is to draw up a plan for the development of natural resources here. We think that the emphasis ought to be public policy. Economic and political problems are often the key problems. We’re well ahead on the scientific front. We know a lot more about conservation of shoreline and water and forests and wildlife than we are applying. My conviction is that the real frontier now, in the natural resources area, lies in such things as public opinion, benefit/cost analysis, and areas that deal in psychology and politics and economics, more perhaps, than in the natural science areas.

**Jim Pepper:** I got here in part because my major advisor at Berkeley was structural geologist Robert Twiss, who’d been a student of Stanley Cain’s at the University of Michigan. Stanley Cain was one of the most respected plant ecologists in this country. He founded the natural resources school at Michigan. He then became an advisor to Dean McHenry. Stanley was here as a faculty emeritus. He’d been an undersecretary of the interior in the Johnson administration. Then he came out here after his retirement from that work in Michigan, advised McHenry on environmental matters to do with the campus, advised him to bring Dick Cooley here.<sup>3</sup>

What Dick brought to the environmental studies program was a real spirit, a warrior-type position, and a global perspective. He had learned the ways of Washington. He was an expert in national environmental policy, did his dissertation on the salmon fisheries in the Northwest. Dick was interested in results. Dick wanted his students



---

Figure 1

Dick Cooley in his office,  
1978

Photo by Carol Foote

---



to know how to go to Washington and to be effective lobbyists, effective staffers, to know that this was not just some intellectual exercise in trying to protect this planet. There was a lot at stake and you had to be a skilled lobbyist and political. You had to know enough history and you had to know enough biology to go out there and make your case. You didn't have to have a PhD in biology to go argue for conservation issues. But you had to know enough politics. And you had to know the economics of it. Dick Cooley had the right stuff for that time, marvelously philosophical and reflective. He was a great appointment for McHenry to make. They were looking for people who were committed to helping get environment on the national agenda.

**Paul Niebanck:** Dean McHenry paid me a call when I worked for HEW [Department of Health, Education, and Welfare] in the summer of 1972, that gross election year [when Richard Nixon was elected for a second presidential term], and we simply talked for an hour in my office. After I had left HEW, he phoned me and asked, could I drop into Santa Cruz sometime and talk about possibilities?

**Jim Pepper:** Cooley had been at the University of Washington, where they had made it difficult for him, in the sense that he hadn't had his own faculty. Dick had been deeply involved in conservation issues for many, many years, decades. He worked for the Conservation Foundation in Washington. And, in fact, Dick Cooley was instrumental in getting the money to Rachel Carson to finish writing *Silent Spring* before she died.

When Cooley got here, he called upon Stanley to say, "Where would you find people to recruit?" They called Bob Twiss at Berkeley, who'd been through the School of Natural Resources at

Michigan, and said, "I've got the guy for you." And down here I came.

I was interviewed by Leo Laporte, Grant McConnell, and Stanley Cain. Those were the three members of the College Eight Committee. I was being recruited to College Eight, and Dick Cooley represented environmental studies.

**Ray Dasmann:** College Eight was established as the environmental college, an interdisciplinary focus.<sup>4</sup>

**Jim Pepper:** I gave a seminar and had a lovely meal at the Cooleys' house that evening. I played the piano, and Dick Cooley's son played his string bass. Bob Twiss came down and played his banjo, and Stanley Cain danced a jig in the middle of the floor. I thought to myself, "This is some recruitment process!" I drank martinis on the wharf with Stanley and Grant McConnell at lunch, talked about what I was up to and what I thought about. Grant was an intellectual giant in American political science. He was also one of the most influential early faculty here, and a strident environmentalist. He had written a considerable amount about the Northwest in particular, protecting forests. So he was a warrior. He was a real warrior and so was Stanley.

**Michael Cowan:** And so, most of the core environmental studies faculty came to College Eight. There were people in marine studies fields; people like Jim Pepper and others in planning and public policy, such as Paul Niebanck, with his urban interests.

**Paul Niebanck:** I came in summer 1973 as the first provost of College Eight. College Eight has emerged with as clear an academic identity as any college on the campus. It's by no means mature,

and I hope in some senses it never is. I hope it stays vital. We had any number of conflicts, as new colleges will. Particularly in our case, we were a college that didn't have its own facilities, and soon discovered that it might not for a very long time.

**Michael Cowan:** Kresge was initially designed to be the environmental studies college, and when it didn't happen there, that mission shifted to College Eight, and it made an important and I think positive difference in College Eight. College Eight was initially not a residential college because they didn't have their facilities.

College Eight's facilities were put on hold in the mid-1970s, taken off the capital development improvement. There was a series of other facilities that had been planned, a humanities building and other things, that essentially were going to be postponed. Lots of things were put on hold. It was because of the growing enrollment problems at UCSC.

**Frank Zwart:** In the original plans for the campus, College Eight was instituted as a college. There was a design for it, but it was never built. The site for it was north of Kresge College. Edward Larrabee Barnes, a very prominent New York architect, actually did a design for it, but it got cut in the slowdown of the state budget in the 1970s. The funding for College Eight's construction got cut out of the budget in Sacramento. And then we didn't get it for twenty years. College Eight wound up starting in Kerr Hall.

**Paul Niebanck:** In College Eight, we were essentially swimming upstream or against the current. Our attempts have now been successful to secure adequate space within the Social Science building [Kerr Hall], which was inadequately used. It seemed that most of the interactions between colleges and boards had, in recent years, been

antagonistic ones, whereas in College Eight we wanted to establish cooperative relationships with boards. Before very long, we discovered that we could do cooperative work with boards—engage in joint faculty searches, for example, and not rub each other the wrong way. The relationships with environmental studies, and with the marine sciences group, with histcon and other boards and programs, have been very good indeed.

**Frank Zwart:** It was a commuter college for many, many years. That was the beginning of the very slow period of growth. If you look at the history of campus development from about 1975 or 1976 to about 1985, almost nothing was built.

**Paul Niebanck:** The faculty and students are happy to have that central location. We have an older student clientele, by and large, that wants to live off campus, and has its own life constructed off campus, so doesn't need the campus the same way that a younger clientele might. We have sufficient spaces in College Five to accommodate those students who want to live on campus. Also, we have a substantial portion of the married student apartment complex devoted to College Eight married students. So, we're not really anxious about the future in physical terms. We're quite well situated. We have a community that is innovative; it's solid. It's serving an important constituency, and in a way represents some of the frontiers that UCSC as a whole will have to move into—whether it's cooperative education, or a women's re-entry program, an older-student emphasis generally, the interdisciplinary but sharp academic identity, or community involvement.

We're respected as an academic unit that means something to the campus. College Eight has innovated in a variety of ways, and has become an important symbol to the campus.

## “That Land is Imprinted on Me”: Building the Agroecology Program and Training Students in Food Sustainability

**Steve Gliessman:** I came to Santa Cruz after having responded to a job application from environmental studies that talked about a “plant ecologist, specialist in California vegetation,” with no mention of the Farm, and only a little tiny last sentence at the bottom of the page that said something about “experience with managed ecosystems.”

**Jim Pepper:** Steve Gliessman and his work on agroecology have been very important on the national and international scene.<sup>5</sup>

**Steve Gliessman:** I remember coming up here for my interview. And here it was, a job for a plant ecologist, a specialist in California vegetation. What do I get up and talk about? I talked about agroecology and traditional agriculture in southern Mexico. I didn’t even address the topic of the job description in my talk. The room was packed! There were tons of kids. Oh, wow! There were people on the floor. It was so much fun. I had a ball.

A person took me to the Farm. I wandered around and looked at it. At that time, it was pretty isolated. They still had a donkey that they tried to use to farm with, and they had this old, beat-up, tiny little cultivating tractor. You had to hand-crank it to start it. And mostly, it was the garden at the Farm that they had, plus the Garden up on upper campus.<sup>6</sup>

They were farming organically. They had the beginnings of the apprentice course. It wasn’t very many people. It was a residential group that had been there for a while.

**Heidi Skolnik, Student Farmer, UCSC Farm:** I was part of the group of people who called

themselves “the home farmers.” It was before the Farm and Garden Apprenticeship Program officially started. There was a core group and then there were people who came and went. The core group was between eighteen and twenty people. People came from all over.<sup>7</sup>

I was young and looking for a place with kindred spirits, and a place where I could work with plants. That was so much my love. It was, by definition, a political thing, but I did not have that larger view at the time. It was the daily physical work, growing plants, beauty, food, seeing directly the results of your efforts, and a keen sense of working together, that shaped me for life. Boy, for a little while it was almost like a moneyless economy for some of us. Somehow, there was funding. There were shared houses, or there was a summer that we lived in the tents on the Farm, so had no rent. We grew all the food. I had no debt, no credit cards. I think I had no expenses. I don’t remember ever needing health care. Some people did. It’s amazing now to look back and realize how little of a safety net we had. My friend’s dad was a doctor. I remember when someone got hurt, we’d go over to his house. I do not know how the rent was paid. For sure, it was easier then. Large houses in Santa Cruz could be rented for a few hundred dollars per month.

We sold stuff to what was then the Consumers Co-op in downtown Santa Cruz, on a sporadic basis, when we had enough of something. We started the farm stand at the foot of campus (under the buckeye trees) by loading up a large wooden cart and wheeling down the crops. We also sold lettuce to the food service on campus, Saga Foods, for the dining halls. It was figured that eventually they would use more food items from the Farm Project, and lettuce for salads was the start. We also used



---

Figure 2

Teepees for apprentices at the UCSC Farm

Circa 1970s

Photo by UCSC Public Information Office

---

to go up to Saga and get their vegetable trimmings and compost—that was really dedication, going around to the dining halls and picking up their garbage. We had a Captain Compost.

We sewed the teepees we lived in. I borrowed some sewing machines. I remember that. The poles were cut down. I remember being part of one of those parties in the woods and using drawing knives to scrape the bark from the poles. It was kind of a primordial, amazing thing, to pitch those teepees. We lived in them for a summer. I have a very visceral memory of that, walking through the canvas door and getting inside that circular space. I shared a teepee with two other women, and I remember exactly where my spot was. They were out on this outcropping— You went out the far gate, over by the old slaughterhouse from the historic Cowell Ranch, across the bicycle path, and there's a granite rise right, and the teepees were on top of there.

**Steve Gliessman:** When I was taken down there and looked around, I thought, well, this is neat. It's what I tried to do when I was farming in Costa Rica, and in many respects what the traditional farmers in southern Mexico are trying to do. I felt a bit of an affinity to the farming systems that they were trying to manage. At that time, boy, most of the folks were in a pretty alternative lifestyle, still grounded in the hippie days. Dennis Tamura, and Jim Nelson, the original manager, were really feeling the crunch, and knowing that they were isolated. The student fees had been voted in, I guess, in the late sixties or early seventies. They'd changed. The students had voted them out. They'd stopped devoting part of their registration fees to the Farm. There were no student fees to support it.

**Lyn Garling:** Gliessman was a relatively new faculty member in environmental studies, and he'd done agroecology work in Mexico. So apparently

they said, "Great! Here, you can have this." Well, they up on the Hill said that, but the people who were part of the Farm and Garden Project were like, "What do you mean? We've just been given away to somebody we don't know."

The Farm and Garden Project went through all these different phases, and the university each time had to decide what they were going to do with this thing in their midst. I think probably early on in the sixties it wasn't that big of a stretch. But as time went on, and the whole freedom days of hippiedom were behind us, the university administration kept asking, "What the heck is this thing and why do they have teepees?"<sup>8</sup>

**Steve Gliessman:** I guess a year or two before, they had gotten a fifty-thousand-dollar grant from Alfred Heller.<sup>9</sup> It hadn't been too many years before when he'd produced the book *Cry California*, talking about the state of California as an environment. He put his finger right on things we're smack dab up against right now. He was personally interested in alternatives as well. He'd heard about the plight here, maybe it was through one of the members of the Friends of the Farm and Garden that was just coming together, thanks to Louise Cain, and Phyllis Norris, and a couple of other people at that time, who were like the den mothers for the Farm and Garden, and would hold bake sales and cook for the kids, and do other things to try and keep the whole thing afloat. And with Stanley Cain as an instructor in environmental studies, why, Louise would use him as a contact to try and nudge and push and make noise about—here's this resource that should be taken care of.

**Phyllis Norris:** Louise Cain was one of the most dynamic people I have ever met. Her husband, Stanley Cain, was a professor of environmental studies. Both Stanley and my husband were a part



---

Figure 3

UCSC Farm, 1984

Photo by Tina Silverstein

---

of College Eight. Steve Kaffka left the Farm. Orin Martin<sup>10</sup> and Jim Nelson<sup>11</sup> came to my husband, Ken Norris, and complained about the financial and organizational challenges with the apprentice program. Ken hired them under the auspices of College Eight to replace Steve. But, it was all at the urging of Louise Cain. She would come and say, “Ken, we’ve got to do something about this.” And Stanley too, “Don’t you think that College Eight could just adopt this program? It needs to have an academic home.”

**Steve Gliessman:** The only support was donations locally, and hard work, and almost no budget, and most of the folks worked without a salary. And without salaries, how long can you survive? No benefits, nothing.

**Raymond Dasmann:** Alfred Heller was very strongly on the side of the Environmental Studies Program. He was an old pal of Huey Johnson’s.<sup>12</sup> He gave a lot of money to UCSC, so people listened when he barked. He was a strong supporter of the Agroecology Program. It helped that we had moneyed people backing us, so we managed to get Steve Gliessman’s Agroecology Program established.

**Steve Gliessman:** So we scheduled a meeting with Alf Heller to present him with some ideas. He wanted us to meet him in San Francisco at the San Francisco Stock Exchange Club. The Heller family has been around San Francisco for quite a while, and are part of the network of Jewish families who have been in that San Francisco region for a long time. I’d never been in a place like this. I had been living outside of the country for ten years. I don’t even think I owned a tie. I did have kind of a nice leather jacket. We walk up to the maitre d’ who was at the little podium at the entrance to the Stock Exchange. Big wood doors

with gold handles and all this stuff, closed. I’d see them open, and I’d look in there, and there would be cigar smoke, and all these people sitting around in big fat plush chairs. Then the doors would close again. Finally we got up to the guy and he looked at me and he says, “You can’t come in.” I said, “Why not?” “You don’t have a tie on.” I said, “I don’t have a tie. What are we going to do? We have a lunch date in there.”

He looks at me, and he reaches down and opens a drawer, pulls out a tie and says, “Go in there and put that on.” So I put this tie on and got in the door, and met Alf Heller. We sit down, and started talking. He was asking some pretty pointed questions about who I was and what I’d done. I began talking about my experience in Mexico, and agroecology, and the ideas I had about using agroecology to build a program that we could use to research and train people to move in the direction of alternative agriculture, especially organic. I’m noticing him looking at me with his eyes getting bigger all the time.

Then he leans over to Director of Development Dan Aldrich (I guess he’d met him in the past), and he said, “Where did you find this guy?” I guess the things I was saying were the things he had wanted to hear, and had never heard from a university person. He got excited. I just started telling my story, and painting a vision of what I thought agroecology could be, and he started getting excited and got involved. He said, “Well, we could do this and we could do that. We’ve got to find somebody to help you do this. I know someone we can talk to. I know Huey Johnson” (who was at that time the Secretary of Resources for the state under Governor Jerry Brown). We’ve got to get together with him. You’ve got to talk to him.”

Heller gave us another fifty thousand to help get things going. It was intended to help leverage other support. But he also set us up with Huey Johnson. We met with Huey, and at that time they had just

started a couple of years before, the Environmental License Plate Program, monogrammed license plates. That was a program started under Jerry Brown to generate funds to help the California environment. But nothing had really gone into agriculture. We sat down with Huey and explained the whole idea of the Agroecology Program, the need for a lab, and the potential that a program like this had for developing practices and understanding of how to farm in some other way than conventional. There had been no sign, of course, of anything like this happening at Davis, or at Berkeley, or Riverside. He got pretty excited about it, and asked for a proposal. So Kay Thornley and I go to work, and we came up with a proposal to build a lab, to provide salaries for the apprentice staff, and to begin the whole process of building the Agroecology Program here on campus.

Ultimately the idea of a curriculum here at UCSC in agroecology has to be limited, because we're not an agronomy school. We don't have that whole complex of people, specialists in all the different pieces of what a food system is. But I think, still, despite all of that, our students come out of our program with a real good understanding of what a sustainable food system is, or needs to be. Each of them in their own way, some more completely than others, take that message with them. We see it happen. We see them come out of our undergraduate program and go on to graduate work, or become involved in community development, or go overseas, or get into government work, or go into farming. Whatever it is. There's all this stuff they do where it spreads out.

**Heidi Skolnick:** I have never, never enjoyed anything since as much as I enjoyed that time at the UCSC Farm. Some people would say, “Oh, it was because you were nineteen and twenty years old.” I don't think so. I think it's possible to have that kind of love for what you're doing at any age of

your life, but there's no question that I sure had it then. I didn't know what a rhubarb plant looked like until we grew rhubarb. I didn't know all those leaf lettuces, and we planted them in the colorful rows like they're doing now for the salad mixes. Everything up there—everything was a discovery. Everything was new. There were people who were into building. There were people into alternative energy. Everyone was just discovering that stuff. It was extremely cutting-edge.

I place myself up on that rise that is the Farm, where you're overlooking the Monterey Bay. I remember the moist air. I remember seeing the fog over the bay. It would come and go. The fog usually burned off in the afternoon at the Farm. You could predict it. That land is imprinted on me. It is my favorite landscape, those rolling grassland meadows that go up and up and then become the oak woodlands.





## The Ripples of Environmental Studies in the University and the World

**Irene Reti, Student:** I had this waking vision that I was going to go to college someplace that had trees, but ocean, at the same time. And when I saw UCSC, it was like, oh, my God. This is what was in my vision. At that time, the student population was about five thousand students, so it was much smaller than it is now. I was passionate about hiking and going to the mountains because the happiest times in my childhood were when my mom would take me and my brother on backpacking trips, after my parents got divorced.<sup>13</sup>

So here was this campus that was full of paths and redwoods and this absolutely gorgeous coast. And you could study things like environmental studies. I was immediately completely smitten when I came here in 1978. I very quickly fell in love with environmental studies. I took a survey course in environmental studies the first year. UCSC was a very small and intimate learning environment, and there was a lot of focus on interdisciplinary work. The two majors I ended up doing were environmental studies and women's studies. It would have been a lot harder to do that at some other university.

**Drew Goodman, Student:** I knew that I wanted to get out of New York, have a different experience. I didn't really want to do what my friends were thinking of, going to some kind of East Coast private school and go into banking or business. I was convinced I wanted to go to California to go to university because I'd visited there and wanted a change. And UC Santa Cruz was (not that this is the best way to pick a college, but) from a natural beauty standpoint one of the nicest places I'd ever seen. It was kind of love at first sight.

I decided to major in environmental studies because you have the forest there and the farm and the ocean. You would really have to not be

paying attention not to hear nature calling out so loudly there.

**Mark Lipson:** I applied to Santa Cruz, got into the Environmental Studies Program, and very quickly got sucked into the amazing group of faculty there—Jim Pepper, Ken Norris, Dick Cooley, Paul Niebanck—all those guys. To say nothing of Ray Dasmann and Stanley Cain. Those guys were such giants.

