GROUNDS FOR CHANGE:
CAMPUS ARCHITECTURE AND COEDUCATION AT CONNECTICUT COLLEGE AND WESLEYAN UNIVERSITY

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INTRODUCTION

In January of 1969, Connecticut College for Women's Board of Trustees made public their decision to allow the enrollment of undergraduate men for the following academic year. The resolution marked the conclusion of the school's fifty-four year tenure as the state's only institution of higher education for women. In the words of College president Charles E. Shain, "in this age a young American's education, when it is shared with the opposite sex, is superior *in its basic learning conditions* to an education in a single sex environment."[1] Forty miles away and several months later, in May of 1969, the administration of all-male Wesleyan University announced that they too would amend their admissions policies to accept women students in 1970. As at Connecticut College, Wesleyan president Edwin D. Etherington described the shift as a reflection of "Wesleyan's increasing concern for a more balanced institution and for the pressing needs of society."[2] Within two years, both schools had welcomed their first coeducational freshman class.

This work investigates how the transition to coeducation at Connecticut College and Wesleyan University was, from the start, realized through the distribution and allocation of extant campus space and the design of new facilities. What now may seem like minute details pertaining to exactly where and in what conditions men and women should live, study, and interact profoundly informed each school's plans for coeducation. Administrative concerns and ideals pertaining to traditional conceptions of contrasting gender requirements found voice through suggestions for new buildings, descriptions of

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[1] "News from Connecticut College," January, 9, 1969, Box: CC Goes Co-ed, 1967-1970, Folder: Coeducation: Conception at Connecticut College. New London: Linda Lear Center for Special Collections and Archives at Connecticut College.
[2] "Women to Return to Wes; Board Vote Decides," *The Wesleyan Argus*, May 14, 1968, n.p.

necessary facilities, matters of physical proximity, and which spaces could or could not be shared. At both schools, the built environment represented not just the mode of change, but also the means through which the organizers of coeducation charted the shift.

Today, Connecticut College and Wesleyan each celebrate the transition to coeducation as a bright moment in their institutional narratives, and rightly so. The schools are widely recognized as particularly successful examples of coeducation, largely due to the speed with which each enrolled significant numbers of the formerly excluded sex and the fact that both enjoyed a largely trouble-free and thorough integration of student life over the 1970s.[3] In an effort to highlight these achievements, however, many sources recounting the history of Connecticut College and Wesleyan overlook the elements of apprehension and uncertainty that colored both the planning stages of coeducation and the first years of its application. An examination of either school's administrative records shows a deep anxiety about how open enrollment would reshape collegiate identity. This work operates on the premise that these concerns found strongest expression in how the administrations of both Connecticut College and Wesleyan reorganized campus space to accommodate their new charges. At both schools, questions of whether existing or proposed buildings would facilitate or impede the change remained a constant theme over the years of preparation leading up to (and beyond) the 1969 announcement. As the primary channel through which to negotiate the transition to coeducation, the allocation, restructuring, and addition of academic, recreational, and particularly, residential space at each school spoke to period gender perceptions as well

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[3] Paul Marther, *Eighth Sister No More: The Origins and Evolution of Connecticut College* (New York, NY: P. Lang, 2011), 131-132, 142; Amherst College, "Commentaries on the Report of the Visiting Committee on Coeducation," Amherest College Coeducation Collection, Section 5, Final Coeducation Report, 1974, 1999 (accessed 2/12/14) < http://clio.fivecolleges.edu/amherst/coed/5final/text.shtml?page=211 >.

as administrative expectations and ideals for a mixed gender student body. In short, coeducation at Connecticut College and Wesleyan entailed a complex manipulation of the physical campus which drew on numerous cultural sources, shaped students' experience of the transition, and was a lasting influence on the spatial development of both campuses.

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The timing of coeducation at Connecticut College and Wesleyan came as no surprise. By 1969, coeducation had a 132-year history in the United States that began when the Oberlin College opened its doors to women students in 1837. The number of coeducational institutions grew steadily through the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, and by 1955 seventy-five percent of all American institutions of higher education accepted both genders. The late 1960s introduction of coeducation at the many prestigious New England schools that had maintained their single-sex reputation represented, therefore, the final phase in a prolonged process of collegiate gender integration. In part this shift addressed a student culture demanding greater equality, though economic and demographic factors also made coeducation desirable and often profitable. In the years following World War II, American colleges and universities experienced incredible increases in student applications and met this demand by expanding both their campuses and curricula. The 1950s also saw more women entering higher education and pursuing professional careers than any previous decade.[4] Although national enrollments more than doubled between 1950 and 1968 from three million to seven million, this period also saw the establishment of hundreds of new schools, from

[4] Leslie Miller-Bernal, "Coeducation: An Uneven Progression," in *Going Coed*, Miller-Bernal, Leslie & Susan L. Poulson, ed. (Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University Press, 2004), 9.

community colleges to state universities. By the mid 1960s many institutions – particularly those that were smaller, privately funded, and entailed higher tuition costs - were struggling to attract students, maintain their recently constructed facilities, and support new programming. This burden, combined with cultural pressures to increase opportunities for women and racial minorities, led many schools to adopt coeducation as a means to make their institution more attractive, and thereby more financially viable.[5]

Though Connecticut College and Wesleyan represent only two of many northeastern institutions to adopt coeducation in the 1960s, the schools share several fundamental similarities that set them apart from many other colleges and universities and facilitate a comparative study. On the most basic level, both schools offered liberal arts educations in central Connecticut. Though founded eighty years apart, by 1969 the two schools enrolled roughly equivalent numbers of students: 1,400 at Connecticut College and 1,327 at Wesleyan.[6] In terms of reputation, each school enjoyed a high standing that fell just outside of the commonly identified circles of prestigious, top tier single sex institutions known as the "Ivy League" and the "Seven Sister Colleges." As a result of this ranking, the two schools had traditionally drawn their students from a similar demographic of white, upper middle class Connecticut residents. Though by the mid-twentieth century both institutions sought applicants from across the country, the bulk of the students still hailed from New England.

Beyond these parallels, a unique history links the two institutions and provides further significance to the topic at hand. In 1872, Wesleyan's Board of Trustees resolved to allow the enrollment of women to the university. The reasoning behind this decision

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[5] Ibid., 11-13.
[6] Connecticut College News Release, September 12, 1969.
Potts, *Wesleyan University*, 242.

was multifaceted, though Wesleyan's Methodist affiliation served as a particularly important influence. Methodism stressed coeducation, and by the 1860s Wesleyan was one of only four single-sex Methodist colleges out of two dozen.[7] Four women enrolled at Wesleyan in the first year of coeducation, setting a pattern of minimal but steady admissions that continued for several years. Initially, student publications labeled women students as able, bright, and valuable assets to the campus community.[8] By the 1890s, however, an increase in the enrollment of women paired with a decrease in male applicants led to anxiety that Wesleyan would assume too feminine a reputation that would further discourage prospective men. As a result, the administration placed a 20% cap on women's enrollment, and women students faced growing exclusion in student affairs. In 1909 the administration made an unprecedented decision to rescind women's enrollment and revert back to an all-male campus.[9]

Though Wesleyan graduated only 230 women between 1867 and 1912, many of these individuals became educators in the surrounding communities and were angered by the University's decision to exclude their sex once again. Several, led by alumna Elizabeth C. Wright, formed the College Club of Hartford in 1909 to establish an institution of higher education for women. The resulting charter was authorized in spring of 1911 and provided the foundations for Connecticut College for Women, which opened four years later.[10] With Connecticut College, Wright and others sought to produce a learning environment that focused on the needs and abilities of the modern woman in

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[7] Ibid., 101.
[8] Lucy Knight, "Pressing the Damsels," *Wesleyan University Alumnus* 69.2 (1975): 23. Wesleyan Special Collections and Archives, Wesleyan University, Middletown, CT.
[9] Feminist, Gender, and Sexuality Studies, "Wesleyan's First Women," accessed Nov. 20, 2013< http://www.wesleyan.edu/fgss/firstwomen.html>.
[10] Board of Trustees, *Preliminary Report of Connecticut College for Women* (New London, CT, 1914), 7-10.

direct response to the lack of such subjects at Wesleyan. Accordingly, the earliest curricula stressed vocational training for the handful of careers open to women in the period as well as courses on the scientific management of the home.[11] Though established in dissent, Connecticut College maintained strong academic and social ties with Wesleyan over the following decades.

By the 1960s, both Connecticut College and Wesleyan were lead by progressively minded presidents who motivated a largely accommodating faculty and staff to embrace what most understood as the inevitability of coeducation. In *Eighth Sister No More*, historian Paul Marther writes of the Connecticut College president who pioneered men's enrollment that "when Charles Shain introduced the idea of a Summer Planning Group to discuss coeducation, most faculty members saw the question as open, not a veiled attempt by the president to push his own agenda."[12] The same receptive audience existed at Wesleyan, where president Edwin D. Etherington both laid the groundwork for coeducation and greater racial diversity over a brief three-year term.[13] While there certainly existed members of both faculties who wished to keep their institutions single sex, the adoption of coeducation found wide support on each campus. This fact is confirmed by the surveys of administration, faculty, students, and alumnae/i performed at each school, which indicated the wide appeal of enrolling both genders from each group questioned.[14] Important to keep in mind is the fact that members of both institutions

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[11] Ibid., 7.
[12] Marther, *Eighth Sister No More*, 119.
[13] Office of the President, "Wesleyan's Twelfth President," 2014 (accessed 4/1/14) < http://www.wesleyan.edu/president/pastpresidents/etherington.html >.
[14] "Coeducation: Report of the Summer Planning Group," *Connecticut College Alumni News*, 45.8 (1967); "75 Per Cent of Students Want A Coordinate College," *The Wesleyan Argus*, November 2, 1966, n.p.; Barbara Currier, "Special Approaches to Women's Education: A Model Coeducational Plan," Hampshire College, 1969, available from Five Colleges Archives Digital Access Project, 1999 (accessed 4/22/14) < http://clio.fivecolleges.edu/hampshire/currier/index.htm >.

would have been acutely aware of the many prestigious schools in their region transitioning to coeducation or planning such a shift. The highly publicized launch of coeducation at institutions such as Williams, Amherst, Vassar Colleges, made the decision seem like a predestined development rather than a choice for those at the increasingly few single sex schools.[15] The administrations of Connecticut College and Wesleyan were therefore each acting as a collective, and few records exist that indicate political infighting or significant disagreement over the basic tenets of coeducation. The decision to embrace coeducation at either school, and many of the proposals put forth in the following pages, represent not the work of a single or handful of motivated organizers, but instead the combined efforts of many individuals working towards a common goal.

Finally, in their approach to coeducation, Connecticut College and Wesleyan employed a highly similar methodology. The administrations of each school not only participated in lengthy planning conferences to discuss the benefits and potential pitfalls of coeducation, but also distributed polls to students, alums, faculty, and staff that plumbed opinions on a variety of questions pertaining to both single-sex and integrated learning. As a further assessment, both schools also took part in an academic and residential exchange program that enabled small numbers of men to live on the Connecticut College campus and a handful of women to do the same at Wesleyan. By the time that either institution made a formal statement concerning open enrollment, many considered coeducation to be inevitable, at their alma mater and throughout American academia.

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[15] Neil Silberman, "Co-education Spreads," *The Wesleyan Argus*, May 7, 1969, n.p.; Jim Tober, "Change in Parietals at Wes Paralleled at Other Colleges," *The Wesleyan Argus*, October 18, 1968, n.p.

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Over the past twenty years, many colleges and universities have published works that attempt to place their institutional narrative in a national context of education history and cultural change. The "Campus History" series produced by Arcadia Publishing, which currently comprises nearly two hundred publications, represents only one of many such undertakings.[16] These texts often include striking historic images of a school's buildings and grounds, but rarely include consideration of how changes to the constructed campus indicate shifting ideals. Therefore, this work aims to use the built environment as a tool to better understand a period of significant transition at both Connecticut College and Wesleyan University and express the centrality of a campus's built landscape to institutional change.

Several previous publications inform this work. The study of campus architecture is anchored by two seminal works, Paul Turner's 1984 *Campus: An American Planning Tradition* and Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz's 1985 *Alma Mater; Design and Experience in Women's Colleges from their Nineteenth Century Beginnings to the 1930s*.[17] These books argue that campuses reflect trends in American culture and have had profound effects on their occupants. Moreover, each posits that the administrators of colleges and universities employed architecture to produce a specific and idealized type of student or collegiate environment. Though neither explores the spatial ramifications of coeducation, both works focus on how student gender influences the development of the physical campus.

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[16] Arcadia Publishing, "Campus History Books," 2014 (accessed 4/22/14) < http://www.arcadiapublishing.com/series/Campus-History >.

[17] Paul Venable Turner, *Campus: An American Planning Tradition* (2nd ed. New York: Architectural History Foundation: Cambridge, Mass., 1995); Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, *Alma Mater: Design and Experience in the Women's Colleges from their Nineteenth-Century Beginnings to the 1930s* (2nd ed. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1993; 1985).

While numerous texts document the history and socio-academic impact of coeducation in American higher education, and many authors have documented why and how specific schools decided to open their enrollments to both genders, few consider the role of the built environment in such a context. Most helpful for this project were Lesie Bernal-Miller's *Separate by Degrees* (2000), and two volumes of essays edited by Bernal-Miller and Susan Poulson, *Going Coed* (2005) and *Challenged by Coeducation* (2007).[18] These books contain in-depth explorations of coeducation at several institutions from the perspective of both the administration and the student body. Bernal-Miller and Poulson's attention to the construction or adaptation of campus space in conjunction with various schools' move to coeducation proved particularly useful. Still, Bernal-Miller and Poulson's works examine only a handful of the many single gender schools that transitioned to coeducation and therefore provide a limited view of how such changes mapped onto the physical campus. By concentrating on two institutions not included in Bernal-Miller's studies, this work functions to develop further understanding of the architectural implications of coeducation.

By far most valuable to this research were the collections held in the archives of Connecticut College and Wesleyan University. These repositories provided the planning documents, meeting minutes, newspaper articles, and many other primary source materials that form the basis of this work. Student rosters from the first coeducational classes included in both school's collections also enabled me to identify and interview several alumnae/i about their collegiate experiences.

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[18] Leslie Miller-Bernal, *Separate by Degrees* (New York, NY: P. Lang, 2000);
Leslie Miller-Bernal and Susan L. Poulson, editors, *Going Coed: Women's Experiences in Formerly Men's Colleges and Universities, 1950-2000* (Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University Press, 2004); Leslie Miller-Bernal and Susan L. Poulson, editors, *Challenged by Coeducation: Women's Colleges Since the 1960s* (Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University Press, 2006).

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Over the following chapters, I consider the importance of the built campus to coeducation by charting the spaces at Wesleyan and Connecticut College most influential to, or influenced by, the transition. In the first chapter, I describe the architectural development of each campus in order to illustrate how long-held gender ideals and expectations shaped each school's built environment in the decades leading up to coeducation. I focus on the divergent evolution of each institution's student housing, both as a series of spaces that most clearly illustrate administrative perceptions of the distinct needs of each gender and because the topic of residential space played a significant role in later plans for coeducation. Key to an understanding of Connecticut College and Wesleyan's physical expansion is the manner in which World War II transformed campus architecture, a shift particularly evident in student housing. Many of these postwar residential buildings also became central to the transition to coeducation, which I suggest reveals a lasting view of the inherently single-sex nature of older campus dwellings.

Chapter two centers on the preliminary proposals for single gender coordinate colleges at Connecticut College and Wesleyan. Though in the 1950s and 1960s coordinate colleges encompassed a variety of definitions, these early plans called for the construction of separate and isolated residential facilities to house students attracted by open enrollment. Coordination had a long history in the United States and provided women with early, albeit limited, access to some of the nation's premier universities, such as Harvard, Brown, and Tulane. While many earlier examples of coordinate education provided separate curriculums, both Connecticut College and Wesleyan approved of academic integration. Nonetheless, each school's coordinate proposal

emphasized the importance of controlled gender interaction through segregated residential and recreational spheres and both schools looked to recent models of coordinate education to inspire similar additions to their own campuses. Though both schools abandoned their plans for coordination, I discuss how the interest in such an arrangement illustrates that, from the start, the administrations of both schools viewed the built environment of the campus as the primary medium through which to negotiate the shift to coeducation. The proposals also signify the extent to which planners at both schools questioned the wisdom of a fully gender-integrated campus. Finally, several of the policies surrounding coordination influenced later plans for housing a coed student body.

Chapter three begins after both schools abandoned their plans for coordination and considers how each administration apportioned pre-existing residential space in preparation for coeducation. The chapter opens with a description of the semester academic exchange initiative between Wesleyan and Connecticut College. This program, viewed at each school as the first step to full coeducation, allowed a small number of students from each school to live and study on the other's campus. The accommodations offered exchange students expressed gender-specific stereotypes, with women housed in a relatively domestic setting while men occupied minimal and unadorned quarters. As with the earlier plans for coordination, these early accommodations concentrated on providing separate and segregated residential zones. As each school assigned more single sex housing over the following years, these perceptions continued to shape residential policies.

Residential life was not the only aspect of the built campus to receive attention during the years of planning for open enrollment at Connecticut College and Wesleyan. Chapter four looks to the academic and extracurricular spaces that developed at each school in response to the decision to implement coeducation. In this section, I show that the administrations of both schools viewed the transition as a means through which to expand curricular areas or programming viewed as specific to the interests of one gender. At Wesleyan, this outlook resulted in a redrafting of early plans for the campus arts center, which began construction in 1970. Connecticut College's administration focused on expanding its athletic facilities to attract male applicants, an endeavor that would refocus the school's physical expansion for well over a decade after the arrival of the first coed class.

In the first years of coeducation, the students at Connecticut College and Wesleyan responded to the administrative organization of spaces for each gender. Chapter five chronicles where men and women students claimed the built environment in ways unanticipated by either school's administration. At both institutions, housing arrangements evolved quickly as students called for a more integrated residential setting. Women on either campus pushed for the creation of resource centers to accompany newly founded women's studies programs. The expansion of the student union became a focal issue for students at each school, as changing social norms demanded spaces not originally included in such facilities. Overall, this chapter aims to show that students at Connecticut College and Wesleyan desired spaces for public interaction and showed little interest in maintaining architectural boundaries between genders. The link between coeducation and the built campus took on new dimensions as students began urging for

and participating in the development of integrated and communal spaces in the 1970s. The willingness of either administration to respond to student opinions constituted a particularly successful aspect of each institution's transitional period.

Coeducation at Connecticut College and Wesleyan can be viewed from many different perspectives, and a consideration of the changes to each school's built environment is certainly not the only way to gain an understanding of the transition. From the earliest planning stages until well after each school graduated its first coeducational class, however, administrative officials and students used both existing and proposed spaces to negotiate questions of institutional identity, purpose, and community. As the following pages show, campus architecture gave expression to the complexities of coeducation and therefore serves as an important tool in understanding this aspect of each school's history.

CHAPTER 1
"Separate and Unique:"[19]
Architectural Background

When planning for coeducation at Connecticut College and Wesleyan, both administrations determined where men and women students would live, socialize, and study based on long-held gender stereotypes. In the generations leading up to the transition, these same perceptions gave physical form to each campus. As a setting meant to accommodate a single gender, the arrangement and architecture of both campuses communicated the perceived needs of its residents. At both schools, the physical campus also served as an important medium for administrations to express the appropriate or desirable conduct of their charges. As a result, the campuses of Connecticut College and Wesleyan University reinforced culturally constructed and largely dichotomous gender expectations through architecture that facilitated very different student experiences. While these cultural assumptions influenced nearly all aspects of each school's built environment, this chapter will consider two areas that best illustrate this dynamic: the contrasting locations selected for each institution's campus and the architectural development of student housing at both schools prior to coeducation.

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Wesleyan University began in 1831, when a group of wealthy Methodist businessmen purchased the campus of a short-lived institution known as The American Literary, Scientific, and Military Academy.[20] The property sat only three blocks from the commercial district of Middletown, one of the largest and wealthiest communities in

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[19] "Appendix A, Conference at Wesleyan University to Discuss Education for Women, June 23-24, 1966," Folder: Colleges: CO-ED for Women, Wesleyan University Special Collections and Archives, Middletown, CT.

[20] David B. Potts, *Wesleyan University, 1831-1910: Collegiate Enterprise in New England* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992), 3.

nineteenth century Connecticut. This central location mirrored the settings of the nation's first universities, including nearby Yale University, which occupied a commanding lot on the corner of New Haven's town common (Figure 1.1). Yale's site placed higher education at the center of the newly established urban core, and as both the university and the surrounding town expanded in the coming generations, the two became fundamentally interlaced through shared space. In the words of *Yale University Campus Guide* author Patrick L. Pinnell, "the College was not only in but a participating entity of the town."[21] In Middletown, Wesleyan's organizers undoubtedly sought both an associative link with Yale as well as a similar "town and gown" connection by placing their new university at edge of the rapidly expanding town center.

The location of the campus also fit perfectly with the Wesleyan's initial educational mission. Wilbur Fisk, the school's first president, emphasized a curriculum of pious social responsibility that would prepare students for careers in service to others.[22] This ideology demanded consistent interaction with the surrounding communities. As part of the school's religious affiliation, students were also required to attend church services in Middletown rather than on the campus.[23] Advocates of Wilbur's approach applauded his encouragement of "the utmost freedom on the part of the class," though such independence was not an unusual feature of urban, all-male universities at that time.[24] Nonetheless, the location of Wesleyan's campus in relation to the quickly growing downtown made possible this personal autonomy for male students.

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[21] Patrick L. Pinnell, *Yale University: An Architectural Tour* (New York, NY: Princeton Architectural Press, 1999), 8.
[22] Turner, *Campus*, 19.
[23] Ibid, 24.
[24] George Prentice, *Wilbur Fisk* (Boston, MA: Houghton, 1890), 154.

When searching for a site to build Connecticut College, the Hartford College Club wanted a site distinct from that of Wesleyan but equally laden with meaning. In the Preliminary Report of the college, published in 1914, the Board of Trustees expressed their aspiration for "a residence college for women situated in the picturesque and extensive estate," with "a fine outlook" and "maximum charm of prospect."[25] To meet these requirements, the board selected a barren hilltop approximately two miles from the coastal municipality of New London, Connecticut (Figure 1.2). This choice echoed the placement of the earliest full curriculum women's colleges such as Vassar and Wellesley, each of which initially occupied single, massive structures that contained classrooms, offices, and student accommodations (Figure 1.3). In *Campus*, Paul Turner describes how the semi-rural locations of these campuses reflected both "the generally antiurban prejudices" imposed on women in the mid-nineteenth century as well as "a protective desire" on the part of the primarily male administrations of these early women's schools.[26] Such convictions persisted well into the twentieth century, and informed the sites of many single-sex schools founded to serve the increasing numbers of women entering into higher education.[27]

Though while placing a women's college in a city risked exposing students to immoral activity, common cultural perceptions held that a rural and isolated location could produce provincial or unrefined women.[28] Therefore, a certain degree of convenience to urban amenities remained important for women's schools. Vassar, for

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[25] Board of Trustees, *Preliminary Report of Connecticut College for Women* (New London, CT, 1914), 27, 30.
[26] Turner, *Campus*, 133.
[27] Thomas Woody, *A History of Women's Education in the United States, Volume II* (New York, NY: Octagon Books, reprinted 1974), 186.
[28] Lefkowitz Horowitz, *Alma Mater*, 74-75, 80.

example, lay just outside of Poughkeepsie, New York, and Wellesley sat on the edge of Newton, an affluent suburb of Boston. Connecticut College's preliminary report boasted of the many fine shops and theaters in New London, as well as its location along the main train line running between New York and Boston.[29] The city of New London was probably also a desirable due to its contemporary rebirth as a vacation community for wealthy New Yorkers, the greatest evidence of which lay in a series of nearby coastal mansions (Figure 1.4).[30] The founders of Connecticut College were able to capitalize on the city's rising reputation to create an associative link between their school and the elite lifestyles of local residents.

Perhaps most important in the selection of a site for Connecticut College that bordered New London yet retained a certain degree of park-like pastoral beauty, however, was the period association between women and the suburbs. The early twentieth century woman's sphere was defined by the home and, increasingly, the home sat not in the city or on a farm, but in planned residential developments on the outskirts of urban centers.[31] The establishment of women's colleges just outside of cities and towns reinforced the notion of the urban periphery as the appropriate setting for genteel women and families and also situated students in a geographic zone that mirrored the locations of their expected future roles as wives and mothers.

The differing models assumed by the founders of Connecticut College and Wesleyan University spoke directly to contrary views of appropriate space for men and women that persisted from Wesleyan's founding in the 1830s well into the following century. Inherent in the adoption of an urban site for Wesleyan University was the

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[29] Board of Trustees, *Preliminary Report*, 25.

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[31] Lefkowitz Horowitz, *Alma Mater*, 33.

understanding that a male student body could move freely within the surrounding community and create what Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz calls "a separate powerful subculture, college life."[32] At Connecticut College, a degree of distance from the urban sphere reflected the widely accepted notion that, for young women, the city represented immoral influences while the suburbs were imbued with domestic virtue and purity.[33] In contrast to Wesleyan, where the campus sat at the same elevation as the surrounding town, at Connecticut College the hilltop site at the edge of the city limits created an important topographic and ideological barrier from New London. In an 1864 article describing the rising popularity of women's colleges, Godey's Magazine summed up the issue stating "it is plain that the independence which young men may, in college life, enjoy without injury, would be pernicious to young girls."[34] This statement still held true when Connecticut College opened nearly fifty years later.

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Over the following century, the accommodations that Wesleyan provided for its students reinforced the notion that young men would thrive from a measure of personal autonomy and close proximity to a nearby urban center. The University's first dormitory, known as North College, comprised one of the two buildings originally purchased from The American Literary, Scientific, and Military Academy by Wesleyan's founders. A five-story rectangular edifice constructed of granite and emphasized by a monumental temple front, the form of North College drew on the classical ideals championed in

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[32] Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, "The Design of Women's Higher Education," in Wilke, Margrith, ed., *"The Wise woman buildeth her house:" Architecture, History, and Women's Studies* (Groningen, Germany: RUG, Werkgroep Vrouwenstudies Letteren, 1992), 19.
[33] Lefkowitz Horowitz, *Alma Mater*, 33.
[34] Ibid., 38.

popular pattern books of the period (Figure 1.5).[35] The visual order and architectural detailing of the dormitory also signaled contemporary trends in collegiate design. Trinity College, located twenty miles away in Hartford, Connecticut, included several strikingly similar structures completed only a few years before North College (Figure 1.6). In plan, however, North College assumed a layout far more common for early nineteenth century military barracks than for student residences. The portico opened onto a central stair hall running the width of the building and bisected by a double-loaded axial corridor (Figure 1.7). An original plan of the building shows a total of sixty-four double occupancy rooms with identical dimensions of approximately ten by thirteen.[36] A basic and economical building offering no communal facilities, the halls constituted the only shared space in North College. The design of the residence hall made clear that student social activities were to take place elsewhere.