**Jim Pepper:** Ray Dasmann is another person who put an indelible stamp on the program here. I remember once talking to a dean of the social sciences about Ray, and the dean had never heard of him, when in fact he might have been the most important international figure in the division. He was the quietest, most unassuming—there wasn't an ounce of self-aggrandizement in Ray Dasmann. He would never tell you that he had been and continues to be a major international figure in wildlife conservation globally. Very few faculty on this campus ever get phone calls from kings and queens and prime ministers and heads of state and have worked on every continent. Ray has done that. He was in Sri Lanka during the civil war, working on conservation issues of the African elephant, and has worked throughout Africa. He's worked in the Arctic; he's worked in the Americas and Europe. He, at one time, was the principal ecologist for the International Union for the Conservation of Nature,<sup>14</sup> and is one of the quiet movers and shakers in this whole world. And he is one of the fathers of the field of ecodevelopment, which is essentially the merging of ecology and development, and pioneered some very important insights.

**Ray Dasmann:** Gradually, I worked into a course on ecodevelopment, which is based on ecological principles for economic development, an international model that involved the U.N. and other agencies. That just irritated the hell out of the political scientists who were dealing with international agencies and had that as a focus, dealing with these issues and coming from a different point of view entirely.

**Mark Lipson:** I think it was kind of a golden age for the Environmental Studies Program, right then, because it was very real-world oriented, and the students were out all over the place, all over the world, doing stuff.

**Jim Pepper:** Dick Cooley didn't get a bunch of theoreticians to come to Santa Cruz and write theoretical treatises. He brought people who were pragmatic, people who were soldier types. The environment was war, and by God you had to do battle with the special interests in Washington that would do in the rangelands of the West, that would do in the forests of the Northwest, that were ready to drain the swamps of the Southeast—the metaphor was war, really.

**Mark Lipson:** My second quarter at UCSC [about 1979] I got involved with offshore oil drilling. There was the first prospect of there being offshore oil drilling off the Central Coast. So, with a couple other students, I got into an internship with the Association of Monterey Bay Area Governments (AMBAG)<sup>15</sup> preparing AMBAG's comments to the Department of the Interior on the first call of the question for offshore oil leases. That was right when Save Our Shores got started, so we were interacting with Kim Tschantz and the folks who started Save Our Shores.<sup>16</sup> Right from the very beginning, there was this assumption of

doing stuff in the real world. There were no purely academic exercises.

**Drew Goodman:** I was just itching to go *do* something, and not just go research something and then give my opinion about it. There were some people who were very excited about putting in school gardens and selling the vegetables. This was before farmers' markets became really popular. We sold the stuff to Shopper's Corner and a few little markets. We dug some raised beds and planted them with the kids. The whole thing was mini-economics. It was a little math project, where we went in and then we sold the produce, and the money cycled back into the School Garden Program.

My interest in farming started at UCSC, getting out of Manhattan and getting into a more natural environment. It evolved organically from there. UCSC provided the type of education that I was looking for, and the faculty that I interacted with were much more interested in helping students learn how to think than learn how to memorize things and repeat.

**Jim Pepper:** We get accused from time to time of being too action oriented. Well, hell, if you can't take informed action in the world, if the university isn't in some way about informed action, what the hell is it about? Vegetating minds?

I think you've got to act to be a human being. The university has a responsibility to inform action. That's another piece of this environmental question: how do you bring knowledge to action?

**Raymond Dasmann:** We encouraged our students—when I say “we,” I mean really it was Dick Cooley and me, to begin with—to get out there during the summers and work at temporary jobs with the National Park Service. They became seasonal employees with the Forest Service. They'd get out into the field and get an understanding of

the agency and get their names known and build up a little background before they graduated. Then it would help if they had a thesis that was related to their long-term interests and not just an exercise in academia. Not just textbook. And Ken Norris got them out into the field more than anyone did.

Environmental Studies Lecturer and Internship Program Coordinator Jenny Anderson, with her internship program, did a lot too. She was very good at finding summer placements for students, so they could get field experience. Over the years our students went to Washington, D. C. as congressional interns, and, with their backgrounds in environmental studies, did well.

**Jim Pepper:** Other important early figures here would surely have to include Ken Norris,<sup>17</sup> who brought natural history back to Santa Cruz. He was here in biology originally and then brought his FTE partly to environmental studies.<sup>18</sup> And then finally the whole nine yards. He got tired of biology and got more interested in larger-scale issues. Ken was able to bring to students a sense of the whole organism and the organism in its environment, and helped us turn a faculty that was primarily social scientists in the early years—we were all social scientists—to bring some balance to that and get the natural science representation on the board.

**Larry Ford:** When the environmental studies board first started, I think one of the problems that they faced was credibility. A lot of it was because of its social science dimensions. Then there was the prejudice against natural history, which was regarded as a kind of Victorian-era side of science. At that time, even in the seventies, these blow-hard modernists, or whatever they were, in biology, they would say, oh no, we're moving towards molecular biology, and that's the

only important thing. Natural history is not even important—which was totally silly.

**Ken Norris:** Matthew Sands, the physicist, went around and asked if there was anybody who was interested in environmental studies.<sup>19</sup> I said that I was. So off I went to a partial appointment in environmental studies. I was one of the original guys there. They asked me to bring marine science into the cluster of people in environmental studies, which at the time was heavily social science-oriented. I said sure, that I'd like to try.

**Craig Schindler, Professor:** I was a junior professor in environmental studies with Ken Norris and many others in the late 70s and early 80s. My first experience of Ken was when I was a junior faculty person and going into an environmental studies meeting. There's this guy in blue overalls who looks like a Montana sheep rancher. He says, well he's just come in from shearin' the sheep. And then he mentions, with this grin in his eyes, that he's going to go talk to Dean Robert Adams in a little bit and you can see he's just dressed for the occasion.

**M.R.C. Greenwood:** Realizing the great need for an academic program in environmental studies, Ken turned his efforts to helping to develop this program. He was keenly aware that the development of this interdisciplinary program required the cooperation of faculty from both the sciences and the social sciences, and he worked tirelessly to assure that these groups became symbiotic.

**Ken Norris:** I conjured up this notion of us getting vans and loading them with our food and so forth, and off we went with the Natural History Field Quarter students. We could stop on the way and look at the plants we found, or the geology, or

whatever else it was, and then we could move on. Far, far beyond that, our little moving community across the state became an organism, and it was terribly different than teaching in a laboratory or a lecture hall on campus, where you're propped up in front of the students and the students are taking down your every golden word. In this case, you're living your life with them in a very real way. We divided up who would cook, who would wash dishes, and all that sort of stuff. We ate each other's dreadful food. We wove ourselves into each other's lives. We contrived to teach three classes in the field. I taught the natural history of California, the geology. I was never tied to a single discipline. I liked the plants as well as I did some of the little bugs and stuff. I liked the geology a lot. I wanted to know about the weather. I really did want to know about how the world worked. I really did want to know; I really did want to gulp the world whole.

**Jenny Keller:** We were in the Mojave on Natural History Field Quarter with Ken Norris.<sup>20</sup> We were heading out to the Kelso Dunes, which we used to do way before sunrise.<sup>21</sup> The sun hadn't even come up yet. All of a sudden, there was this explosion of activity. About a dozen of us are running through the scrub, dodging this way and that. And then I see Ken Norris at the head of the pack, who dives headfirst into the sand. He comes up with a scoop of sand and a lizard, and proceeds to hold it, carefully of course, by one leg. And we all crowd around to look at it. It was a leopard lizard, which has beautiful air-brushed spots and pattern on it, and kind of a pale beige background color. And right on the spot, Ken started making up this theory about why this lizard would have the pattern that it does. He was gesturing toward the bushes and saying, “See how the wind has blown the sand and how it exposes some dark and light patterns just like these patches.” We responded

(gasps), “Oh, my gosh! You're right. Look at that. That would be perfect camouflage.” We were immediately on board with his hypothesis and totally enchanted.

He was continuing to examine the lizard and point things out to us. And he goes, “Oh, but look here.” And he pointed out something that really seemed to throw his theory into question, you know, kind of throw it out of the water. At that moment, I happened to be standing on the periphery of the group that were crowding around Ken. I had the very beautiful experience of not only being a part of what was going on, but watching it happen. When he said that, there was a collective murmur. There was this sigh of disappointment that rose from the group and these voices that were expressing support for his original idea.

I thought, oh my gosh, look at us. We don't want to hear it. We are so attached to that first good idea that we are pushing away the next piece of information that the lizard is telling us. It's right here. And we were slowing down. Our minds were getting clouded by our preconceived ideas, never mind that this theory was thirty seconds old. Fortunately for us, Ken was not stuck on that idea, and he proceeded, in that moment, to make up an equally magnificent and plausible theory of how the lizard got its spots, right there. And then we were off. I thought, *oh. I get it.* You're saying: “Check it out. Don't stop checking it out. Keep looking at the real thing. Don't stop going to the source.”

And for me, that has become such a touchstone, because I believe it's crucially important to good science to keep asking those questions. And it turns out it is equally important for science illustration. You have to keep looking at the real thing, or you'll start making it up, or drawing what you think a leaf looks like, or a lizard looks like, or a fox's ears look like. Are they triangles? Well, no—sort of, but if you just put a triangle on top of that head, that's not going to look like a fox's ears.

It was that moment when I thought: oh, he's not teaching us about the lizard. He *is* showing us about the lizard. But he's demonstrating how not to get stuck, how to keep your mind open, and your observation open. It's how Ken was. He was giving that to us all the time. There could have been any number of instances that I observed and that everyone observed, during that term and during Ken's entire teaching career, where he demonstrated that. But it was so beautifully demonstrated in that moment that I couldn't not take it in.

You ask your questions; you play them out; you let them fly, see if they're something worth pursuing, or something worth discarding, or something worth picking up later. You are never done. "Spinning the Wheel." That's what he called it.

**Ken Norris:** We got ourselves a great big bus: Old Blue. We had a loudspeaker hung on the ceiling of the bus and a microphone we could talk into and which the students used for giving oral reports while we were on the road. We had twenty-three students. We had all of our food and gear strapped in the back.

We had a resource person along. I would invite one per trip. These people came from different genres. For example, I looked at the student body I was carrying and saw that there were a lot of people who were going to end up as outdoor educators. So I brought along the best outdoor educator I could find to help teach them. Or I brought a poet. Poetry was a dimension of the wild world that needed to be thought about. We had Cosmic Joe. Cosmic Joe Jordan knew more than the Lord about the atmosphere and things like—he just knows the damndest bunch of stuff. He works at NASA-Ames Research Center on auroras and things like that. So we brought him and his girlfriend, Mary Moreno, in quite a lot, and they were wonderful.<sup>22</sup>

It was a series of four to six trips, each for a week, a week and a half. We found places that would take us, reserves that would let us camp out and cook our dreadful meals. I'm sort of an obligate carnivore and obligate carnivores hardly have a place in the present-day fare. So it wasn't too infrequent to find Steve Gliessman and me showing up at the local breakfast parlor for a bunch of fried eggs and bacon. I even carried a salami in my sleeping bag.

**Shannon Brownlee:** I learned from Ken Norris to think about what it's like to be a bug, and to be down in a little crack or a crevice in a rock when the wind is blowing. Ken taught me a very important principle about getting inside the animal to get a sense of what it's like for them, so that you can then ask the right questions from the outside.

**Jenny Keller:** And another concept of Ken's: Crossing the Threshold of Boredom. You need to let people do that. You need to get people out there. They do their thing and then they settle down and ask some questions. And then they're like, "Now what?" It's beyond the "Now what?" where you really start getting deep into something. Scientists need to do that over the better part of weeks and months and years and decades. I think of Robert Sapolsky studying the baboons for twenty years in Kenya and the things that he learned. It's amazing to me that that isn't incorporated into every science major's experience, because good science depends utterly on sustained, in-depth, direct observation, and an attempt, at least, to be objective. And we all need practice at that.

**Sharon Brownlee:** One of the reasons that Ken and I had this wonderful, special relationship is he had the same sort of dichotomy in himself, where he was an artist at heart, but he had to decide on



---

Figure 4

Ken Norris and students, environmental studies  
natural history class, Fall 1977

Photo by Saxon Donnelly

---

art or science. We talked about that a lot, that the fact that we looked at the world with an artist's eye had a great deal to do with being able to observe. Ken and I were able to stand in a boat and identify whales and dolphins from an incredible distance. We both saw the animal as a gestalt, and could tell by just the movement and the blow and a little bit of fin, which animal it was. I think it was the artist's eye. Because you had to observe, you had to be able to observe it that way to draw an animal.

The silliness and the play and the practical jokes and the incredibly outrageous stories that he used to tell were all part of his genius. He had a mind that could range anywhere. The play just kept him going. It kept his mind working all the time. He was a brilliant scientist. It was extraordinary to be in his presence. It made you more confident of your wacky ideas because you never knew when a wacky idea would be the right one.

Who would think that dolphins hear through their jaws? Who would think that a spermaceti organ in a sperm whale was partly for amplifying sound to blast away at giant squid? I mean, who would think any of this? Who would think that clownfish would coat themselves in slime so that they could live in the tentacles of a sea anemone? There were just no boundaries to Ken's thinking, just the way there are no boundaries to a child's play. I watch my three-year-old son and anything can be anything in his world. A piece of lint can be a telephone, if he feels like it. For Ken, anything could be anything. The natural world was so astonishing that why should you limit the way you think about things according to some sort of standard, human ways of classification, or of knowledge of the way things work. All kinds of things are possible. This is what all scientific breakthrough is made out of, is that somebody thought the unthinkable. Ken was thinking the unthinkable all the time.

**Larry Ford:** The Environmental Field Program was essential to Ken's whole teaching philosophy, which was that students needed the opportunity to test their wings; they needed to go further than just observing nature, to learn how to complete an entire professional project. So he found a way to give them some money to support themselves for maybe a quarter, which is not an unreasonable amount of time to do a project. It fit into the whole senior thesis concept in environmental studies. It helped students to do a project. Of course, it couldn't be as much as a master's thesis would be. It had to be appropriate.

**Ken Norris:** The Environmental Field Program was set up by me in my office in the environmental studies board to put students in teams on issue areas throughout wild California. The Environmental Field Program sent these teams of students out. We built a collapsible house out of plywood that we could bolt together; we put it on a flat truck and drove it wherever we wanted to, and set it up. It had a little bunk-room, a dark-room, and a place where you could cook.

We built it here at the Norris home in Bonny Doon in the backyard. It was about forty feet long and had little rooms in it. It was tight-going for people who stayed in it. We would identify an issue area and we'd take this thing out and set it up and then attack the issue. For example, one of the sites was in the Kingston Range in the desert south of Death Valley. We thought it ought to be a wilderness area. They're big, high mountains, over seven thousand feet. We put our team out there to study this, and they ended up doing an elegant report. They discovered twenty-six new Indian sites while they worked out there. They mapped the geology. They did all kinds of stuff like that. By golly, we got the thing in as a wilderness area. That was a successful one.

Larry Ford was my straw boss. He took charge of making sure that they got it all done. The first thing the students did was to draw a base map. One young woman discovered probably twelve old Indian trade trails around the mountains. She discovered them by finding beads and old coins. You can imagine what an impact a thing like that had on a student who was doing it.

**Larry Ford:** The faculty at a university don't have time to provide the necessary guidance to undergraduate students doing field projects. They need a lot of hand-holding; and they need a lot of behind-the-scenes monitoring and technical support. Ken realized that meant he needed to have a staff person to make sure that that liaison took place with a faculty sponsor. Another dimension of the program was that the students needed some funding support, and in order to get that money, they needed some kind of a streamlined and fairly effective process of applying, just like the real world. The idea was that more or less everybody was going to get the money that they needed, if they had a good project idea.

They didn't all go just for a whole quarter in a team. Some of them did it as individual students. Some did it over a whole year. We had this small pool of money, sometimes just a few hundred bucks, that would enable them to buy some equipment, gas, or whatever they applied for to be able to do it. We didn't provide any salaries; it was all just for expenses. But they had to go through the process of applying. So it was just like a grant application and they had to apply the same rigor; they had to demonstrate that they had thought through what they were going to do and what its relevance was, all those sorts of considerations. Believe me, plenty of students would come in and say, why should I do this? I just want the money. You should give it to me. But we wouldn't let them do that.

There was a faculty review committee. It was competitive. Some didn't get their grants.

We wanted to make sure that they wrote up these studies in a professional way. We insisted that they had to have a professional-quality product at the end. So Ken brought in Dan [Sheridan F.] Warrick to be the editor. Dan worked then with the team projects and with individual students. We had our own in-house publications.

**Ken Norris:** It was a marvelous program. I raised the money from foundations. Each area was written up and a report published in a very carefully edited volume. We had an Environmental Field Program team who did the whole resource survey for the Granite Mountains before it became a major part of the UC Natural Reserve System, a University reserve.<sup>23</sup> They're seventy miles west of Needles and about ninety miles east of Barstow. We published it. It's a beautiful publication which has become a mainstay out there. We published resource surveys on Big Creek on the Big Sur coast in the same kind of general format.

**Larry Ford:** Ken was a master at making that program appear out of thin air. He raised hundreds of thousands of dollars to make it work. It was typical of his strategy for fundraising that he created a sense of the program before funding was found. He had to create the sense of the Environmental Field Program before it existed. He did that by having the Granite Mountains project, which was done before the Field Program got started in 1977. Ken got a National Science Foundation grant with Dan Warrick and those other students. There was a whole program at NSF for undergraduate projects and they each had, I think, a thousand dollars for expenses. They often did this. Dan went through the process of editing the *Granite Mountains Resource Survey* and they published it, and by the time it actually got produced, the Field



Program existed.<sup>24</sup> Then Ken was able to show to some donors that, hey, we've already got this thing going, and look how successful it is. That was exactly his strategy. So then he could come back to the chancellor, too, and say, well look, the program has produced its first completed project and publication and now we need some more support. He ended up getting, I think, about \$300,000 a year from the Hewlett Foundation and from the Packard Foundation, who, of course, became his allies.

**Roger Samuelsen, Director of the UC Natural Reserve System:** Ken Norris put the blueprint together for the whole Natural Reserve System for the University of California. He was the visionary; he was one of these amazing people who not only had a vision or a dream, but also had an action plan to carry it out. It is very rare that a person can be both a visionary and action-oriented. He was the one who drafted the reports and made sure they were finalized; made sure they were presented to the pertinent people in the structure of the University of California, and just kept pushing, pushing, pushing. I can't imagine anybody else being able to do that. He had an ability to push with a big smile and an "aw shucks" attitude that was awfully hard to turn down. Ken believed that we couldn't just acquire lands and mothball them; that it wasn't our purpose to simply hold the reserves under the auspices of the University of California. These were sites that had to be developed and maintained and used as outdoor laboratories.<sup>25</sup>

**Ken Norris:** I toured the state from top to bottom, inspected nearly ninety sites, hiked shorelines, mountains, grasslands and deserts and emerged from it not only with a firm grasp of what is needed, but also with a reaffirmation of the magnificence of our opportunity and the importance

of rapid action. Time is short. Habitat destruction is appalling and everywhere evident. Although some habitats are gone, we are generally in time.<sup>26</sup>

**Don Usner, Student:** We were at Big Creek Reserve on the Natural History Field Quarter. We were hiking out on our last day. It was day five and we were coming down a big, beautiful grassy ridge with the ocean down below us. We were all high on the place. Ken, as usual, took time to walk with me. He'd do that; he'd take individuals and take time and be with them. I was walking with him down the ridge that day and I was telling him I was so overwhelmed with how beautiful this place was. I was just stunned. We had a conversation during which he said they had just bought it from the Nature Conservancy and it was going to be under university control in the Natural Reserve System. I graduated not long after that, in 1981. I was caretaker at Big Creek. Big Creek was the dream of an entire lifetime.

**Sam Farr, Congressman:** Big Creek is the jewel of the University of California's Natural Reserve System. The Farr family was one of the original families who purchased Big Creek from John Nesbitt. When I was a young boy, my father brought our Cub Scout troop to camp in the woods and regaled us with made-up stories using historical characters. He would spice these hills with figures like outlaw Joaquin Murietta and Three-Fingered Jack. This was a time before television and cell phones. The land was the theater and my father's imagination allowed us to sense it in new and different ways. Just imagine sitting in these mountains with the sun going down, darkness creeping in, so dark you couldn't see your hand. The noises of the dark became part of his stories. My father's stories expressed his love of these hills and its people, both living and long gone. Big Creek is a special place. The best improvement

to the stories of our natural surroundings has been the addition of good scientific studies. To everyone who now visits Big Creek Reserve, the mythical meeting of land and water is illuminated by shared knowledge.<sup>27</sup>

**Roger Samuelsen:** The Natural Reserve System is going to become more valued and more appreciated with every passing day. People are going to look back and say, “Wow, see what Ken Norris did, how far-sighted he was, what a visionary he was,” because it really was a now-or-never proposition.

**Jim Pepper:** I have a feeling that many on the faculty identified environmental studies as simply a passing fancy that kind of emerged out of Earth Day.<sup>28</sup> Earth Day itself had a lot of community activities, such as recycling programs, and people getting interested in composting toilets, and some protestors would be up in the Humboldt National Forest protesting some kind of timber harvest. I think many faculty thought we were just a group of activist tree-hugger types, and didn’t take the time to look at our curriculum, didn’t take the time to examine the courses that we required our students to take.

But that was the popular image in the press, that the environmental movement was a kind of glorified tree hugger, not serious academics, not serious intellectuals. It was bad enough to be at Santa Cruz where we didn’t have grades, and had narrative evaluations, pass/no pass. But my goodness, to be part of an academic program called environmental studies. I remember one of our deans used to poke fun at us, saying, “The next thing we’ll have is Midwest Studies.”

But the fact of the matter is we have departments of environmental quality and departments of natural resources in every state of the nation. We have the Environmental Protection Agency, as well as the Department of the Interior that manages the

nation’s lands, of which there are millions and millions of acres. These are all tasks that are specifically and directly and immediately related to environmental studies. Not that we were a vocational program, but I’m merely pointing out that people needed to be educated about the complexities of these land management and resource management issues because they have serious ramifications for current and future generations.

Take, for example, our current national discussion or conversation about global warming. We were talking about global warming in environmental studies as far back as I can remember. Obviously, now we’re at some kind of international crossroads where the citizens of the planet are going to demand of their leadership some form of action, or we are simply going to experience some very significant dislocations of plant and animal species, not to mention humans and human settlement patterns. The evidence is very strong and it points in the direction that we have some very serious thinking to do about a very serious problem. We are going to have to reach informed actions.

I’m certain that the kind of education that was embodied in environmental studies at Santa Cruz is the kind of thinking that has to be brought to bear on this. I don’t want to say that we’re going to have the last laugh, because I don’t think it will be a laugh. As Barry Commoner, an ecologist who was one of the principal early leaders in the academic environmental movement was wont to say, “If ecology is a fad it will be the last one.”

## Endnotes

1. Richard A. Cooley founded UCSC's environmental studies board. Before coming to Santa Cruz in 1970, he taught in the geography department at the University of Washington. Cooley wrote numerous books and articles on natural resource conservation, public policy, and environmental studies. He retired from teaching in 1991 and died in November 1994 at the age of 69. Cooley's work on conservation issues in Alaska, especially the international protection of the polar bear, was especially influential. He was appointed by President Gerald Ford to the Federal Marine Mammal Commission from 1974 to 1977.
2. Grant McConnell joined UCSC in 1969 as a member of the politics board. He helped found the environmental studies board, and served the campus as academic vice chancellor in 1970-1971. He retired from UCSC in 1980. Before coming to UCSC, McConnell had played a central role in the establishment of the North Cascades National Park in Washington State. He died in 1993.
3. Plant ecologist Stanley Cain founded the Department of Conservation at the University of Michigan—the first such academic department in the country—in 1950. Cain was called “one of the foremost thinkers in the field of plant ecology” by William Stapp, professor emeritus of resource planning and conservation at the University of Michigan. “What was most significant to me and many students who worked under him,” wrote Stapp, “was that he approached his work from ecological, economic, political and social perspectives. Everything he did had a very interdisciplinary perspective—and that was really new thinking in the 1950s.” After retiring from University of Michigan in 1972, Cain moved to Santa Cruz, where he was chairman of the committee that planned UCSC's College Eight. Cain had also served as an environmental consultant to founding chancellor Dean E. McHenry before the campus opened. Cain became an adjunct professor of environmental studies at UCSC in 1977. His academic specialty was botany, but he was widely acknowledged for pioneering the study of the relationship between people and the environment. Partly because of his work, conservation became an increasing national concern from the 1940s through the 1950s. See the Stanley A. Cain Papers at UCSC Library Special Collections: MS 106. <http://pdf.oac.cdlib.org/pdf/ucsc/spcoll/ms106.pdf>.
4. College Eight was established in 1972. In 2016, UCSC received a naming gift from the Helen and Will Webster Foundation, which endowed College Eight and named it in honor of Rachel Carson. Carson was a marine biologist, conservationist and writer whose book *Silent Spring* (Houghton Mifflin, 1962) documented the devastating effects of pesticides on the environment, and is widely credited with helping launch the environmental movement. College Eight spent the first eighteen years of its existence at Kerr Hall, which became a dynamic and lively place. Resident students were housed at College Five (Porter College). In 1990, facilities were finally built and College Eight was moved to its current site west of Oakes College. Also see UA 108, the College Eight/Rachel Carson collection in Special Collections at the UCSC Library: <https://oac.cdlib.org/findaid/ark:/13030/c8vm4k4t/?query=rachel+carson>.
5. The UCSC organization now known as the Center for Agroecology and Sustainable Food Systems (CASFS) <https://casfs.ucsc.edu/> has had various names throughout its history, beginning as the Student Garden Project in 1967 under Alan Chadwick; then the UCSC Farm in the 1970s; then the Agroecology Program under Steve Gliessman beginning in 1981. In 1993, the name was changed to the Center for Agroecology and Sustainable Food Systems.
6. The Chadwick Garden eventually came to be known as the “Up Garden,” while the site near the base of campus became known as “The Farm” (where there is a second garden), referred to as the “Down Garden” over the years, and now assuming the name “Farm Garden.”
7. See Steve Gliessman's oral history in the *Cultivating a Movement* oral history series at <https://library.ucsc.edu/register/cultiv/home>.
8. See Lyn Garling's oral history in the *Cultivating a Movement* oral history series at <https://library.ucsc.edu/register/cultiv/home>.
9. The Heller family's ties to UC Santa Cruz began with Alfred's mother, Elinor Heller, the first woman to chair the University of California Board of Regents. She was a close friend of Dean McHenry, and it was with her support that Dean McHenry and Clark Kerr designed the Santa Cruz campus. Heller Drive is named in her honor. Alfred Heller has been a leader in the environmental community. He is one of the founders of the nonprofit education organization California Tomorrow, through this endeavor challenging others to reconsider the nature of ‘progress’ in California, contending that beauty and productivity can go hand in hand. UCSC's Alfred E. Heller Chair in Agroecology, the campus's first endowed chair, was founded in December of 1982 with a \$375,000 gift from Alfred E. Heller.
10. Orin Martin manages the Alan Chadwick Garden at UC Santa Cruz, where he is widely admired for his skills

as a master orchardist, horticulturalist, and teacher. See his oral history, which is part of the *Cultivating a Movement* oral history series, at: <https://library.ucsc.edu/reg-hist/orin-martin-manager-alan-chadwick-garden-casfs>.

11. Jim Nelson (sometimes referred to by his peers as “Big Jim”) managed the UCSC Farm into the mid-1980s. He should not be confused with Jim Nelson of Camp Joy Gardens (“Little Jim”), who was an early apprentice of Alan Chadwick and was interviewed for the *Cultivating a Movement* oral history series.
12. Huey Johnson was California’s secretary of resources from 1978 to 1982, during the first Jerry Brown administration.
13. This excerpt is from an oral history conducted by Mikaela Barad for the Cowell College oral history class in 2013.
14. “The IUCN, International Union for Conservation of Nature, was established on 5 October 1948 in the French town of Fontainebleau. As the first global environmental union, it brought together governments and civil society organizations with a shared goal to protect nature. Its aim was to encourage international cooperation and provide scientific knowledge and tools to guide conservation action.” See: <https://www.iucn.org/about/iucn-brief-history>.
15. The Association of Monterey Bay Area Governments (AMBAG) was organized in 1968 for the purpose of regional collaboration and problem solving. Members are the counties and cities of Monterey, San Benito, and Santa Cruz.
16. Save Our Shores began in 1978 as a grassroots organization to stop offshore oil drilling. In 1985, they successfully advocated for the passage of twenty-six local ordinances in California to prevent offshore oil drilling by prohibiting the construction of onshore facilities for oil transport and processing. For much more on Save Our Shores see the UCSC Library’s Digital Exhibit: How a Sea Grass Rebellion Led to the Monterey Bay National Marine Sanctuary at <https://exhibits.library.ucsc.edu/exhibits/show/mbnmshistory/ocean-odysseys--saving-our-sho>.
17. Today, UCSC’s Kenneth S. Norris Center for Natural History supports natural history education and research opportunities for students, faculty, staff, and the Santa Cruz community. Established in 2014 through a lead endowment gift from the David and Lucile Packard Foundation, the Norris Center builds upon the contributions that Professor Ken Norris and others made to the field of natural history at UCSC. The Norris Center hosts classes, offers natural history workshops, curates a wide variety of specimens for teaching and research, supports internships and fellowships, and helps engage all people with the natural world.
18. See the UCSC Library’s digital exhibit on Ken Norris at <http://scalar.ucsc.edu/works/reading-nature/introduction-to-kenneth-s-norris-papers> and the Kenneth S. Norris Papers at UCSC Library’s Special Collections: UA 66: <http://pdf.oac.cdlib.org/pdf/ucsc/uarc/ua66.pdf>.
19. Sands was part of Kresge College. Kresge’s theme was originally articulated as “Man and his Environment” (UCSC General Catalog, 1971-72). By 1975-76, (under Provost May Diaz) Kresge was hosting the women’s studies major, an ethnic studies program, and a Native American studies program.
20. The Natural History Field Quarter has operated continuously since 1973. Field Quarter is a 15-unit environmental studies class taught each spring quarter. While camping at UC’s Natural Reserves, the class focuses on California natural history and land management. Graduates gain career skills relevant to field ecology, education, science illustration, writing, and environmental policy and management. Field Quarter has a large and active network of alumni who help endow a scholarship fund for current students. For more on Natural History Field Quarter see: <https://nhfq.ucsc.edu/what-is-nhfq/index.html>.
21. The Kelso Dunes are part of the Mojave National Preserve. See: <https://www.nps.gov/moja/kelso-dunes.htm>.
22. Joe Jordan worked at NASA Ames Research Center and the SETI Institute for more than twenty years, serving on various projects, including flying observatories for infrared astronomy, Hubble Space Telescope design, studies of stratospheric ozone depletion and global climate change, the search for planets around distant stars, image analysis from the first Mars rover, and investigations of Saturn’s rings and the atmosphere of its moon Titan. He continues to lead “physics-in-nature” hikes and astronomy/stargazing evenings for various organizations or events in this area and elsewhere and is still known as “Cosmic Joe Jordan.”
23. The Granite Mountains are part of the Sweeney Granite Mountains Desert Research Center. See: <https://ucnrs.org/reserves/sweeney-granite-mountains-desert-center/>.
24. Bruce A. Stein and Sheridan F. Warrick, *Granite Mountains Resource Survey: Natural and Cultural Values of the Granite Mountains, Eastern Mojave Desert, California* (Santa Cruz: Environmental Field Program, University of California, 1979).
25. Back in the early 1960s, just at the same time that Clark Kerr was helping dream up the UCSC campus, he was also working with Ken Norris to envision a UC Natural Reserve System. At that time Norris was a professor at UCLA. “This

is a state with enormous variety; identifying the ecological areas and preserving them forever under University control is something that in the long run will loom as having been of increasing importance over the years,” Kerr wrote. According to the Natural Reserve System’s website: “In January 1965, the Regents of the University of California established the Natural Land and Water Reserves System, as the Natural Reserve System was first known. Seven University-owned sites became the system’s first reserves. Today the NRS consists of 39 reserves that include more than 750,000 acres across the state. Its reserves are available not only to students, teachers, and researchers from the University of California, but to qualified users in science, art, the humanities, teaching, and other disciplines. No other university-operated network of field sites in the world can match the size, scope, and ecological diversity of the NRS.” UCSC manages Año Nuevo Island Reserve; Fort Ord Natural Reserve; Landels-Hill Big Creek Reserve; and Younger Lagoon Reserve. See: <https://naturalreserves.ucsc.edu/>.

26. Kenneth S. Norris and Lawrence Ford, “The University of California Natural Reserve System: Progress and Prospects,” *Bioscience*, 1988.

27. Sam Farr, “Introductions,” John Smiley, Rohanna Mayer, and Eric Engles, *Fred Farr Research Symposium: Views of a Coastal Wilderness: 20 Years of Research at Big Creek Reserve* (Santa Cruz, CA: University of California Natural Reserve System, 2001).

28. Earth Day is an annual event celebrated on April 22. The first Earth Day was in 1970 and Earth Day events in more than 193 countries are now coordinated globally by the Earth Day Network.

## Illustrations

Figure 1. Dick Cooley in his office. Photo by Carol Foote. Courtesy Special Collections, University Library, University of California, Santa Cruz: MS 259: Carol Foote photographs of the University of California, Santa Cruz: ms0259\_neg\_bk1\_78\_18\_01.tif.

Figure 2. Teepees for apprentices at the UCSC Farm. Circa 1970s. Courtesy Special Collections, University Library, University of California Santa Cruz. UA 128: Public Information Office Records: ua128\_017\_0015.

Figure 3. UCSC Farm, 1984. Photo by Tina Silverstein. Courtesy Special Collections, University Library, University of California Santa Cruz. MS306: Tina Silverstein slides of the University of California, Santa Cruz: ms0306\_sld\_008.tif.

Figure 4. Ken Norris and students: environmental studies natural history class, Fall 1977. Photo by Saxon Donnelly. Courtesy Special Collections, University Library, University of California, Santa Cruz. UA 128: Public Information Office Records: ua0128\_neg\_0001\_13.

## Chapter 17

# “Rocks Ahead”

The Building College-Board Crisis and the End of the McHenry Era

*We had to make a correction of course. And if we didn't accept the need to make it, the rocks ahead would do the job.*

—George Von der Muhll

### “The Two-Headed Monster”:

#### Growing Conflict over Colleges, Boards, and Academic Life

**Sig Puknat, Professor:** Dean McHenry established his reputation as the founder of a very interesting campus of the University of California. He's an extremely hard-working person. His intentions are good, without question. But I think that he has reason to say, as he has to me at least once, “Oh, what have I wrought?” Because if one looked at the campus through dark lenses, one might use the phrase “the two-headed monster.”

**Leo Laporte:** We are a hybrid institution and this is something I've been trying to tell people. I don't think people are aware of it. Some people see this as one of the seven or eight research campuses of the University of California. And so, their model is Caltech, UC Berkeley, and Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT). But we're a hybrid institution. We're also like small liberal arts colleges Williams, Amherst, Reed, Oberlin. Those things can run at cross purposes. I've seen

McHenry use this image. He takes one hand and puts it this way, he puts the other hand on top of the other. So you have Oberlin on top of Caltech. That's not going to work. And it didn't work.

**Pavel Machotka:** The price we paid for the college system was in a constant undertow of conflict between boards and colleges.

**Clark Kerr:** There was an inevitable tension between the colleges and the boards. I'm not sure that it got handled in the best way, or that Dean and I ever talked over enough how it would evolve. I don't think we spent enough attention to seeing whether they all fit together. The colleges were a good idea; the boards of studies were a good idea. But whether they were reasonably compatible—I don't think we paid enough attention to that.



---

Figure 1

Tree Roots, Circa 1965

Photo by Ansel Adams

---

**Mike Rotkin, Lecturer:** As a faculty member, in order to get tenured at UCSC, you had to be approved by both your college and your board.

**George Von der Muhll:** By the early 1970s, faculty members who had been hired during the opening years of the campus had now spent six or seven years in the system. University of California rules were requiring that they be reviewed for tenure. Several of the younger faculty who had immersed themselves in institution-building found themselves now at risk of not getting tenure. So the emphasis in academic personnel proceedings inevitably tilted from questions of whether prospective candidates for a faculty position had shown themselves to be intellectually interesting, dynamic, well read in several fields, and a probable good fit with the thematic orientations of colleges, to the problems of making a case for granting permanent tenure within the University of California for faculty who had proved themselves to be popular teachers, who had put a great deal of imaginative energy into building the colleges, but whose dossier of written work was really pretty thin in comparison with those of their outside professional peers.

**Michael Cowan:** We were taking on forty or fifty independent studies. We were meeting with students an hour a week each, or in group independent studies. That was very exciting and it was great for the students. But it couldn't sustain itself. How do you sustain something like that when you have a 16:1 [student-faculty] ratio? I had come from a Yale University, with an 8:1 [student:faculty] ratio. So you were trying to do in a public university something that was hard enough to do in a university such as I came from, with a dedication to undergraduate education, but with a much richer ratio.<sup>1</sup>

**Mike Rotkin:** You want to be a team player. You want to be perceived by your colleagues as somebody who's ready for tenure, because you've been around and you're one of the team. So you go to every meeting of the college, and every meeting of two departments. You're spending your time in meetings. It's, like, nuts. And you volunteer—to be a good team player—to be on a committee for three different things. *And*, you're not only going to meetings like crazy, you're giving people narrative evaluations. *And* people take teaching very seriously. *And* the expectations are that you're going to party with your students, as well as teach them. Not everybody gets into that ethic, but it's around. People are going to dinner with their students, and they are friends with their students. They're not just distant teachers. So the pressures of the university system as a whole, and academia and education, pressures this experimental university back in the direction of what everybody else is doing.

**Ed Landesman:** When it came to making tenure, you were evaluated pretty much the same way as if you were at Berkeley or UCLA. They sent out your scholarly work to the best people around the country and abroad, and then made a decision on whether or not you fit in relative to what the experts at the other universities thought of your scholarly contributions. And often, those people who wrote the letters had little or no understanding of this campus and all of the other obligations and other commitments that were asked of faculty here.

**John Lynch:** There were mixed messages. Page Smith famously said that he favored a system whereby you would get demoted if you published because it meant that you took time away from your primary task of serving the needs of students. A teacher should be devoted to the care



and feeding of students both in the classroom and outside the classroom. I think he was partly joking. While he said things like that, he was, of course, himself writing like crazy. He would have been demoted regularly because of all the publications he was involved in.

**Page Smith:** I have carried on a long-running argument with the university and the chancellor, and to some degree with my colleagues, over the whole notion of publish or perish. Not over the notion of intellectual quality, but of confusing that with publishing. I think there are brilliant people who publish little or nothing, and there are people who are intellectually third-rate who publish a lot. It seemed to me wrong and ungrateful that the people in Cowell who had been there at the beginning, who had put so much time and effort and energy into starting the college, that when they came up for tenure fine calculations were then made about whether they, in fact, had published enough, or whether the university's reputation would suffer by virtue of their being given tenure, in view of the fact that they hadn't achieved scholarly distinction as measured by publication. The pulling and hauling between the colleges and the board is devastating.