The records of the ephemeral American Literary, Scientific, and Military Academy indicate that the school offered training comparable to that of other military institutions, and indeed the founder, Alden Partridge, served as the superintendent of West Point. This suggests why, in its arrangement of small rooms lining either side of a corridor, North College emulated period student accommodations at West Point.[37] In comparison, the student residence halls at most other nineteenth century colleges and universities, particularly in New England, assumed the study-bedroom plan established at the Harvard and Yale's earliest permanent dormitories. These buildings, constructed in the second half of the eighteenth century, contained suites of two bedrooms opening onto

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[35] Turner, *Campus*, 37.
[36] Plan of North College, Folder: North College 1 (Before March 1906), Collection 08-107, Wesleyan Special Collections and Archives, Wesleyan University, Middletown, CT.
[37] Theodore J. Crackel, *West Point: A Bicentennial History* (Lawrence, KO: University Press of Kansas, 2002), 74-75.

a shared study.[38] The prevalence of the study-bedroom plan residence hall at other colleges and universities appears to have had little impact on the building program at Wesleyan through the nineteenth century. This fact is illustrated by a ca. 1870 photo of a student room in North College, which shows how a single, small room served as both sleeping quarter and work space for its occupant (Figure 1.8).

North College remained the only purpose-built student residence until its destruction by fire in 1906.[39] Even before the fire, the building lodged only about sixty-four students out of a class of 328.[40] While a few dozen men lived in a nearby hall that had previously served as faculty housing, the vast majority of the student body lived in the neighborhood surrounding the campus. One of the main reasons for this arrangement was the University's Greek life. Approximately 90% of Wesleyan's students joined fraternal organizations in the late nineteenth century, and many individuals lived in the residences owned by these organizations.[41] As a result, the University only built two more residence halls over the following two decades, Clark Hall and Harriman Hall, both of which were designed by the prestigious firm of McKim, Mead, and White (Figure 1.9).[42] Though these two dormitories assumed the study-bedroom plan, both still lacked communal social facilities, resulting in rows of private, two-room apartments similar to the layout of a boardinghouse.[43]

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[38] Bryant F. Tolles, Jr., *Architecture & Academe* (Hanover, NH: University of New England Press, 2011) 11, 26; James D. Kornwolf and Georgiana Wallis Kornwolf, *Architecture and Town Planning in Colonial North America* (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002), 1015.
[39] Leslie Starr, *Welcome to Wesleyan: Campus Buildings* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 2007) 6.
[40] Potts, *Wesleyan University*, 240.
[41] Ibid., 90.
[42] Starr, *Welcome to Wesleyan*, 2, 29.
[43] "First Floor Plan of New Dormitory," 1915. Folder: Clark Hall, Wesleyan University Special Collections and Archives, Middletown, CT.

The decision to eschew student social facilities in the few dormitories built at Wesleyan, combined with the fact that many students lived off campus, exhibits how the same values of immersion in Middletown that informed the original placement of the campus also influenced the design of the school's residence halls. While North College used a familiar exterior composition to relate its function to other institutions of higher education, the spaces within encouraged students to use Middletown as a social venue. While permitting the University to reduce expenditure on dormitory construction, the reliance on residences outside of the original campus boundaries confirmed the administration's expectation that students would make use of nearby urban conveniences. This principle pivoted on the fact that the students were men, and therefore would benefit, not suffer, from exposure to city life.

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If Wesleyan's early administrations permitted independence through basic student residences and off-campus housing, then the elaborate and homelike student residences that populated the Connecticut College campus expressed an intention to keep women students within a domestic setting that would prepare them for lives as effective homemakers. For the hilltop site outside of New London Connecticut College's first Board of Trustees hired the New York firm of Ewing and Chappell to design a campus for one thousand students that could be constructed in stages (Figure 1.10). Though known for their conservative Beaux Arts designs at several other women's schools, for Connecticut College Ewing and Chappell produced a purely Collegiate Gothic arrangement.[44] The plan consisted of two parallel rows of student residences arranged in

[44] Kevin D. Murphy, "Cubism and Collegiate Gothic: Raymond Duchamp-Villon at Connecticut College," *Archives of American Art Journal* 32.1 (1992): 17.

tight quadrangles around a central playing field. Adjacent to this, a larger quadrangle contained a formal garden bordered by a gymnasium, student union, chapel, and two quadrangles of academic buildings projected from either side of a large building labeled "College Hall."[45]

The Collegiate Gothic aesthetic relates directly to contemporary trends in higher education. In *Campus*, Paul Turner asserts that at the turn of the twentieth century many American institutions made use of the monastically rooted Collegiate Gothic to maintain "a shared sense of social community" in the face of a rapidly expanding American university system increasingly focused on technical training. The principles behind the aesthetic originated in England's prestigious Oxford and Cambridge Universities, and therefore its application in the United States also generated an important associative link to the intellectual cachet of these older European schools.[46] Many preexisting American women's colleges used the fashionable Collegiate Gothic to update their aging campuses. At Bryn Mawr, the firm of Cope and Stewardson greatly expanded the original grounds with a series of meandering structures marked by massive entrance gates and a library with the form of an English cathedral, completed by 1906 (Figure 1.11).[47] Vassar and Mount Holyoke followed suit in the subsequent decade.[48]

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[45] Board of Trustees, *Preliminary Report*, Frontispiece.
[46] Turner, *Campus*, 215.
[47] Ibid., 223.
Bryn Mawr College, "Architectural History of Bryn Mawr College," Architecture, Grounds, and History, Paper 7, accessed Nov. 20, 2013 <http://repository.brynmawr.edu/facilities_history/7>; Bryn Mawr College Special Collections, "Collegiate Gothic – Cope and Stewardson," accessed Nov. 20, 2013 < http://www.brynmawr.edu/library/exhibits/thomas/gothic.html >.
[48] Van Lengen, Karen and Lisa A. Reilly, *Vassar College: An Architectural Tour* (New York, NY: Princeton Architectural, 2004), 21; Ellie Perrier, "A Collegiate Gothic Moment," Mount Holyoke Historical Atlas, accessed Nov. 20, 2013 < https://www.mtholyoke.edu/courses/rschwart/hatlas/campus_environment/architectural_influences/>.

The Ewing and Chappell plan produced the original three student residence halls at Connecticut College (Figure 1.12). These buildings were relatively small, and, unlike the long, flat elevations of North College, assumed rambling forms to give the appearance of gradual growth over generations. Ewing and Chappell's Collegiate Gothic style found expression through rusticated stone walls punctuated by banks of leaded glass windows bordered by finely carved limestone. The ground floors consisted of an entrance vestibule with a heavy oak door, beyond which lay a hall opening onto a reception room. The hall then led up a set of steps and into a corridor running the length of the building (Figure 1.13). A three-room suite reserved for a resident faculty member lay directly opposite the entry hall, with student rooms lining the corridors on either side. Stairwells at either end of the residence halls gave access to the upper two floors of student rooms.[49]

When describing their design choices for the residence halls at Connecticut College, Ewing and Chappell made clear their intention that the buildings should resemble upper class dwellings. More specifically, the architects cited "the charm and beauty of fine social life" and "the peaceful serenity of the old English manor-houses" as the central inspirations for the building.[50] The inclusion of the reception room - a wood-paneled space with a large fireplace, built-in seating, and antique carpets - gave form to these ideals of gentile socialization (Figure 1.14). The irregular footprint of the buildings produced variety in the dimensions of student rooms, a quality reflective of a sprawling mansion. Even the axial corridors on each floor approximated those of a private dwelling through the use of framing arches to break what Ewing and Chappell described as the distressingly institutional quality of long, uninterrupted halls. Perhaps most tellingly,

[49] Board of Trustees, *Preliminary Report*, 34.
[50] Ibid., 31, 34.

Ewing and Chappell carefully avoid the term "dormitory" when describing the building, choosing instead to refer to the residence halls as a "house" or "home."[51]

The intentional foregrounding of domestic qualities in the earliest student accommodations at Connecticut College extended into how the building was occupied. Each house provided rooms for only thirty-eight students, a residential female faculty member known as the "housefellow," and a maid.[52] Ewing and Chappell clearly intended for each residence hall to develop a family-like intimacy, with the housefellow acting as the maternal figure and the live-in maid as a ever-present symbol that these residence halls were intended to represent the lifestyles of the wealthy. In essence, Ewing and Chappell conceived of the first student residences at Connecticut College as a distillation of an affluent home to produce a training ground for young women who would someday manage their own elegant residences.

Ewing and Chappell's use of domestic forms and imitation of family structures within the student residences for Connecticut College mirrored greater trends in the planning of women's colleges. At Vassar, the sprawling "Old Main" contained apartments for male faculty as well as female teachers to guide, but more importantly, supervise, their charges.[53] The numerous women's colleges established in the later decades of the nineteenth century also used this model. Instead of housing students in a single building, however, these schools utilized small, detached dwellings clustered around a central academic hall, a system pioneered at Smith College in the 1870s.[54]

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[51] Ibid.
[52] Ibid., 29.
[53] Lefkowitz Horowitz, *Alma Mater*, 36, 38.
[54] Ibid., 324, 334.

Within a decade of opening, Connecticut College's administration had abandoned the Ewing and Chappell plan as well as the Collegiate Gothic style in pursuit of a large, open-ended campus green bordered by residences and academic buildings that referenced America's colonial past in their form and ornamentation. Nonetheless, the domestic qualities established in the first three student houses remained central to the accommodations of the following decades. The student dwellings constructed over the 1920s, 30s, and 40s boasted fashionably decorated living rooms, libraries, game rooms, parlors, and dining facilities (Figure 1.15). These ground floor public areas provided a range of comfortable spaces for students to entertain visiting family members or male suitors and display their femininity against an architectural backdrop that reflected their natural role as a homemaker. Also central to this arrangement was the element of surveillance. Faculty housefellow suites remained central to the design of student residences of this period, and were often positioned to allow sightlines into the various public rooms. The upper floors containing student bedrooms were strictly off-limits to visitors, and staffed reception desks guarded the stairwells leading to them.[55]

As with the earliest Collegiate Gothic "houses," the residence halls that populated Connecticut College's campus in the second quarter of the twentieth century addressed period trends at other women's schools. In their seminal 1929 text *College Architecture in America*, architects Charles Z. Klauder and Herbert C. Wise devoted an entire chapter to women's dormitories. This section opens by stating that accommodations for college women "must have features peculiarly its own…for it is more nearly a home than is a men's dormitory." Necessary domestic elements included common rooms with

[55]McDonald, Thomas. *The Architecture of Connecticut College*, (Unpublished honor's thesis, Connecticut College, 2011), 144-145.

fireplaces, parlors, maids' quarters, a suite for the "house mother," kitchenettes, and laundries.[56] Klauder and Wise surveyed a range of accommodations that met these demands, including examples from both single sex and coed schools. Once again, Smith College led the charge in this domain with the mid-1920s construction of six connected residence halls that each featured a ground floor entirely devoted to social rooms and service quarters.[57] Such projects undoubtedly influenced the design of residence halls at Connecticut College in the same period.

The contrasting designs of student residences at Connecticut College and Wesleyan facilitated very different lifestyles. Whereas the barracks type used at Wesleyan obliged students to seek a life outside the campus, the homelike and faculty-monitored accommodations at Connecticut College endeavored to keep women in a relatively domestic arrangement. In this way, the student residences at either school were teaching spaces, and their architectural organization indicated what was expected of students in a gendered society.

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At Connecticut College and Wesleyan, as well as hundreds of other schools across the nation, World War II marked the beginning of a shift in campus development and a transformation of the established forms for student accommodations. Material shortages during the war had all but suspended campus construction, and the postwar years saw more young people than ever before pursuing higher education. Colleges and universities across the nation struggled to meet increasing enrollments and the demands of a new generation of students. These changing needs prompted new ideas about how

[56] Charles Z. Klauder and Herbert C. Wise. *College Architecture in America and Its Role in the Development of the Campus* (New York, NY: Scriber, 1929) 137.
[57] Ibid., 155-157.

the American campus should grow and function. In 1947, Joseph Hudnut, the dean of Harvard's School of Architecture, declared that traditional master plans would no longer serve the "unpredictable creature" of modern higher education and that administrations needed to adopt an organic and adaptive approach to campus expansion and individual building design.[58] Hudnut's canon found expression at schools ranging from the United States Air Force Academy and the State University of New York at Fredonia, which both constructed entirely new campuses, to Yale and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, where facilities adopted a modernist aesthetic often in jarring contrast with the historicist styles of neighboring, older buildings.[59]

Both Connecticut College and Wesleyan also undertook extensive campus improvement projects that stressed economical design and efficient use of material through the adoption of modern architecture. As at many other schools, these changes were driven by new planning techniques that broke away from an earlier focus on symmetry and visual order to create spaces that emphasized the human scale and encouraged community interaction. At Wesleyan, a 1971 campus map illustrates how this approach was achieved through the construction of large residential and academic complexes on properties surrounding the original campus to produce a far more dispersed grounds (Figure 1.16). The footprints of these additions express the extent to which each represented a break with the architectural forms and planning processes of the past. This new direction is emphasized when compared to a plan for Wesleyan's physical development from the first decades of the twentieth century (Figure 1.17). The scheme suggests a significant reduction of the central green (Andrus Field) through the addition

[58] Turner, *Campus*, 260.
[59] Ibid., 264, 270.

of several rows of aligned structures to the west of North College and the rest of "College Row." One might assume, given how differently the campus developed over the following decades, that this plan was never viewed as a realistic option. However the layout informed the placement of both Olin Memorial Library and the two dormitories flanking it before the proposal was abandoned in response to the postwar transformation of American higher education.

The same process occurred at Connecticut College, where the established physical development plan (which centered on the addition of buildings around the campus green) quickly yielded to a series of large buildings and connected residential units on the largely unoccupied northern section of the campus. In the years directly following World War II, it would appear that these developments were not regulated by a master plan. In 1966, however, the College administration made clear their vision for the architectural development of the school through the approval of a master plan designed by the world-renowned New York firm of Skidmore, Owing, and Merrill (Figure 1.18). The plan included the addition of six small residence halls arranged in irregular clusters, a centrally located library and humanities center, a massive arts center, and a tree-lined pedestrian mall bisecting the campus.[60] The college realized many of these recommendations over the following two decades, illustrating that the 1966 plan was not an abstract proposal but a valued working document. The plan was likely a component of an eighteen million dollar fundraising campaign begun the same year.[61]

The buildings that populated the new portions of each campus included academic facilities, spaces for recreation and extracurriculars, and, naturally, student housing. In

[60] McDonald, *The Architecture of Connecticut College*, 245-248.
[61] "A "Connecticut College Quest" for $18-Million," *Connecticut College Alumnae News* 45.1 (1966): 16.

1957, Connecticut College completed its largest dormitory to date, Larrabee House, which consisted of interlocking, flat-roofed, cinder block and brick-clad volumes banded by large, metal frame windows (Figure 1.19).[62] In the same years, Wesleyan completed the first phase of its Foss Hill dormitories, a series of low brick and wood-sided buildings strung irregularly over a hilltop site and linked by glass-walled hyphens (Figure 1.20, 1.21).[63] In the early 1960s, both schools would invest even more heavily in large-scale and modern style student housing.

Though the modernist housing constructed at Connecticut College and Wesleyan over the 1950s and 1960s used similar materials and basic ordering principles, the constructed results varied significantly between the two schools. At each, the new housing stood functionally at odds with what had come before. Wesleyan's new dormitories, for example, provided ample social spaces - living rooms, lounges, and even kitchens - missing in North College and the University's other residence halls. Connecticut College's Larrabee House, though still providing a large open-plan living room and attached dining facility, featured far fewer domestic amenities than the student housing of the previous decade. The reasons for this shift differed at each school. Administrators at Wesleyan sought to curb the "unhealthy and unnatural" environment of their few large dormitories and produce greater community amongst its spatially diffuse students body by constructing or acquiring clusters of housing that "would vary in size, include dining and study facilities, and have certain social functions," much like the Foss Hill dormitories.[64] These same spaces were reduced in the design of Larrabee House and

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[62] McDonald, *The Architecture of Connecticut College*, 223.
[63] Starr, *Welcome to Wesleyan: Campus Buildings*, 24-25.
[64] "The Working Papers of the Study of Educational Policies and Programs: Wesleyan University, 1967-68, XII: The Educational Implications of Student Activities," *The Wesleyan Argus*, January 9, 1968, n.p.

later student residences at Connecticut College specifically to cut construction and maintenance costs.[65] Despite the differing reasons, these new housing types set the standard at each school's future student residences.

An awareness of how Connecticut College and Wesleyan evolved architecturally in the generations leading up to the 1960s is necessary to understand how each campus was modified to accommodate coeducation. Most importantly, the enrollment of both genders led to significant increases in the student body at both schools and the expansion programs carried out in the 1950s produced campuses with enough housing and classroom space to absorb the growth produced by coeducation. Furthermore, many of the key concerns surrounding coeducation for each administration focused on where men and women at each school would live. As the following chapters will indicate, both newly constructed housing and older residential buildings played central roles in this decision-making process. The gender assumptions held by each school's decision-makers continued to manifest themselves in the residential spaces selected for each sex. Though the intention behind the gender-specific qualities may not have remained apparent for the young people who occupied them in the late 1960s, the organizers of coeducation at Connecticut College and Wesleyan continued to perceive certain spaces as specifically male at female, and this understanding shaped spatial transformations surrounding the transition.

[65] McDonald, *The Architecture of Connecticut College*, 204.

CHAPTER TWO
"Community Among Themselves:"[66]
Coordinate Campus Proposals

The handful of institutional histories written about Connecticut College and Wesleyan University address coeducation as a swift and straightforward shift buoyed by the social change and idealism that defined American culture in the late 1960s. These sources fail to acknowledge that the decision to abandon single sex education represented years of administrative deliberation. At Connecticut College, debates over the enrollment of men reached back to at least 1962, when an informative panel on the benefits of coeducation took place during parent's weekend.[67] The first proposals to accept women students at Wesleyan occurred nearly a decade earlier, almost exactly fifty years after the University concluded its first attempt at coeducation.[68] In these preliminary discussions, each administration struggled to define the degree to which men and women studying at the same institution ought to interact and, conversely, when separate spheres should remain in place. Debates focused on expansions to and allocation of each school's physical plant and, in both cases, resulted in initial proposals for a separate, coordinate college. Here, new students would occupy a purpose-built campus and participate in some, but not all, aspects of academic and social life at the primary institution.

The plans for coordination in lieu of full coeducation at Connecticut College and Wesleyan were never realized, but remain an important aspect of each school's transition to coeducation and illustrate the lasting belief that men and women had specific and

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[66] "Coeducation for Connecticut College: Preliminary Report #2, Appendix A, A Co-ordinated College," Folder: Co-Education: Report of the Summer Study Group, 1968, Box: C.C. Goes Coed, 1967-79, The Linda Lear Center for Special Collections and Archives, Connecticut College, New London, CT.
[67] "Connecticut College Calendar," Alumni Weekend Schedule, 1962, Folder: Coeducation, Box: C.C. Goes Coed, 1967-79, The Linda Lear Center for Special Collections and Archives, Connecticut College, New London, CT.
[68] Debbie Skolnik, "Administration Plans Better In Second Attempt at Coeducation," *The Wesleyan Argus*, February 10, 1989, n.p.

different needs that could best be met through separate environments. These notions lingered, and would later shape coeducational housing and academic policies at each institution. The variations in each school's projected coordinate campus also show the unique challenges faced by two schools that wished to maintain both a long-held sense of identity but also address the trends in American higher education. Finally, the decision at each school to abandon coordination begins to hint at the many forces, from financial strain to the realities of changing student culture, that ultimately defined the spaces of coeducation.

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Coordinate education in America began as a means to provide women with limited and informal access to courses taught by the faculty of prestigious, all-male universities. The earliest example of such a program was "The Society for the Collegiate Instruction of Women," a Cambridge-based organization founded by writer Arthur Gilman in 1878. The society employed Harvard professors "to give private tuition to properly qualified young women who desire to pursue advanced studies."[69] Though commonly known as the Harvard Annex, the program had no official ties to Harvard College, and the few students who fulfilled coursework equivalent to a bachelor's degree received a certificate of completion instead of a diploma. Nonetheless, the organization proved popular, and within five years the society had acquired and converted a residence to serve as a classroom building (Figure 2.1). In 1893, the annex obtained both a state charter as the official coordinate institution to Harvard and a new name, Radcliffe College.[70]

[69] Lefkowitz Horowitz, *Alma Mater*, 95.
[70] Ibid., 237.

The success of Radcliffe, even before its incorporation with Harvard, led to the creation of several more coordinate schools in the 1880s and 1890s, including Sophie Newcomb College, an affiliate of Tulane; Pembroke, adjacent to Brown University; and Barnard, the sister school to Columbia.[71] Meanwhile, more women than ever were pursuing higher education, not just at women's colleges and coordinate institutions but also at an increasing number of formerly single sex schools, such as Middlebury and The University of Pennsylvania.[72] This influx alarmed less progressive educators and administrators, who cited opposing concerns that women were either less intellectually able and would therefore affect a decline in academic rigor, or that women might outperform male peers. Some critics went as far as to claim that highly educated women would fail to pursue marriage and a family, thus leading to a population collapse.[73] While several schools (including Wesleyan) reacted to this criticism by rescinding women's admissions, others sought either to limit female enrollment or segregate women into a coordinate college. As a results, the first two decades of the twentieth century saw the establishment of several more coordinate colleges for women, including William Smith College (1908), Rochester University's College for Women (1914), and Rutgers' Douglass College (1918). In the words of author and education professor Christine Lundt, these schools sought to "provide education for women that was equal to men's education

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[71] "History of Newcomb College," Newcomb College Institute of Tulane University, 2011 (accessed 1/29/14) < http://tulane.edu/newcomb/newcomb-college-history.cfm >.
"Almost Two and a Half Centuries of History," Brown University, 2014 (accessed 1/29/14) < http://www.brown.edu/about/history >.

[72] "University History: Women at Penn, Timeline of Pioneers and Achievements," University of Pennsylvania Archives and Records Center. 2013 (accessed 2/20/14) < http://www.archives.upenn.edu/histy/features/women/chron4.html >. The University of Pennsylvania began accepting women students in 1876; Middlebury went coed in 1883.

[73] Miller-Bernal, *Separate by Degree*, 65-66.

but suited to women's roles."[74] Arrangements varied between the schools, but generally coordinate colleges maintained curricula of lower-level classes, often specializing in domestic science or child development, and then allowed women students to take upper-level courses with men.[75] Unlike the earliest coordinate organizations, these separate institutions featured adjacent but fully articulated campuses with residence halls, athletic facilities, and administrative offices designed to mirror trends in single sex campus architecture (Figure 2.2).[76]

Over a dozen coordinate institutions opened between 1885 and 1920, and this number remained relatively stable through the second quarter of the twentieth century.[77] A majority of women continued to pursue degrees at coeducational colleges and universities, which by 1955, constituted seventy-five percent of all American higher education.[78] As pressures, both practical and ideological, mounted throughout the 1950s and 1960s for the increasingly few all-male schools to accept women, coordination surfaced once again as viable option. Coordination represented an ideal middle ground in that it allowed for the principal institution to retain its identity and status while conceding to the demands of the new generation of students. Both Yale and Princeton, for example, considered coordination before opting for full coeducation.[79] With changing social mores, some schools began to consider a more integrated style of coordination than had been

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[74] Christine Lundt and Susan L. Poulson, and Leslie Miller-Bernal, "To Coeducation and Back Again: Gender and Organization at the University of Rochester," in *Going Coed*, Miller-Bernal, Leslie & Susan L. Poulson, ed. (Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University Press, 2004), 62.
[75] Ibid., 63.
[76] Miller- Bernal, *Separate by Degree*, 78, 81, 83.
[77] Leslie Miller-Bernal, "Conservative Intent, Liberating Outcome," in *Gender in Policy and Practice: Perspectives on Single Sex and Coeducational Schooling*, Datnow, ed. Amanda, and Lea Hubbard (New York, NY: Routledge, 2002), 160.
[78] Leslie Miller-Bernal, "Coeducation: An Uneven Progression," in *Going Coed*, Miller-Bernal, Leslie & Susan L. Poulson, ed. (Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University Press, 2004), 6.
[79] Princeton Alumni Weekly, September 24,1968, 25.

used in previous decades, in which academics were completely combined and the coordinate campus consisted only of purpose-built residential halls. This arrangement proved particularly compelling, as it often entailed less expenditure on new buildings and enabled the host institution to take the greatest advantage of "an untapped source of enrollment."[80] It was to these ends that both Connecticut College and Wesleyan began to pursue coordinate education.

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Wesleyan's initial actions towards establishing a coordinate college grew not out of petitions from within the university community, but instead the availability of nearby real estate with extant facilities. President Victor Butterfield, who arrived at Wesleyan in 1943, oversaw a significant expansion of the school's physical plant that included numerous renovations, new construction, and land acquisition.[81] In 1956, Butterfield learned that the state wished to sell the Long Lane School, a reform academy for young women located just to the south of the main campus. Formerly called "The Connecticut Industrial School for Girls," the academy opened in 1870 and originally functioned to "rescue young girls from the corruption of criminal influences" while providing "an antithesis to the impoverished atmosphere in which most inmates lived prior to incarceration."[82] The school provided both vocational training and academic instruction on an open campus with a working farm (Figure 2.3).[83]

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[80] Miller-Bernal, "Coeducation: An Uneven Progression," 9.
[81] "Wesleyan's Eleventh President," Wesleyan University Office of the President, 2014 (accessed 1/29/14) < http://www.wesleyan.edu/president/pastpresidents/butterfield.html >.
[82] Sarah Leavitt, *Neglected, Vagrant, and Viciously Inclined: The Girls of the Connecticut Industrial School, 1867-1917*, unpublished thesis, Wesleyan University, 1992, 49.
[83] Abbey Francis, "Long Lane School – The Early Years," *The Wesleyan Argus*, February 13, 2014 (accessed 1/29/14) < http://wesleyanargus.com/2013/09/16/long-lane-school-the-early-years/ >.