**Todd Newberry:** I chose the college and teaching above all. That was why I came here: to teach well. I found that I could either teach or I could do research. I couldn't seem to do both. Many people can do both. A few people do both magnificently.

Since I knew I taught well, whenever the choice came up, I would teach. To share my ideas, I taught. You could teach and be a full member of the college. The college was a community of teachers, first and foremost. My sense was that you can be a scholar and share your scholarship as a teacher. Printing up what you do, or dancing

it, or filming it, or whatever your mode of production, is another way of teaching.

I've always had the sense that Page Smith really saw to it that his kids got through, got tenure. I don't know how he did it, but he did. My sense is that I got tenure here for accomplishments that—real as they were—wouldn't have gotten me tenure elsewhere. If I look around for why things turned out all right for so many of us here, I think that Page, and maybe Dean McHenry, were the people who just saw to it that it happened.

**George Blumenthal:** By the time I arrived, it was clear that there was a transition going on. It used to be that whenever there were disputes, like colleges versus boards, McHenry would simply resolve them. He would step in and he would serve as the referee. But that was happening less and less during the time I overlapped with him. I overlapped with him for two years. I really never knew exactly how he stood on the colleges-versus-the-boards hierarchy of issues. Because people used to talk in those days—it may have come from him—of “creative tension.”

**George Von der Muhll:** Dean McHenry and Clark Kerr believed that if you free those who teach undergraduate courses from the incessant pressure to publish and to show how many times your articles have been cited by members of your field, they will give more to their teaching and more thought to what students need in order to obtain a liberal education. But unfortunately, that was in conflict with UCSC being part of the University of California system. I've never understood how McHenry could overlook it. And I can cast no light on it, because it seems to me so obvious that this problem would come up.

**Michael Cowan:** With the exception of a few visionaries—I think particularly of Page Smith—most of the founding leaders were from the outset essentially educational reformers looking to carve a bit of creative space out of the UC system rather than departing radically from the values of that system. For example, Dean McHenry set his sights on attracting excellent, productive scholars who would *also* be committed to excellent undergraduate teaching and to close interactions with undergraduates outside as well as inside the classroom. He counted on the reputation (and competitive salaries and benefits) of the UC system as a whole, as well as the reformist ethos of the campus, to attract such scholar-teachers. I think he viewed as rare exceptions those positive tenure decisions he made in the case of “founding” assistant professors who had excellent teaching and service records but little or nothing in the way of publications. Like subsequent chancellors, he believed in the appropriateness of the UC-wide standards for tenure and academic advancement.

**Glenn Willson:** Of course, you could have had tragedies from the tenure system in Santa Cruz if it had been an orthodox campus. But the collegiate situation was peculiarly poignant because an awful lot of youngish people who came were given the impression (and when I say they were given it, I’m not trying to say they were given it by X or Y; it was in the air) that their work as teachers and as college-builders and campus-builders would be given full recognition when they came to be considered for tenure, and that they wouldn’t be run into the ground entirely on the basis of their research. The trouble was that by the time many of them got to the tenure period, they had not done enough research to satisfy the orthodox demands of committees, which

by then were being staffed by people who took an orthodox line about tenure.

**Jasper Rose:** Very straightforwardly, there was a shortage of money. I mean, one of the problems that was particularly difficult for UCSC was that there was a squeeze going on on campuses, a squeeze going on at the University of California. And an easy way of using squeezing to get money was to push these professors out.

**Patricia Dorsey Bassett:** In order to keep opening a new college every year, Dean McHenry had to obtain \$3.5 to \$5 million annually in state appropriations and loans for basic construction, plus ½ million and up in private gifts, to be used for provost houses, faculty appointments, libraries and other unique facilities. The Crown-Zellerbach foundation had given half a million to the development of Crown. The Charles Merrill Trust gave \$650,000 to launch Merrill.

Reagan’s budget proposals caused considerable ferment among the regents. A compromise was eventually reached, but California’s whole system of higher education was confronted by a choice of quality versus quantity by 1968. The state did not have sufficient public revenues to pay for the educational services in demand.

An article appearing in the *Los Angeles Times* on October 6, 1969 said that UCSC’s most serious problem is the dramatic slash in operating funds proposed by Governor Reagan which could cause closure of the campus since it has less political clout than the other new general campus at Irvine. Although this is unlikely, with an investment of \$40,000,000 already, the possibility has been discussed by UC’s statewide administrators.

State instructional support per student had declined 27 percent between 1960-61 and 1973-74, causing steady deterioration in the student/

faculty ratio. Costs of higher education across the country had risen rapidly due to inflation.<sup>2</sup>

**Michael Cowan:** So faculty, during the seventies, began to back off just a little, still with a real commitment there, but trying to find a way of pacing themselves, particularly as faculty began to come up for promotion, and as you started hearing stories and seeing examples of people who didn't get tenure, who had thrown themselves into that intensive work with students. When you start with a very young faculty in a volatile environment, barn-raising, there are particular challenges. And that became one of the motifs in the crisis of the campus.

**Glenn Wilson:** You can't make omelets without breaking eggs. How should college service count in people's promotion prospects? That was the cause of many very bitter arguments and quarrels. It was an enormous thing for this campus to be set up with ideas which challenged, absolutely root and branch, the whole American professional academic tradition.

**John Dizikes:** It's an exaggeration and melodramatic to say once the boards of studies were established, the colleges were doomed. But there's no question in my mind that if you were to have colleges at the center of the campus, the colleges had to be autonomous, and that was Clark Kerr's view, too. Dean McHenry was much more timid and cautious in this regard and wanted to perpetuate both of them and keep them in some balance.

The colleges, to really function as interdisciplinary colleges, should have had autonomy to hire anybody they wanted. But once you introduced the dichotomy, the boards were bound to get stronger and stronger, because they were the traditional way. The traditional department

was bound to flourish and to grow because that's what people were familiar with. The odds were always against the colleges.

**Michael Nauenberg:** It's not a mystery that once the graduate programs began to flourish here, that had to come at the expense of faculty involvement in the colleges. Some faculty were able to maintain their college involvement because they were not involved with graduate students or graduate courses. But the rest of us were heavily committed to developing graduate programs. I had to devote an enormous amount of time and attention to develop graduate physics programs here, to hire graduate faculty, and to create an atmosphere so that we would have graduate students.

After the middle seventies, I had to literally give up my involvement with the college. I think after 1972 or 1973, my college involvement fell off exponentially. I came to meetings and social events, but I rarely taught a college course. That was inevitable, because no one offered any sort of course relief within the department. We had to teach our departmental courses, including our graduate courses.

**George Von der Muhll:** The prospect of graduate programs evoked surprisingly mixed feelings that even Kerr and McHenry shared to some extent. Kerr understood very well that the malaise experienced in many of the undergraduate colleges within university campuses derived from a top-heavy graduate-school structure in which the money and prestige flowed to the specialized graduate-school programs, even though most of the teaching was done in the large undergraduate classes. But McHenry understood that we needed to have graduate programs pretty soon, if we were to gain the recognition typically accruing

to graduate programs. Whatever the quality of the undergraduate program, a campus worthy of being part of a California university system must have conspicuous graduate programs. Without them, a campus masquerading as part of the University of California was “just” a state college.

**Kenneth Thimann:** When Dean McHenry first talked to me about the sciences, he was envisaging a school like Swarthmore, where there were good scientists, but they didn’t have time to do any research. If they did any research, it was in the summer only. Their main job was teaching and advising students. I told him right away that you can’t get first-class scientists with that scheme; we couldn’t have a good science group under these conditions.

Dean was so good in many ways. He did his homework extraordinarily well. This was just something that he didn’t know about. But I said then I couldn’t come. Nothing would work that way. We’d have to have a graduate school. Every scientist likes to have graduate students; he likes the interaction with young people and needs extra pairs of hands to do the work. You can’t do science without graduate students.

**Angus Taylor:** One of the things that McHenry didn’t like, and I can understand it, was that the University of California estimated the need for faculty positions in terms of the distribution of students. Teaching lower-division students, let’s say, that’s one unit; teaching upper-division students is one and a half units or two units. Teaching graduate students in their first year as graduate students is still more; teaching doctoral-level students is still more. So depending on the distribution of your student mix, if you use that formula, Santa Cruz wasn’t going to get as rich a faculty-to-student ratio as Berkeley was,

because Berkeley has a very different student mix. McHenry didn’t like that.

**Pavel Machotka:** I never heard Dean McHenry comment on the tension between boards and colleges. But he commented on the question of costs a number of times. He always said he had promised Clark Kerr that Santa Cruz would not cost any more per student than any other system, but we’d do better in educating students, not necessarily in instructing students, but in educating students in terms of attitude towards yourself as a creator, and curiosity about the rest of the world and so on. I think that is what he reassured Clark Kerr would happen. Whether he did any calculations on this on a piece of paper that he never showed anybody, I don’t know. He never talked about how this would happen, not having it cost any more.

**Angus Taylor:** Well, they didn’t really follow that formula entirely. He got more money than the formula would deliver because the president knew that it was important to get UCSC off to a good start. But it always rankled in McHenry’s mind that they used this formula.

**Michael Nauenberg:** There was a structural mistake here at the very outset. There was some sort of a dream, as to how we would have both college instruction and graduate programs without the corresponding resources to accomplish it. If I hadn’t involved myself in the graduate program there would have been no Santa Cruz Institute for Particle Physics (SCIPP), which I helped to found.<sup>3</sup>

**George Blumenthal:** Graduate students were largely an afterthought on campus. The graduate students, certainly in the early days, felt that they

were the lowest rung on the totem pole. Nobody ever talked about them. In conversations, people talked about students, but they really meant undergraduate students. So the graduate students really felt somewhat disaffected, which was unfortunate, because at least in my field, one of the important issues is to make sure that students get out in a timely way and that they're supported during their graduate careers. I'm very proud that my department has managed always to provide support for our graduate students. I know that many departments can't do that.

But the students really felt underappreciated. In those days, there was no unique graduate division. There was a dean of research and graduate education who did both and I suspect spent a whole lot more time on research than on graduate education. That was something I heard all the time from graduate students. I felt it particularly because I was so close to the graduate students. I socialized with them.

**Glenn Wilson:** Nothing was really planned in detail about graduate work, except for in the sciences. But people were thinking about it from the very early years and many said there's no reason why you shouldn't have graduate students attached to the colleges. They're very valuable people to attach to the colleges. There are all sorts of odd jobs that they can do around the college, in addition to being good graduate students. And there's no reason why you shouldn't think of adding graduate colleges.

**Paul Niebanck:** At root, graduate students and colleges are a magnificent fit. Life is more vital. Teaching opportunities come that aren't fettered by TAs, for example, although some of them are TAs. More mature voices are heard on committees; events are established and run; and funds are provided that undergraduates or

faculty or staff could never invent, or never have the authority to get in. Innovative courses and interdisciplinary things occur and social life is enhanced. And there's a gradation from undergraduate, through graduate, through younger faculty, to older faculty. If you take out the vital graduate element, there's too much of a leap, a gap.

**Glenn Willson:** By the time that this place was going up, there were, in one of their models for UCSC, in Oxford and Cambridge, already well-established graduate colleges growing up alongside the undergraduate colleges. As soon as you get a good university faculty together they will want to have graduate students. And this is exactly what happened here. They wanted graduate students, and who can blame them?

**Dean McHenry:** There's been a general assumption that graduate instruction would be similar to that at other places, that the graduate seminar and the graduate class and the prelim exams and the dissertation and the language requirement would be similar. Nobody's suggested anything very drastic in the way of change.

**Michael Nauenberg:** The campus had been developed without any careful thinking about how the faculty could develop both colleges and graduate programs. This was a problem that was never discussed.

Junior people like me were just beginning their careers. I was only six years out of my PhD. I had no concept of these things. But I can't believe that the senior faculty like Kenneth Thimann, Francis Clauser, and Dean McHenry hadn't realized that things would change once we had graduate programs, and that these programs would require additional resources, the kind of resources that the colleges in England have, like

Cambridge and Oxford, which were the models for UCSC. These colleges have extra resources and some, such as Trinity College in Cambridge, are extremely wealthy. They are endowed. We had nothing.

**Peter Scott:** The Oxford/Cambridge model is what Dean McHenry and Clark Kerr had in mind, because they mentioned those institutions and they hired people who were British. But it’s a little bit like the qwertyuiop keyboard. It’s not ideal. In fact, it was made up in 1875, or something like that, to prevent people from typing too fast. Because those keys would jam on early typewriters if you typed too fast. And so, you make up a keyboard that prevents you from typing too fast, but we’re stuck with it because everyone else uses it and has learned it, and to get out into a more ideal system would take an act of god or something, to destroy all the existing keyboards. I mean, you can’t exactly destroy all the existing colleges in the university just to create your own new model which might work more humanely and effectively in the educational system.

**Glenn Willson:** It was only in the first two or three colleges that the college provosts had any real chance to exert strong pressure on who was recruited. After that, the boards had reached the stage where they said, “Oh well, we only want a 15th-century French literature person now. We don’t want a 14th-century Latin scholar or a 19th-century romantic. We want a 15th-century French scholar. And you’ve got to take him. If he doesn’t fit your college, too bad.” And the college people might have said, “But here is an expert on Eliot who would just be right for the college.” And that’s why you got a clash.

**Dean McHenry:** I think the rising authority and influence of the boards of studies has been one of

the things that most curtails experimentation. A big board of studies such as literature is flexing its muscles all the time and virtually challenging a new provost of a new college to suggest a better candidate than it has. This is a battle line, and the provost who’s new is often not equipped to fight it.

**John Ellis:** Dean McHenry’s characteristic response [to complaints about the resulting problems] was really obstinate. His response was that this was an injury to his plan, that you were sniping at him if you were saying it wasn’t working properly. Typically, when we’d write Dean McHenry a note saying, “Gee, things could be working better,” you’d get a note back which, in effect, questioned whether you were committed to the Santa Cruz ideal. Loyalty and patronage. “I insist this will remain a collegiate campus.”

You would say to him in return, “Dean, I take that for granted. But it’s got to work.” Well, there was a blind spot. You were criticizing him. You were criticizing his plan. This must mean you were against Santa Cruz, must mean you were against the collegiate system. Simple as that.

The trouble was, he couldn’t see it. He couldn’t see how phony it really was to run a campus where 95 percent of the teaching was orthodox American departmental organization, and a tiny handful of freshman courses here and jazzy interdisciplinary things there were offered to students.

Dean McHenry never understood what he was doing when he set up a college system. For example, anywhere else where you have a college system—like Pomona, London, Oxbridge—the colleges bear responsibility, in some measure, for the bread-and-butter stuff: chemistry, physics, sociology, mathematics. There is a sort of established position for the college running bread-and-butter programs. That’s how they function.

That's why they're meaningful; that's why their buildings are there, because they got work to do.

When Dean set up Cowell College, Stevenson College, he totally ignored what they were going to do. Not a single moment was given to this planning, so we have university-wide departments called boards of studies. They call them boards of studies, but they're departments. They run programs; they certify majors exactly as they do at the University of Minnesota, in Yale, and Harvard. This is a departmental university.

People try to find work for the colleges to do. They try, but the failures have been dreadful. And even when they've succeeded, they've been minor things. So what Dean did was to set up a fraud, a system where this was a departmental campus with a collegiate façade. It would be advertised in *Time* as this great collegiate experiment. "Experiment" nothing. The colleges did

nothing. What sort of collegiate structure was that? All that happened was that we have buildings called colleges.

**George Von der Muhll:** In those heady opening years, most of them had thought they could put certain pragmatic concerns aside in order to explore and seek interconnections among Plato, Aristotle, Thomas Hobbes, and Immanuel Kant, canvas world literatures, immerse themselves in the wonders of Hellenic culture, and qualify themselves to uncover the codes embedded in the double helix. But amid the stagflation and rising unemployment of the late 1970s they had to turn their attention to quite different matters. So obviously, we had to make a correction of course. And if we didn't accept the need to make it, the rocks ahead would do the job.




---

Figure 2

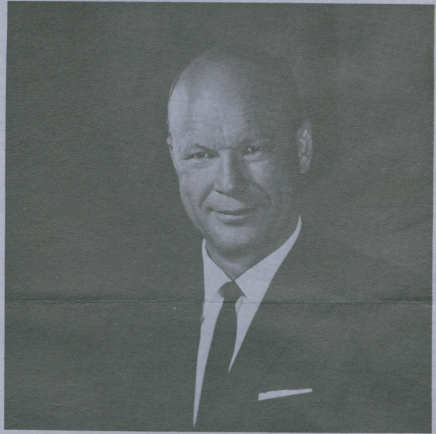
Fallen Tree, UCSC, 1966. Photo by Eric Thiermann

---

**CA**  
**LECTURES**

**University of California, Santa Cruz**

**Chancellor Dean McHenry**



**“Santa Cruz as a Utopian Experiment”**  
Fourth in a series of lectures on Utopias and Communes

**March 7**  
**8pm**  
**Classroom 2**  
**Free**

Sponsored by the Board of Studies in History and CAL. Approved for posting: Activities Office; Removal date: 3.8.74.

---

Figure 3

Poster for Dean McHenry's talk about UCSC, 1974, the year of his departure

---



## 1974, A Pivotal Year: The McHenry Era Draws to a Close

**George Von der Muhll:** The year 1974 was extremely pivotal to the whole destiny of the campus. That was because it was at the end of the second of two phases that had preceded it. The first one started before the campus opened, when its institutions were being designed by faculty members, and it lasted through the founding of the first two colleges. It was a period in which all the participants were fully engaged, even excited, by the vision of UCSC's distinctive goals and its break with the conventions that had dominated the first eight UC campuses.

**Carol Freeman, Lecturer and Coordinator of the Writing Program:** We arrived in 1974, nine years after the founding. The feeling definitely was that the golden age had come and gone. By this time, UCSC had grown to the eight colleges, although College Eight and Oakes didn't have a building. All the old core courses had disappeared. There were a few one-quarter courses left, but some of the colleges didn't even have core courses. Stevenson was the only one that was holding on to more than one quarter. There had been huge fights that split people up in various kinds of ways.

**Dan McFadden, Assistant to the Chancellor:** When I got here in 1974, I was amazed at the poor morale, the mistrust, and the bitterness. The problems were rather deep-rooted at UCSC. It was witnessed by the number of turnovers of deans and provosts, just a constant revolving door.

**George Von der Muhll:** The second phase began in the early 1970s with the abandonment of college core courses by Cowell—the first and in many ways the founding college on this campus:

the college that had opened with a level of exhilaration reflected in a collaborative student-faculty history entitled *Solomon's House*, and which had been steered by Provost Page Smith, who had promoted the iconic image of the campus as a visionary legatee of the pioneering New England settlers' "City on a Hill," who had given UC Santa Cruz its motto as the place where education was conceived of as "the pursuit of truth in the company of friends," and who was instrumental in introducing the narrative evaluation alternative to letter grades that had come to attract more attention—or notoriety—in the outside world than any other single feature of the campus, but who resigned his position and withdrew from the UCSC faculty in 1973 in protest at the direction he sensed it was heading.

**Page Smith:** I always said, from the beginning, that I wanted to find some way to overcome the strain and anxiety that a typical undergraduate education produced in the student. Doing away with grades was one of the ways I hoped to effect this. I wanted a more pleasant environment, where people could learn and enjoy the delight of learning, instead of being exposed primarily to the strains and anxieties. Other examples of this at UCSC were Alan Chadwick's garden project and the Whole Earth Restaurant.

The university's rejection of Paul Lee's tenure was, in a sense, a rejection of this principle which was so important to me. That's why I felt an acute responsibility to him and resigned when he did not get tenure.

**George Blumenthal:** When I got here, I had no idea who Page Smith was. I'd never heard of him. I'm not a historian and since I wasn't associated

with Cowell, I had not really paid much attention to the previous leadership at Cowell College.

Two things made me aware of Page Smith. One was the controversies surrounding the Paul Lee denial of tenure. Paul Lee was an assistant professor of philosophy in Cowell College. He had a reputation of being an excellent and really committed teacher. And he was denied tenure—presumably because his scholarly research was deemed wanting, either in quantity or quality, I have no idea. I had no role in that. But what I do know is that Page Smith was furious about that.

And it didn't just happen one day. This was something that was building. The reason I know this is because soon after I arrived, Page Smith called a campuswide meeting of all of the assistant professors on campus. It was billed as a meeting to counsel us and help us prepare for the rigors of assistant professorship, so to speak. So I went to that meeting thinking that this was going to be a counseling session, or a session where some sage old person would be giving us advice. It turned into more of a diatribe against the university and against the way that we did business.

I have to say, I was not impressed at that meeting with Page Smith. I think it would have been interesting for me to try to get to know the side of him that was the great Page Smith, one of the moral leaders of the campus, one of the visionaries of this campus. But my reaction was gee, there's this bitter old guy complaining about stuff. And I didn't want to go there. I'm sorry that was my introduction to Page Smith. So that's completely inconsistent, of course, with his role on the campus and the many outstanding things that he did on campus. I don't mean, in any sense, to diminish from his history, from the key role he had at the beginning of campus. I was relatively unaware of that, or if I was aware, I didn't know a lot about him. All I could judge was the person who showed up. That person was

bitter and angry and conveyed it to us. It felt like he was trying to foment revolution among the assistant professors and I just wasn't interested and ready to go there.

**Page Smith:** Paul Lee had taken seriously what I had said about faculty focusing on teaching rather than research. He suffered for it. I saw that light go out, and that was a symbol of the disappointment of that expectation. In lots of situations, lots of people, and lots of places, I'm sure that that spirit survives and is nurtured and is an important part of the life of the university. But UCSC was ultimately weighed down and overcome by conventional academic attitudes and ways of doing things.

**George Blumenthal:** Ultimately, Page did resign from the university in disgust. He was very angry at McHenry about Paul Lee and just the general tenure policy of the university. Page could not let it go. He was not ready to move on.

**George Von der Muhll:** Meanwhile, developments in the third college on campus, Crown College, were revealing fundamental limitations in a college system that had not been made evident in the founding of Cowell, with its predominantly humanities faculty, and Stevenson, with its axis of orientation toward the social sciences. The natural scientists, who provided the intended core of Crown's faculty, began to indicate quite early on that they wanted offices next to their primary and demanding worksites and principal sites for interactions with their colleagues and student majors—the laboratories located within the two large new natural sciences buildings a good ten-minute uphill walk from the buildings of Crown College with which they were nominally affiliated.

**Todd Newberry:** I think that the sciences have had a peculiarly unhappy and uncomfortable relationship with the colleges.

**George Von der Muhll:** The scientists' demands were understandable, but the consequences were predictable. Crown College became somewhat of a ghost structure, whose hallways were populated more by recently recruited social scientists and humanities faculty members who could not be accommodated in the first two colleges, than by members of those divisions with a shared interest in interdisciplinary collaborative relationships with natural scientists. Creating core courses for Crown students under these circumstances was not easy, and was soon abandoned altogether. The challenges to natural scientists of developing distinctive college courses outside the former paradigms of the natural sciences was a challenge not easily met, especially by younger scientists who had yet to make their mark in their field and whose future would be more critically determined by whether they did. Internal stresses that first became fully apparent in Crown were compounded as more colleges were added to the campus.

**Michael Cowan:** The colleges faced what John Marcum once called "The Noah's Ark problem": Two historians, two anthropologists, two physicists, two of this and that. There was the excitement of dealing with colleagues from all sorts of areas and even co-teaching with them and interacting with them and learning a lot about their fields. That was certainly exciting to me. But it meant that the people who were in your own field were other places on campus.

Faculty began to say, "We need to talk more with our own disciplinary colleagues." The Committee on Budget and Academic Planning, BAPL, began to look for ways in which enough

faculty could move around to create small clusters of faculty.<sup>4</sup>

**George Blumenthal:** There were stresses in departments that were widely separated on campus and some of the implications of those stresses were obvious. It was difficult to have meetings. Even if they did meet regularly, there were no casual interactions. You didn't meet around the water cooler or coffee pot. I think in many departments, particularly in the social sciences and humanities, it was difficult to do collaborative work. So people were starting to think of reaggregation as being important. Those discussions were starting as McHenry was ending and Christiansen was coming in.

**George Von der Muhll:** The academic year of 1973-1974 was no normal year. Discontented and influential faculty members were no longer satisfied with a reallocation of resources within an existing structure. They were demanding a hard, imaginative, even radical look at the structure within which these allocations were being made. In short, they were asking for new directions in academic planning, to reconsider the plans on which UCSC had been founded.

All members of BAPL agreed that the college system was worth attempting to save. We all also agreed, however, that it *would* only be worth saving and *could* only be saved if we could make it possible for all members of each college to feel an authentic connection with the teaching and other activities demanded of them.

First and foremost, the members of our committee were able to agree that we should try to preserve in some fashion the interdisciplinary perspectives of the colleges, the supposition that faculty members could and would work together across disciplinary or even divisional boundaries, on serious academic topics—not primarily

because their college obligations obliged them to do so, but rather because they were developing affinities that would make such contacts and collaborative initiatives congenial.

But at the same time, our committee took a hard look at some of the casual assumptions that had too often lain beneath that vision. So far as we could see, there was no evidence that simply being an economist whose neighbor to the right was engaged in metal sculpture, and whose person to the left was studying elements of Medieval French grammar, necessarily generated serendipitous effects. A certain number of personal friendships had developed on this campus out of such improbable pairings, which was nice, and they sometimes *did* result in very interesting courses, like the College Five course on the structure of animals and the structure of buildings and whether there were some general principles of structure that could be found in both, and a college course that emerged out of the joint insights of an economist and an anthropologist. Those were really exciting courses. But such outcomes would seem attributable more to a succession of fortunate accidents than to the inherent or predictable consequence of campus-wide design.

**Michael Cowan:** The committee [BAPL] asked faculty how many of them thought that clustering faculty in boards as a whole, or subdisciplinary clusters, would be desirable. The majority of faculty thought that would be a good idea: not necessarily clustering an entire board in a college, but they were particularly in favor of clustering subsets of boards, so then you would end up having a particular board only in a few colleges, rather than scattering them through many colleges. It was an attempt to bring together people who had disciplinary interests at the same time

they would be a part of other disciplinary clusters. You’d try to have the best of both of those worlds.

**George Blumenthal:** The system wasn’t working. We were seeing disagreements that weren’t getting resolved. I believe that in the early days of the campus, from say 1965, to 1970 or 1971, there were probably disagreements, but McHenry ruled with an iron hand and he resolved disagreements, so decisions got made. By the time I was on board, decisions really weren’t getting made and resolutions weren’t happening. And those disagreements were taking place in both hiring and tenuring. It was clear this was not sustainable. So I knew something had to happen. Either we had to reaffirm our commitment to the original vision and not change anything, or we had to make a significant number of changes.

**George Von der Muhll:** We soon concluded that if the college system was to survive, the campus could no longer be content to assign newly hired faculty to a college simply because it had a vacant office to offer and then invent factitious justifications for doing so. All parties to determining college assignments should also recognize that faculty members could find their academic interests evolving in new directions over time, and accordingly, that faculty members should not be involuntarily frozen into membership in the same college throughout their time on campus.

The McHenry rule of no transfer except on grounds of “personal incompatibility” with key figures within their college should therefore be repealed, and with it McHenry’s insistence on the representation of the full spectrum of disciplines in every college. These rules, it seemed to our committee, had been responsible, in large measure, for the increasing inauthenticity of college themes, the alienation of faculty from the

fellowship dimensions that had occurred in all but the first two colleges, and the anxiety of faculty members who had no day-to-day contact with other members of their boards of study. Authorizing reaggregation, I contended, would relieve the problems of isolation the McHenry rule of full representation of all the disciplines at each college had unintentionally created.

**Michael Cowan:** I think reaggregation was a good move. It preserved some of the interdisciplinary elements of the college but also strengthened the elements of the college, your relationship with your own discipline, in many cases.

**Paul Niebanck:** In an informal and very almost spiritual sense, what we're now talking about with reaggregation is an extension of academic freedom. We've got to see ourselves as one campus. And within that campus, wherever faculty can aggregate, subaggregate, affiliate in ways that give them strength and new life, renewal, and opportunities for growth, that should happen.

**George Von der Muhll:** Reaggregation was the bid to tell both the outside world and those in the colleges themselves that the colleges were authentic. They weren't simply labels for dormitories. They weren't simply a way of drinking sherry or whatever (not that many people drank sherry; more drank port). But nevertheless, those of us who promoted reaggregation, certainly including Michael Cowan, and I'm sure the other members of our Budget and Academic Planning Committee, initially felt it was truly an exciting opportunity to undertake needed reforms. We had tried to make controlled changes in the founders' organizing principles to save their system, because we still valued their goals.

**Michael Cowan:** Dean was very unhappy about reaggregation because he thought it was backing away from the notion of a liberal arts college. I know Clark Kerr was also unhappy about that. But he didn't block it.

**George Von der Muhll:** The senate passed our committee's proposal with—if I recall correctly—one dissenting vote. To all appearances, our proposal was very well received.

Dean McHenry was opposed. He felt very strongly that it would open the floodgates to faculty transfers among colleges based on grounds other than academic grounds, and he felt very strongly that people should be essentially compelled to relate to their college theme, and it would be an escape route from that responsibility for them if they could move to another college. And he felt very strongly, finally, that it was absolutely crucial for advising to have at least one representative of each discipline in the college. For those reasons, he was not a supporter of reaggregation. But the Academic Senate's endorsement of reaggregation came just three days before he gave his farewell talk as he retired.

**Hal Hyde:** As his decade as chancellor approached, Dean McHenry considered retirement. I don't think there was anything precipitous, other than a very heavy-duty, wearing, continual decade of turmoil and issues of the university and of the greater society in our country. He was a point man for a lot of this. He also wanted to write up his experiences and to get back to his farming background, his place in Bonny Doon. He wanted to give notice, so a successor could be selected, but he also attempted to minimize his time as a lame duck.

There were some final months of Dean's tenure, marked by some controversy. It had to do with the Vietnam War and the issues there,

but I believe also there were some campus issues regarding where buildings would be sited. The Meadowlarks were involved in some of this, Meadowlarks being student activists who were at that time protesting new building sites which the campus needed for expansion of student enrollment. There was a farewell dinner that was held in College Five dining hall. I had spent time checking with the campus police, and everything went smoothly, although the chantings and cat-calls were disturbing from these students.

**Paul Niebanck:** There is a rather rigid and programmed university structure at large onto which Santa Cruz was tacked. We did not deviate from the usual system of chancellor, etc., all the way down to boards: strict hierarchy and central control, central accountability and answerability. What we did was add to that system a new system. That is what's called the college system. That was in combination with Dean McHenry's own style, which was at one and the same time to retain authority and to delegate authority. What he seemed to do was to delegate out, to listen to all manner of ideas, but to allow virtually no significant decision to be made by anyone but himself. Those two things in combination make life very difficult for everyone except the kind of person Dean was. He had the capacity to handle enormous detail. And he had a vision that was clear enough in his own mind. He knew what he wanted and he was insistent enough to get it, by and large. But it wore heavily on virtually everybody else. I think the campus now is exhausted as a result.

**Dan McFadden:** I think McHenry felt he was ankle-deep in midgets here. He felt that people didn't share the vision, didn't have the breadth of understanding, hadn't been where he had been, didn't have any experience. There may be some

truth in that. But the fact is that he did hire some terribly talented people and didn't let them play a significant role. And they got very frustrated. There was a tremendous amount of negative energy here.

I think that one of the major problems was he was tied into this very rigid UC system. The pressures to be the same as the other campuses were very strong. So to overcome those you almost had to be in rebellion, and Dean was, I think, with the UC systemwide administration. To build the institution, he also crowed quite a bit about the quality of students we had and he rubbed it in. I think a lot of people were just waiting for the place to fail and they weren't going out of the way to help the place. They were angry at Santa Cruz.

I saw Dean in his last year here. He was tired. He was disappointed in a lot of things. He'd come through a lot of hard years. A lot of the people he'd brought here because of their academic leadership qualities disagreed with him and rebelled. I think that's the way he viewed it, too. I think that his drive to build this place was an obsessive kind of drive, which it had to be, since he was the founding chancellor. Then he had this vision he was carrying out. But there wasn't room in his vision for many other people.

There was also a very strong sense of pioneers here. If you weren't a pioneer somehow, if you came here later, you didn't have a franchise. You weren't really allowed to be critical because you weren't in on the ground floor.

**Kenneth Thimann:** Dean McHenry loved the place—and it was his baby.

**Dan McFadden:** Dean McHenry was fascinating. Two parts of him showed up in the campus, maybe three. He was utopian in his educational thinking. He liked creativity and let things happen and bloom and he hired creative people.

The other part of him is that he's a very strong Calvinist and he believes very much in control. I think he made moral judgments about people. These two—the Utopian and the Calvinist—are at counterpoint. They show up in the faculty-administrative split—the kind of people he picked for control on the administrative side; the kind of people he picked for creativity on the faculty side—and never the two shall meet.

**George Blumenthal:** McHenry was definitely a complex figure. One of the jokes about McHenry at the time—I heard many faculty talk about his smiles—that he had a different smile that he would put on like some men put on suits. He'd put on a smile for the occasion. People said he had thirty-seven different smiles and if you could learn to interpret them, you would really be in good shape.

**Dan McFadden:** The other part of it is that he believed very strongly in the federalist model of checks and balances. So he set them up here. He'd created this dynamic tension, the kind of tension that builds muscles in Charles Atlas.

**Dean McHenry:** My years here have been a wonderful experience, one I will always cherish. But the past five years have been marked by troubles. Clark Kerr, to our great loss, has left the University of California, due to political pressures. Although we had hoped to protect the Santa Cruz campus from such interference, we remain a public institution at the mercy of a conservative governor who often seems out to destroy the University of California system, an increasingly conservative board of regents who seem to side with him on most matters, and a public who, due to unsympathetic press coverage of student activism, never seems to understand what we are all about.

**Angie Christmann:** So as long as Clark Kerr was around, UCSC got the nod. After Kerr was gone there was more and more pressure for this campus to start looking like the other campuses, organizing like the other campuses.

**Glenn Willson:** I'm sure that McHenry's retirement weakened the position of the colleges. Jasper Rose gave up the Cowell provostship at almost the same time. He had a row with Dean. He and McHenry never got on very well at that stage: they irritated one another. Jasper was always fighting about something or other. He blew up one day and offered his resignation, and McHenry said, "Right. I'll take it."

**William Rose:** My father was very public-spirited. I've never asked him directly about this, but I think he probably felt let down when Page resigned. I think he felt he had entered a collective of people who he really enjoyed, and like a football team or something, they could accomplish a lot. They had a direction, and the direction was exploratory and public and dynamic and positive in creating a future. There was the initial foundation, and then the foundation already started to crack. And my witness is that my father was quite desperate to keep this great boom going. But the boom didn't keep going.

**Glenn Willson:** Jasper was out of office as provost. So both of the oldest colleges were undergoing that change. Kenneth Thimann had finished his term a year or so earlier. Merrill and then the west-side colleges were going their different ways. So it is possible to suggest that the departure of personalities did have some influence in weakening the collegiate system at UCSC.

**Ronnie Gruhn:** Dean McHenry ran this place like a little fiefdom. He didn't develop a proper administrative structure. He made all the decisions. He ran this crazy place, but was socially conservative. He heard people were getting divorced; he would go to their house and lecture them that this was a bad thing to do. He was homophobic, and yet he hired gay faculty right and left, but he didn't want to know that that was the case. Stevenson was full of gay faculty and somehow that didn't feature in his brain. There were many contradictions.

**Page Smith:** The chancellor has expended more kilowatts of nervous energy in the last ten or twelve years than I suspect could be calculated. I've never known or could imagine a man who could be so intensely involved on so many different levels without just flying apart, physically and psychologically. He's an absolute wonder. I couldn't last six months that way. I don't really think he has any other life. I never hear of him taking exercise, or playing, or doing anything but being chancellor. I can't imagine living like that, when you don't systematically, week after week, have something that you do regularly that takes you out of all the tensions and problems that kind of job creates.

**Glenn Willson:** McHenry was beginning to run a little ragged by 1974, and I think he realized it. He probably got out for his health's sake and I think he was very wise to do so. He'd had ten terrific years and it must have been an enormous strain. There were times when he was at loggerheads with lots of people on the campus, including the provosts.

**Robert Adams:** Dean did not run this place as a dictator. I'd say probably one of the great problems he had was in the last two years he backed

off. There were non-decisions, and too many of them. On certain appointments when there were conflicts, he just left the parties in the room to decide it. I'm convinced he knew that he had a mess. By the time that he got past five colleges, he didn't know what to do anymore.

I think, over and above that, because he had this baronial view of provosts living in their houses and all, he never knew how to make the colleges accountable and he didn't know how to make the provosts accountable. So in the last few years, he never visited the colleges. In the early years, you could see him all over the campus. Later you asked him, "Why don't you go up to Crown?" And he'd say, "Well Bob, they didn't invite me." I used to say, "Well, hell, you go down there like the admiral of the fleet and you tell them that you're coming on inspection. And they would clean the place up."

But he had difficulty. He could never see that somehow this was administrative and that he could hold them accountable. Dean was having trouble running the campus. It was getting too complicated.

**Sig Puknat:** From the standpoint of an administrator, Dean McHenry had an immense capacity to accumulate detail. He knew where everything was. And that's partly because he founded the campus, but also partly because he paid attention. He loved it and he worked. I've not seen a man I've ever worked for put that much time in. He loved the campus.

**George Blumenthal:** His legacy is phenomenal. This campus wouldn't be anything like what it is without McHenry. He made this campus into something unique and special. I think he deserves real credit for that. And look at the people that he brought here.



**Kenneth Thimann:** I think one of the great things about McHenry was that he got the idea, Clark Kerr's idea, that this would be a different kind of campus. The colleges would be really teaching, and social, and every other kind of unit. No one else really quite grasped that. I think many people couldn't have.

**Sig Puknat:** He was always open to faculty. He knew every faculty member by name. In fact, I remember one being insulted because he didn't know him by name. They were genteel people, the McHenrys. They invited faculty to their house. You always knew who you were with, where you were at with him. If he didn't like what you were saying, it showed all over. He'd get red in the face. He was tough.

But if a faculty member had a difficulty, he would say, "Come to my house tonight and we'll talk about it." If there was the slightest notion that one of our senior faculty was going to leave, Dean would have them to the house. "Let's talk about this and what we can do about it." He had an enormous concern about the details of life of people on the campus. If he was walking alone here and he saw a hole in the road, he'd call and say, "Get it fixed."