In pursuit of the property, President Butterfield sent a letter to Connecticut governor Abraham Ribicoff outlining his plans to develop the academy into a coordinate college for women. The letter read: "We visualize a college of liberal arts and science, offering opportunities in teacher training so that students who elected such a program [might] be certified to teach in schools in Connecticut."[84] The letter also states that the enrollment would likely not exceed three hundred students, or twenty percent of the University's projected student population. Apprehensive that the state would move quickly to sell the property to the highest bidder, Butterfield polled first Wesleyan's faculty and staff, and then its trustees. From all but the last group, the president found wide support for the plan. In the following month, meeting minutes verify that the Board of Trustees agreed with the plan, and thought that the development of a women's coordinate college "seemed the wisest use of this property."[85]

Despite Butterfield's hurry to receive community endorsement for the purchase and reuse of the academy, the state delayed the sale for nearly a year before offering the land at such a high price that Wesleyan abandoned the initiative. In the coming years, the reform school came under the management of the Department of Children and Youth Services and shifted from all girls to coed. Amid claims that the facility was outdated and unsafe, the Long Lane School closed in 2003, allowing Wesleyan to finally purchase the property. Today, only the main building remains.[86]

The purchase of the Long Lane School as a coordinate college for women appealed to the Wesleyan community for several reasons. President Butterfield made

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[84] Scott Mayerwitz, "Attempted Acquistion of Long Lane School, 1956-7," Wesleyan History Project, 2000 (accessed 1/29/14) < http://www.wesleyan.edu/weshistory/longlane/longlane.htm >.
[85] Ibid.
[86] Abbey Francis, "Dark, Declining Days: Long Lane School Plagues in Final Days," *The Wesleyan Argus*, September 23, 2013 (accessed 1/29/14) < http://wesleyanargus.com/2013/09/23/long-lane-pt-2/ >.

clear in his letter to Governor Ribicoff that the state lacked sufficient educational facilities for women, and particularly teachers. Butterfield also claimed that this second, annexed institution would help develop Middletown as a cultural capital.[87] These moralistic motives were paired, however, with far more pragmatic incentives. The coordinate institution would bring women into closer proximity to the all-male school and enable a social setting more similar to that which students would encounter after graduating, an arrangement already considered advantageous by the mid-1950s. The separate spheres of the two campuses would, however, preserve the residential privacy and single-sex community that was considered essential for each gender. Perhaps most importantly, the coordinate arrangement would not threaten the attractiveness of Wesleyan to applicants seeking a single gender school.[88]

Though never explicitly stated, the architecture of the Long Lane School may have also played a role in Butterfield's proposal for a coordinate college. The historic core of the academy consisted of eight residential "cottages" surrounding a large classroom and administration building. Each cottage contained single bedrooms for 30-50 girls and accommodations for a house "matron" above a ground floor containing work and social spaces (Figure 2.4).[89] Reformers hoped that this system would "eliminate the impersonality found in the congregate dormitories, and inculcate inmates with an affection for family organization," while always under the watchful eye of the resident matron.[90] This housing system, already in use at several other reform academies, was also quite popular in the prestigious women's schools of the period. The previously discussed

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[87] Stephanie Eddy, "Wesleyan's Return to Coeducation," April 28, 2000, Page 3, Folder: Coeducation: Second Phase, Wesleyan University Special Collections and Archives, Middletown, CT.
[88] Ibid., 6.
[89] Francis, "Long Lane School – The Early Years."
[90] Leavitt, *"Neglected, Vagrant, and Viciously Inclined,"* 72-73.

Smith College, which opened in 1875, is commonly credited as the first school to house its students in residence halls that reflected elegant residences in appearance and function. The college administration believed that these homelike spaces would keep women in touch with their "natural" domestic inclinations and compel them towards successful postgraduate lives at wives and mothers (Figure 2.5).[91] This perception persisted well into the twentieth century, and planners at both single gender and coeducational institutions constructed housing for women students that appeared and functioned like large homes. Several documents on coeducation at Wesleyan indicate the importance of such facilities, claiming that "the small resident units play a very important part" in women's collegiate success.[92] When considering the Long Lane School campus, President Butterfield may well have recognized a student housing stock particularly disposed to the requirements of women students and therefore in little need of alteration. By reopening Long Lane School as a women's coordinate college focused on teacher training, Butterfield could capitalize on a gender-specific built environment already associated with the opposite sex.

While the purchase of the Long Lane School fell through, the notion of limited coeducation through a coordinate institution remained the ideal when Wesleyan revived the topic of coeducation in the mid 1960s. A 1966 subcommittee to the Board of Trustees organized to study possibilities for women's enrollment expressed strong preference towards coordination and cited both "the measure of privacy and separation…that inhere in residential separation" as well as "the considerable inconvenience involved in converting facilities designed entirely for men into coeducational use" as important

[91] Lefkowitz Horowitz, *Alma Mater*, 75.
[92] Morton W. Briggs, "MAT Program --- Coeducation," April 15, 1966, Folder: Colleges: CO-ED for Women, Wesleyan University Special Collections and Archives, Middletown, CT.

reasons to establish a separate women's campus.[93] The committee visualized the coordinate institution as "a relatively uncongested, attractive and sequestered site" that contained "dormitories, dining, gymnasium, health services, chapel" as well as "separate staff, with deans, house counselors, etc."[94] Unlike the Long Lane School proposal, however, the committee suggested a completely integrated curriculum "with the obvious exception of physical education."[95] In a student poll completed the same year, seventy-five percent of students desired such an arrangement.[96] Perhaps most importantly, President Butterfield continued to voice his support for the plan.

Over the summer of 1966, Wesleyan hosted a small conference with the specific intent of gathering data to inform the administration's decisions regarding coeducation. Representatives from Radcliffe, Vassar, and Hamilton attended.[97] Of the three sessions, two covered general topics concerning women in higher education. The first, however, focused entirely on the establishment of a coordinate institution for women, Kirkland College, at Hamilton. At the time of the conference, Kirkland had been chartered for just over a year, but had not yet broken ground on its campus. Kirkland represented the first branch of what Hamilton's administration hoped would be "five additional cluster colleges of five to six hundred students."[98] Hamilton's acting president Richard Couper and newly elected Kirkland president Samuel Babbitt planned the coordinate college "such that the Hamilton experience would be duplicated in a college contiguous to the

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[93] Letter from Waldo Beach to John M. Bodin et. al., May 16, 1966, Folder: Colleges: CO-ED for Women, Wesleyan University Special Collections and Archives, Middletown, CT.
[94] Ibid.
[95] Ibid.
[96] "75 Per Cent of Students Want A Coordinate College," *The Wesleyan Argus*.
[97] Memo on Summer Study of the Admission of Undergraduate Women, September 26, 1966, Folder: Colleges: CO-ED for Women, Wesleyan University Special Collections and Archives, Middletown, CT.
[98] "Appendix A, Conference at Wesleyan University to Discuss Education for Women," 4.

Hamilton campus."[99] Like the early plans for coordination at Wesleyan, Kirkland would offer an emphasis on the academic areas viewed as catering to women, including the creative arts, social sciences, and teacher training. Upperclassmen from Hamilton would be encouraged to participate in these courses while Kirkland students would also be welcome to enroll in higher level classes at Hamilton.[100] The Kirkland campus would consist of its own residence halls, dining and social facilities, administration, and classrooms.

Kirkland College opened in the fall of 1968, and operated for less than a decade before Hamilton consolidated its schools for financial reasons. Kirkland failed to meet many of the gender-specific educational ideals that shaped its foundation due to several factors, the most prominent of which were a chronic lack of funding and disagreement within the school's administration over how to structure the curriculum.[101] Nonetheless, the early vision for the college greatly influenced plans for coordination at Wesleyan. In Kirkland, Wesleyan's proponents for women's coordinate education found a model for gender separation that still acknowledged modern educational principles calling for greater academic equality between men and women. Wesleyan could maintain its traditional identity as a men's school while meeting the demands of the majority of students and faculty who wanted women students on campus. Each of these values found expression in the working papers of Wesleyan's Educational Policy Committee, which were released to the University community in October of 1967. The recommendations on the subject of coeducation mirrored the residential and administrative arrangement of the newly opened Kirkland College.

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[99] Ibid., 4.
[100] Ibid., 5.
[101] Miller-Bernal, *Separate by Degree*, 152.

Over the following year, the plans for a distinct coordinate college at Wesleyan eroded. The exact reason that the coordination plan was dropped is difficult to determine, due to the fact that many of the administrative papers from 1967 on remain restricted by the University. The information available, however, indicates a gradual scaling back of the proposal in response to both student demands and more pressing physical expansions needs. When Wesleyan made public its decision to once again begin admitting women in May of 1968, the announcement included plans for a women's campus that contained dormitories and a dining hall but specified "a single University administration" instead of the separate governing body suggested by the Educational Planning Commission.[102] The following year brought the student-led abolition of parietals (administration social regulations) and Vietnam War protests that effectively ended the spring semester several weeks early.[103] The fall of 1968 also marked the start of Wesleyan's academic exchange program, which brought thirty-three women exchange and transfer students to the University and certainly helped to normalize the notion of a coeducational campus.[104] One contributor to the student newspaper excitedly described the new Wesleyan as exemplified by the "number of females roaming our campus during every week," before praising several other formerly single sex institutions that had recently begun admitting both genders.[105] The petitions and unrest within the student body also occurred over a period during which Wesleyan's administration realized two major construction projects, the new science center and an ice rink, while also planning the addition of an arts center,

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[102] "100 Women Planned for '70, Pilot Program To Begin In Fall," *The Wesleyan Argus*, May 14, 1968, n.p.
[103] Lucy Knight, interview, January 18, 2014.
[104] Sue Derman, "Life as Co-ed Falls Far Short of Idyllic," *Conn Census*, November 19, 1968, 4. "Notes from College Row," *The Wesleyan University Alumnus* 53.2 (1968): 2.
[105] Tober, "Change in Parietals At Wes Paralleled At Other Colleges."

a new student union, and several dormitories.[106] The funding originally intended for the construction of a coordinate campus was probably diverted to these endeavors. In February of 1969, the possibility of coordination dissolved as the board of trustees voted unanimously to house women students in the newly constructed dormitory units known as "Foss Hill."

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Plans for a coordinate campus at Connecticut College never achieved the level of detail achieved at Wesleyan, but nonetheless played a significant role in the planning discourse for several years leading up to the decision to admit men. As at Wesleyan, Connecticut College administrators viewed coordination as a means to preserve both institutional identity and maintain a certain degree of privacy for each sex. When it came to the specific reasoning for what coordination offered over coeducation, however, documents describing the proposal remained somewhat vague. For example, the preliminary report of the Summer Planning Group, which circulated through the administration in the fall of 1968, recognized that coordination produced a "healthier social life" in which "the special needs of both may be met."[107] Though surveys of students and faculty at Connecticut College did not include questions on coordination, the planning group referred to student poll results from several other single sex schools in

[106] "Development Plan for Wesleyan University, July 10, 1968, Included in Minutes of the Wesleyan University Board of Trustees, October, 5, 1968, Volume: Board of Trustees Minutes, Wt 1968-70, Wesleyan University Special Collections and Archives, Middletown, CT.
[107] "Report of the Summer Planning Group," Page 13, Box: C.C. Goes Coed, 1967-79, Folder: Co-Education: Report of the Summer Study Group, 1968, The Linda Lear Center for Special Collections and Archives, Connecticut College, New London, CT.

order to show that students often preferred "formal separation of men and women within a structure of limited sharing."[108]

The report of the Summer Planning Group detailed several possible scenarios for coordination at Connecticut College. In the first, the College would negotiate with a men's college "that might remove to the Connecticut campus, bringing its own faculty, students and administration." Another option consisted of "constructing new housing facilities and some dining facilities in close proximity to the existing campus and admitting only men who had completed their first two years elsewhere" but wished to specialize in academic areas offered by the College. The third alternative called for the administration "to work with already existing facilities to provide a certain degree of autonomy for students of both sexes in the existing community." The Summer Planning Group labeled this plan as the most feasible and desirable option, as it maximized the many facilities that had been added to the campus over the preceding twenty years. Instead of a separate grounds, the College would construct a residence hall for men "near some present unit of dormitories," enabling male students to take part in nearly all social and academic aspects of collegiate life.[109] Key to this plan, in the eyes of the Summer Planning Group, was that the men's residence hall "be considered a separate "college," perhaps with names such as those at Yale and with the distinct ways of living and academic traditions that attach students to their school through their living units." In such an arrangement, the men's residential unit comprised "its own dining facilities, administration, and student organization."[110]

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[108] "Coeducation: Report of the Summer Planning Group," *Connecticut College Alumni News*, 18; "Report of the Summer Planning Group," 12.
[109] "Coeducation for Connecticut College: Preliminary Report #2, Appendix A, A Co-ordinated College."
[110] Ibid.

Several aspects of the arrangement preferred by Connecticut College's Summer Planning Group stand at odds with both the original and later suggestions for coordination at Wesleyan. The scope of the proposals was the most obvious variation between the two schools' coordination plans. While at Wesleyan plans for coordination began as an entirely separate college with many of its own facilities, the administration at Connecticut College visualized a minimal building program of a single residential complex. One of the main components that gave the suggested coordinate college at Wesleyan its scale was the inclusion of academic space, and this initial development of a separate curriculum specific to women's educational needs was another important difference between discussions of coordination the two schools. Unlike Wesleyan's early plans for teacher training college at Long Lane School, proposals for coordination at Connecticut College stipulated a completely integrated curriculum. From the start, the Connecticut College administration defined coordination as no more than the provision of a separate residential zone for men, a measure intended to facilitate a high degree of gender integration. This structure may have stemmed from the fact that, since the mid 1950s, Connecticut College had accepted small numbers of men into its graduate programs. By 1961 thirty-eight men were pursuing master's degrees at Connecticut College.[111] As part of their studies, many of these individuals also enrolled in undergraduate courses without any complaint from students. Through this system, academic coeducation had already been vetted, albeit in a limited way, at Connecticut College. The notion of mixed gender residential life likely raised far more concerns, and therefore strengthened a commitment to separate housing schemes.

[111] McDonald, *The Architecture of Connecticut College*, 242.

The Summer Planning Group's preference for an on-campus location reinforced this intent. By the mid-twentieth century, Wesleyan faced significant constraints to its physical expansion due to the rapid growth of Middletown. The attempt to purchase the Long Lane School (one of the last available properties adjacent to the University), specifically to establish a coordinate college for women illustrates the high priority that the administration placed on the separation of genders. Connecticut College, on the other hand, occupied a large campus in a relatively undeveloped vicinity. Even by the mid-1960s, the College still owned large tracts of vacant land. Nonetheless, the Summer Planning Group made clear that development of a men's coordinate college ought to occur within the core of the campus, or at least near existing residence halls. Though this dissimilarity is, in part, explained by the social changes in the intervening decade between when Wesleyan's President Butterfield first suggested coordinate education and the report of Connecticut College's Summer Planning Group, the 1968 papers of Wesleyan's Educational Policy Committee still insisted on the need for "the residence facilities of the women's college be separate and self-contained" to preserve "the geographic and qualitative unity of the present men's undergraduate college."[112] As this quote shows, even in the months leading up to the announcement of coeducation Wesleyan's organizers sustained the view that constant presence of women on the main campus would somewhat dilute the *quality* of the traditional student experience at the University.

However, to say those at Connecticut College did not pay attention to the perceived social benefits and unifying aspects of a single gender setting would be

[112] "The Working Papers of the Study of Educational Policies and Programs: Wesleyan University, 1967-68, I: Women Undergraduates at Wesleyan," *The Wesleyan Argus*, October 7, 1967, n.p.

misleading. Though the Summer Planning Group called for the presence of men on the women's campus, its writers also wanted a residential setting that allowed for this campus minority to find "a community among themselves."[113] In this context, the desire to emulate Yale University's residential college system is particularly significant. By the 1920s, Yale's physical plant spread throughout downtown New Haven, causing both administrative headaches and a lack of social coherence in the student body. Through a series of gifts by John Sterling and Edward S. Harkness (who would later fund several buildings at Connecticut College), the University reconstructed much of its central campus to produce what historian Patrick L. Pinnell describes as "a tight-knit place, collective though competitive, with buildings that fostered that."[114] Yale and Harvard were the first two American schools to adopt the residential college system, which had been the standard at English universities such as Cambridge and Oxford since the 1300s and spread quickly through the United States in the 1920s and 30s.[115] The residential college served as the basic ordering principle of this undertaking; ten small dormitory units that contained student rooms, distinct dining halls, and study spaces (Figure 2.6). In each, a faculty "master" and dean oversaw the management of their assigned college. All students participated in the same curriculum and shared laboratories and other academic facilities, but found a shared identity within the large university through their residential college. The system proved highly successful as each college quickly developed its own customs and intramural sports teams.[116]

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[113] "Coeducation for Connecticut College: Preliminary Report #2, Appendix A, A Co-ordinated College."
[114] Pinnell, *Yale Campus Guide*, 58.
[115] Turner, *Campus*, 9-10, 241.
[116] Robert J. O'Hara, "Charles Seymour on Yale's Residential Colleges," The Collegiate Way: Residential Colleges & the Renewal of University Life, 2011 (accessed 1/29/14) < http://collegiateway.org/reading/seymour-1933/ >.

The Summer Planning Group believed that, when transplanted to Connecticut College, Yale's residential arrangement "would give the men in a traditionally women-oriented school a sense of identity and a certain privacy for simply being men."[117] The application of Yale's housing system at Connecticut College entailed more, however, than simply the encouragement of a shared identity between male students. Aside from the physical distance recommended by the Summer Planning Group, the planned residential unit for men would have differed from the extant residence halls at Connecticut College through the inclusion of its own administrative personnel and student government. The use of Yale as a direct model for the expansion also gave a historical grounding to this style of coordination, and somewhat softening the inherent notion of gender separation by foregrounding the unifying aspect of the arrangement. With a complex designed to replicate the characteristics and amenities of those at Yale, Connecticut College could also provide for male students a physical environment akin to what they would find at one of the country's most prestigious universities. In suggesting Yale's residential college, the Summer Planning Group sought to give Connecticut College an associative link to traditions in all-male student life.

The interest in creating a unique environment for male students, and one that maintained a distinct institutional identity similar to Yale's residential colleges, also revealed a concern on the part of Connecticut College's administration that many prospective male students would continue to view the school as a place for women. Whereas Wesleyan's administration could guarantee that open enrollment would attract women hoping to make the most of the school's long established and well reputed academic program, those planning for male students at Connecticut College faced the

[117] "Coeducation for Connecticut College: Preliminary Report #2, Appendix A, A Co-ordinated College."

difficulty of convincing men that there was a place for them, socially, academically, and spatially, at the formerly single gender institution. This challenge stemmed from the fact that Connecticut College's early leaders went to great lengths to publicize the school as one specifically planned to meet the educational and social needs of the modern woman. Although the College's 1960s curricula bore little resemblance to the initial model of study (the home economics department, for example, was dissolved in 1950s), the former reputation endured for many less familiar with the institution's developments.[118] The separate spaces mandated in a coordinate arrangement represented a way to give the school a masculine identity and therefore ensure male enrollment. The Summer Planning Group expressed this sentiment clearly, reporting that "many institutions which have established reputations as either men's or women's colleges have found it easier to introduce coeducation through some form of coordinate arrangement in part because a new name, without the associations of a single sex, made recruitment easier."[119]

Despite the possible benefits of coordination, the Summer Planning Group ultimately advised against such an arrangement for Connecticut College. "A major reason for this stance is cost," the report read, "given its present and foreseeable resources, Connecticut College simply cannot afford to build a second campus or duplicate facilities for men."[120] The passage continued by describing coordination as "an unattractive halfway house between segregation and coeducation" and questioned the future of coordination by citing several colleges for women that were moving rapidly towards full gender integration.[121] The predictions of the planning group were accurate; by the late

[118] McDonald, "The Architecture of Connecticut College," 97.
[119] "Coeducation for Connecticut College: Preliminary Report #2," 39.
[120] "Report of the Summer Planning Group," page 13.
[121] Ibid.

1970s, many coordinate colleges, including Pembroke and Kirkland, had merged with their host institution.[122] Others, such as Sophia Newcomb, Radcliffe, and Douglass, spent the remaining decades of the twentieth century negotiating various administrative and scholastic consolidations that brought each ever closer to the formerly single gender universities from which it grew.[123]

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Though neither Connecticut College nor Wesleyan University adopted coordination, the existence of proposals for such at both schools is of fundamental important in each place's coeducation history. On the most basic level, the focus on changes to the physical campus in the proposals for coordination underscore the fact that, from its earliest stages, coeducation at both institutions was realized spatially. More specifically, the basic notion of coordinate education was entirely structured around the notion that each gender required specially designed spaces in order to most effectively learn and socialize, and this mindset would continue to inform the actions of each school's administration even after the decision to adopt full coeducation. The widely-held cultural perceptions that formed the rationale for coordination, namely the values of gender separation and the ideal academic programs or housing types for men or women, and had considerable staying power in the minds of those organizing coeducation at each school. In several cases, later policies concerning gender integration grew out of the very same documents that had been used during the coordination planning process. Not least

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[122] "Almost Two and a Half Centuries of History," Brown University; Miller-Bernal, *Separate by Degree*, 164.
[123] "History of Newcomb College," Newcomb College Institute of Tulane University.
"Our History," Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study Harvard University, 2014 (accessed 1/29/14) < http://www.radcliffe.harvard.edu/about-us/our-history >.

among these was the influence of the coordination mindset on each institution's earliest plans for accommodating new students, which will be discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER THREE
"Houses Divided:"[124]
Student Accommodations

The historical records of Connecticut College and Wesleyan University indicate that coeducation brought little apparent change to either school's physical plant. This statement is strengthened by the fact that neither institution constructed buildings to accommodate the initial wave of new students. Nonetheless, both administrations gave serious and lengthy consideration to how coeducation would impact the use and arrangement of extant campus space. By the time that Connecticut College and Wesleyan received their first coeducational freshmen classes, both schools were implementing plans that defined exactly where male and female students would live. Though the organizers of coeducation at both schools publicly professed that men and women were equals in terms of mental capacity and intellectual drive, lasting opinions of separate gender spheres pervaded the strategies used to accommodate new students at both schools. The housing plans at each institution indicated lasting beliefs in gender-specific spatial requirements as well as assumptions about the differing ways that male and female students inhabited space. Though the choice of where to lodge men and women varied greatly between the two schools, the reasoning grew from a shared cultural understanding of gender differences and how they mapped onto physical space.

Before either Connecticut College or Wesleyan University decided to transition to full coeducation, the schools participated in an experimental scholastic exchange in which students from one school could take courses for academic credit at the other

[124] Dana Strauss, "Houses Divided," *Wesleyan University Alumni Magazine* 73.1 (1990): 18.

without charge.[125] Both institutions claimed that the program functioned "to provide students with broader educational opportunities and to take advantage of departmental strengths in each school."[126] The exchange also reflected contemporary trends for collegiate consortiums and domestic study away. Most importantly for the two schools in question, however, the initiative served as a pilot program to assess the viability of full coeducation as well as a way to acclimate students to the presence of opposite sex peers. The exchange began in the fall of 1967, with each institution providing daily transportation for commuting students. Though Wesleyan also admitted students from Sarah Lawrence and Wheaton, Connecticut College provided the greatest number of participants and the program gained the informal moniker of "The Conn-Wes Exchange."[127] In its first semester, the exchange consisted of only twelve students from Wesleyan and four from Connecticut College. By the spring of 1967, both schools received enough applications that the program was extended into the 1968-1969 academic term.[128] In the second year, both schools also offered limited numbers of residential placements for students interested in a full course load. Both schools also offered housing for "interim transfers," or third year students who wished to finish their degrees at the partner institution.[129]

As the academic exchange represented a trial period before the announcement of open enrollment at either Connecticut College or Wesleyan, the program's residential

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[125] "Fact Sheet," n.d., Box: C.C. Goes Coed, 1967-79, Folder: Coeducation, The Linda Lear Center for Special Collections and Archives, Connecticut College, New London, CT.
"Wesleyan, Conn Plan to Exchange Courses," *Conn Census*, September 26, 1967, 1.
The Twelve College Consortium began in 1969-70.
[127] "Wesleyan, Conn Plan to Exchange Courses."
[128] "The Working Papers of the Study of Educational Policies and Programs: Wesleyan University, 1967-68: X. Cooperation Between Wesleyan and Other Institutions," *The Wesleyan Argus*, December 12, 1967, n.p.
[129] "Notes from College Row," 2.

component proved a particularly important indicator of whether each institution could provide for the needs of both genders. The exchange signaled the first time that men would reside in Connecticut College-owned buildings. At Wesleyan University, the program represented a female presence within the student body that had been lacking since the school retracted women's enrollment in 1909. To manage the handful of students that elected to participate in the residential exchange, each school produced a housing plan that would greatly influence the zoning of men's and women's residences in the coming years. A discussion of the gender-specific housing plans used at each school must start, therefore, before the actual announcement of coeducation.

At Wesleyan University, the women participating in the semester exchange program as well as a handful of female transfer students were lodged in a University-owned building known as the Commons Club.[130] The facility lay to the southeast of the campus at 167 Church Street and, though only a few blocks from the main library, represented one of the school's more remote properties (Figure 3.1). The Commons Club carried an unusual and notable history as a student social organization for those who, in the words of historian David Potts, "declined or lacked invitation" to a fraternal organization.[131] The group formed in 1899 and consisted of fifty-five members by 1910.[132] Particularly attractive to students was the Club's open membership policy and low boarding costs, which gained a great deal of attention in its first years of operation and led several other schools to form chapters.[133] Perhaps due to the sudden influx of applicants following this publicity, Wesleyan's Commons Club chapter adopted a far

[130] Lucy Knight, interview, January 18, 2014.
[131] Potts, *Wesleyan University*, 200.
[132] Ibid.
[133] Association of the Commons Club, "Commons Club History," n.d. Accessed 2/20/14 < http://commonsclub.org/7501/index.html >.

more selective admissions process in 1917 and merged with the University's extant Sigma Chi fraternity.[134]

The building occupied by the Commons Club and then Sigma Chi contained far more than just bedrooms for its affiliates. A brochure for the chapter published in the mid 1920s includes interior views showing an expansive lounge and dining room, both of which are outfitted with Craftsman furnishings. The accompanying text also mentions that the organization maintained two tennis courts on the property.[135] In 1930, the building, which was still known as the Commons Club, underwent a significant renovation that transformed the Second Empire style dwelling into a distinctly Colonial Revival-inspired, C-shaped building with the blocky appearance of a small apartment complex (Figure 3.2). An alumni magazine article detailing the project gives a fuller description of the building's many amenities, which included a kitchen, dining room, card room, music room, and lounge "convenient for dances and for the different sorts of meetings."[136] In 1961, the residents of the Commons Club ceased their affiliation with Sigma Chi over and revived their original open admissions policy in protest of a Sigma Chi covenant banning the membership of racial minorities. Nonetheless, the Commons Club student organization appears to have dissolved in the coming years.[137] By 1967, the University had purchased the building, part of a series of acquisitions that would eventually include nearly all of the fraternity houses surrounding the campus.

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[134] "Commons Club Fraternity: A History," 1917, Folder: Commons Club (Sigma Chi) II, Wesleyan University Archives and Special Collections, Middletown, CT.
[135] Ibid.
[136] Commons Club Living Room, ca. 1937, Folder: Commons Club (Sigma Chi) II, Wesleyan University Archives and Special Collections, Middletown, CT.
[137] Rebecca Brill, "The Argus Uncovers History of Progressive Frat's Rebellion." *The Wesleyan Argus*, November 21, 2013 (accessed 1/9/2014 < http://wesleyanargus.com/2013/11/21/eqv/ >.

The decision to lodge exchange and transfer students in the Common's Club is not detailed in Wesleyan's administrative records, however the choice fits well with the popular assumptions about housing college women described in the previous chapter. Chief among these was the notion that women students thrived when accommodated in settings that reflected domestic space in arrangement and function.[138] At Wesleyan, these notions were summarized in a document titled "The Working Papers of the Study of Educational Policies and Programs: Wesleyan, 1967-1968," which was written in the summer of 1967 and released to the University community that fall. The document proposes two scenarios for housing women students at Wesleyan, with the ideal consisting of "small *residential units*" (italics original) based around shared staircases that each feature "ample cooking and living facilities" in addition to bedrooms. This section also suggests that these units might function as cooperative houses, "where students provide their own services."[139] Later in the same document, a somewhat ambiguous scheme for coeducational housing suggests an arrangement with single-sex bedroom clusters and a common kitchen and dining room. This scenario would also inform housing policy, but not until the arrival of the first coed freshman class in 1970.[140]

In its function, the Commons Club met each of the requirements urged in Wesleyan's working papers on coeducation and accurately expressed the administrative belief that women students would find greater comfort in a domestic setting. The building provided communal living in the comfortable public rooms on the ground floor (Figure 3.3). In this way, the Commons Club mirrored the student residences at Connecticut

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[138] Lefkowtiz Horowtiz, *Alma Mater*, 90.
[139] "The Working Papers of the Study of Educational Policies and Programs: Wesleyan University, 1967-68, I: Women Undergraduates at Wesleyan."
[140] Ibid.

College that had been designed specifically to enable to genteel social lives of its women residents. Lucy Knight, a transfer student from Wheaton and 1972 Wesleyan graduate, described how both students and other women from the University community informally gathered in these spaces in the first years of the exchange to discuss life at the school and the national developments of the Women's Liberation Movement.[141] These conversations are probably not what Wesleyan's organizers of coeducation had in mind when they selected the Common's Club as the initial women's residence hall, and speak to a constant disparity between administrative ideals and the actual occupant behavior present in nearly all institutional settings. Nonetheless, the role of shared space in the creation of a cooperative identity among the women living in the Commons Club evokes not just the recommendations of the Working Papers but also the previous decade's proposal for a coordinate campus at the Long Lane School.

The location of the Commons Club was probably another key factor in deciding its function as the women's residence hall in the first years of the transition to coeducation. As previously mentioned, the building lay down the street and diagonal from Wesleyan's main grounds, in a neighborhood comprised of some college-owned homes and fraternities, many houses offering student rentals, and a handful of single-family dwellings. While not far from the historic core of the campus, this area did lie outside the official boundaries of the campus and therefore represented the transitional zone between gown and town. As such, the location of the Commons Club spoke to an oft-repeated opinion that college women should be nearer to the Wesleyan campus but that most facilities, and particularly student residences, should remain an all-male domain. In the words of one alum, "girls should be closer, much closer, but not in Clark

[141] Lucy Knight, interview, January 18, 2014.

Hall."[142] Commons Club remained a student residence until the mid-1970s, and now serves as University staff offices.[143]

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As mentioned in the previous chapter, Connecticut College had accepted men pursuing graduate degrees since the mid 1950s.[144] While these individuals certainly paved the way for full coeducation in the classroom, none lived on the campus. As at Wesleyan, the administrative discourse on where men should be housed at Connecticut College began with the decision to accept exchange students and transfers but clearly anticipated the inevitability of full coeducation. The earliest conversations suggest that the College might set aside one of the smaller residence halls, such as the forty-bed Blackstone House, to accommodate all male students through the early 1970s. The working papers of the 1968 Summer Planning Group stated that this measure was necessary "to counter the exclusively female image of the College and to ensure some kind of morale on the part of the men."[145] Over the following year, more detailed plans replaced this scenario and called for the lodging of men in several of the College's "connected" residence halls. These structures, of which the College had several, consisted of separate blocks of student bedrooms that shared dining and social space.[146] Several of the halls noted as particularly well suited to this arrangement carried men's names, a nod to a suggestion made in the Report of the Summer Planning Group that housing male

[142] "Long Lane School Is Ruled Out As Possible Coordinate College," *The Wesleyan Argus*, May 6, 1966, n.p. Clark Hall is one of the large dormitories constructed in the 1920s and flanking Wesleyan's library.
[143] "Ms. Bell," *The Wesleyan University Alumnus* 62.1 (1972): 7.
[144] McDonald, *The Architecture of Connecticut College*, 242.
[145] "Coeducation for Connecticut College: Preliminary Report #2,"38.
[146] "Coeducation: Report of the Summer Planning Group," 24.

students in buildings named for men would produce a sense of ownership on the largely female campus.[147]

Despite clear administrative preferences for distinct, single gender housing units, the first male exchange and transfer students at Connecticut College lived in a suite of basement rooms below one of the school's largest residence halls, Harrison B. Freeman House (Figure 3.4). This building, designed by the New York firm of Shreve, Lamb, and Harmon, lay at the southern end of a row of student residences that lined the west edge of the Connecticut College green. Its location situated male residents at the core of the campus and in close residential proximity to women.[148] In comparison to the off-campus accommodations provided to women at Wesleyan and other schools participating in similar exchanges, the Freeman House arrangement seems progressive, particularly due to the fact that the College owned several houses in the neighborhoods surrounding the suburban campus and could have modified one of these for the handful of male students. The accommodations also appear inconsistent with news coverage on the exchange, which reported that men at Connecticut College would be housed "in a closed-off wing of a women's dormitory."[149]

Physical proximity did not, however, signify an administrative interest in gender-integrated residential life. The very design of Freeman House both limited and controlled the movements of its male occupants. Like many of the residence halls constructed at Connecticut College and other women's colleges in the first half of the twentieth century, Freeman house contained two distinct and vertically organized spheres. The ground floor contained a series of well-appointed social rooms intended to give students a formal yet

[147] Ibid.
[148] McDonald, The Architecture of Connecticut College, 142.
[149] "Coeducation Plan Receives Support," *New York Times*, June 19, 1968, 57.

homelike environment in which to entertain guests (Figure 3.5). A centrally located faculty house fellow suite and a reception desk by the building's main entrance, however, enabled supervision of these public areas as well as the stairs leading to several floors of student rooms.

The male exchange and transfer students who lived in the basement of Freeman House in 1968 found themselves placed well outside of the realm of informal student life that took place on the floors above. In order to move beyond their subterranean quarters men had to traverse the public space of the ground floor, an intermediary space under constant surveillance by the reception desk facing onto the residence hall's entrances and stairwells. The ground floor served as an effective architectural barrier between the two sexes and achieved the architectural effect of two separate dormitory units connected by shared social space within a single building. The men living in Freeman were, by the location of their rooms, a distinct entity from the rest of their single-gender residential community, a fact was made clear to the College's administration when the Wesleyan semester exchange students occupying the basement in the spring of 1969 wrote a letter to President Shain complaining that the school's parietal rules limited their ability to move through the campus and declaring that their suite of basement rooms had seceded from the College as "the United Republic of Freeman."[150]

Simply put, the allotment of housing for exchange students at Wesleyan University and Connecticut College hinged on the maintenance of separate gender spheres. More than that, however, the marked difference between the accommodations provided by each school suggested the degree to which administrative convictions that

[150] Lilah Raptopoulos, "A Partial History of Connecticut College" (Unpublished honor's thesis, Connecticut College, 2011), 43.

men and women required very different things in their living environments informed housing policy. In both regards, the arrangements at Connecticut College and Wesleyan mirrored housing trends at historically coeducational institutions. At Middlebury, for example, women students lived in Forest Hall, a large residence hall constructed in 1936 across the street from the main campus. In accordance with period trends, the building featured elegant, ground floor social rooms not found in the college's all-male dormitories.[151] The University of Rochester, which adopted coeducation in 1955, provided similarly segregated and purpose-built accommodations for its women students.[152]

If the basement rooms used to accommodate men at Connecticut College suggested few spatial needs and minimal expectations on the part of the residents, then the use of a detached and newly renovated house at Wesleyan University indicates that women students were expected to have far greater standards and demands for their lodgings. This notion had long been present in the discourse of women's higher education and dated to nineteenth century beliefs that female students must have beautiful and well-designed surroundings to mitigate the potentially harmful consequences of higher education on their delicate mental and physical constitutions.[153] The all-male campus, on the other hand, could and did take many forms and still achieve its purpose. The success of men's education was not contingent on an architecturally unified or aesthetically pleasing campus. The legacy of this principle finds realization in the detailed descriptions

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[151] Glenn M. Andres, "A Walking History of Middlebury," The Henry Sheldon Museum of Vermont History, 2005 (accessed 2/20/14) < http://midddigital.middlebury.edu/walking_history/college_campus/page_4.html >.
[152] Lundt, Poulson, Miller-Bernal, "To Coeducation and Back Again," 67.
[153] Lynn Peril, *College Girls: Bluestockings, Sex Kittens, and Coeds, Then and Now* (New York, NY: W.W. Norton & Co., 2006), 227-229.

of ideal women's residences in the planning records of Wesleyan University and the absence of any specific guidelines on housing male students at Connecticut College.

The separate sphere approach to student residential life employed at both Connecticut College and Wesleyan University during the residential exchange also illustrated that both administrations recognized what one Wesleyan President Victor L. Butterfield described as "the strong sexual and mating urges…at this time of life," and how physical proximity or accessibility could increase these desires.[154] In large measure, these beliefs perpetuated long-held notions of men as dominant pursuers and women as pure yet corruptible. Decisions on where students would live were tempered by desires to keep student behavior in check, not just for the perceived well-being of the students themselves, but also for the reputation of the educational institution.[155] The latter was a particularly important consideration, given that each institution was engaged in the residential exchange as something of an audition for full coeducation. Both administrations sought to maintain a degree of gender isolation while also adhering to their mutual belief that coeducation should produce a more realistic environment through shared space.[156]

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[154] Memo from Victor Butterfield to The Ad Hoc Committee of the Board on Education for Women, April 15, 1966, Folder: Colleges: CO-ED for Women, Wesleyan Special Collections and Archives, Wesleyan, Connecticut.
[155] Stephanie Eddy, "Wesleyan's Return to Coeducation," April 28, 2000, Page 9, Folder: Coeducation: Second Phase, Wesleyan University Special Collections and Archives, Middletown, CT.
[156] Memo from Educational Planning Committee to President Butterfield and the Board of Trustees, "Women's Education at Wesleyan," Folder: Colleges: CO-ED for Women, Wesleyan Special Collections and Archives, Wesleyan, Connecticut.
News from Connecticut College – Coeducation at Conn College. 9 Jan. 1969. Box: CC Goes Co-ed, 1967-1970, Folder: Coeducation: Conception at Connecticut College. New London: Linda Lear Center for Special Collections and Archives at Connecticut College.

While a handful of women continued to live in the Commons Club into the 1970s, the majority of the almost one hundred female students who entered as freshmen in Wesleyan University's class of 1974 lived in Hewitt Hall.[157] A set of three, connected buildings, Hewitt Hall was completed in May of 1963. It comprised the newest addition to a residential complex designed by Brown, Lawford, and Forbes known as the Foss Hill Dorms.[158] These buildings sat on Observatory Hill, high above the rest of Wesleyan's campus, and consisted of three and four story units spread irregularly over the sloping site and joined by curving hyphens and large, glass-walled common rooms (Figure 3.6).[159] By the 1970-1971 academic year, the numbers of women had outgrown Hewitt Hall, and were therefore housed on single-sex floors throughout the Foss Hill complex.[160]

The accommodation of women at the Foss Hill dormitories would seem a stark departure from the physically removed and domestic qualities of the Commons Club. A closer look at the design of the Foss Hill complex, and particularly Hewitt Hall, however, shows that these spaces retained several important qualities that made them particularly appropriate accommodations for Wesleyan's women students. Like the Commons Club, Hewitt Hall and the other residences that comprised the Foss Hill dormitories housed small numbers of students in low-rise structures. In contrast to the axial placement of Wesleyan's earlier dormitories, the Foss Hill complex hugged the hilltop's contours and meandered between the site's many old trees (Figure 3.7).[161] The resulting appearance of

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[157] "Off Campus Living in 1969-70 Granted To Juniors Or Seniors," *The Wesleyan Argus*, February 21, 1969, n.p.
[158] Starr, *Welcome to Wesleyan*, 24.
[159] "The Setting Preserved," *Progressive Architecture* 41.9 (1960): 152-153.
[160] "Minutes of the Adjourned Annual Meeting of the Wesleyan University Board of Trustees," April 11, 1970, Volume: Board of Trustee Minutes Wt 1968-1970, Wesleyan Special Collections and Archives, Middletown, CT.
[161] Starr, *Welcome to Wesleyan*, 24.

the building was decidedly modern, but its arrangement in the landscape avoided the regularity and standardization of much midcentury institutional architecture.

On the interior, Hewitt Hall and the other Foss Hill dormitories were unique as Wesleyan's first student residences to feature large, ground floor common spaces as well as kitchens for the use of residents (Figure 3.8, 3.9). These public areas extended into the outdoors with large flagstone patios and, on the upper floors, roof terraces. The dormitories at Foss Hill contained mostly single bedrooms, which were arranged on double loaded corridors. Wesleyan historian Leslie Starr writes that architects Brown, Lawford, and Forbes specifically avoided the use of long hallways to, once again, prevent the feeling of enormous scale and banality present in many period dormitory designs.[162] A five-page spread on Foss Hill in the September 1960 issue of *Progressive Architecture* attested to the novelty of the complex in comparison to the established forms for all-male student housing.

The design of Hewitt Hall and the other Foss Hill dormitories encouraged an intimate and cooperative community in a homelike environment. As described in the previous chapter, Wesleyan's administration specifically sought these qualities when commissioning the buildings in an attempt to move away from the earlier, barracks-style dormitories. The opening of Hewitt Hall to the first class of women at Wesleyan University represented a continuation of the model established in the former Alpha Chi Rho house, only on a larger scale. The architectural environment at Hewitt Hall, while differing in appearance from the Colonial Revival house on High Street, offered all the same amenities considered important to the accommodation of women as described in the University's 1967 Working Papers on Coeducation.

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[162] Ibid.

As with the Commons Club, the location of Hewitt Hall and the other Foss Hill dormitories was probably an important consideration when Wesleyan's administration chose to house the first class of women there. In terms of simple distances, the Foss Hill dormitories lie in close proximity to the central green (Andrus Field) as well as the University's primary academic buildings and oldest student residences. The decision to house women at Hewitt and the other Foss Hill dormitories may have held symbolic dimensions; with the official decision to admit women students, Wesleyan opened its central campus, and not just the surrounding neighborhood, to resident women students. This seems particularly likely given that women were not initially housed at Butterfield College (later renamed Lawn Avenue Dormitories), a residential complex quite similar in design and construction date to the Foss Hill dormitories that lay several blocks to the south of the main campus.[163] As the name of the complex implies, however, the Foss Hill dormitories sat well above the elevation of the rest of the campus. While lodged at Foss Hill, women students were still removed from the architectural heart of the University, though by topography instead of distance or property lines.

When compared to other all-male schools converting to coeducation in the same years, planners at Wesleyan appear to have made few, if any, changes to Hewitt Hall to ready it for women students. In contrast, Princeton's administration spent $80,000 remodeling Pyne Hall to meet feminine tastes before accepting their first class of women students in September of 1969. The renovated buildings featured modernized bathrooms, electric locks on exterior doors, new furniture, as well as matching curtains and bedspreads for each room. Similar modifications took place at nearby Yale University's Vanderbilt Hall (one of the only dormitories one to feature bathtubs), which underwent

[163] Ibid., 39.

$150,000 in alterations in preparation for women residents.[164] In part, this differing approach may have to do with location. Both Pyne Hall and Vanderbilt Hall sat on the edge of their respective campuses, and their designation as the first women's housing could denote the same desire for a certain degree of gender separation that informed the placement of Wesleyan's first accommodations for women.[165] The administrations of both Princeton and Yale might have chosen to spend more adapting these older buildings to a new function rather than placing women in newer housing at the center of either campus. If so, then Wesleyan's organizers once again benefited from their recent dormitory additions, each of which already occupied a site peripheral or topographically separated from the main campus.

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At Connecticut College, the accommodation of men in Freeman House lasted only through the 1968-1969 academic year. A factsheet for prospective students published just after the official announcement of coeducation in 1969 indicates, however, that this arrangement was intended as a more permanent solution. This flier states that incoming first year men would be housed in the basements and ground floors of residence halls throughout the campus.[166] Significantly, each of the facilities mentioned in this document consisted of zoned space similar to that of Freeman House and therefore hint at a continued desire to limit male autonomy within the campus residential environment.

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[164] Marcia Synnot, "A Friendly Rivalry: Yale and Princeton Pursue Parallel Paths to Coeducation," in *Going Coed*, Miller-Bernal, Leslie & Susan L. Poulson, ed. (Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University Press, 2004), 119.

[165] Raymond P. Rhinehart, *The Campus Guide: Princeton Guide* (New York: NY: Princeton Architectural Press, 199), 112-113.
Pinnell, *The Campus Guide: Yale University*, Frontispiece, 8.

[166] "Memo to Admissions Aides," 1968, Box: CC Goes Co-ed, 1967-1970, Folder: Coeducation: Conception at Connecticut College. New London: Linda Lear Center for Special Collections and Archives at Connecticut College, New London, CT.

The plan was never executed, perhaps due to sluggish admissions of men in the years directly following the transition to coeducation.[167] Instead, the first class of approximately thirty-eight men at Connecticut College lived on the ground floor of Larrabee House.

As previously described, Larrabee House's modernist form set it apart from the other student residences at Connecticut College. This dissimilarity was especially evident given the fact that Larrabee House connected to nearby Katherine Blunt House, a building that exemplifies the College's earlier Colonial Revival style dormitory aesthetic, by way of a shared kitchen (Figure 3.10). Larrabee House was also larger than any previous residence hall at Connecticut College. Its four floors of long, double-loaded corridors housed 102 students in identical rooms (Figure 3.11).[168] Whereas the plans of the older residences endeavored to limit what one of the College's earliest architects deemed the distressingly institutional effect of long, unbroken hallways, the block of student rooms at Larrabee House consisted of just that.[169] Within student bedrooms, a visitor would not find the matching, solid wood bedroom sets that adorned the quarters of nearby attached Katherine Blunt House, but instead utilitarian built-in wardrobes and basic metal frame beds.[170] Larrabee House also omitted many of the public spaces of the earlier student dwellings. The carefully decorated and furnished social rooms, for instance, were combined into an open-plan living room and lounge with glass walls and durable, multipurpose sofas and chairs (Figure 3.12). To a large degree, the minimal architecture of Larrabee House had to do with cost. At the building's opening in 1957,

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[167] Gertrude E. Noyes, "Conn Currents," *Connecticut College Alumni News* 48.1 (1969): 26.
[168] "Dormitory Floor Plans: Larrabee House," Box: Campus and Buildings Box 8, Folder: Larrabee House, The Linda Lear Center for Special Collections and Archives, Connecticut College, New London, CT.
[169] Connecticut College Board of Trustees, *Preliminary Report*, 34.
[170] "Dormitory Floor Plans: Larrabee House."

College President Rosemary Park explained how Larrabee's form illustrated that the school could no longer afford the cut stone of the earlier residence halls.[171] Much of what was sacrificed in Larrabee House in order to cut costs, however, were the elements that lent earlier residence halls at Connecticut College a domestic, and therefore particularly feminine, atmosphere. Larrabee House's pared down design and basic interiors did not express as clearly the intended gender of its occupants and therefore served as the most appropriate environment for the College's new male students. A 1969 release from the College's news office expressed what the architecture of Larrabee provided when it described the first floor as "their own masculine sanctuary."[172]

The administrative reasons for selecting the ground floor of Larrabee House as the male residence hall are not enumerated in period planning records. Coed housing by floor stands at odds with the separate residential spheres originally planned at Connecticut College and already in use at Wesleyan and many other coeducational institutions. Larrabee House was also deficient in several important practical ways. The men's floor lacked enough rooms for the number of students admitted, meaning that several men had to be housed in nearby residence halls. The arrangement of the building, with all student bedrooms contained in a single block, also impeded the separate zones possible in the Freeman House accommodations. Moreover, as earlier planning documents had made clear, several of the smaller residence halls could have easily accommodated all of the incoming male students. The choice of Larrabee House had deeper implications specifically tied to the building's distinctive architecture.

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[171] McDonald, *The Architecture of Connecticut College*, 204.
[172] Connecticut College News Release, September 12, 1969.

Though built long before Connecticut College began considering the addition of male students, the practical austerity of Larrabee House also suited popular notions that male students were rowdy, careless, and likely to break the finer items that filled the College's older residence halls. Larrabee House featured little in the way of furnishing, and the building itself – finished in painting concrete, linoleum, and stained plywood – presented a highly durable residential environment. In a 1977 student newspaper interview, Connecticut College Director of Residence Halls Ms. Vorhees confirmed this mindset in her recollections of how, once coeducational housing spread throughout the campus, the administration equipped dormitories with "functional furniture" similar to that in Larrabee House to replace earlier fittings.[173] Professor of Child Development and 1967 Connecticut College alumna Peggy Sheridan stated the issue much more bluntly in an alumni magazine article celebrating the twentieth anniversary of coeducation, saying: "the beautiful and elegant furniture…was either destroyed or removed before it was destroyed."[174] In the first years of coeducation, the accommodation of men in Larrabee House expressed an expectation that men would treat their residential environment with less care.[175]

A final explanation for the accommodation of men in Larrabee House lies in the building's extensive use of glass. In design, Larrabee House embraced the modernist tenet of blurring the distinction between indoor space and the surrounding landscape through the use of plate glass windows in both the ground floor public space as well as

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[173] Michele Madeux and Cindy Mallett. "Coeducation is Solid," *The College Voice*, November 7, 1977, 9.
[174] Lisa Broujas, "The Success of Coeducation at Conn," *The Connecticut College Alumni Magazine* 65.4 (1988): 14.
[175] The few men not housed in Larrabee House during the College's first years of coeducation were lodged in North Complex, the school's only other modern style residence halls, which featured student rooms were nearly identical to those in Larrabee House.

the student rooms. Though today large shrubs surround the building, early photos of the residence hall show low plantings that preserved sightlines into and through the interior of Larrabee House (Figure 3.13). The literal transparency of Larrabee House permitted a type of observation by those outside the structure not possible with the smaller, double-hung or leaded glass windows of the older residence halls. The men living in Larrabee House were, by design, put on display. Whether or not this was an intentional move on the part of the College's administration remains unclear. The account of Peggie Ford, a student at Connecticut College in 1969 confirms, however, the constant scrutiny experienced by men living in Larrabee House when she acknowledges that "women didn't feel as though they could just casually drop in at Larrabee to check-out the guys – so for the most part they just watched them from afar."[176]

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Though the administrations of Wesleyan University and Connecticut College sought differing residential environments for their new students, one important similarity links the accommodations provided at each institution in the first years of coeducation: modern architecture. As discussed in Chapter One, both Wesleyan and Connecticut College invested heavily in modern student dwellings in the 1950s, and at each institution these spaces became the launching pads for coeducational residential life at the end of the following decade. While the form, arrangement, and appearance of the buildings themselves varied greatly between the two schools, the reasoning behind their construction did not. Larrabee House and the Foss Hill Dormitories were devised as a means to step away from each school's specific architectural tradition and embrace a new

[176] "Viewpoint," *Connecticut College News*, Spring 1973. Box: C.C. Goes Coed, 1967-79, Folder: Coeducation, The Linda Lear Center for Special Collections and Archives, Connecticut College, New London, CT.

age of higher education and a new generation of students. At Connecticut College, this meant abandoning the domestic feel that permeated earlier student residences for an open plan, modern materials, and minimal fittings. At Wesleyan, the new architecture resisted the hulking dormitories of identical rooms with small, irregular buildings with ample public space. What largely informed the design of the early student residences on each campus, however, was the gender of their occupants. Therefore, Wesleyan's Foss Hill complex looked and functioned more like conventional housing at a women's college, while Larrabee House reflected the barracks-like design of dormitories at many early twentieth century men's colleges. It should come as little surprise, therefore, that these spaces became fundamental during each school's transition to full coeducation. The perseverance of decades-old gender ideals led both administrations to select housing that best mimicked what they recognized to be workable models for single gender occupants.

CHAPTER FOUR
"Additional Spaces Required"[177]
Academic and Extracurricular Space

Wesleyan University and Connecticut College each committed to coeducation with a conviction that men and women sharing one campus held inherent advantages over single sex education, not the least of which was the creation of a campus environment more attuned to the demographics of modern society. Both schools identified the changes that would come with coeducation primarily in relation to the social dynamic of student life and "not of great fundamental importance as an educational device."[178] This statement grew from one of the fundamental doctrines driving the transition at each institution: that men and women shared the same scholarly abilities, making academic coeducation an easy decision. Such an impartial mindset would likely not have been expressed even one generation earlier, but by the late 1960s the rising number of women in professional settings paired with numerous reports on the women's aptitude in both single sex and coeducational environments had, at least within academic circles, effectively quashed former opinions of men as more intellectually able than women.[179]

Though the organizers of coeducation at both Connecticut College and Wesleyan schools publicly professed that men and women were equals in academic capabilities, persistent beliefs that men and women naturally gravitated towards different areas of academia and extracurricular activities informed the coeducation planning process. Conversations about open enrollment at each school focused not on what men and

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[177] Memo from John Martin to Robert Rosenbaum, Provost, April 25, 1966, Folder: Colleges: CO-ED for Women, Wesleyan University Special Collections and Archives, Middletown, CT.
[178] Excerpts from D. Eldridge's Carnegie Report on Coeducation, n.d., Folder: Colleges: CO-ED for Women, Wesleyan University Special Collections and Archives, Middletown, CT.
[179] Eisenmann, Linda. *Higher Education for Women in Postwar America, 1945-1965* (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006), 21, 66-68.

women were each *able* to do, but what they would *want* to do. Both groups assumed that student interests would correspond directly to traditional gender roles and therefore altered preexisting campus expansion plans to bolster previously underrepresented programs. As a result, coeducation at Connecticut College and Wesleyan represented far more than a change to the makeup of the student body. At both schools, the transition reordered the architectural development of academic and recreational space and had lasting influence on campus expansion programs.