**Michael Nauenberg:** McHenry had this seat-of-the-pants political sense. It was a disaster that he left too early, before our institution had time to flourish and settle down. It felt like he had abandoned us.

**Robert Adams:** I went in and told Dean that he ought to step down. I knew him well enough that we had these conversations. I said, "You know, Dean, I think it's gone far enough." Dean had done everything that he could possibly do for the campus and things were getting bad, fiscally, etc.

You can only do so much. He'd had his ten years and that's it.

**George Blumenthal:** My one complaint about McHenry was that he created a model that was, I think, not sustainable: the tension between the colleges and the boards. And for a state-supported university—it's a great model for Cambridge, but it isn't necessarily a model that would work in exactly the same way here. So I think it was difficult for us to acclimate to the changes that we needed to make in order to preserve the best of what his legacy is, while making it realistic.

**Robert Adams:** I said, "What you should do" (but he never did do this), I said, "Please, what you should do is come in one day, say to your secretary Ginger Campbell, who is a marvelous person, 'This is my last day.' And then leave. Tell UC President Charles Hitch in advance that you're going to do it, but don't tell the campus." He didn't choose to do that, so we had a lame-duck year. And that was the beginning of a not-too-good transition.

**John Marcum:** I think it was very clear to us all in the last two years of the McHenry administration that the campus was ending an era.

**Santa Cruz Sentinel:** What had started in 1965 as a plan to build a unique, undergraduate, liberal arts-oriented university of 27,000 had, by 1975, turned into a struggle for survival, with an enrollment of close to 6,000 and an image which threatened to leave the school as an anachronism in American higher education.<sup>5</sup>

**John Marcum:** It had reached a different size. It could no longer be that the chancellor knew everybody. He is famous for the fact that he'd

interviewed all appointments. He had been the creator, or the founder. There was a proprietary interest, as well as a vision, and yet the place had grown, gone through certain historical changes. There was a welling up of problems and need for change. The external situation had changed so utterly. The growth phase was clearly coming to an end.

**Dean McHenry:** Funds have grown scarce. Money for new construction, programs, and faculty gets daily harder to come by. Too much of my time has been spent trying to get contributions for future projects; too little has been spent with the real business of the university: its students. The regents, with their ever-more rigid control of university policy, have given the university a bad name, and made it more difficult for us to initiate many of our ideas. The increasingly polarized situations in the state have interfered with our concerns as an academic community. Student radicalism, on the upswing, has distracted many of our brightest students from their studies.

Although I have tried to preserve our dreams—and I have never lost my utopian hopes, even now—I feel I have largely failed to make them work.

**Page Smith:** Any experimental venture is going to fall short of its original expectations, and this particular one ran into vast sea changes in the whole realm of education. I think it was inevitable that there would be a good deal of retrenchment.

**Paul Niebanck:** Our present condition of declining enrollment, and the challenges that that represents, shouldn't cause us to give up our strengths. We ought to enhance our strength. We ought to make very sure that we don't drain the colleges of their residual importance. Were we to take the colleges out of the picture here, no

matter how difficult it is to sustain them and how draining it is to many of us, I think we would find very quickly that we didn't have the kind of campus distinction that we now have.

We're self-doubting; we're ambivalent; we're worried; we feel oppressed; we feel alienated both from the system at large and from each other. Healing and integrative efforts can occur here and people can be renewed and honored and recognized. The long-term future of the campus is enormously bright. It need not have a 1960s identity. It can be a current and a progressive kind of identity.

**Michael Cowan:** I found myself asking, what kind of a story was Santa Cruz? I decided that I would pursue the notion that it was a kind of multi-volume, nineteenth-century novel, one of these, what Henry James called “loose baggy monsters” that had lots of parts, things not totally cohering, lots of characters, lots of actors, lots of different agendas. So I played with that, thought about it, tried to divide the campus into books: the first book was the founding years, and then the period of the late seventies, the mid-to-late-seventies crisis.

**John Ellis:** McHenry couldn't see that was not a really good system. He was so committed to his baby. Everyone knew that no change was feasible until Dean left.

**Dean McHenry:** We will need new ideas and new people to carry out our goals. Our dream is still possible.

**John Marcum:** There was a sense of expectancy, a need for a kind of new thrust, a reexamination. It was time for someone new to come in and lead us into a different phase.

## Endnotes

1. Yale University also has a college system. Yale has fourteen residential colleges with which all Yale undergraduate students and many faculty are affiliated. Inaugurated in 1933, the college system is considered the key feature of undergraduate life in Yale College, and the residential colleges serve as the dorms and social center for most undergraduates.
2. Bassett, 14.
3. The Santa Cruz Institute for Particle Physics (SCIPP) is an organized research unit within the University of California system. The primary focus is experimental and theoretical particle physics and particle astrophysics, including the development of technologies needed to advance that research.
4. This plan came to be known as reaggregation.
5. "UCSC: The Greening of a University," *Santa Cruz Sentinel*, October 24, 1985.

## Illustrations

Figure 1. Tree Roots. Photo by Ansel Adams. Circa 1965. Courtesy Special Collections, University Library, University of California, Santa Cruz. MS 2: Ansel Adams Photographs: ms0002\_pho\_0233.tif.

Figure 2. Fallen Tree, UCSC. Photo by Eric Thiermann. Courtesy Special Collections, University Library, University of California, Santa Cruz: MS 290: Eric Thiermann Photographs of the University of California, Santa Cruz: ms0290\_neg\_0029\_35.

Figure 3. "UC Santa Cruz as a utopian experiment," poster for talk by Dean McHenry, 1974. Courtesy Special Collections, University Library, University of California, Santa Cruz: From the F. Louis Fackler Scrapbooks: UA 86: ua0086\_mss\_1970\_1977\_0045.tif.

## Chapter 18

# A Crisis of Leadership and a Search for New Direction

*We had a staff meeting in the early fall and Christensen said to me, "What are we going to do for the Bicentennial? What is the campus going to do for the Bicentennial?" I said, "Well, we're going to have a rebellion." Everybody laughed. But you could just feel it. It was alive. You could feel it build.*

—Dan McFadden

### Mark "Chris" Christensen Becomes UCSC's Second Chancellor

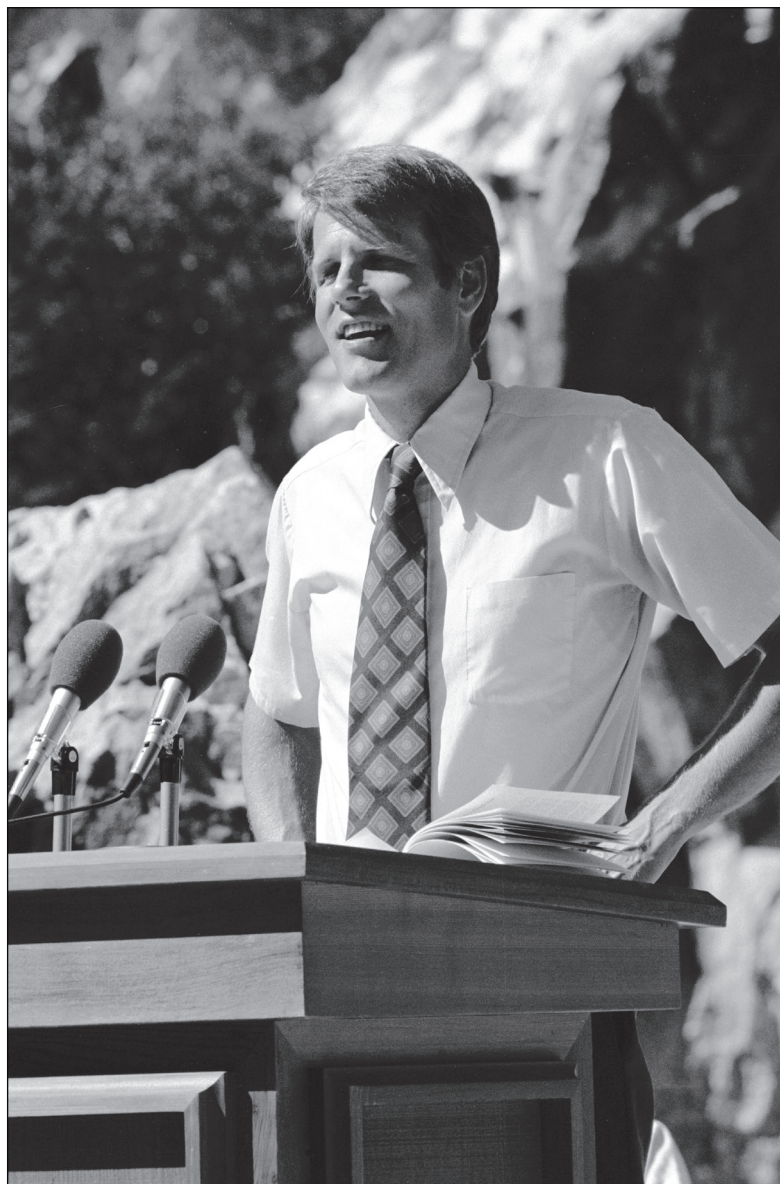
**George Blumenthal:** When McHenry announced that he was stepping down, they did a search for chancellor. I remember there was a regent who visited the campus. I think it was Elinor Heller.<sup>1</sup> She mentioned that the search was going on. She said, "I can't tell you who it is, but I can tell you we're getting this campus a really outstanding chancellor you can be proud of." I remember her enthusiasm.<sup>2</sup>

**Hal Hyde:** A committee recommended to the regents that Mark Christensen, professor of geology at Berkeley and academic vice chancellor at the Berkeley campus, be appointed. The regents met in the student union on the Berkeley campus, and at a break during the closed session, Regent

Elinor Heller told me that an appointment had been made. I did not know Mark Christensen, but he was well recommended by many, particularly by Berkeley chancellor Albert Bowker, who was a good friend of mine.

**John Marcum:** Christensen's name, in fact, appeared at the very first meeting of the search committee, somebody saying, "There's Mark Christensen at Berkeley, who is a fine young man. Wouldn't he be wonderful?"

**George Blumenthal:** Christensen looked ideal for the part. He was young; he was very handsome. He was very Kennedy-esque. He seemed vigorous. This seemed like a match made in heaven.



---

Figure 1

Chancellor Mark Christensen, October  
1974

Photo by UCSC Photography Services

---

**Robert Adams:** I didn't know what to think of him. He was the number-two person at Berkeley, so, you know, he must be pretty good. He seemed like a kind of youngish, boy Bob Kennedy, John Kennedy-type person.

**John Marcum:** I think there was a decision made that it would be great to have a scientist following Chancellor McHenry. I know that Chancellor McHenry felt that way. There was a visit to the campus, a feeling that Christensen with his sort of outdoors quality, Alaskan boyishness, and friendly buoyancy fit in nicely, and those are very endearing qualities in him. But the kinds of tough questions that needed to be asked of a candidate for chancellor just weren't asked at any point.

**Dan McFadden:** Christensen, as many administrators in the UC system, rose through the Academic Senate. He was beautiful on his feet. He got along very well with people. He was bright, very interested in the institution. At UC Berkeley, he was brought in by Chancellor Albert Bowker to be the liaison with the faculty as the vice chancellor, which is a staff position. He dealt with the Library Committee, the Computer Committee, and faculty. He didn't have any staff. He just had a part-time staff assistant. He didn't have any budget control. He didn't have any administrative experience.

It wasn't really thought about at UC system-wide. They didn't really think. I don't think they purposely moved him out of the way, or fed him into this thing at UCSC. He had a strong interest in undergraduate education. He did some creative things at Berkeley. He also instituted some undergraduate reforms. And he was very well liked by the regents. But one of the major misconceptions was that a vice chancellor has had some administrative responsibility.

**John Marcum:** There are two things we wanted the candidate to have, that we had stressed in our committee, and I had pushed for very hard. One was a deftness at handling complicated administrative structure. The second quality was intellectual clout. On both of these accounts, his meeting here was not successful. People did not feel that Christensen showed real strength in either of those areas.

I phoned that in to Vice President of the University of California Frank Kidner, who told me that he was sorry, but a special meeting of the regents had already been called for later that week and an announcement was going to be made of his appointment. I said, "Do you realize what this means? The faculty is being misled; the committee is being misled. I had thought that this was a genuine exercise and at least if there were negative results coming back to you that you would listen to those." He responded with something like, well, it was too late and they thought he would be a fine person, and so forth and so on.

**Dan McFadden:** The search committee at UCSC was not generally favorable about Christensen. But Christensen was a handpicked person; Dean had a strong hand in it; Albert Bowker, the chancellor at UC Berkeley had a strong hand in it, and of course Charles Hitch, the president of the University of California. Christensen was the only real candidate considered. He was the only one who was given interviews down here on the campus.

**Robert Adams:** Later on, it came out that there had been a scanty search and that Christensen really had been laid on the search committee.

**Dan McFadden:** I think they were looking for somebody who would ease things off down here, who could build morale, who would just take the meanness out of the feeling down here, and who would not press too hard on University Hall,

because McHenry, toward the end, made statements that were openly critical of the University of California policy of favoring the large campuses over the small campuses. He got headlines up and down the state. I think they were looking for somebody who wouldn't shake the tree too much.

**John Marcum:** It was very unfair to Christensen, a tragic thing for him, really. There should have been a careful assessment of his administrative record. We needed that kind of information to avoid a mistake for the institution and for the person involved.

**Randall Jarrell, Oral Historian:** Once Christensen was chosen and came here, I felt, as a member of the university here, let's wait and see what's going to happen. Nobody really knew that much about him except that he was from Berkeley.

**Dan McFadden:** I worked closely with Christensen and probably was as close as anybody to him. When Mark Christensen came in, he had to deal with an immediate demand that was coming down from University Hall—to write an academic plan which was supposed to have been done in Dean's last year, but Dean couldn't do it because he was leaving. He didn't want to write a plan for his successor, and quite frankly, he didn't want to write a plan that changed all his original plans and feelings. So it wasn't written. But it was due right when Christensen was coming to the campus. Christensen had a pretty large order.

**John Marcum:** When he first came there was a bit of euphoria. I found myself caught up in it even, thinking, maybe, hopefully, I was wrong; I had been wrong in my judgment.

During the very first meeting at his house, with an informality that seemed appealing in

the beginning, he made a little statement about how important the colleges were. In effect, he was giving us a charge, the provosts, a charge for doing something with the academic programs. He was very much in favor of the reaggregation motion that had gone through the senate, which again was an indication of the timing—that is, the rightness for change. We were in the mood for new leadership and change, and there was a new kind of energy. He made some comments about how we would deal with him. He was approachable. He seemed to have done some thinking about where he wanted to go, and at that juncture he could not be expected to be more specific. It seemed very encouraging, refreshing.

**Paul Niebanck:** I saw him as an open, receptive, and unfettered delegate, a humane kind of person, and one who seemed to want to delegate authority. He seemed tremendously loyal to the relationships of colleges, and to undergraduates. I was, in some ways, enamored with him as a person, a delightful kind of person to be with. I supported him strongly. I saw him very frequently, on invitation to advise him whenever I could during the early months.

**Robert Adams:** But after he'd been appointed, by the end of August, maybe even into early September, I happened to be over at Central Services. I knew all these people and I admire them. One of them pulled me aside and said, "Bob, can't you do something?" I said, "Well, what's the matter?" And he said, "Well, something's wrong here. The paper's not flowing, it just—you know, Christensen doesn't really quite understand. He really ought to be talked to by somebody that's been around a bit to try to fill him in."

**Dan McFadden:** Right from the beginning, he didn't read his mail. He was a nitpicker as far as

grammar, prose, style. He couldn't really work from drafts that were prepared for him. So everything was bottle-necked almost from the beginning.

Barbara Sheriff [executive assistant to the chancellor] handled his correspondence, and his normal mail, and all that, and she simply couldn't move the stuff through. She couldn't get him to focus on it very well.

If this campus had been a mature campus, with good administrative people at the second level, with processes worked out, traditions established, a common view established—all of these things that would have made it a peaceful place—Chris, in spite of his administrative failings, would have maintained. I think he loved the place and believed in the education.

**Robert Adams:** I could have easily told him where all the bodies were. He wasn't really interested. It was very, very strange. He could have said, "Bob, this is very helpful. We ought to talk more often, because I want to know about this, and why that, and why don't you cover me a little bit on the fiscal stuff occasionally if I need some help?" But he never did that. He completely rebuilt his administration, which I thought was insane. I mean, just to come in and wipe away the past without asking. He got rid of all his experience. He got rid of Howard Shontz; he got rid of Hal Hyde—and I don't use those words casually. I mean, they got pushed aside. He brought in new people, created new jobs, and never took care of the delegations, never worked out who was reporting to who, or what, or why.

I don't think he understood the job. I don't think he understood the politics of it. I don't think he understood what powers he had. There was a kind of nihilism there. Things started to disintegrate. There was just a total breakdown in the administrative paper flow. There were an awful lot of meetings that would always lead to further

meetings, further iterations. There was a great deal of attention paid to things that weren't really very significant. You couldn't bring closure on things.

**Paul Niebanck:** Every unit after an initial leadership of as intense a form as McHenry's has to go through an adjustment period. At the same time, there was, I think, a great readiness for the kinds of styles that, at his best, Christensen represented. He came in with all manner of good ideas, and his more free and delegative style was greatly needed, for the most part, wanted on the campus. It was his own ineptitude that got in the way of success, not his wishes, and not his inherent style.

**Daniel McFadden:** Everything up to then had been easy for him. There'd been no real tests. He was head of the senate at UC Berkeley, in a position as vice chancellor where decisions were made, both above him and at the provost level below him. Suddenly he was set down in this very complicated campus, which had feisty faculty, a difficult structure, and he was without the kind of experience he needed. It was a dreadful nightmare for him.

**George Blumenthal:** When he showed up, it all kind of went to hell. I remember he went around and visited the colleges, and he gave a talk at Oakes College, which did not go over well. There was no meat on the bones. It was very vague. One had no sense of what he wanted to do, or where he was going.

**Paul Niebanck:** He might have, if he had been stronger, achieved a new, lighter kind of identity for the campus. I was even one of those who, in private conversation and occasionally in confidential memorandums, tried to convey to him that he was in a certain amount of even early jeopardy. Unless



he made better, deeper acquaintance with the faculty and the individuals, and got a sense of what this campus could stand and what was needed, he was going to have a continuing difficulty.

**Robert Adams:** I called him up and I said, “Let’s go to lunch.” Marvelous. We went to lunch. He was very nice. I pointed out to him that there were drums along the Nile here about the colleges and boards, and if he let the chancellorial cloak get dragged down into that he’d never survive. I said, “This is a mess. Stay away from it. Take your time. Spend a first year just grinding things out and presenting us well to the outside. But be careful that you don’t get involved. This place will eat you up.”

**Paul Niebanck:** We started off with a clear signal from Christensen in his early days that reaggregation would be encouraged and permitted to happen. But what happened was Central Services created an enormous new bureaucratic system that was to guide the reaggregation. That new bureaucratic system never did guide the reaggregation. All it did was stand in the way of a fluid interchange and exchange of faculty members around colleges based on their own interests. It would have been much better to allow, in the second decade of UCSC’s maturing, individually determined college transfers to occur.

**Michael Cowan:** Reaggregation was complicated by the fact that the college bylaws for each of the colleges gave the college fellows, supposedly, control over recommending new hires. And some of the colleges—particularly the early colleges, Stevenson and Cowell—were adamant that they vote in any new faculty member who wanted to come into their college, even if it wasn’t a hire from outside, but simply a movement of somebody who had already been hired. So there was a whole issue of how you interpreted that. It didn’t stop the

movement, but it was just one more tension. There was a feeling, at least in some colleges, that they were losing control of their own destiny.