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A full two years before the decision to admit women as semester exchange students, Wesleyan University's administration already eagerly anticipated the curricular expansion possible with coeducation. In 1966, the Educational Policy Committee presented a report to University president Victor L. Butterfield enumerating the many areas of study that would prove attractive to women students and likely flourish if coeducation came to pass at Wesleyan. First among these were theater, music, and the fine arts. At the time, Wesleyan lacked majors in any of these areas and, in the words of the committee, "[women's] value to the performing arts would be enormous…the richness and flexibility of these programs would be enhanced by the addition of women students." In the following paragraph, the document describes how the presence of women would also likely produce "a revivifying and strengthening effect on the MAT program," eventually leading to the development of a four year, accelerated master's degree in teaching. For those more interested in a social work track, the committee suggests a curriculum "primarily for women but open also to men, designed to prepare

students for the anti-poverty program and the domestic Peace Corps."[180] A second document, released the same year after a summer planning session, states that "women's mixture of maternal and professional ideas" could also prompt the creation of child development and environmental studies programs.[181]

In part, the academic committee based their recommendations on the assumption that coeducation would entail an increase of the student body by at least several hundred individuals, which would in turn provide funding for curricular diversity. Such was the case at several formerly single sex institutions, including Yale, Princeton, and Vassar, and by the mid-1970s, Connecticut College and Wesleyan had also expanded their enrollments.[182] In the years before coeducation, however, the specific areas of study singled out by the Wesleyan committee addressed normative opinions that women were intrinsically inclined to excel in academic areas that complemented their purported mothering and domestic intuitions.[183] Education and childrearing fell squarely into this category, and many of the first women's seminaries (including Mount Holyoke) began as training schools for women teachers.[184] The Wesleyan committee's keen interest in an enlarged MAT program represented a persistence of the belief that women made natural educators. The proposed courses in public service address a popular twentieth-century understanding that educated women could also channel their compassion and

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[180] Memo from The Educational Policy Committee to President Butterfield and the Wesleyan Board of Trustees, April 4, 1966, Folder: Colleges: CO-ED for Women, Wesleyan University Special Collections and Archives, Middletown, CT.
[181] "Appendix A, Conference at Wesleyan University to Discuss Education for Women, June 23-24, 1966," Folder: Colleges: CO-ED for Women, Wesleyan University Special Collections and Archives, Middletown, CT.
[182] Synnott, "A Friendly Rivalry," 122-123; Potts, *Wesleyan University*, 242; Marthers, Paul. *Eighth Sister No More* (New York, NY: Peter Lang Press Inc., 2011), 140.
"A History of Coeducation," Vassar Encyclopedia, 2005 (accessed 1/22/14) < http://vcencyclopedia.vassar.edu/coeducation/a-history-of-coeducation.html >.
[183] Peril, *College Girls*, 181.
[184] Lefkowitz-Horowitz, *Alma Mater*, 28.

homemaking instincts into improving America's cities and aiding the nation's indigent. This concept was so popular in the progressive era that it had earned the title "municipal housekeeping."[185] The arts too were considered a topic in which women would excel due to an innate eye for color, form, and order. Alongside teacher training, art classes had historically formed the basis of many women's colleges.[186] One of the first facilities planned for Connecticut College in 1914 was a large building dedicated to the "Applied Arts."[187] A desire to expand the arts programs at Wesleyan in preparation for women echoed this long-standing tradition.

The recommendations of Wesleyan's education committee met with mixed reviews when shared at a 1966 meeting of female staff and professors' wives organized to gather feedback on preliminary plans for coeducations. The group voiced "firm opposition" to any sort of vocational training for teachers, and made clear their expectations for coeducation by stating "the same curriculum advised for the male students should be used for the women."[188] Those present at the meeting may have understood the inherently sexist underpinnings of adding to the MAT program, or perhaps they simply believed that the young women applying to a top-tier and recently coed school were unlikely to pursue a traditionally gendered career path. Wesleyan's education program remained largely unchanged, and today consists only of a supplementary certificate program.[189] When discussing the topic of women students'

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[185] John Mack Faragher and Florence Howe, *Women and Higher Education in American History: Essays from the Mount Holyoke Sesquicentennial Symposia* (New York: NY: Norton Press, 1988), 174.
[186] Miller-Bernal and Poulson, 13.
[187] Board of Trustees, *Connecticut College Preliminary Report*, frontispiece.
[188] "Appendix B, Meeting With Women of the Wesleyan Community, August 10, 1966," Folder: Colleges: CO-ED for Women, Wesleyan University Special Collections and Archives, Middletown, CT.
[189] "Certificate in the Study of Education," Wesleyan University, 2014 (accessed 1/22/14) < http://www.wesleyan.edu/cse/ >.

potential effect on Wesleyan's arts programs, however, the assembly agreed that the women would likely "concentrate more heavily than the men" in art-related majors and that expansion of arts offerings was "probably wise."[190] In a follow-up report sent to President Butterfield soon after the meeting, the Educational Policy Committee reaffirmed this message, asserting that the growth of Wesleyan's fine arts program represented the most viable measure to attract and retain women students.

For Wesleyan's campus architect, John Martin, the timing of this assessment was ideal. In 1952, the ca. 1838 Alsop House on High Street opened as the campus art building (Figure 4.1). Within a decade, demand had outgrown the small facility and a 1963 student newspaper article describing the University's long range plans state that a larger and purpose-built art center had been a development priority for several years.[191] In 1965, the administration selected New Haven architect Kevin Roche to design the center. Though Roche is now recognized for the still-active firm that he began with John Dinkeloo, at the time that he was hired by Wesleyan he was best known as the chief associate to Eero Saarinen.[192] The first drawings for the center date from 1966 and show a collection of fourteen low-slung square and rectangular buildings expanding asymmetrically from a walkway spanning the length of the site. This original plan included four performance spaces, offices for each of the fine arts departments, several galleries, numerous studios and practice spaces, a centrally placed arts library, and a

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[190] "Appendix B, Meeting With Women of the Wesleyan Community, August 10, 1966."
[191] "Long Range Plans: First Year," *The Wesleyan Argus*, November 8, 1963, n.p.
[192] Starr, *Welcome to Wesleyan*, 14.
"Roche, Kevin, Born 1922," ArchiSeek, 2009 (accessed 1/22/14) < http://archiseek.com/2009/kevin-roche-born-1922/#.Ut7Z5mQo4y4 >.

special facility designed to hold a Javanese percussion orchestra purchased by the university in the mid 1960s (Figure 4.2).[193]

Even before the Educational Policy Committee assembled their recommendations for President Butterfield, Wesleyan's Board of Trustees was considering how coeducation might change the form and features of the new art center. In a memorandum dated from April 1966, John Martin reported to Provost Robert Rosenbaum on the additional facilities needed assuming the enrollment of three hundred women by the time of its completion. These included a greater number of art studios, offices for female faculty, separate dance studios, and of course, women's restrooms and showers.[194] In a second memorandum between Vice President Burton Hallowell and President Butterfield from only a week earlier, Hallowell advised Butterfield to "inform John Martin and Kevin Roche that the Art-Theatre-Music Building be designed for the same absolute number as presently planned, but that at least 300 of this number be women."[195] It would appear that even the proposed site for the art center was reconsidered in the context of coeducation. The minutes of a 1967 trustee meeting contain discussion of whether art center planning should be put on hold altogether until the selection of potential women's housing in order to assure that female students will be located near to the facilities. The board decided against the suspension, citing that it might "badly effect [SIC] faculty morale" and that the chosen site would have advantages whether near or far from women's residence halls.[196]

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[193] *The Wesleyan Argus*, "Bids Are Let for Construction of the 16-Building Arts Center."
[194] Memo from John Martin to Robert Rosenbaum, Provost, April 25, 1966.
[195] Memo from Burton C. Hallowell to President Butterfield, April 19, 1966, Folder: Colleges: CO-ED for Women, Wesleyan University Special Collections and Archives, Middletown, CT.
[196] Minutes of the Adjourned Annual Meeting of the Board of Trustees, February 4, 1967, Volume: Board of Trustees Minutes, Wt 1966-7, Wesleyan University Special Collections and Archives, Middletown, CT.

Over the next three years, Roche worked closely with a university committee of arts faculty to rework his original layout.[197] By 1969, the design of the center was largely complete and comprised a "sub campus" of sixteen separate concrete-block and limestone-clad structures linked by walkways and underground corridors (Figure 4.3).[198] The groundbreaking for the new art center occurred in 1970 and the building opened in 1973 (Figure 4.4).[199]

Though preparations for the construction of a large art center at Wesleyan began several years before the decision to admit women, the project was undoubtedly modified by the announcement of coeducation. Many of the spaces listed in Martin's 1966 letter figured into the final, as-built design, as well as at least one "ladies' lounge," which appears in a ca. 1970 spec drawing (Figure 4.5).[200] Several buildings included in the 1966 proposal were also cut from the final plans. In early drawings, these facilities are labeled "Drama Laboratory," "Library," "Music Lecture Hall," and "Ethnic Music Building."[201] The elimination of these facilities may indicate a redistribution of the construction budget to address the facilities for women students listed in the April 1966 memorandum, which placed emphasis on the art department and dance program over spaces for music.[202] Whether or not this is the case, the frequent mention of the facility in several branches of

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[197] "Sacred Groves: Three University Fine Arts Center" *Architectural Forum* 140.2 (1974): 65.
[198] "New Directions: The Work of Kevin Roche and John Dinkeloo and Associates," *Architectural Record* 145. 5 (1968): 152-153.
"Bids Are Let for Construction of the 16-Building Arts Center," *The Wesleyan Argus*, September 25, 1969, n.p.; Starr, *Welcome to Wesleyan*, 14.
[199] Starr, *Welcome to Wesleyan*, 14.
[200] Center for the Arts Technical Drawings, November 6, 1969, Folder: Center for the Arts I, 08-021, Wesleyan University Special Collections and Archives, Middletown, CT.
Wesleyan's science center, completed in 1971, contains similarly labeled lounges leading into the women's bathrooms on each floor.
[201] Roche and Dinkeloo Architects, "Site Plan, Center for the Arts," Broadside Case Collection, Collection #1000-79, Wesleyan University Special Collections & Archives, Middletown, CT.
[202] Memo from John Martin to Robert Rosenbaum, Provost, April 25, 1966.

administrative discussion on coeducation also indicates that the center was understood as key to a successful transition to coeducation.

Wesleyan's administration may have shaped the spaces within the new art center to reflect imminent changes in the composition of the study body, but the architectural forms of the center's buildings – which remained largely unaltered from Roche's original proposal – communicated traditional conceptions of masculinity. Though small in scale to match several nearby nineteenth century homes, the center's buildings appear industrial, or even militaristic, with almost no variation between the exterior and interior finishes.[203] When describing a similar space on the campus of University of British Columbia, historian Patricia Vertinsky writes "on closer examination, the new 'brutalist' architecture (as some call it) was deeply masculine in its biases, projecting the notion that what it means to be masculine is, quite literally, to embody force, to embody competence, to occupy space, to have a physical presence in the world."[204] The austerity of Wesleyan's art center, which the administration clearly comprehended as serving women students, differed greatly from the intentionally domestic housing offered these same students at the Commons Club and then Hewitt Hall. Though constructed with women in mind, Wesleyan's art center did not adopt an aesthetic that signaled this fact.

The art center at Connecticut College, completed in 1969, presents a contrast to the architectural masculinity of Wesleyan's additions (Figure 4.6). Both facilities are stark and monumental, a collection of geometric forms with striking profiles. The two centers share a common building material, concrete, as well as an absence of ornament.

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[203] "New Directions: The Work of Kevin Roche and John Dinkeloo and Associates," *Architectural Record*.
[204] Patricia Vertinsky, "Locating a 'Sense of Place:' Space, Place, and Gender in the Gymnasium," in *Sites of Sport: Space, Place, Experience*, Vertinsky, Patricia, and John Bale, ed. (New York, NY: Routledge, 2004), 17.

Both are integrated into their sites, with subterranean levels that help to conceal their bulk. At Connecticut College, however, modernist principles still inform the building's arrangement, from the pilotis and recessed main floor to the glazed end walls that merge indoor and outdoor space and allow the viewer to observe the activities within. A projecting glass vestibule visually defines the art center's entrance. Pebbles imbedded in the concrete walls help to somewhat soften the building's simple forms.[205] The Connecticut College art center represented a highly modern addition to the mostly Colonial Revival campus, yet – when compared to the contemporary complex at Wesleyan - these features helped to soften the facility's asceticism. A literally open-ended and accessible space, the Connecticut College art center presented a far more welcoming building, one far more aligned with the cultural notion of the gracious female host.

Aside from presenting a differing take on modern concrete architecture, the Connecticut College facility addresses the fact that Wesleyan was by no means singular in its desire for an arts center in the 1960s. Colleges and universities throughout the nation were expanding their offerings in music, theater, and fine arts through the construction of substantial and often highly contemporary studio buildings. Connecticut College completed its new art center, designed by Gordon Bunshaft of Skidmore, Owing, and Merrill, in 1969.[206] These facilities corresponded to a cultural renaissance sweeping the United States in the 1960s that, in the words of an *Architectural Forum* article profiling the Wesleyan art center turned the arts from "a Sunday commodity" into "the

[205] McDonald, *The Architecture of Connecticut College*, 267, 269.
[206] Ibid., 265.

center stage stars" of academia.[207] For many schools, the construction of an arts center also represented a desire for greater interaction with their surrounding communities after decades of disengagement. The buildings, which often held open performances and provided space for local groups or summer conferences, also helped many schools to rebuild local relationships. In this way, the new art centers reflected the ideals of unity and social harmony that pervaded many institutions of higher education in the 1960s.[208]

Those in charge of the transition to coeducation at Wesleyan almost certainly looked to how other similar schools managed the change to make their original recommendations. At Princeton University, for example, a pre-coeducation document titled "The Patterson Report" called for more creative arts classes and an improved teacher-training program in preparation for women students.[209] Nor was Wesleyan the only institution to build an arts center with women in mind. The school's administration was likely well-aware of Dartmouth's Hopkins Art Center, completed in 1962, which George Mason University professor Mary Frances Donley Forcier cited as an attempt "to bring a humanizing and civilizing influence to the Dartmouth campus," and in doing so also "helped feminize the campus."[210] Dartmouth President Earnest Hopkins' daughter, Ann Hopkins Potter described the new center as "not designed primarily for the enjoyment of mothers and sisters and best girls and faculty wives and female residents of Hanover. However as it is dedicated to so many other things, then it automatically becomes a place of greatest enjoyment for a woman."[211] The "other things" suggested by Hopkins represented, of course, the artistic pursuits not previously available at

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[207] "Sacred Groves: Three University Fine Arts Center," 64.
[208] Turner, *Campus*, 281.
[209] Synnott, "A Friendly Rivalry," 126.
[210] Ibid., 157.
[211] Ibid., 158.

Dartmouth. At both Dartmouth and Wesleyan, the natural association between women and the arts made the construction of the arts center, even if not designed specifically with women students in mind, a move towards a more gender-balanced physical campus.

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The administration of Connecticut College attempted no significant changes to their extant academic program to prepare for male students. In terms of possible variance in the areas of study selected by each sex, the summit on coeducation in June of 1968 (also know as the Summer Planning Group) concluded that "significant differences, where they exist, reflect distinctive educational philosophies or the special strengths of particular faculties rather than philosophies or programs derived from the special needs of women or men."[212] At first glance, this approach suggests a belief that the school's already strong scholastic reputation and numerous recently constructed classroom and research facilities would attract men. A closer consideration shows, however, how the organizers of coeducation predicted that prospective male students would look beyond the classroom when considering Connecticut College. Whereas women applied to schools like Wesleyan or Yale to gain entre into academic programs previously denied to them, the men who enrolled in former women's colleges were looking for more than a scholarly setting. Therefore, organizers of coeducation at Connecticut College focused on providing extracurricular outlets seen as particularly important to *men's* collegiate experience, namely, athletics. The report of the Summer Planning Group states that sporting facilities and equipment, along with staff and programming, are "critical" to the

[212] "Response to Supplemental Questionnaire," June 23, 1970, Folder: Co-education: Inception at Conn, 1967-70, The Linda Lear Center for Special Collections and Archives, Connecticut College, New London, CT.

viability of coeducation.[213] Later in the document, these needs are more specifically enumerated as "Fields for soccer, touch football, baseball, lacrosse, etc. …handball and squash courts, space for body building activities, trampolines and other gymnastic equipment used more widely by men."[214] The counsel of the Summer Planning Group was reflected in the responses to the alumnae poll on coeducation, in which several recent graduates expressed "uncertainty about sending a son to a coeducational CC…due to uncertainty about provisions for full-scale athletic facilities for men…"[215]

By the mid-1960s, Physical education and athletics had a long history at Connecticut College. Since the establishment of the first full curriculum college for women in the early nineteenth century, administrators viewed exercise as central to women's education. Many believed that only physically fit and routinely active women could carry the mental hardships that higher education would place upon delicate, feminine constitutions. In the earliest years of Mount Holyoke, founder Mary Lyons required students to exercise daily through constitutional strolls, calisthenics, and domestic chores.[216] By the turn of the twentieth century, many women students at both single sex and coeducational colleges and universities participated in physical education and sports. For the most part, women's athletics at this time differed significantly from the most established collegiate sport, football, and included more genteel and less strenuous options such as tennis, horseback riding, swimming, and golf.

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[213] "Coeducation: Report of the Summer Planning Group," 24.
[214] "Coeducation for Connecticut College: Preliminary Report #2," 34.
[215] "Comments From Alumnae on Questionnaire about Coeducation," February 13, 1969, Folder: Co-education: Inception at Conn, 1967-70, The Linda Lear Center for Special Collections and Archives, Connecticut College, New London, CT.
[216] Lefkowitz Horowitz, *Alma Mater*, 25.

To this end, the original proposal for the Connecticut College campus included 15 tennis courts and the initial wave of construction included a temporary gymnasium (Figure 1.10). In the coming decades, the physical development of the campus centered on three tiered sports greens where women students played field hockey, practiced golf, and performed dance routines, among other activities (Figure 4.7). By the late 1940s, the College was campaigning for funds to construct a new gymnasium, which resulted in the construction of Crozier Williams Center in 1959.[217] A sprawling student center, alumnae office, and sports facility, Crozier Williams Center dwarfed the rest of the campus buildings and contained a swimming pool, bowling alley, snack bar, various athletic courts, several lounges, and numerous offices.[218] In form, Crozier Williams Center also affirmed the modernist aesthetic that had characterized several of the College's contemporary building projects (Figure 4.8).

Given the impressive addition of Crozier Williams less than a decade before the College began to plan for male students, the focus on adding sports facilities for men seems unwarranted. Though the building lacked sufficient men's locker rooms, this was a relatively minor change and represented only a fraction of the extra resources listed by the Summer Planning Group. Likely more pressing was the fact that the building lacked facilities for those sports seen as specifically masculine. Through its amenities, Crozier Williams Center preserved gendered athletic spheres through the inclusion of spaces only for sports associated with, or deemed appropriate for, women. Perhaps most importantly, the facilities of Crozier Williams were not devoted solely to athletics, but instead represented something more akin to a student activities center. The building was designed

[217] McDonald, *The Architecture of Connecticut College*, 228.
[218] Ibid., 230-231.

as a place for socialization as much as for physical recreation. Even the basketball and tennis courts functioned as multipurpose spaces that could easily be converted for dances or other campus events.[219] Overall, Crozier Williams Center embodied the specific type of physical education that took place at a women's college but was not considered suitable for a coeducational institution.

Though several of the key documents pertaining to coeducation at Connecticut College made clear the need for more sports facilities, the administration did not rush to provide new facilities before men arrived on campus. In fact, the desired sports facilities did not develop until just over a decade after the transition to coeducation. Instead, the first male students at Connecticut College were permitted to take physical education courses at the nearby Coast Guard Academy.[220] In 1970 the College's new athletic director, Charles B. Luce, presented President Charles Shain with a detailed, three phase plan for expanding Connecticut College's athletic space. Luce indicates that the proposal emerged from a suggestion by the President that "the physical education staff could consider plans for a "rather simple" men's building" and then advised an alternative scheme consisting of immediate alterations to the Crozier Williams center followed by the construction of "a kind of field house with a portable floor for basketball and collapsible bleachers…an area which would accommodate those working in track and field…and would perhaps have a plan for a swimming pool at a later date."[221] Luce's recommendations likely generated a series of minor renovations to the Crozier Williams

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[219] Ibid., 232.
[220] Bailey Judie, "Togetherness on Campus: The Boys at Connecticut," *The Plain Dealer*, September 28, 1969, 1E-2E.
[221] Letter to Charles Shain, January 28, 1977, Box: Campus and Buildings Box 8, Folder: Buildings: Athletic Center, Planning and Construction of a New Athletic Center (Folder 1), The Linda Lear Center for Special Collections and Archives, Connecticut College, New London, CT.

Center in 1973, however the field house would not find form at Connecticut College until the late 1980s.[222] Instead, in the spring of 1972 the administration chose to embark on a campaign to construct an ice rink; an endeavor that would prove highly divisive over the following five years.

The Dayton Arena at Connecticut College lies to the east of the main campus, across Route 32 on a site overlooking the Thames River (Figure 4.9). The building was the result of a series of significant monetary gifts to the schools, the largest of which came from the Dayton family and was specially earmarked for an ice rink.[223] The building represented the first stage of what would soon be an extensive sports complex with its own driveway and pedestrian bridge leading from the campus (Figure 4.10). The rink's removed site also allowed for its architect, Dan Tully Associates, to create a building that would have appeared unbefitting on the main campus. A popular gymnasium architect who had worked at many prestigious eastern colleges, Tully created for Connecticut College an ice rink roofed by a series of laminated wooden hyperbolic paraboloids supported by steel rods and resting on concrete buttresses.[224] From the outset, the College administration also mandated that the building would serve the surrounding community, and even today the rink accommodates local sports leagues and other events.[225]

Though the Connecticut College administration made clear that the rink was built "in compliance with the donor's wishes, and not because the College cares more about its

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[222] McDonald, *The Architecture of Connecticut College*, 290.
[223] Ibid.
[224] Ibid., 291.
[225] Memo to the Board of Trustees, April 26, 1974, Box: Campus and Buildings Box 8, Folder: Buildings: Dayton Arena – Early Ice Rink Planning & Pierpont Ice Rink Proposal, 1974 (folder 2), The Linda Lear Center for Special Collections and Archives, Connecticut College, New London, CT.

athletics than other departments," the building represented a significant divergence from the Skidmore, Owing, and Merrill campus master plan penned just before the decision to accept male students.[226] As mentioned in Chapter One, this scheme focused on the expansion of academic space and sought to reorganize how users moved around the campus through the addition of pedestrian boulevards. It did not, however, indicate the addition of more athletic facilities. Likewise, the associated fundraising campaign literature makes no mention of any planned sports buildings. These omissions substantiate the fact that coeducation refocused Connecticut College's development schedule and led to very different priorities than those projected earlier in the decade.

Opposition to the construction of an ice rink began as soon as the College announced its plans to do so in 1974. The still largely female student body understood the project as a maneuver intended specifically to attract men. Though largely driven by private donations, many in the College community also viewed the project as a costly misstep during a period of national economic downturn that had prompted budget cuts and dining room closures elsewhere on campus.[227] At times, the arguments against the rink harkened back to traditional understandings of women's athletic interests. In a letter to President Shain in April of 1974, a group of concerned students write that the rink is clearly intended for the school's budding hockey team and meant to attract "male students interested in body-contact sports."[228] In response, the College indicated that the building would also serve the needs of student ice skaters and therefore "increase the

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[226] Andrew Rodwin, "Concern for Skating Rink's Utility," *The College Voice*, February 13, 1978, 6.
[227] McDonald, *The Architecture of Connecticut College*, 276.
[228] Letter from Concerned Students to Charles Shain, April 10, 1974, Box: Campus and Buildings Box 8, Folder: Buildings: Dayton Arena – Early Ice Rink Planning & Pierpont Ice Rink Proposal, 1974 (folder 2), The Linda Lear Center for Special Collections and Archives, Connecticut College, New London, CT.

attractiveness of Connecticut College to both men and women."[229] So strong was the opposition to the building that the administration chose to postpone its construction for nearly five years.[230]

In its second, and ultimately successful, attempt to construct the ice rink in the late 1970s, the College administration was far less ambiguous in its presentation of the project. In an interview with a student newspaper reporter in 1977, the Chairman of the Board of Trustees stated unequivocally "Recent reports from the Admissions Office have shown that Conn College has serious difficulties in attracting male applicants because of the lack of physical education facilities."[231] Others in the administration cited that fact that the men's hockey team had for years been commuting to practice at Wesleyan, which constructed a multi-purpose rink earlier in the decade.[232] Upon its completion, the Connecticut College ice rink was described in a news release from the school's press office as "rugged" and "handsome."[233] These clearly gendered words express the extent to which the facility was intended to appeal to a new male contingent of the student body.

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[229] Letter from Jeanette B. Hersey to O. Desiderato and David Smalley, April 16, 1974, Box: Campus and Buildings Box 8, Folder: Buildings: Dayton Arena – Early Ice Rink Planning & Pierpont Ice Rink Proposal, 1974 (folder 2), The Linda Lear Center for Special Collections and Archives, Connecticut College, New London, CT.

[230] Letter from W.E.S. Griswold to Edward G. Preble, August 20, 1974, Box: Campus and Buildings Box 8, Folder: Buildings: Dayton Arena – Early Ice Rink Planning & Pierpont Ice Rink Proposal, 1974 (folder 2), The Linda Lear Center for Special Collections and Archives, Connecticut College, New London, CT. News Release from Connecticut College, October 16, 1980, Box: Campus and Buildings Box 8, Folder: Buildings: Dayton Arena – Early Ice Rink Planning & Pierpont Ice Rink Proposal, 1974 (folder 2), The Linda Lear Center for Special Collections and Archives, Connecticut College, New London, CT.

[231] "Griswold Discusses Activity Fees, Athletic Facilities, and Ames," *The College Voice*, October 28, 1977, 9.

[232] Ibid.; "Welcome to Wesleyan University," Brochure, 1967, Box 1, Collection 1000-209, Wesleyan University Campus Maps, Wesleyan University Special Collections and Archives, Middletown, CT.

[233] News Release from Connecticut College, October 16, 1980; Vivian Segall, "Skating Under the Hyperbolic Paraboloid," *The Connecticut College Alumni Magazine* 57.3 (1980): 3.

A women's hockey team did not form until the spring of 1983, several years after the ice rink's completion.[234]

Important to note is the fact that, like Wesleyan's art center, Connecticut College was not alone among schools constructing athletic facilities in the 1970s. In fact, Wesleyan greatly expanded its sports facilities throughout the 1970s, in small part due to the complaints of women students who arrived on campus and found that the University offered no athletic facilities for their gender.[235] On a larger scale, the changes that took place at Wesleyan and other schools reflected the introduction of the Education Amendment Acts of 1972. Though the act consisted of many components, by far the most widely known was Title IX, which banned gender exclusion from any federally funded programs and focused on women's participation in collegiate athletics. Title IX left many formerly all-male colleges and universities scrambling to construct sports facilities and remained a hotly contested directive through the 1970s.[236]

Connecticut College continued to develop its athletic facilities through the 1980s and into the early 1990s. The large field house called for by Charles Luce in 1970 broke ground in 1984 and was soon after renovated and then expanded.[237] This persistent improvement of athletic facilities evidences the important variations in how Connecticut College and Wesleyan managed coeducation as the impetus for physical expansion and, more generally, the disparities between the women's colleges that transitioned to coeducation in the period and their all-male counterparts that did the same. At Wesleyan,

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[234] Mari Smultea, "Women's Hockey Begins," *The Connecticut College Voice*, March 1, 1983, 8.
[235] Starr, *Welcome to Wesleyan*, 28.
John Hagel, "The Complaints of Six Women Discussed With Student EPC," *The Wesleyan Argus*, April 10, 1970, n.p.
[236] Thelin, *Higher Education*, 347.
[237] McDonald, *The Architecture of Connecticut College*, 290.

the art center appears to be the only facility that was realized in response to the admittance of women students. This temporally and architecturally limited change addresses what Wesleyan's administration surely already knew, that many of the University's pre-existing curricula and the school's strong academic reputation would attract qualified women for whom the new art center would be a bonus, but not a deciding factor. Women students throughout the northeast were clamoring to get into formerly all-male schools; Yale had 2,850 applications for its first class of 240 women.[238] Wesleyan had for decades been considered a highly prestigious, second tier "Little Ivy" and would therefore prove highly attractive. In opting for coeducation Wesleyan's administration understood that their enrollment would spike with very intelligent students who had previously been denied entrance to some of the nation's best colleges and universities.

Connecticut College faced very different circumstances. Widely know by its nickname, the Eighth Sister, many viewed the school as slightly lower in prestige than the sought-after Seven Sister colleges. This ranking, however, applied to a far more limited field of women's higher education. Even if women attained standing as academic equals, all-female colleges still held a finishing school stigma for those who came of age before the 1960s. Such was the case at Vassar, which accepted men in 1969. In the years that followed, the school's administration noted that "men did not see Vassar as just one among many good colleges," but instead chose to apply because it represented something singular and unconventional.[239] In preparing for coeducation, schools like Connecticut

[238] Miller-Bernal, "Coeducation: An Uneven Progression," 12.
[239] Clyde Griffen and Elizabeth A. Daniels, "Vassar College: A Seven Sisters College Chooses Coeducation," in *Challenged by Coeducation: Women's Colleges Since the 1960s*, Miller-Bernal, Leslie and Susan L. Poulson, eds. (Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University Press, 2006), 37.

College, Skidmore, and Sarah Lawrence were faced with a need to shake their public reputation as women's colleges. Each administration knew that they would struggle to attract male students to a school with a history and physical environment based on the requirements of women, and the development of competitive athletics proved one way to achieve this end. Even so, one decade after the decision to open its doors to men Connecticut College president Oakes Ames summed up this effect, saying "the image at Connecticut College is still that of women, with men accepted…Images take a long time to change."[240]

From the perspective of the physical campus, the disparity between how long-standing collegiate identity shaped public perceptions of Connecticut College and Wesleyan led to very different approaches. Whereas Wesleyan was simply able to amend plans to buildings already on the drawing board, Connecticut College embarked on an entirely new building campaign to make the school more attractive to men. Wesleyan added a few facilities that were thought to be particularly desirable to the opposite sex, but Connecticut College had to effectively de-feminize the school. In this context, the duration of the College's work on the athletic center, first in planning stages, then in construction, and finally in expansion and renovation, matters. From 1970 until the early 1990s, the College could legitimately claim to be in the process of continually expanding its athletic offerings. One can imagine the value of this statement from an admissions standpoint, where prospective male students received their first impression of the school. Though while men's enrollment Connecticut College may have led to significant and long-ranging changes in campus development priorities when compared to the redrafting

[240] Jackie Trask Ulrich, "Future of Education for Women Threatened," *The New Haven Register*, March, 18, 1979.

of Wesleyan's art center, both schools expressed expectations for mixed gender learning through architectural change.

CHAPTER 5:
"A Fully Coeducated Campus:"[241]
The Student Response

The years of planning that preceded coeducation at Connecticut College and Wesleyan University did not end with the arrival of each institution's first mixed gender class. Over the 1970s, the administrations of both schools continued to amend and adjust their policies to address the unanticipated needs of the quickly growing and increasingly diverse student body. As with the preparations of the previous decade, many of these matters found expression through changes to each school's built environment. Though American higher education in the 1970s is often viewed as a time of consolidation and a sharply competitive student mindset that Yale president Kingman Brewster termed as a "grim professionalism," both Connecticut College and Wesleyan continued to expand their physical plant through significant construction projects.[242] Student involvement in administrative matters marked another important transformation in the operation of each school. The protests and petitions of the late 1960s established a high level of student involvement in administrative decisions that continued through the 1970s at both Connecticut College and Wesleyan. This participation greatly affected many of the decisions made with regard to coeducation. Whereas before the transition to coeducation, each administration unilaterally determined how the shift would map onto both existing and planned campus space, in the years following open enrollment students took part in shaping their environment to meet their specific needs. At both Connecticut College and Wesleyan, this interaction was central to the creation of a truly coeducational campus.

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[241] Charles Shain, "Letter to the Editor (To Appear In The Spring 1980 Alumni Magazine)," n.d. Box: C.C. Goes Coed, 1967-79, Folder: C.C. Goes Coed, 1967-79, The Linda Lear Center for Special Collections and Archives at Connecticut College, New London, CT.

[242] "The Yale of My Day: Surviving Grim Professionalism," *Yale Alumni Magazine*, 1997, accessed 2/10/14 < http://archive.yalealumnimagazine.com/issues/97_03/beck.html >.

This chapter will explore how the plans laid by each school's administration evolved in response to student demands, as well as how students informally developed spaces not included in the initial arrangements for coeducation.

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As anticipated in the planning process, the greatest changes that coeducation brought to the built campus took place not in the realm of academics, but in the social and residential spaces of each institution. Key to the integration of living space on each campus was the collapse of parietals at each school. By 1970, students at both institutions had succeeded in bringing an end to comprehensive rules concerning dormitory visiting hours and other social regulations.[243] Self-governance, with residents collectively deciding upon quiet hours and guest policy, became the mode of operation in dormitories at both schools. For Wesleyan students the change meant that the presence of women in the dorms was no longer limited by visiting hours, and the previous practice of lodging visiting girlfriends in off-campus boardinghouses quickly faded.[244] The changes were most evident at Connecticut College, where the administrations of earlier decades sought to preserve the untarnished femininity of its charges by closely monitoring student residences. The front desk receptionist in the Connecticut College residence halls disappeared by the mid 1970s, and senior student "housefellows" replaced the faculty wardens of the previous decades.[245] For students at both schools, the end of parietals represented an important step in claiming ownership over campus space, an assertion that would enable many more changes with the arrival of coeducation.

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[243] "There's a Guy in the John Or: Parietals are Passed," *Satyagraha*, September 30, 1969, 2; Jim Tober, "Change in Parietals at Wes Paralleled at Other Colleges," *The Wesleyan Argus*, October 18, 1968, n.p.
[244] Dan Bobkoff, "From road trips to co-eds, the second coming of women to Wes," *The Wesleyan Argus*, October 22, 1979, n.p.
[245] Jay Levin, interview, February 5, 2014.

At Wesleyan, student modifications to the housing policies outlined by the administration began during the exchange program. Lucy Knight recalled how, after only a year in the Commons Club, she and several other women transfer students opted to rent rooms on the top floor of the newly renovated Alpha Rho Chi fraternity house. When asked why she chose another off-campus house over the Commons Club, Knight indicated that Alpha Chi Rho board included meals in the fraternity's dining room, something not offered in the University-provided accommodation. Though the Commons Club contained a kitchen, Knight reported that neither she nor the other residents used the facility.[246] At least initially, the cooperative house mentality of shared domestic responsibility recommended in the 1967 Working Papers on Coeducation never fully materialized at the Commons Club.

The rapidity with which women transfer students sought out their own lodgings at Wesleyan prefigured the speed with which the more general housing policies yielded to rapid enrollments and student demands after the arrival of the first coeducational freshman class. At Wesleyan, Hewitt Hall could only accommodate the first class of women, and by the 1971-72 school year each of the Foss Hill dormitories contained at least one floor of women.[247] The following year, women were housed in nearly every residence hall on campus.[248] Though single sex floors remained standard at Wesleyan in these initial years, students began lobbying for coed housing by room as early as 1971. Student newspaper articles chart the ongoing dialogue between dormitory representatives

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[246] Lucy Knight, interview, January, 18, 2014

[247] *The Freshman Guide, Wesleyan University, 1970-1971*, p. 12. Wesleyan University Special Collections and Archives, Middletown, CT.

[248] "Rent Rise Highlights Dorm Plans," *The Wesleyan Argus*, April 16, 1971, n.p.; Carol Corner, "Housing Body Gives Prelimary Report; Clark to be Coed," *The Wesleyan Argus*, March 22, 1972.

and the University's residential office.[249] Within six years of coeducation, University policies permitted coed housing by room, with shared bathrooms.[250] By 1974, women students also gained the right to live in coed off-campus housing, though as Lucy Knight's account shows, many women probably pursued such accommodations before gaining sanction from the University.[251]

Student housing at Connecticut College followed a similar trajectory. For the first two years of coeducation, men remained on single sex floors in Larrabee House and several of the North Complex residence halls. A 1970 student poll demonstrated a strong preference for greater gender integration throughout the campus.[252] The responses to this survey, as well as a subsequent student meeting with President Shain, showed that women students recognized the benefits of integrated residences as more than just democratic togetherness. For many, men in a greater number of residence halls provided "an excellent opportunity for greater campus security, especially concerning non-campus intruders."[253] The College administration appeared receptive to this opinion, and men were living in several more residence by the beginning of the 1972-73 academic year. By 1976, the majority of students lived on coed floors, with single gender accommodations available as an "alternative housing" option.[254] As at Wesleyan, some men chose to rent

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[249] "Housing Bid Opens Soon; Coed Housing in a Year," *The Wesleyan Argus*, April, 23, 1971, n.p.
[250] Bobby Zeliger, "Wesleyan commemorates 30-year anniversary of coeducation," *The Wesleyan Argus*, April 25, 2000, 1, 6.
[251] "Housing for 1971-72," *The Wesleyan Argus*, April 16, 1971, n.p.
[252] Patricia Strong, "Campus Dialogue Focuses on Problems of Dorm Life," *Satyagraha*, February 17, 1970, 1.
Connecticut College "C" Book, 1973-1974, RG 47.02.02, Office of Student Life Box 6, The Linda Lear Center for Special Collections and Archives, Connecticut College, New London, CT.
[253] Strong, "Campus Dialogue Focuses on Problems of Dorm Life."
[254] "Counterpoint," ca. 1976, Box: C.C. Goes Coed, 1967-79, Folder: Coeducation, Box: C.C. Goes Coed, 1967-79, The Linda Lear Center for Special Collections and Archives, Connecticut College, New London, CT.

houses just off of the campus or in nearby New London, a decision that the College did not appear to discourage.[255]

Beyond the relative speed with which each school transitioned to fully coed living arrangements, one aspect of gender-based housing policy shared at both Connecticut College and Wesleyan was the volley of complaints over the initial decision to group the newly integrated students into a single residence hall or floor for the first few years of coeducation. Men at Wesleyan and women at Connecticut College argued that this arrangement made their new peers seem unapproachable and that it allowed for these minorities to retreat into a single gender residential sanctuary. For those who made up these initial populations, however, this arrangement provided a much-needed community at what was still primarily a single sex school. Both Lucy Knight at Wesleyan, and Jay Levin, a member of Connecticut College's first class of men, stressed the importance of the single-sex accommodations and the bonds that they formed with the other students in their residence. Therefore, while primarily addressing perceived gender requirements and predispositions, the initial residential separation established by each administration provided a sense of community that greatly improved the lives of each school's first coed students.

The memories shared by Knight and Levin point to the fact that gender parity, and the associated changes to student culture, did not occur overnight at Connecticut College or Wesleyan. News coverage, both from outside sources and from each school's public relations offices, intimated that the arrival of the first coed class represented a paradigm shift in campus culture. In reality, the traditions that had shaped each school's identity continued largely unaffected in the first several years of coeducation. At Connecticut

[255] Jay Levin, interview, February 5, 2014.

College, for example, many women continued the "unfortunate habit of running off to Yale, Wesleyan, or Brown in pursuit of the current boyfriend" each weekend.[256] Jay Levin, one of the twenty-eight men in Connecticut College's class of 1973, remembers how all but three of the College's nine dining rooms closed each weekend to account for the hundreds of students who left campus.[257] In the words of Mike Farrar, another member of the class of 1973, "our numbers were so small that we made only the barest of dents in the social habits of what was still very much a women's school."[258]

Early classes of women at Wesleyan expressed similar views. Male students continued to host women from other schools each weekend. One student, who transferred from Sarah Lawrence into Wesleyan's class of 1971, described how "on big weekends, Foss Hill seemed like a morgue of unclaimed young lovelies. We were jealous of the weekend imports."[259] Conversely, Lucy Knight described how, in the first years of coeducation, many "Wesmen" avoided interacting with women students under the assumption that they already had boyfriends and therefore held little interest in acquainting themselves with their opposite gender peers.[260] Nonetheless, the shift from a "suitcase college" to a campus-centric student culture appears to have occurred far more rapidly than at Connecticut College. By the fall of 1971, Beth Weinstein, a student writing for the school newspaper described how incoming freshmen reported feeling "as comfortable as they had in their coed high schools," while transfer students found "little to complain of in the coed set-up." The reasons for the switch may lie in the fact that,

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[256] Allen T. Carrol, "Conn Currents," *Connecticut College Alumni Magazine* 49.3 (1972): 17.
[257] Jay Levin, interview, February 5, 2014.
[258] Allen T. Carrol, "The Odds Were Overwhelming," *Connecticut College Alumni Magazine* 57.1 (1979): 4.
[259] "Wesleyan 70," *Wesleyan University Olla Podrida* 111 (1970): 111.
[260] Lucy Knight, interview, January 18, 2014.

even before coeducation, men at Wesleyan were less likely to visit a girl's school than invite dates to their campus, and therefore had less of a "road trip mentality" than many students of women's colleges. By the second year of coeducation, Weinstein continued, "many of the die-hard bastions of the all-male university have graduated."[261] Weinstein also pointed out that the shift in social life appears to have occurred in direct relation to women's access to a wider number of residence halls.[262]

Generally, issues surrounding residential life that surfaced as coeducation took root at Connecticut College and Wesleyan proved relatively short-lived, and each school experienced less student resistance or criticism than many other institutions transitioning during the same period. At Yale, for example, the first classes of freshmen women were housed in a single dormitory while upperclasswomen occupied rooms near the main entrances of their residential colleges. The University intended this system to produce greater sociability, but resulted in a spread out population where isolated female students "couldn't really find a community of women."[263] A similar scenario played out at Vassar, where the first men were housed on in small groups on coed floors in the college's sprawling central building.[264] Conversely, several years later at Dartmouth, an attempt to produce a shared identity by housing all incoming women in a single dormitory led to several acts of student vandalism against the building and its occupants.[265] Women students at Yale and Princeton also struggled against dining clubs that refused female

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[261] Beth Weinstein, "Girls No Longer Oddity on Campus," *The Wesleyan Argus*, October 5, 1971, n.p.
[262] Ibid.
[263] Courtney Pannell, "Forty Years of Women at Yale," *Yale Daily News*, 2009 (accessed 2/10/14) < http://yaledailynews.com/blog/2009/09/21/forty-years-of-women-at-yale/ >.
[264] Matthew Brelis, "You've Got Male," *Vassar Alumnae/I Quarterly*, 2011 (accessed 2/1014) < http://vq.vassar.edu/issues/2011/01/features/youve-got-male.html >.
[265] Mary Frances Donley Forcier, ""Men of Dartmouth" and "The Lady Engineers,"" in *Going Coed*, Miller-Bernal, Leslie and Susan L. Poulson, ed. (Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University Press, 2004), 173.

applicants, leading to discrimination lawsuits at each school.[266] In large measure, Connecticut College and Wesleyan were able to avoid these types of issues in part due to their small physical size and student populations, which compelled a sense of togetherness that sped the integration process.

Outside of either school's residence halls, coeducation accelerated a reorganization of campus social spaces that influenced physical development over the 1970s. Before open enrollment, social life at Wesleyan focused on the activities of off-campus fraternal organizations housed in privately owned accommodations. As suggested in Chapter One, the University provided little in the way of student social space until the completion of the Foss Hill dormitories. At Connecticut College, students constructed their peer relationships around their residence hall. Anne Mallek, who graduated from Connecticut College in 1971, described living in Katherine Blunt House each of her four years at the school with a tightly-knit group of friends whom she met in the dormitory her freshman year.[267] Connecticut College's student accommodations, which provided residents with both social space and dining rooms, promoted this type of bonding. At both schools, but particularly Connecticut College, these insular environments developed in response to the fact that many students migrated to men's schools on the weekends. With much of the student body gone from Friday until Sunday, opportunities for community activity on anything larger than a residential basis were few. In the years following coeducation, both schools experienced a sharp drop in the weekend exodus. As students sought out social connections on their own campus, the paucity of spaces for

[266] Synnott, "A Friendly Rivalry, 130-131.
[267] Anne Mallek, interview, October 1, 2013.

informal interaction, or what one Wesleyan student characterized as "spontaneous and personal conversation," became clear.[268]

Students at Connecticut College and Wesleyan pushed their respective administrations to address the issue of space for casual gatherings through the addition of social facilities and expanded student centers. At Connecticut College, changes to Crozier-Williams Center began as early as 1971, when several spaces were refurbished as multipurpose lounges and the building gained a number of pool tables. An article detailing the project made clear that "students will not only be responsible for the conversion of Cro, but will also assume responsibility for the maintenance and continued operation of facilities."[269] By 1975, the building had also gained a campus bar, known as "Cro Bar." Several more renovations over the 1970s and early 1980s provided spaces for the weekend social events that had previous taken place on the distant campuses of all-male schools.[270] A 1981 document titled "Special Report on Crozier-Williams Student Center: The Need for Revitalization" described these alterations as both a reaction "to a recent student opinion survey concerning the quality of student life at Connecticut College" as well as a method to sustain men's enrollments, which had dipped slightly after peaking in 1975.[271]

Wesleyan students first expressed discontentment with the small size of Downey House, which had served as the student center since the University purchased it in 1936, in the late 1960s. After the admission of women, these complaints increased enough to

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[268] Alan Jacobs, "The Undergraduate View," *The Wesleyan University Alumnus* 83.1 (1979): 22.
[269] Mary Ann Still, "Student Aid Necessary for Cro Renovation," *The Connecticut College Pundit*, November 9, 1971, 1.
[270] McDonald, *The Architecture of Connecticut College*, 232.
[271] "Special Report on Crozier-Williams Student Center: The Need for Revitalization," December 9, 1981. Campus and Buildings Box 2, File: Crozier-Williams Student Center: Renovations, Planning, and Fundraising, The Linda Lear Center for Special Collections and Archives at Connecticut College, New London, CT.

compel the administration to action. As at Connecticut College, one of the first significant renovations to the building in 1973 consisted of the addition of the "Cardinal Pub" in the building's basement.[272] The campus bar proved highly popular, and was described by one student as follows: "It's like a big relaxed party, but with none of the pressures of campus wide or frat parties. It's somewhere that everyone is socially acceptable."[273] Over the following years, students continued to lobby for a larger student center, and in 1984 the University completed substantial renovation project that transformed a laboratory in the John Bell Scot Memorial building into Davenport Student Center. This space, which contained several eateries and multipurpose rooms along with the campus post office, was renovated to function as classrooms following the construction of the Usdan University Center in 2007.[274]

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The academic and extracurricular development of Connecticut College and Wesleyan in the years following coeducation varied somewhat more than the changes to housing policy and social life. At Connecticut College, surveys in the years following open enrollment showed that men and women distributed themselves evenly over areas of study, dispelling fears that certain majors would become identified with a single gender.[275] Nonetheless, admissions literature from the 1970s indicates that the College increased offerings in "pre-med, pre-law, computer programming, and a variety of

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[272] Starr, *Welcome to Wesleyan*, 12.
[273] Vicky Chu, "Once Upon a Downey," *The Wesleyan Argus*, September 26, 2011 (accessed 2/27/14) < http://wesleyanargus.com/2011/09/26/history-of-downey-house/ >.
[274] Starr, *Welcome to Wesleyan*, 1.
Wesleyan University. "The Allbritton Center," 2014 (accessed 2/27/14) < http://www.wesleyan.edu/allbritton/ >.
[275] "High Masculine Visibility," News release, 1971, Box: C.C. Goes Coed, 1967-79, Folder: Coeducation, The Linda Lear Center for Special Collections and Archives, Connecticut College, New London, CT.

physical sciences."[276] These appear to have been provisional changes, given that none of the specifically named areas developed into sanctioned major programs. As discussed in the previous chapter, the College administration focused campus improvement efforts on sports facilities during the 1970s and 1980s. The academic space added in the same period, however, stressed the development of the arts and humanities and generally followed the plans set forth by Skidmore, Owing, and Merrill in 1966.

Within the field of student government, the campus newspaper, and other organizations, however, concern arose as men quickly rose into prominent positions in their first years at the College. Alumnae and students complained that while male visibility was important to changing the school's image, student organizations must still represent the majority of their constituents.[277] This inconsistency echoed in the "rumors on campus and off that Conn College discriminates against female candidates."[278] After the last all-women class graduated in 1972 the criticism quickly abated, indicating that many protests originated in older students who rightly felt that their decision to attend single sex college had been nullified by the administration's commencement of coeducation in their sophomore year.[279] By 1980, the initial imbalances had leveled to near 50/50 ratios of men and women in the student government, newspaper, and other campus organizations.[280]

At Wesleyan, extracurricular life integrated quickly and without significant concern. By 1971, several women participated in student government and other campus

[276] Lauren Litten, "Conn College Moves Forward," *The New London Day*, November 13, 1972, 2.
[277] Lucy Knight, interview, January 18, 2014.
[278] Letter from Connecticut College Director of Admissions to *Pundit* Editor, February 23, 1973. Box: C.C. Goes Coed, 1967-79, Folder: Coeducation, Box: C.C. Goes Coed, 1967-79, The Linda Lear Center for Special Collections and Archives, Connecticut College, New London, CT.
[279] Pre-coeducation student surveys reflect this impression; the incoming classes of women expressed far less interest in the idea of open enrollment.
[280] "Ten Years of Coeducation," *The Connecticut College Alumni Magazine* 57.1 (1979): 3, 16.

clubs and reported "that they had not encountered any discriminatory practices in these organizations."[281] The only are area of conflict occurred around physical education facilities, which the first classes of women found lacking, or in some areas, nonexistent.[282] By the second year of coeducation, the University had provided women with a separate, provisional work out area in the gym and several physical education courses.[283] Women's varsity and intramural teams formed quickly, and by the 1975-1976 year women played on seven varsity teams.[284] Not until the later 1970s did women athletes receive a purpose-built locker room.[285]

In Wesleyan's classrooms, the first wave of women transfer students adhered to "female-dominated disciplines like Romance Languages" while avoiding courses in science and math.[286] In part to correct this imbalance, the University hired Professor Sheila Tobias as the Dean of Women in 1970. Tobias avowed that the disproportion grew from "a lack of confidence and not a lack of ability."[287] True to Tobias' observation, curricular imbalances stabilized as more women enrolled at the school. By the following year, the student newspaper reported that, "according to admissions data, the entering women are distributing themselves among the various disciplines in much the same percentages as their male counterparts."[288] Part of this increasingly even distribution may also have had to do with the fact that the University completed its expansive and much

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[281] Hagel, "The Complaints of Six Women Discussed With Student EPC."
[282] James Boylan, "No Men in the Foss 10 Womb Room," *The Wesleyan University Alumnus* 73:2 (1990): 11-12.
[283] "Women," *The Wesleyan Argus*, February 12, 1971.
[284] "State of the University: Athletics," *The Wesleyan University Alumnus* 59:6 (1975): 17.
[285] Scott Burns, "Playing for Keeps," *The Wesleyan University Alumnus*: *The Wesleyan University Alumnus* 73:2 (1990): 13-14.
[286] Scott Gottlieb, "Feminist Alumnus Kicks Off Weekend Coeducation Celebration with Speech," *The Wesleyan Argus*, October, 24, 1990, n.p.; Liz Botein, "Women Find Their Niche at Wesleyan After a Long Haul," *The Wesleyan Argus*, April 30, 1997, n.p.
[287] Gottlieb, "Feminist Alumnus Kicks Off Weekend."
[288] Weinstein, "Girls No Longer Oddity on Campus."

anticipated science center in 1971, a facility which probably attracted prospective women students interested in chemistry, biology, and other formerly male-dominated scientific fields.[289]

As with housing policy, both Connecticut College and Wesleyan seem to have experienced fewer challenges in the integration of academics and extracurriculars than many other schools. Unlike at Lehigh, where newly admitted women students clustered into both academic programs and student clubs that reinforced "socially acceptable gender roles," students at Connecticut College and Wesleyan engaged in a gamut of programs and activities.[290] Again, the small size of the two schools probably played a role in the process. Equally important in the eyes of Jay Levin, Lucy Knight, and several other alumnae/i, however, was the preexisting foundation of student activism at each institution. The fight for racial equality and the strike against American involvement in Vietnam galvanized student of both genders and provided avenues for men and women to collaborate on campaigns that extended beyond the traditional bounds of campus politics.[291]

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The emergence of women's studies programs represented one important similarity between the two schools. At both schools, this establishment of this department produced several campus spaces that catered specifically (and in some cases exclusively) to female students. For those at Wesleyan, the creation of a women's studies department signified an important element of making their presence known and lobbying for greater parity within the University's faculty and staff. At Connecticut College, President Shain