**George Von der Muhll:** Some of the colleges—most particularly Cowell and Stevenson—said, “We worked hard to create the bonds of fellowship here and we’re determined to hold on to it. Faculty members as human beings count for more than the academic orientations and skills they have acquired along the way. And therefore, we will create fake programs and collaborations that no one will take seriously but that can provide justification for their staying on.” It had nothing to do with what they actually intended to do, but had everything to do with meeting the criteria for reaggregation, so that they didn’t have to give up certain friends who were in the college, or certain offices to which they had become attached. Or, conversely, it was used to say, “Let us create something which leaves out certain members who have been a pain as colleagues in the college, and whom we would like to see transfer elsewhere.”

These considerations became the driving concerns of several of the colleges, frankly, rather than our vision that they would be creating fellowship on a new basis, an intellectual fellowship that was authentic and not merely proclaimed, or assumed, or anything like that. That was probably one of the driving forces against reaggregation.

But the biggest difficulty that beclouded reaggregation was in enforcing the notion, and the rules to back up the notion, that the transfers would be made on grounds of academic clusters, not simply because people said they wanted to move from one college to another college.

Christensen never conceptually seemed to grasp the objectives and requirements for reaggregation and the problems that had given rise to the proposal. He showed no particular interest in it. He did not back it up. He did not veto those

provosts who were rather egregiously engaging in the fraternity rush that I have already described.

**Paul Niebanck:** Christensen never did understand reaggregation. He had good impulses, but he had great difficulty articulating and following through on these impulses, and understanding how systems change, or on this particular campus how best to accomplish, or follow through.

**Dan McFadden:** He kept changing the signals. Nothing was happening. There was no way to make much progress, or at least to do something in a rational fashion.

**George Von der Muhll:** The objectives for reaggregation were probably too rarified. They were almost inevitably displaced by more concrete human motivations. An office with a window

that looks out over the Monterey Bay is not something one gives up lightly. The prospect of moving across campus to a distant college that has never had a College Night can be hard to accept. But as administrative relationships became a jumble, our committee on reaggregation found itself unable to maintain control over the process it had inaugurated. Neither could our chancellor. Christensen was perhaps too nice a man, or too ready to yield to the provosts. Reaggregation was the biggest proposal that had come along for saving the colleges, and yet one of the reasons why Christensen was soon to be perceived a failure as chancellor was that he had no clear hierarchy in mind for the relationship of the colleges to the campus. At a time when central leadership was much needed, it was nowhere to be found.



## No Confidence: The Fall of Chancellor Christensen

**Sig Puknat:** In that almost a year and a half of Christensen's chancellorship, we were drifting. We were not getting anywhere. We didn't have an academic plan. Nothing was happening.

**Robert Adams:** We ran the risk of becoming UC Riverside.<sup>3</sup> We'd start to have enrollment problems, all kinds of other things because we'd lost our identity. We have to have the courage here to be different. That's really what it's all about. We can't be Berkeley, and we can't be UCLA, and if we end up being Riverside we're going to go the same route as Riverside has gone. What's always kept us going is the fact that it was hard to pin Santa Cruz down.

**Mark Christensen, Chancellor:** In the early 1970s, Santa Cruz was fighting just to try to sustain enrollments. New faculty positions were not coming. New facilities were not coming. Internally, the effect of things was really traumatic, particularly on faculty. Faculty were hired as initial people in a developing program. Everybody expected more colleagues of related kinds to be hired later. They were all part of building programs. Their dreams of the future, their dreams of themselves, were of hosts of additional faculty. And all of a sudden—no more faculty slots, maybe losses of faculty positions. Commitments were broken; expectations were frustrated and dreams were shattered. And no one should ever underestimate the psychological effect of shattering people's dreams. I did.<sup>4</sup>

**Robert Adams:** McHenry's dominance prevented us from recognizing the enrollment reality. And Christensen did not deal effectively, and

forthrightly, and in an involved way with the enrollment realities.

**Paul Niebanck:** Because we were all so dominated by Dean, we didn't have the need with Dean to have a clear administrative structure and lines of authority spelled out. And while Christensen started off with some clear directives, detailed early, he didn't follow that through and sustain that. Therefore everybody entered a state of limbo and uncertainty. Papers were flying all over the place, not stopping on his desk, not stopping on anybody else's desk. Of course, in the McHenry era they all stopped with McHenry, but at least they stopped. This state of limbo gave everybody who cared and was the least bit involved a sense of demoralization.

**Robert Adams:** To be fair to Christensen, I think anybody would have had difficulty following the McHenrys. Just on sheer time and quality, it's a hard act to follow. But I don't think the Christensens' act worked out totally either. Yes, it's okay, it's all right, women's liberation—all women should have their own profession and do other things. But I'm afraid I have to say that when you pay one man 50,000 dollars a year, I suspect you really are buying more than just his time at the office.<sup>5</sup> The family has to make adjustments. And if you're not ready to make those adjustments, then stay the hell out of the kitchen. I mean, don't get involved. That isn't to say his wife shouldn't have had a profession. I think that's fine, a good symbolic thing for the campus. But then you have to find other ways of dealing with the social aspects of the job.

**Dan McFadden:** He had a particular problem with his wife, Helen. She was determined not to be overshadowed. She was a professional and she had her own life. She was heavily into that model and she started out very strongly to make sure that Chris did an equal share in taking care of their two kids. That would have been all well and good, I think, as a professor, but it didn't work out in his role here. He was gone a lot of the time in the summer. He went on vacation. Then, all through that early fall he was taking care of the kids, responding to Helen. It was evident that there was going to be a major problem.

**Sig Puknat:** I met Christensen at a reception for Cowell College at University House. That reception isn't too easy to forget because next to Christensen was a papier-mâché mannequin which represented the chancellor's wife. I never met the chancellor's wife for about a year after that.

**Robert Adams:** I don't think he ever had friends on the campus. He got more and more isolated. I felt terrible about it. The man was totally alone.

**Paul Niebanck:** It became obvious that Christensen was just not going to make it as a chancellor. The campus had already suffered and if he was sustained, the campus would suffer greatly.

**George Blumenthal:** Then I started hearing rumblings. There was this issue about admissions. The applications to UC Santa Cruz which had been so robust during the sixties—ten applicants for every opening—suddenly turned around in the early seventies. Suddenly, we weren't getting enough applications to fill out our entering classes. It was a big, big issue. There was even talk about the possibility of closing the Santa Cruz campus.

**Robert Adams:** I feared for this campus. I think we came pretty close to putting ourselves in a situation where the only solution was to close us down.

**Dan McFadden:** We'd gone through the controversy over reaggregation; [colleges and boards] were fighting over the allocation of FTE again and everybody was tired. All the fatigue that had been there in McHenry's last year was coming again. You could see it. In the late summer I talked with Christensen. I said, "Unless you make some clear statements and decisions, you're going to see a lot of debate in the fall in the faculty senate, and you're going to get a vote of no confidence by the winter term." He said, "Do you really think it's that serious?" I said, "Yes, I really do think it is." Well, he didn't take it completely to heart.

The faculty didn't have a lot of communication until Professor of French literature Martin Kanen made a speech in the Academic Senate. That was a minor speech, but it was like the avalanche had backed up and the speech was the shot that started it to roll.

**Paul Niebanck:** Suddenly, the collapse came upon us. I was not involved in any of the early throes of it. But inevitably, quickly, I was drawn in.

I was drawn in first, and for a while exclusively, through the provosts. We retired from the action, to engage it as sensitively and responsibly as we could. We removed ourselves from deans, from Academic Vice Chancellor Gene Cota-Robles, from the chancellor, and engaged, in hour after hour, and day after day, many times, and many weeks, three and four meetings a week, Saturdays, evenings, trying to figure how we might sustain the campus, stabilize the situation, in effect protect the chancellor, operate the campus, in effect, without him. We exchanged confidential memoranda. We met again and again and struggled to find what responsible combination of faculty

and administrative caring we might express. Enormous unity came from that, enormous unity. As an effort, it was as beautiful a human exercise as I've ever been through: marvelous rapport, complete faith, and essentially a confidential kind of undertaking.

**Dan McFadden:** I said to Christensen, "The tensions are so built up between the colleges and the boards that you've got to do something to break the tie here. You've got to come down on one side or the other. You've either got to roll it back toward a divisional, departmental kind of structure and put your resources around programs, or you've got to go with the collegiate setup and reinforce your provosts. But this stalemate is wearing everybody out."

**Mark Christensen:** In the first ten years, Santa Cruz had drawn together a genuinely creative and outstanding faculty. They were also characterized as being a bit of mavericks. They all came to innovate. But it was much easier to get agreement on the innovation in the abstract, than it was to get a bunch of people coming from diverse places and specialties to get together and make a collegial commitment to a common program to which they would devote their time and energy of a new sort. That kind of thing doesn't happen overnight. It takes a long time, a lot of gestation.

The effect of this that I felt most keenly here in my time as chancellor was in the struggle over faculty appointments and promotions. The matrix structure of colleges and boards meant they were at that time each playing, at least formally, an equal role in that matter. But all of these faculty with these different visions and backgrounds had come socialized in disciplines. They held their PhDs in disciplinary areas. Each board knew what it wanted. It had criteria for its next appointment.

It had criteria for evaluating the success and performance of those who were here.

The colleges, for the most part, with some limited exceptions, mainly in the early colleges—Cowell, Stevenson, maybe Merrill a little bit—didn't have coherent programs. And hence, what are the criteria for the next faculty appointment? What are the criteria for performance within the program? They didn't have them. So in the competition, rather naturally, the boards were becoming stronger, the colleges weaker, both in the matter of academic appointments and promotion and in the struggle for resources for academic appointments. That touched vital nerves in the sense of what Santa Cruz was about and the role of the colleges.<sup>6</sup>

**Dan McFadden:** I said, "Get up there, and say whatever you think the problem is, and give it your solution. If they accept it, then you'll have gained some momentum and you'll be able to show that you're decisive. You administer the place and carry it out. If they reject it, if you don't have the support, that tells you where you are. Then you resign."

I didn't want to see him get subjected to a vote of no confidence. There were some who did. There were a lot of agendas at that time. Some people were very sincere, but some people among the faculty were on their own little power trips. But, at any rate, he said, "No, I really do care about this place and I don't want to get into a long, nasty fight and just run the place down. I'd rather give it my best shot."

**Angus Taylor:** Christensen had proposed to cut what is sometimes thought of as the Gordian knot of the colleges and the boards of studies. What he proposed was to eliminate the divisions of social sciences and humanities and allocate entirely to the colleges the responsibility for curriculum in those areas of study, but to leave the natural sciences

division alone, because the natural scientists were the only people who had offices completely outside the colleges. The faculty said no, that they would not permit him to do that. They simply would not agree.

**Dan McFadden:** He said that essentially there was no need for graduate work in the social sciences or the humanities. I remember striking that from the draft of his speech and changing it. I said, “That’s really going to involve a lot of anger. The humanities and social sciences feel like poor cousins anyway in comparison to the sciences.”

The speech was an attempt to elevate the discussion and it was a test of Christensen’s strength to carry through, whether there was any confidence. So rather than inviting a vote of confidence in a formal way, he was, in essence, asking for a vote of confidence from the faculty in terms of this reorganization proposal.

When it was dismissed out of hand, essentially that was the vote of no confidence.

**Mark Christensen:** Obviously, in a situation like this, leadership is absolutely critical. Dean McHenry retired a few years early, just as some of these problems showed. I came here, I would have to say in retrospect, a little bit naively. In candor, my leadership wasn’t up to the task. Before long, I had succeeded in alienating large segments and influential segments of the faculty, and largely demoralizing the senior academic administrators.<sup>7</sup>

**Paul Niebanck:** The provosts, inevitably, became one of the most effective units to try and dislodge the chancellor and encourage him to resign, to call to his mind the difficulties and impossibilities now of his leading the campus out of the morass. There was no laying on him his own responsibilities, laying blame and calling foul. We saw ourselves as much more loyal to him than that.

But nevertheless, there was a calling forth of what we saw as the immediate and prospective reality.

**William Rose:** There was a coup. It was very nasty. They decided he wasn’t competent and they wanted blood, the group who went after Christensen. He was a nice, affable man who my father [Jasper Rose] rose to the defense of. But it was like they wanted blood—and I don’t know why they wanted blood, but they wanted it.

**Dan McFadden:** Everybody was trying to get to Chris. They wanted to help him out and yet they wanted to protect their own ass and not get identified with him. A number of people in the building were stretched so far that they were in agony. That went on through the next three or four months. People jumped on one side and then the other. Two of my closest friends on the campus, John Marcum and Paul Niebanck, were taking a very strong role from the other side. They’d given up on Christensen and wanted him out. It was very intense.

**Santa Cruz Sentinel:** UCSC found itself in the middle of ousting a chancellor, confronting declining enrollments that seemingly curtailed any hope for future growth, and budget restraints that led to severe infighting among programs wanting a bigger piece of a shrinking pie. The threat of closure was a serious possibility.<sup>8</sup>

**Sig Puknat:** Well, in my opinion he fell short, in that I don’t think he was chancellor. And by that I mean something as simple as full-time chancellor. It’s ironic. Dean McHenry did not delegate enough power; Christensen may have delegated too much power to the vice-chancellor. I don’t think he retained enough of what a chancellor should do. He stayed on the periphery of too many things

that had to do with the academic program. He simply did not have direct lines of communication with other administrators, or with the Academic Senate.

**Dan McFadden:** He's a very good person. There's just no doubt about it. He's not calculating. If he had that kind of political awareness, he would not have let himself get as far behind the power curve as he did. He could feel the tides pulling very strongly.

We had a staff meeting in the early fall and Christensen said to me, "What are we going to do for the Bicentennial? What is the campus going to do for the Bicentennial?" I said, "Well, we're going to have a rebellion." Everybody laughed. But you could just feel it. It was alive. You could feel it build.

**Sig Puknat:** I was now at the point that I felt that the unfavorable reaction to Christensen was so great that the president of the University of California should know the possibilities of a crisis here, of an open kind of conflict.

A number of faculty approached me, since I was chair of the Academic Senate at UCSC, with the request that I call President David Saxon. I went into no details. I said, "My only purpose in calling you is to alert you to what I think is a critical situation at Santa Cruz. I think this could hit the newspapers. It seems to me you ought to hear from us before you hear it from the newspapers."

**Paul Niebanck:** We collectively—that is, deans and provosts—made a call on President Saxon and exposed to him the realities and the intense importance of the situation.

**Robert Adams:** One of the things we told David Saxon, and I think one of the lessons that came

out of this, is that the University of California has to institute some due process. There wasn't any. There is no due process for chancellors. Chancellors are there at the behest of the regents. I felt very strongly this was an internal administrative matter, that we wanted to do this in a way that would least damage Chris. Why put all the dirty linen out?

**Sig Puknat:** The first time I asked him to resign, we talked for about an hour. I went to University House and we had a perfectly amicable conversation, as one always does, because Christensen is a very pleasant person. We talked for about an hour, at the end of which Christensen said to me, "Well Sig, we pretty much agree." And I said, "Chris, I don't understand how you can say that. It's clear we don't agree at all."

**Angus Taylor:** I was appointed vice president for academic affairs on the staff of UC President Clark Kerr, effective September 1965. I became the university provost. I had been following the development of UC Santa Cruz. I knew both McHenry and Page Smith, who had both been on the faculty at UCLA.

Saxon said everybody was upset down there. They didn't think Christensen could cut the mustard. So it was determined that Saxon wanted me to go down to Santa Cruz on November 24, 1975, to attend the Academic Senate meeting.

Literature professor Cesar L. "Joe" Barber made a motion which expressed the opinion that the senate did not support Christensen's proposals. It attacked them. Harry Berger, Jr., seconded the motion and then spoke. Berger claimed that the chancellor's analysis was misdirected; he said he was unwilling to accept the chancellor's assumptions. He said the conflict between boards and colleges was healthy, that the weaknesses were inseparable from the strengths, and that faculty

must continue to live with the problem. He suggested that the chancellor was more concerned with organizational panaceas than with human concerns.

**George Blumenthal:** Then there was this famous senate meeting where Christiansen spoke to the senate. It may have been a special meeting to talk about his chancellorship. He got up and said that on the issue of departments versus boards, and the potential reaggregation of the campus, which had begun to be discussed, he was looking for leadership from the Academic Senate and that he had held back from expressing his views because he thought that this should come from the faculty. I think he may have even said what his views were. That meeting just felt like it was way too little, too late. It almost seemed like an act of desperation, of a man desperate to hang onto a job that he may not have been well qualified for.

**Angus Taylor:** Next, Chancellor Christensen spoke. He thanked the senate members for the opportunity to respond. I have my notes here and they read: “He seemed cool and collected. He recognizes the widespread lack of confidence in him and that there is a great deal of cynicism about the motives for his proposal. He explained his reasons for making the proposals but sees now that his proposals are hopelessly intertwined with the issue of confidence in the campus administration. The proposals were designed to stimulate discussion and consultation. He would like to follow the line suggested by Berger. He does not think the present occasion is going in that direction. That is what was being criticized that evening. No applause.” That’s what I’ve written down here. It says “no applause.”

**Paul Niebanck:** Then we had an agonizing meeting of provosts with others on a Saturday morning. We

were all exhausted; I walked home. I often walk home from the campus. I live in downtown Santa Cruz; it takes me quite a long time to walk, but it’s refreshing to do it and it’s all downhill, which helps. I got down to Westlake School, roughly, and Chris was driving along in the car with his family. His car came to a screeching halt. He popped out. He stood with me for half an hour and he walked the rest of the way home with me. I noticed the catharsis he was going through, the very difficult place he was in. He said, “Paul, I feel like of all the people that I can feel open with it’s you, because you told me early. I didn’t do what you said, and I know it’s coming down upon me now.” We talked about a myriad things, and very personally. It was a marvelous conversation, but almost more than I could take because I was so exhausted physically and emotionally.

Well, then the next morning (I guess that night, but I didn’t hear until the next morning), I may have been the last person he called—he called every one of the UC deans and provosts and vice-chancellors, and the librarian, and the graduate dean and so on. He said he was going to have a meeting Monday morning at 9:00. There was, to my knowledge, no conversation amongst any of the people, but no one came to that meeting. That was the signal that it was over.

**Sig Puknat:** That morning he had scheduled a meeting with deans and provosts and nobody came. That was his first blow that Monday. His second blow was when I saw him at something like one o’clock, at which time I told him the senate was going to get into this thing openly.

**Robert Adams:** Mark Christensen was a human being. He didn’t have the strength to make a good chancellor, but he was a very strong man of character. It may have been that character that helped lead to his downfall, because in terms of the



politics of it all, he was rather helpless. It wasn't his nature to bully. He didn't bluff, because it wasn't in his nature to bluff. He didn't threaten to be vindictive. When administrators get in tight spots, that is the arsenal of things they can pull out. But this man didn't have that. He left the campus, and I think many people felt sad for him because of it.

**Sig Puknat:** We had the meeting of the chairpersons, and we agreed that we would go to the chancellor and ask the chancellor to resign. So we met in the conference room in the Central Services Building. I sat at one end of the table. The chancellor came in. The chair had been left free at the other end of the table, and here were all these other people in the room. They looked at me and so I said, "Chris," or, "Mr. Chancellor"—whatever, however I opened the thing, "We are here to ask you to resign for the good of the campus." At that point, I think he realized it was hopeless.