[289] Starr, *Welcome to Wesleyan*, 38.
[290] Synnott, "A Friendly Rivalry," 128.
[291] Lucy Knight, interview, January 18, 2014; Jay Levin, interview, February 15, 2014.

announced the arrival of the "new feminist movement" in his summer of 1970 address on the state of the College to the alumnae.[292] Though undoubtedly bolstered by the national push for greater gender equality, the timing of Shain's statement implies that the presence of men on campus pushed the issue to the forefront. By 1971, both Connecticut College and Wesleyan offered at least one course in women's studies or women's history.[293] Over the following decade, blossoming interest in the topic produced a formally recognized Women's Studies program at each school with its own faculty and course listings.[294]

The interest in feminist issues, both academic and social, found expression through the occupation of campus space at Connecticut College and Wesleyan. Unsurprisingly, these venues appeared first at Wesleyan, where the small number of women laid claim on the still largely male campus by establishing a social space outside the University-assigned residences on Foss Hill. By the fall of 1976 women students could elect to live in the Feminist House, in which men were not allowed on the upper floors, even as visitors. The house, located behind the Butterfield Colleges on Brainerd Avenue, represented one of the more far-flung University-owned residences. On campus, the women's interest groups claimed the campus coffee shop in Foss Hill certain nights of each week to gather and discuss a range of local and national issues. The Feminist House adopted the new title of Womanist House in the 1980s as a response to what one resident termed as "feminism's history of either ignoring or marginalizing the perspective

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[292] Charles Shain, "Alumnae Council: The State of the College," *Connecticut College Alumnae News* 48:3 (1970): 4.
[293] "GWS Timeline," Connecticut College, 2014 (accessed 2/10/14) < https://www.conncoll.edu/academics/majors-departments-programs/departments/gender-and-womens-studies/gws-timeline/ >.
"History of Women's Studies and FGSS at Wesleyan," Wesleyan University Feminist, Gender, and Sexuality Studies, 2013 (accessed 2/10/14) < http://www.wesleyan.edu/fgss/history.html >.
[294] "GWS Timeline," Connecticut College.

of non-white and non-wealthy women."[295] This residential organization continues into the present.[296]

In his 2009 thesis "Achieving 'Gender Parity' at Wesleyan University: Admitting Women, Maintaining Patriarchy," Daniel Trentin Grassian suggests that Wesleyan's feminist groups and the women's studies program arose in response to intimidation and acts of sexism perpetuated by several all-male fraternities. Fraternities at Wesleyan originated less than ten years after the school opened in 1831, though by the late 1960s many were rapidly losing members.[297] Those who remained in such organizations were often second or third generation students steeped in collegiate traditionalism. Several fraternities opened their doors to women almost immediately after the announcement of coeducation, and Lucy Knight described the common practice by the first classes of women transfer and exchange students of joining fraternities in order to use their dining facilities.[298] Several fraternities maintained their male-only policy, however, and at least one actively resisted the presence of women on campus.[299] Grassian asserts that the University administration routinely ignored the sexist practices of these groups during the first decade of coeducation. While Grassian's narrative illustrates a valuable aspect of Wesleyan's past, his thesis is weakened somewhat by the fact that schools throughout the country, from large, long-coed universities to small, single sex colleges, developed

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[295] Karen Gross, "Words of a Womanist," *Wesleyan University Hermes*, 1999 (accessed 2/10/14) < http://wesleyan.edu/hermes/prev/may99/7A.htm >.
[296] Amanda H. Sonnenchein, "Womanist House," *The Wesleyan Argus*, 2011 (accessed 2/10/14) < http://wesleyanargus.com/2011/03/25/womanist-house/ >.
[297] Potts, *Wesleyan University, 1831-1910*, 44.
"Only 203 Freshmen Pledge; Percentage Declines Again," *The Wesleyan Argus*, September 23, 1967, n.p.
[298] Lucy Knight, interview, January 18, 2014.
[299] Diana Strauss, "Houses Divided," *The Wesleyan University Alumnus* 73:2 (1990): 18.

similar women-focused programming in the same years.[300] Both Yale and Princeton offered courses in women's studies by 1971.[301] Cornell began a major program on the topic in 1972, followed by University of Pennsylvania in 1973, Columbia in 1977, Yale in 1979, and both Brown and Princeton in 1981.[302] The University of Massachusetts started a women's studies curriculum in 1974, Vassar began its program in 1978, and Smith initiated a parallel degree offering in 1981.[303] These very programs produced an awareness of and action against rape, abuse, and general misogyny. Nonetheless, four fraternities at Wesleyan remained single sex until a 1987 Residential Life Task Force Report triggered the administration to demand full integration of Wesleyan's Greek life.[304]

A meeting space specifically designated for women's interest groups did not appear at Connecticut College until the late 1970s, testament to the fact that women remained the majority of the student body well into the 1980s.[305] Likewise, the College never developed a *residential* feminist program house. Instead, the single room women's center occupied a former dance studio in the basement of a residence hall.[306] The temporal disparity between the two schools may be related to the fact that Connecticut

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[300] Smith College, "Study of Women and Gender: 30th Anniversary," 2011 (accessed 2/10/14) < http://www.smith.edu/swg/anniversary.php >.
University of Massachusetts, Amherst, "Women's Studies," 2010-2011 Guide to Undergraduate Programs, 2010 (accessed 2/10/14) < http://www.umass.edu/ug_programguide/wost.html >.
Vassar College Women's Studies Program, "Program History," n.d. (accessed 2/10/14) < http://womensstudies.vassar.edu/about/index.html >.
[301] Synnott, "A Friendly Rivalry," 121, 127.
[302] Ibid., 127.
[303] Letter from William M. Chace to Wesleyan Alumni and Alumnae, October 1993. Folder: Coeducation: Second Phase, Wesleyan University Special Collections and Archives, Middletown, CT.
[304] No sororities ever developed at Wesleyan, although the off-campus Commons Club remained all-women housing until 1976.
[305] Marthers, *Eighth Sister No More*, 129.
[306] McDonald, *The Architecture of Connecticut College*, 178-179.

College's student body did not approach gender parity until the late 1970s.[307] While academics addressing feminism and women's topics appealed to many, women students may have felt less need to identify a specific zone on campus due to the fact that they represented the majority. Moreover, the men who enrolled at Connecticut College in the early years of coeducation, a time when its cultural association as a women's school remained strong, were likely less apt to challenge or threaten the values of their female peers.

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At Connecticut College and Wesleyan, the built campus served a valuable role not just as a mode for planning coeducation, but also in the years following the transition. New students asserted their presence through the occupation and use of collegiate space, first in the sanctioned single sex residential zones, and then, as their numbers grew, by petitioning for a greater number of housing options across each campus. Members of the gender majority displayed their support for full integration by lobbying for the elimination of single-sex spaces. At both schools, students made clear, through both their actions and period publications, that coeducation had brought about a new social setting that required spaces not previously available at either school.

More than serving as a medium of change, each institution's pre-existing built environment enabled the comparatively smooth transition to coeducation at each school. The significant building campaigns experienced at both Connecticut College and Wesleyan over the 1950s and 1960s produced two campuses with enough residential and academic facilities to manage the shift with minimal displacement of people or academic and extracurricular programming. The surplus of space gave flexibility to living

[307] Marthers, *Eighth Sister No More*, 129.

arrangements and allowed for students to organize resource centers and meeting spaces. Beyond new student centers, several of the buildings added to each campus over the 1970s, such as Wesleyan's art center (1974) and Connecticut College's Shain Library (1974), capitalized on the desire for community interaction through the inclusion of lounges and conference rooms.[308] Wesleyan's Low Rise and High Rise Apartment complex (1973), which consisted of living units focused around shared common room, furthered this ideal.[309] Therefore, while many of the plans set forth by each school's administration in preparation for coeducation quickly faded, campus space remained central to how the administration, and increasingly the students, supported coeducation.

[308] McDonald, *The Architecture of Connecticut College*, 288.
"Center for the Arts, Wesleyan University," KRJDA Architects, 2014 (accessed 2/10/14) < http://www.krjda.com/Sites/WesleyanInfo1.html >.
[309] Starr, *Welcome to Wesleyan*, 45.

CONCLUSION

By the mid-1970s, publications from Connecticut College and Wesleyan announced the "completeness" of coeducation in similarly enthusiastic terms. A 1976 prospective student mailing, for instance, exclaimed "nobody here worries about our former name of "Connecticut College for Women" anymore; there's plenty of men to go around now."[310] A Wesleyan alumni magazine article from the same year included a similar statement: "coeducation at Wesleyan has been so successful that it's hard to remember that the school was ever without female students."[311] Though both of these sources clearly functioned to advertise the success of the school, either to potential applicants or possible donors, student opinions and third party observations from the period indicate a comparable acceptance of coeducation's comprehensive success. A November 1977 cover story in Connecticut College's student newspaper titled "Coeducation is Solid" detailed how the school "has had substantially fewer problems" with its enrollment of male students than Sarah Lawrence, Vassar, or Skidmore.[312] An assessment of Wesleyan's transition period completed in the fall of 1974 by an Amherst College coeducation feasibility committee echoed this sentiment and stated that "Wesleyan has more successfully become a college for men and women than any other institution we visited."[313]

There are many explanations for why coeducation at Connecticut College and Wesleyan was (and is) widely considered a particularly effective example. As previously mentioned, the small size of each school, a history of close interaction between

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[310] "Counterpoint," ca. 1976.
[311] Jane Eisner, "The Undergraduate View," *The Wesleyan University Alumnus* 60.3 (1976), 13.
[312] Madeux and Mallett, "Coeducation is Solid."
[313] Amherst College, "Commentaries on the Report of the Visiting Committee on Coeducation."

administrators, faculty, and students, and the existence of unifying national and international crises in the years directly following the transitions likely factored into perceptions of both institutions as exemplars. Additionally, both schools enjoyed prominent reputations but fell just short of the elite and historical standing of the Ivy League or Seven Sister Colleges. As a result, each could attract new students following coeducation but also adjust their image with somewhat more ease than older and more well-known schools. The number of cumbersome gender-specific traditions passed from one generation to the next that colored life at Yale, Vassar, and many other schools were also largely absent from life at Connecticut College or Wesleyan. When questioned on the subject, Lucy Knight suggested that Wesleyan also appealed to women through "benign neglect," or by allowing them to engage in all aspects of campus life without administrative micro-management.[314] Some scholars at Connecticut College have gone as far as to suggest that the name, which was easily shortened from Connecticut College for Women, allowed the school to proceed into coeducation with an effectively genderless moniker, unlike Sarah Lawrence or Mary Washington.[315]

Several of the familiar reasons offered for why Connecticut College and Wesleyan so effectively converted from a single gender to coed student body pertain to other schools that made the same transition in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Similar institutions such as Skidmore or Williams, both of which adopted coeducation in the early 1970s, consisted of comparable numbers of students as Connecticut College and Wesleyan.[316] Both had participated in collegiate exchanges and at Skidmore men had

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[314] Lucy Knight, interview, January 18, 2014.
[315] Raftopoulus, *A Partial History of Connecticut College*, 50.
[316] Skidmore College, "Skidmore History and Traditions," 2006 (Accessed February 28, 2014) < http://cmsauthor.skidmore.edu/fye/students/resources/traditions.cfm?RenderForPrint=1 >.

been attending classes since just after World War II.[317] Students at either campus engaged fully in the late 1960s protests and social activism, and each administration worked with students to meet demands for greater racial integration and student autonomy.[318] This cooperative spirit extended into the 1970s at both schools and yet, like at Wesleyan, alumni accounts tell of how the first coed classes at either school were not coddled or strictly regulated.[319] Sarah Lawrence took a similar stance, allowing men to engage fully in all aspects of campus life after adopting coeducation in 1969.[320]

As these examples show, when viewed in the context of similarly ranked schools that adopted coeducation in the same years, popular explanations fail to explain the perceived success of the transition at Connecticut College and Wesleyan. Instead, what set Connecticut College and Wesleyan apart had far more to do with either school's physical campus. At both institutions, the influence of built environment on the conversion to coeducation can be classified into three interrelated categories. Perhaps most importantly, long before either Connecticut College or Wesleyan began to plan for mixed gender enrollment, both undertook significant postwar campus expansion campaigns. This physical growth was certainly not unique to the two institutions in question, nor did the the majority of the spaces added to each campus represent

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"45 Coeds at Williams," *New York Times*, September 17, 1970

[317] Mary C. Lynn, "Skidmore Commencements: The First 100 Years," 2011 (accessed February 28, 2014) < https://www.skidmore.edu/commencement/archives/2011/docs/first100Years.pdf >.

[318] "Report on the Taskforce on College Governance, March 6, 1989," n.d. (accessed February 28, 2014) < http://www.skidmore.edu/academics/CFG/Governance%20Archives/Task%20Force%20on%20College%20Governance/TFCGReport.htm#Sixties >.

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[319] Chelsea Thomeer, "Pioneer Eph Women Revisit Memories," *The Williams Record*, February 26, 2014 (accessed February 27, 2014) < http://williamsrecord.com/2014/02/26/pioneer-eph-women-revisit-memories/ >.

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[320] Sarah Lawrence College, "Creping Coeducation," n.d. (accessed February 28, 2014) < http://www.slc.edu/magazine/coeducation/featured/creeping.html >.

particularly innovative or original examples in terms of larger patterns in campus planning and collegiate architecture. The growth did, however, enable the two institutions to manage the increases to the student body that coeducation entailed without a housing shortage or overburdened facilities. Both schools entered into coeducation with a certain degree of spatial flexibility that allowed for the adjustment of initial policies to address unanticipated conditions without significant encumbrance.

Another way in which Connecticut College and Wesleyan stood apart from many other schools that abandoned single sex education in the 1960s has to do with the central role of campus planning during each school's development of coeducational policies. At Connecticut College and Wesleyan, each phase of the planning process took on architectural dimensions, from the earliest suggestions of separate grounds, to self-contained and off-site student residences, and finally full integration of the two campuses. The many administrative records cited in the previous chapters signify the extent to which the organizers of coeducation at Connecticut College and Wesleyan understood architectural space as integral not just to production of gender ideals, but also to institutional identity. Both groups accurately anticipated how a change to that identity would implicate the built environment.

This focus on the built environment lasted well beyond the arrival of the first mixed gender classes at Connecticut College and Wesleyan. In the years following the transition to coeducation, both schools swiftly and readily adapted campus development programs to reflect the opinions and, sometimes, demands of the student body. The administrations exhibited a willingness to alter their original strategies and, perhaps most importantly, students took an active role in modifying their spatial settings (both with and

without institutional authorization) to meet their collective needs. In short, the myriad ways that the administration of Connecticut College and Wesleyan prepared and apportioned the already abundant facilities of their respective campuses enabled the initial viability of coeducation. These arrangements eventually ceded to more realistic and student-led changes to either institution's physical plants, which cemented the success of gender integration at both schools.

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After a decade of coeducation, students at both Connecticut College and Wesleyan rarely considered the single-sex history of their school. Andrea Leeds Armstrong, who graduated from Wesleyan in 1979, recalled feeling no consciousness of the school's single sex past. She described Wesleyan as a place of strong academics paired with an active and inclusive social life. Leeds, who lived in a former fraternity known as Eclectic House, recalled the persistence of racial tensions on campus and the growing divide between the private school set and students on financial aid but when asked about remnants of an all-male campus culture she replied "I don't remember it as a very genderizing place. I don't remember anyone making me feel like I wasn't just as good, if not better than the boys."[321] Susi Wilbur, who attended Connecticut College in the same years, felt similarly about her experience. When asked whether any part of campus life evoked the school's single sex past, Wilbur responded with an emphatic "no." Instead, Wilbur described her initial difficulties with the wholly coeducational residential setting, recalling how "it was kind of overwhelming, having to share the bathrooms and all of that…I was trying to be very open-minded but I felt very

[321] Andrea Leeds Armstrong, interview, October 25, 2013. .

intimidated."[322] Later, Wilbur remarked that by the time she attended Connecticut College, sexism and women's rights were no longer the focus of student activism, but that "at Connecticut, it was really the beginnings of the gay and lesbian movement."[323]

As each school sought to provide both genders with an optimum living and learning environment, pre-coeducation history and the narrative of the transition migrated to the margins. By the twenty-first century, many prospective students were unaware of either school's single sex history. Once enrolled, men and women discovered their institution's past through often-apocryphal stories that generalized student culture as rowdy, upper-class men and dainty, image-conscious women. More recently, historians and writers at both schools have begun to unpack the complex and unique social and academic settings that existed at each place during their decades of single-sex education. Still, these narratives tend to treat each school's past as something detached from the present-day campus, a narrative that can only be regained through archival documents and memories of past students. The physical campus remains largely overlooked. Yet it is the most telling artifact and the greatest indicator of shifting institutional ideals or missions. Both during coeducation and in the many decades preceding it, collegiate space formed user experience and was restructured to meet new needs. The most compelling histories, therefore, are those which will link the themes of the past to the places that still shape a modern experience at either schools.

Today, both Wesleyan and Connecticut College are rapidly approaching the fiftieth anniversary of their decisions to initiate coeducation. How will this occasion be commemorated on each campus? If past markers are any indication, the schools will

[322] Susi Wilbur, interview, March, 23, 2014.
[323] Ibid.

organize panel discussions with alumnae/i and senior faculty members and celebrate the many achievements towards egalitarianism over the past half-century. These events, while worthwhile, are largely abstract portrayals of a past already foreign to most modern students. Perhaps a way to structure (quite literally) these upcoming ceremonies lies in the spaces, such as Hewitt Hall, Larrabee House, or the Luce Field House, that played so pivotal a role in the transition. These buildings, though not widely valued for their "historic" architecture, can become important symbols of institutional change. By considering the values that certain facilities represented during the move to coeducation, and how these ideas emerge through a building's site, design, or appearance, each school can produce an experiential and accessible narrative of its own past. The possibilities for such an initiative are numerous and range from panels incorporating place-based memories of various community members involved in the transition to digital exhibitions or walking tours that synthesis historical narrative and architectural analysis.

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Connecticut College and Wesleyan represent two institutions where campus space played a particularly central and persistent role in the process of coeducation, but these case studies also carry broader ramifications for the study of collegiate architecture and institutional history. Above all, a consideration of the changes to the physical campus during coeducation at either school illustrates how, when discussing an institution's past, constructed space matters. The built environment expresses values of its makers, and this fact is especially relevant in the mission-based setting of a college or university. The role that such spaces plays during periods of change gives added insight into the principles and ideals of those who are driving the change.

Times of transition also demonstrate how the meaning of architecture is constantly in flux through reuse and modification. At Connecticut College and Wesleyan, coeducation took place almost entirely in extant buildings that assumed new occupants or functions. The campus represents a constantly changing space, and though past studies of collegiate architecture focus on the symbolism of new buildings, the adaptation of preexisting space is often equally, if not more, important to understanding changing institutional values.

Finally, the consideration of campus architecture and coeducation through the lens of gender allows for an understanding of the multiple social dynamics that shape institutional design and policy. As the previous chapters indicate, a wide range of external factors – from military conflicts to the introduction of new building materials - molded the physical development of both Connecticut College and Wesleyan. Institutional buildings, like all architecture, are a result of circumstance far beyond their immediate surroundings.

Dozens of schools abandoned single sex education in the 1960s and 1970s, and each did so with some manner of plan for how and where these new charges would eat, sleep, socialize, and study.[324] While the extent to which coeducation changed campus space at Connecticut College and Wesleyan University may be unique, neither school is alone in employing architecture as a medium of transformation nor in shaping built forms through a lens of gender-specific stereotypes and expectations. This thesis is intended not as the final word on either of the schools considered, much less on the topic of coeducation and institutional space. Instead, this work is meant to foster an understanding

[324] Leslie Miller-Bernal, "Introduction, Coeducation: An Uneven Progress," in *Going Coed*, Miller-Bernal, Leslie & Susan L. Poulson, ed. (Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University Press, 2004), 10, 14.

that in all settings, but particularly on the ever-changing campus of a college or university, social and cultural change is recorded through the built environment.

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FIGURES

Chapter 1

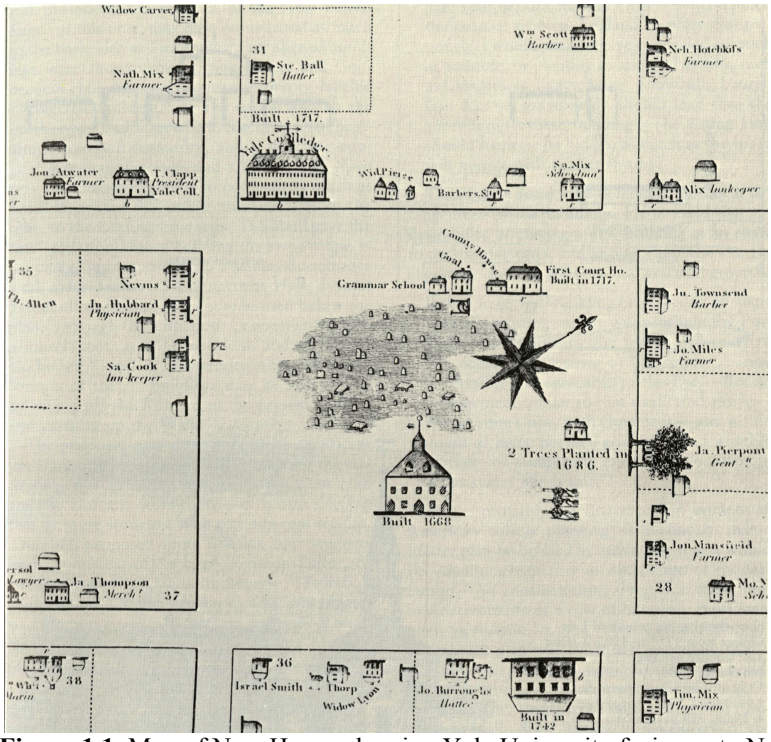


Figure 1.1. Map of New Haven showing Yale University facing onto New Haven Green. James Wadworth, 1806, drawing. From: *Campus: An American Planning Tradition*. New York, NY: Architectural History Foundation, 1995, 39.

Figure 1.2. The land purchased for Connecticut College's campus as it appeared in 1911. From: Folder: Campus and Building Photos, Campus Views, Linda Lear Center for Special Collections and Archives at Connecticut College, New London, Connecticut.

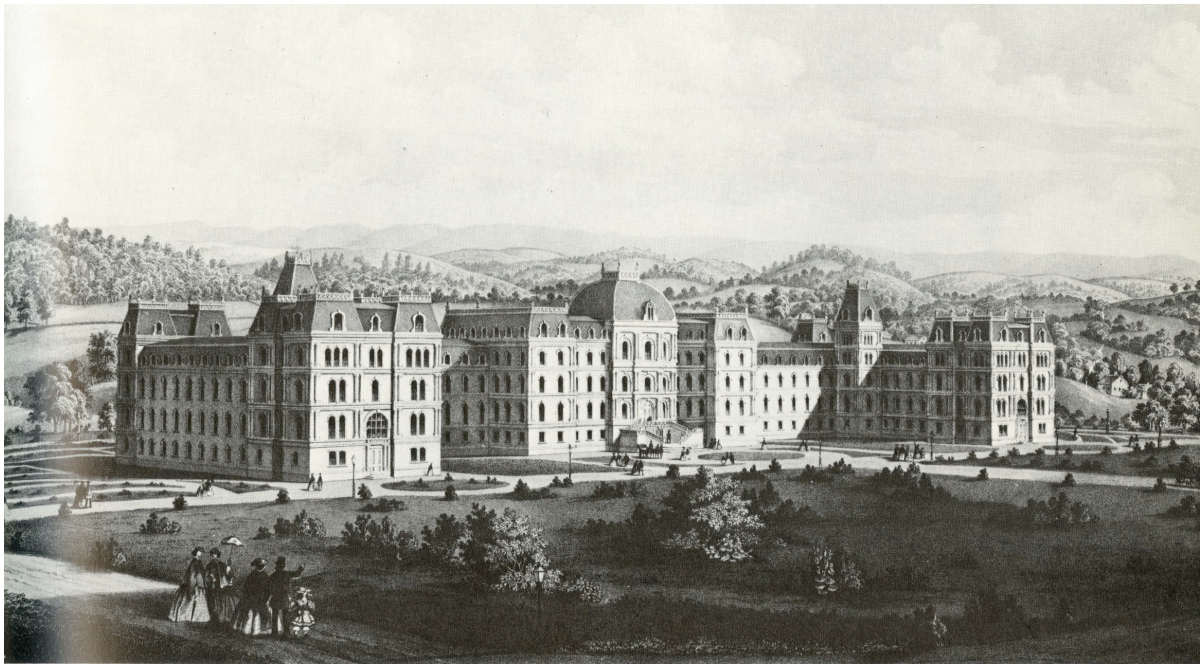


Figure 1.3. The original campus of Vassar College, completed in 1865. Lithograph, ca. 1865. From: *Campus: An American Planning Tradition*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1995, 137.

Figure 1.4. Meadow Court, one of the many mansions constructed near New London at the turn of the twentieth century. Photograph, date unknown. From: National Register of Historic Places, "Lighthouse Inn, New London, New London County, Connecticut," National Register #96000822.

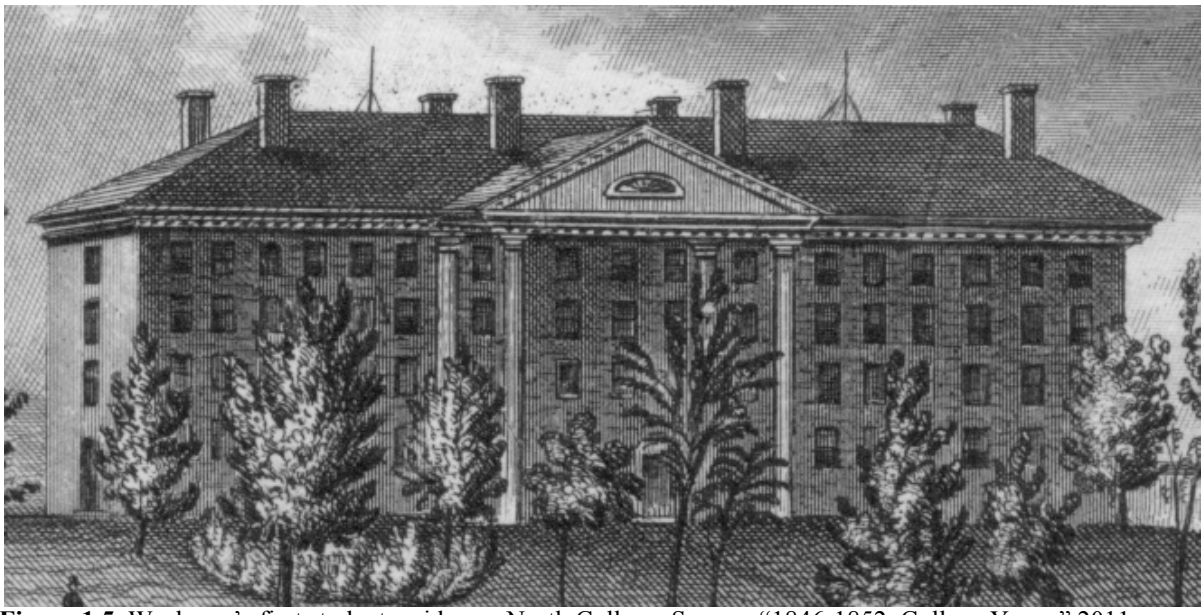


Figure 1.5. Wesleyan's first student residence, North College. Source: "1846-1852, College Years." 2011. <http://www.griffingweb.com/1841_to_1852.htm>.