**Dan McFadden:** Being a chancellor is looked upon from the outside as some kind of really super thing, you know? Quite an honor. There's just no way you could pay me enough money to do it. It's a lousy job. All you do is deal with the problems that no one else lower than you wants to deal with. They send these problems up and you have to attend receptions and shake the hands of a lot of people. You really wouldn't care to do it if you didn't have to.

At least here as chancellor you don't have a big fundraising responsibility, as you do at a private place, which is dog's work. But generally, it's the lousiest job on the campus. Christensen looked at it as an honorific kind of position. There was a feeling also that he was sort of an Eagle Scout. People wanted to come up and run their fingers through his hair, that sort of thing, rather than the respect, and the distance and fear that goes

along with respect, in order to make people move and to do things in an institution.

**Sig Puknat:** I can remember ten years ago driving in a car with Chancellor McHenry and a visitor from—I think it was the University of Chicago. The three of us were driving to Berkeley, and the matter of the UC Systemwide Academic Senate came up, because it's thought of as a rather strong body in comparison with senates at other universities. The visitor asked Dean McHenry, "What happens if there's an open conflict between the chancellor and the senate at their campus?" I remember Dean McHenry's answer: "The chancellor resigns."

**Mark Christensen:** In retrospect, from my view, that time of slowing was perhaps very necessary and vital. Had the place gone on growing at the rate it had without some time to sit back and deal with some of the contradictions, it would have been a disaster of a different kind.

I felt that the colleges were important to Santa Cruz and to the University of California, not just as residential places for undergraduates, but as a kind of a structure for intellectual activity and academic programs critically needed by this society. More or less my last act, or the one that, as I recall events, was the straw that broke the camel's back, was an effort to give a kind of a thrust and an additional push to the academic status of the colleges. Whatever the merits of the particular proposal might have been, its timing was so abominable, its substance was arguable, and it served to trigger and inflame the faculty to a general rebellion which forced my resignation. And at that point, I departed the scene. With friends like myself, the colleges really didn't need enemies.<sup>9</sup>



**“Just What the Doctor Ordered”:  
The Acting Chancellorship of Angus Taylor**

**Angus Taylor:** Saxon did not want to fire the chancellor. He thought that would be a very bad thing to do. He wanted to find some way to let the chancellor tough it out. But then finally Christensen decided that he should resign himself.

On January 20, 1976, I came home from attending a meeting of the University-wide senate’s coordinating committee on graduate affairs and my wife said that President Saxon wanted me to come to see him after dinner. I went, and Saxon was there with Vice President McCorkle. We talked a bit and Saxon asked me to take the job of acting chancellor at UC Santa Cruz. I said I would need to discuss that with my wife, Patsy. We thought about it overnight and the next day I accepted. I was appointed by the regents at the January 23 meeting, to take office on February 1, 1976.

**John Marcum:** When Angus Taylor came on campus, I don’t know what he thought: we’d been intemperate or even insubordinate. But he did see what a mess we were in very quickly. He was able to convey that back to University Hall. He’s very methodical, kind of a wise old man. I have found his qualities very fitting for our circumstances. He’s coming in at the end of his career. He cannot be blamed in any way for the mess he inherited. Thus, from his side, there isn’t any great risk from it.

We need to pick up the pieces, sort some things out, consolidate things, get a bit of confidence built back into matters. He has a nice sense of humor, loves to play with words, and is a recognized scholar. He has deceptive quietness. He’s a stronger person than I would have thought, perhaps, at the very beginning.

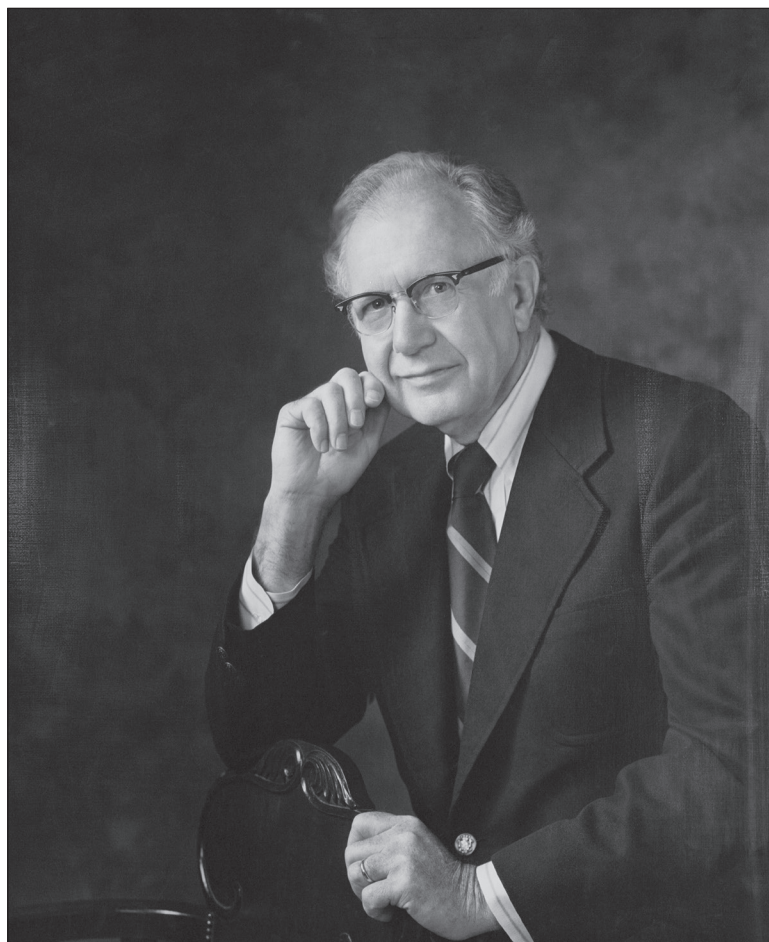
**Robert Adams:** I think we were there the first night that the Taylors had people to dinner—there was the personal, handwritten invitation and a lot of little things happened that we’d all missed. I think we felt like, “Gee, things are in good hands.”

We had a meeting of senior officers later on. Finally, it came out that the admissions office had come to a complete stop and we’d had no admissions, which is just an awful situation. Well, after that meeting, one of my colleagues, maybe even more than one, said to me, “Gee, you know, I guess we really did do the right thing.”

**Angus Taylor:** I wanted to identify the major problems at UCSC. The first problem, and perhaps the most critical one, was that the admissions office was in an uproar. They were way behind in processing the admissions applications. And as of November 30, 1975, UCSC applications were down by 22.5 percent; UC Berkeley’s were up by 17 percent during that same period.

**California Higher Education:** Santa Cruz in the mid-70s was no different than many other California colleges and universities. Planned as a campus for 23 colleges and 27,500 students, UCSC suddenly began to feel the effects of the post-war baby-boom bust and the end of the golden days in higher education funding from Sacramento.<sup>10</sup>

**Daniel McFadden:** I was asked to study the enrollment, admissions, financial aid areas. There were gross problems. The admissions office took their time responding to people. There was no real outreach, or recruitment, or information emphasis. Our applications had fallen off significantly. A lot



---

Figure 2

Chancellor Angus Taylor, 1976

Photo: UCSC Photography  
Services

---

of that was due to the admissions operation not being up to par.

The other facet of that was that there was no good information on our students here. We had information on students coming in, but this was an experimental enterprise, and we had no real information on the impact we were having on these kids, except how many got fellowships. But this really didn't tell about what was happening to the students: why were they leaving the campus?

**Angus Taylor:** What I really wanted to do was to bring about some way in which the role of the colleges would fit in with the role of the boards, so that you would have a unified plan of using the teaching resources of the whole campus, while at the same time capitalizing on the original intention of the colleges, of which I think the most meaningful phrase was Clark Kerr's: "to make the campus seem small while it grows large." In other words, a unit on the order of several hundred students having a common bond from their membership in a college, together with a group of faculty members, who were so-called fellows of the college, would form a kind of neighborhood. All these different neighborhoods would form the big city.

But what was clearly lacking was that there wasn't any common way of planning how the colleges and the boards were going to fit together. That had never been done. They didn't even try to map it out at the beginning.

Dean did not want me to become the chancellor. Saxon told me. He said McHenry said I went by the book too much. Well, I don't know whether that's true. I was a little careful not to let him be seen as steering me. Because I knew a lot of the faculty at Santa Cruz regarded him as being too dictatorial in a certain sense. Dean is not really a dictator. But he didn't want to delegate. So I was careful not to invite his advice very much.

**Dan McFadden:** You have to figure where Taylor is coming in the sequence here. He's following two situations, two personalities. He's got a certain charm and ease and thoroughness that I think a lot of people really like and feel good about. He works very hard. He does all his homework and he turns stuff around very quickly. So he's very much appreciated in terms of stabilizing. It's a bad situation, but it's gotten better.

**George Blumenthal:** I have a lot of admiration for Angus Taylor. He was only chancellor for a year, or a year and a half, but he turned a lot of stuff around. I was very impressed with him. He brought a sense of competency, of academic excellence. If you talked to Angus Taylor, you never questioned whether he was committed to excellence. That just came across. He gave mathematics colloquia. Everything he talked about was about the quality of the university, enhancing the quality of the university.

**Angus Taylor:** One of the other things I began to do immediately was to try to get acquainted with people. I made a fairly regular routine of taking somebody to lunch with whom I wanted to get acquainted. I took Harry Berger, Jr., to lunch fairly early on; I had known something about him from things that I read when the Committee on Educational Policy and the statewide senate reviewed the Santa Cruz academic plan. Berger said the assumptions about Santa Cruz were inaccurate, that the verbiage was less than true. In other words, the great boasting about the way the colleges and the boards of studies work together was inaccurate. He said, "It's all very idealistic, but that isn't the way it is."

**Robert Adams:** It's very clear to me Angus Taylor is a man who works very carefully. He gets his advice very broadly on the campus. He sees the

beginning and the end of issues. He's eager to solve problems, settle things, get things done.

**Angus Taylor:** I soon discovered that there was quite a bit of slippage in the use of resources. Faculty members were being asked by the provosts what they were going to teach for the college. The boards of studies wanted their faculty members to teach their specialties. A lot of faculty were sort of ad-libbing and making up courses that they thought would be interesting in the colleges. The institution was not being fully efficient in its use of faculty teaching power. The sales pitch in the catalog was, to some extent, puffery.

I began to discover that the use of resources wasn't tight. I began to grapple with that problem, but I never solved it, in the sense of how to make sure that colleges and boards made full use of faculty resources and accomplished what should be accomplished by the colleges. I thought, what if I put all the resources in the colleges? The original plan that McHenry had was 50 percent of the FTE went to the college and 50 percent to the board or to the division [which meant that each had 50 percent in the decision to hire and promote faculty]. I said, well, I wonder what would happen if I gave the colleges all of the FTE's and let them scrap with the divisions about how they were going to accomplish everything? But I couldn't see my way through that. That would have blown the roof off.

**Robert Adams:** He's obviously had the experience of being a departmental chairman; you can see that all over. He also clearly understands University of California systemwide. He's got a marvelous boyish smile. He may be a political genius. I think anybody that introduces himself to the campus by showing homemade movies of his mountain climbing, that's political genius.

**Herman Blake:** Angus Taylor came as a caretaker. Angus was a jewel. I felt I had an incredibly strong base of support, particularly from the administration and all the way up to the president's office. His daughter was one of my students in the Extramural Program. She went to Beaufort County. He had inside information on the kind of person I was and what I was doing. Tremendously supportive.

**Robert Adams:** I begin to think that this campus can only be run by Scotchmen and only have English provosts. That's the way it really works and we Americans ought to get the hell out of the administration. I think Taylor is a remarkable person to just walk into this situation and to have done what he's done. And that, in many ways, reminds me more of the McHenry years, except that he's probably more personable. He's not as much a big power thing and he's not a pluralist. He's not afraid to make decisions. Whether he's able to solve what I call a congenital problem is another question.

**Dan McFadden:** But Taylor, at this point, is untested in terms of major, nasty decisions. He's acting chancellor, so people are not going to run after him that hard. He deliberates and confers at length with people. They feel like they participate in the decision. I don't agree with all his decisions, but I respect him and I like him a lot. I think he is very good for the place. He's quieted things. But his perspective reflects University Hall. He's worked there for a lot of years. One of the blessings he has, I think, so far, is that he's not tried to solve the real problems here. He's not got into the complex problems. It's a quiet period. He's just what the doctor ordered right now.

**Paul Niebanck:** Angus Taylor's style is more hierarchical, a centrist's style, something like

McHenry's, but with a nice veneer. Angus Taylor is a marvelous person. He operates very well within that style.

**Dan McFadden:** The place is healing itself slowly by a lot of little compromises, people burying the hatchet, and that kind of thing. Certainly Taylor is getting the credit right now. It will change with the new permanent chancellor. There'll be expectations and people will have their agendas again.

Christensen's period as chancellor was a nasty, bloody transition. But it lowered the expectations of many of the faculty. It brought to the foreground the reality that if they didn't cooperate, they were going to tear this place apart. It transferred a lot of the power to the senate and faculty that McHenry had held very tightly by himself in the front office. They took it.

The enrollment picture is much clearer now. We're not going to get any new buildings. We're not going to be caught up in this tremendous drain of establishing a college each year, that kind of linear progression that just eats everybody up. It gives time to breathe and to rest, and to sort of assess things.

Any trauma has opportunity and has crisis; they're both side by side. The Christensen crisis in many ways allowed for some opportunity. The Taylor period allows people to get relaxed, get some energy, and it reduces the bitterness and the antagonism that's been here, was here before Christensen.

**George Blumenthal:** I think Taylor was clear that he didn't want to be the permanent chancellor. I think the fact that they changed his title to chancellor at the end was merely meant as an honorific, a well-deserved honorific, I might add, but it was an honorific. He knew what he was doing. He understood the university. We would have been

very lucky had he stayed. He was what we needed at the time.

**Robert Adams:** We've got to look ahead. Following Angus, I'd be delighted if we could get a fairly vigorous person. I'd really like to see it be an intellectual. I don't think that we should let the unfortunate circumstance of the Christensen years lead us to think that what this campus desperately needs is just an able administrator. That would be a tragedy. There are many people who can make this campus go at the administrative level, but what the campus needs is somebody with some vision.

**Dan McFadden:** If Taylor mends some of the administrative problems, integrates things, and wires them together, gets some processes going, I think the new person is going to have as number one on the agenda the instilling of some pride in the campus. Everybody says it's a pretty place but they don't necessarily feel confident about what happens here. It's a success. It's no longer an experiment. It's a success. Words like "innovative" are bad words now. They were in vogue awhile back. The next person has to deal with the leadership aspects, with the problems of morale, spirit, and pride in the institution. He's got to build it somehow. Otherwise I think that the place is destined to be a second-rate institution, even as beautiful as it is.

**Paul Niebanck:** We were released from a very, very bad ineffective administrative situation. There is a relatively low level of enthusiasm on the campus. But that's inevitable after the kind of catharsis we've been through. By this time next year, assuming we have a good search and we have a positive figure coming in, people will be hopeful again. It's a good campus essentially, let's face it. It has a lot to say to the world.

## Endnotes

1. Elinor Heller, the first woman to chair the UC Board of Regents, was named to the board in 1961 by Governor Edmund G. ("Pat") Brown to serve out the term of her husband, who died that year; she served until 1976 and was named chair in 1975. According to the *Los Angeles Times*: "She took a temperate, rather than a philosophical, approach to many university problems, effecting the compromise that allowed Black Panther leader Eldridge Cleaver to teach at UC Berkeley as a lecturer rather than a professor. Former UC President Clark Kerr, whose ouster by then-Gov. Ronald Reagan she opposed, once called her "the balancing wheel in the center" of the board. She saw herself as "moderately liberal" in a 1975 interview with the *Times* and was one of only six of the 24 regents to vote against the firing of Communist Party member Angela Davis, who was hired in 1969 to teach philosophy at UCLA." Burt A. Folkart, "'Balancing Wheel' on Board : Elinor Heller, UC Regents Chairman in 1970s, Dies," *Los Angeles Times*, August 18, 1987. [http://articles.latimes.com/1987-08-18/news/mn-2142\\_1\\_board-members](http://articles.latimes.com/1987-08-18/news/mn-2142_1_board-members).
2. Nearly all of the voices in this chapter are of white male narrators—a reflection of the fact that these excerpts were drawn from a series of oral histories conducted around 1976, with campus leaders (such as provosts) who were involved in the political controversy surrounding Chancellor Christensen. The gender and ethnic makeup of this cohort reflects the demographics of campus leadership in that era. May Diaz was the first female provost, arriving at Kresge College in 1974, but she was not interviewed for that series. Helene Moglen arrived at UCSC in 1978, as the first female dean of any faculty in the UC system.
3. UC Riverside was experiencing an enrollment crisis in the late 1960s and 1970s, partially because of severe smog in the South Coast Air Basin at that time. There were rumors that Riverside, considered the least desirable of the UC campuses, would close.
4. "College Night Panel Discussion "The Middle Years." (1987) Featuring Mark Christensen, Robert Sinsheimer, John Marcum, John Isbister and others," Available at UCSC Library Special Collections.
5. \$50,000 in 1975 is equivalent in purchasing power to \$235,023.23 in 2018, a difference of \$185,023.23 over 43 years. The 1975 inflation rate was 9.13 percent.
6. "College Night Panel Discussion "The Middle Years."
7. "College Night Panel Discussion "The Middle Years."

8. "UCSC: The Greening of a University," *Santa Cruz Sentinel*, October 24, 1985.
9. "College Night Panel Discussion "The Middle Years."
10. Ray Giles, *California Higher Education*, October 1982.

## Illustrations

- Figure 1. Chancellor Mark Christensen, October 1974. Courtesy Special Collections, University Library, University of California, Santa Cruz. UA 50: UCSC Photography Services: ua0050\_neg\_sc4755c\_09.
- Figure 2. Chancellor Angus Taylor, 1976. Courtesy Special Collections, University Library, University of California, Santa Cruz. UA 50: UCSC Photography Services: ua0050\_neg\_0768-10095\_4.

# Interlude:

## Long Roots and Many Tides

At times when we return, it is like it was. Down the bends of Highway One to the ocean shore in fog, a long left up to the campus where shore sounds roll back. In the hills, other tides come, the rubato fall of wind in treetops, redwood, live oak, bay, and small motions in the tall grass—deer and birds and late-walking students making life in the ecotone.

The evening comes like velvet, the colleges candle-points in forest, time of day, year, century, geology made uncertain, just the arc of Monterey Bay bending down toward Big Sur. In this country, in this light, each building is an island. Whether now breathing with that wind from the brow of a redwood crown or hands in dirt lying in the Great Meadow, it feels like what it was and what it yet could be.

Every time we come home it's a different beginning; roots run deeper and branches point higher. Every time we come home it's necessarily unfinished, waiting in the unwritten and the already wrought. Every year it becomes something else to someone else, sometimes life-shaping, sometimes just a moment that goes and stays gone. This home is both of us and beyond us. It's barely been fifty years, but then it's been much longer. We return to this land and this land returns to us.

These are woods and hills of many voices. The place is a cradle that invites possibility, and we are not the first to move to these sounds. The

work here has been worth it, and it has not been enough; some labors are made to be unfinished, and others wait to begin.

On the right night driving these foothills, generations stitch close together. Yet between their many voices there is quiet. In that interlude there is something remembered and something still waiting to be seen. In such an instant, and then, impossibly, the next, each corner brings the baton up, the intaken breath in a concert hall just before a new start.





---

Cowell Ranch Carriage House,  
1960s

Photo by Ansel Adams

---