Figure 1.6. Trinity College in Hartford, ca. 1850. Source: Turner, Paul. *Campus: An American Planning Tradition*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1995, 46.

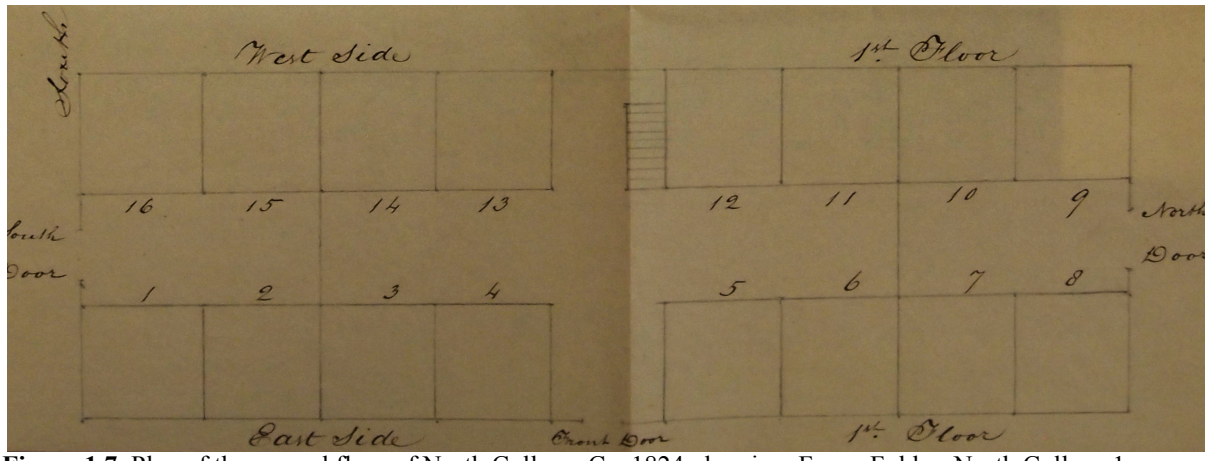


Figure 1.7. Plan of the ground floor of North College. Ca. 1824, drawing. From: Folder: North College 1 (Before March 1906), Collection 08-107, Wesleyan Special Collections and Archives, Wesleyan University, Middletown, CT.

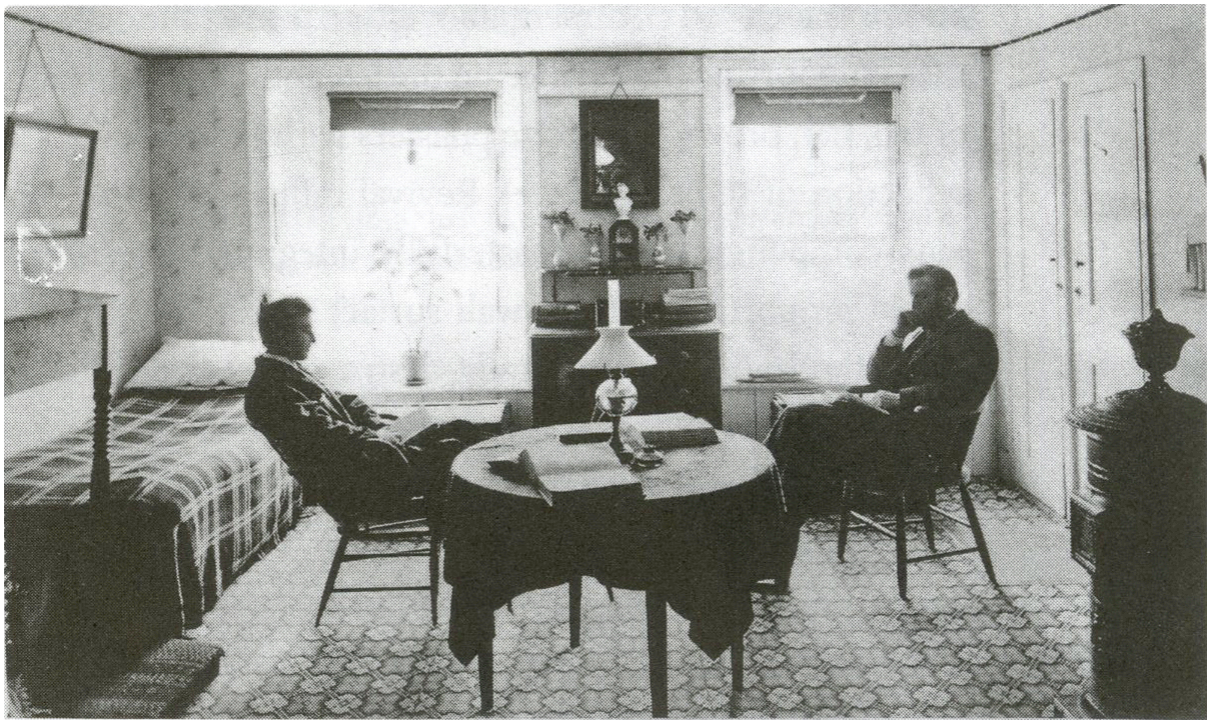


Figure 1.8. Student's study in North College, ca. 1870. Tolles, John F Bryant Jr. *Architecture and Academe: College Buildings in New England before 1860* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 2011), 145.

FIGURE 1.9. Clark Hall. Source: "Clark Hall," Image a: d.-1. Folder: Clark Hall Images, 08-037, Wesleyan Special Collections and Archives, Middletown, CT.

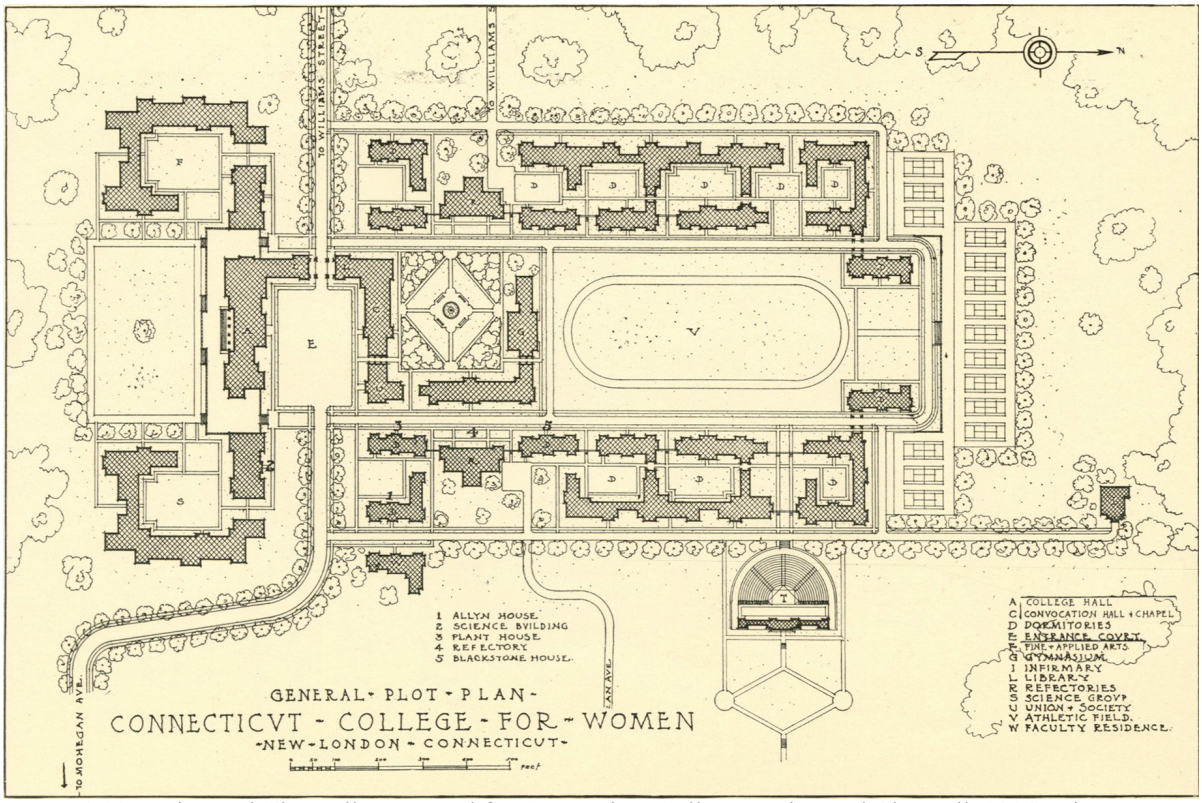


Figure 1.10. Ewing and Chappell's proposal for Connecticut College. Ewing and Chappell, 1914, print. From: *Preliminary Report of Connecticut College for Women*. New London, CT, 1914, frontispiece.

FIGURE 1.11. The collegiate gothic campus of Bryn Mawr. 1894, photograph. From: Bryn Mawr College Special Collections. "Collegiate Gothic – Cope and Stewardson." 2001. <http://www.brynmawr.edu/library/exhibits/thomas/gothic.html>.

FIGURE 1.12. One of Connecticut College's first student residences. Ca. 1915, Photograph. From: Campus and Building Photos, Blackstone House, Linda Lear Center for Special Collections and Archives at Connecticut College, New London, Connecticut.

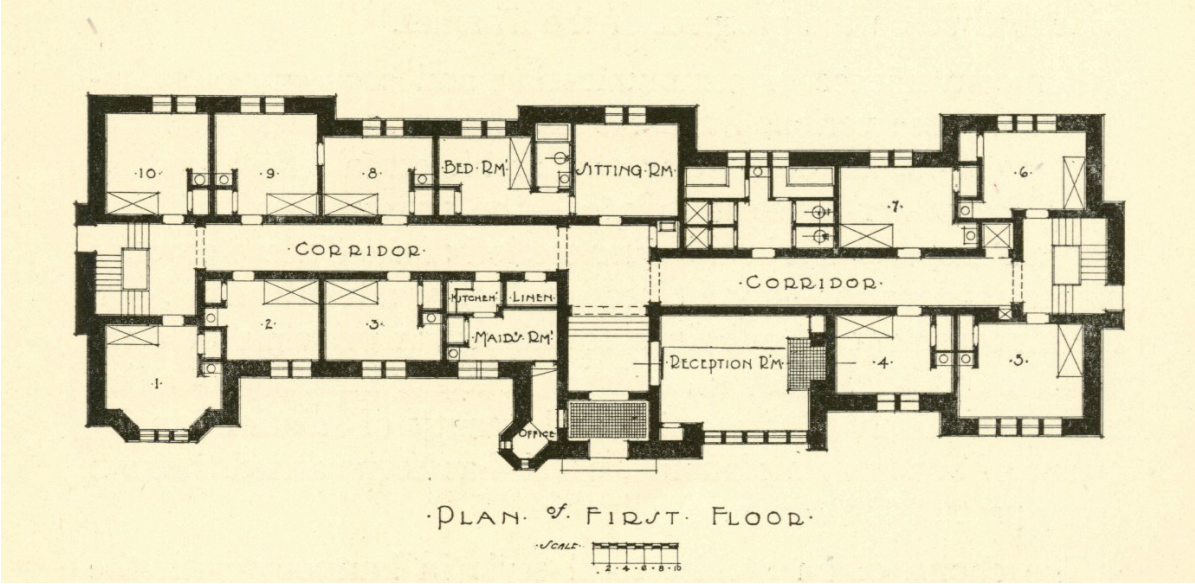


Figure 1.13. Ewing and Chappell's plan for the first three residences at Connecticut College. Ewing and Chappell, 1914, drawing. From: *Preliminary Report of Connecticut College for Women* (New London, CT, 1914), 29.

Figure 1.14. The reception room of Branford House, one of Connecticut College's original three residence halls. 1920, Photograph. From: Campus and Buildings, Branford House, Linda Lear Center for Special Collections and Archives at Connecticut College.

Figure 1.15. The living room of Windham House. Richard Averill Smith, 1933, photograph. Connecticut College Archives Flicker. 2014 < http://www.flickr.com/photos/conncollegearchives/2890116685/ >.

Figure 1.16. A 1971 map of the Wesleyan campus, with the facilities added between 1950 and 1970 circled in black. Source: "A Map of the Campus," 1971. Box 1, Collection 1000-209, Wesleyan University Campus Maps, Wesleyan University Special Collections and Archives, Middletown, CT. Edited by author.

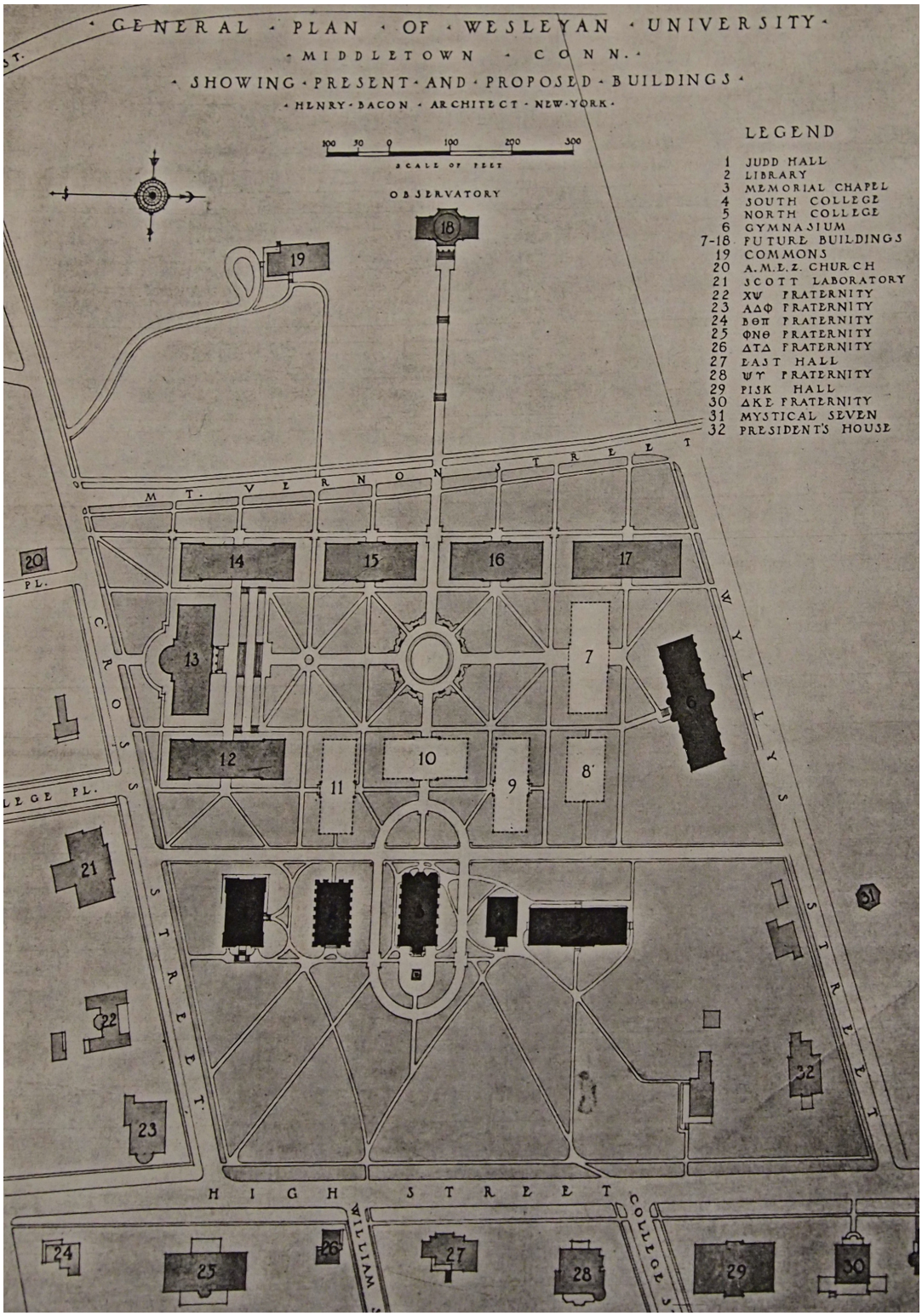


Figure 1.17. The 1910s Wesleyan campus maser plan, with extant buildings rendered in black and proposed structures in white and grey. Source: Bacon, Henry. "General Plan of Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn," ca. 1910. Box 1, Collection 1000-209, Wesleyan University Campus Maps, Wesleyan University Special Collections and Archives, Middletown, CT.

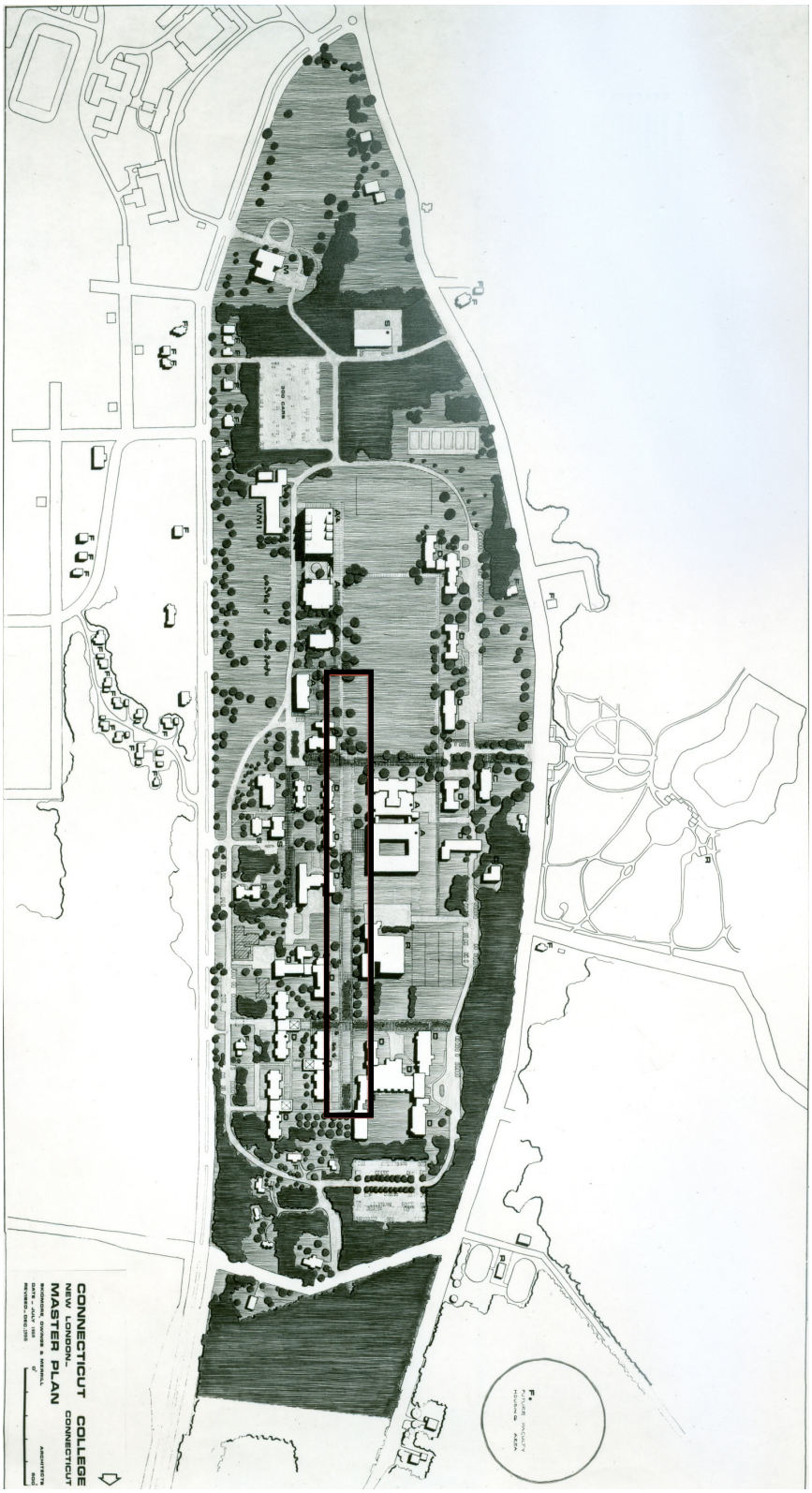


Figure 1.18. The SOM plan for Connecticut College with pedestrian mall marked in black. Source: Skidmore, Owings, and Merrill, Architects. "Connecticut College Master Plan," 1966. Campus and Buildings Box 2, Folder: Campus Views and Plans, The Linda Lear Center for Archives and Special Collections at Connecticut College, New London, CT. Edited by author.

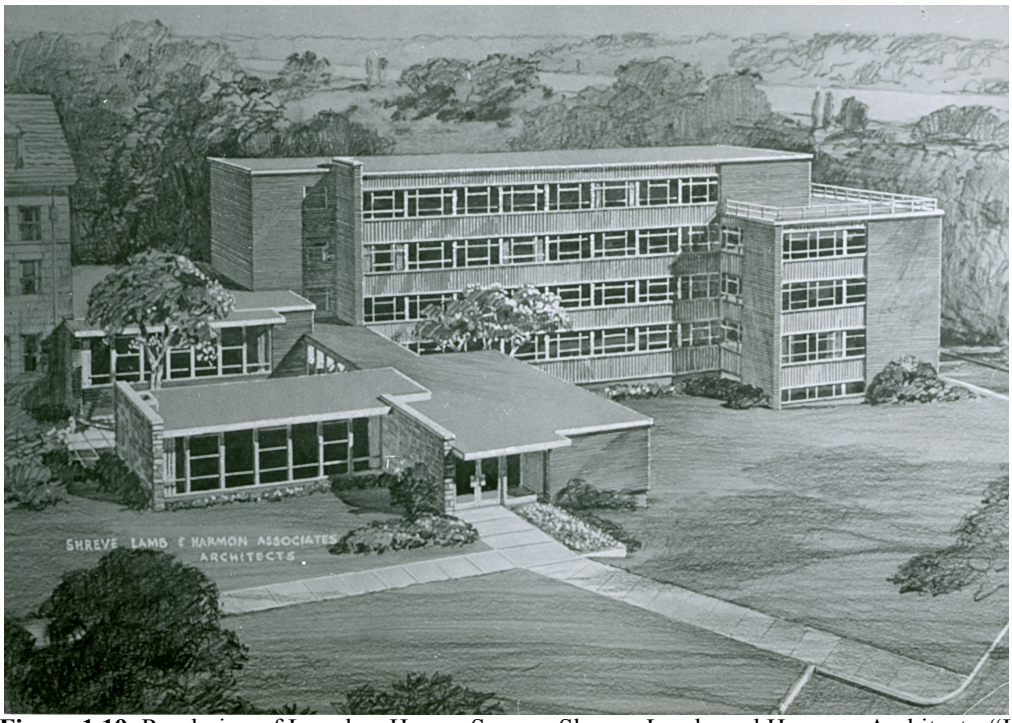


Figure 1.19. Rendering of Larrabee House. Source: Shreve, Lamb, and Harmon, Architects. "Larrabee House," 1957. Campus and Building Photos LAR-01-003. The Linda Lear Center for Special Collections and Archives at Connecticut College, New London, CT. Available from Connecticut College Archives Flickr: http://www.flickr.com/photos/conncollegearchives/sets/72157622602474835/ (accessed 1/20/14).

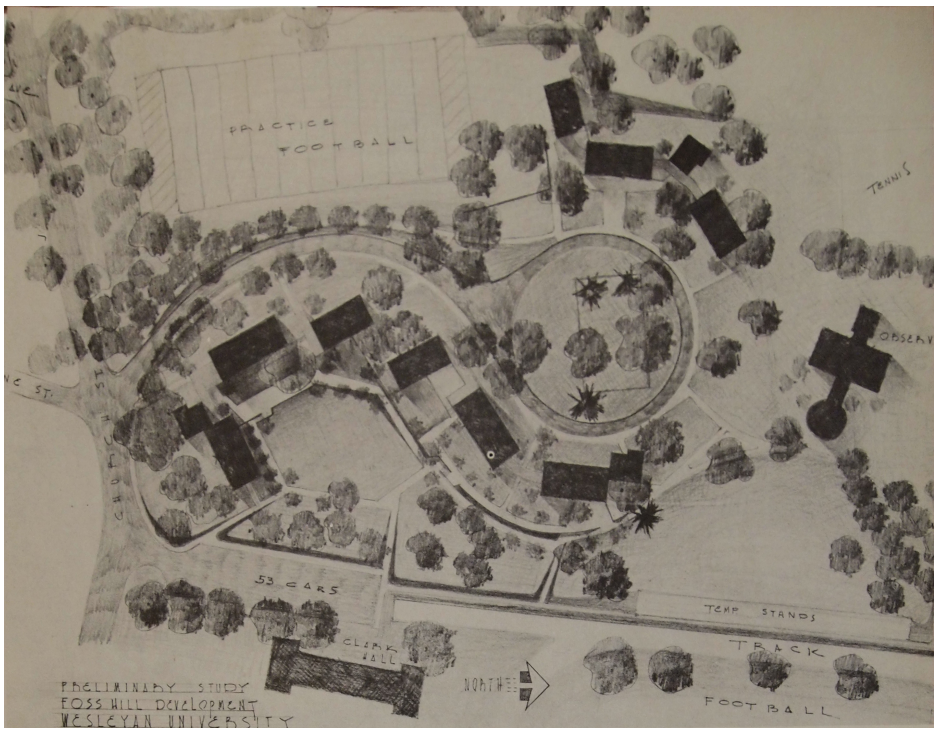


Figure 1.20. Site plan of Foss Hill complex. Source: "Preliminary Study, Foss Hill Development, Wesleyan University." Folder: Foss Hill Dorms – Photos, 08-068, Wesleyan Special Collections, Middletown, CT.

Figure 1.21. Nicholson Hall, one of the Foss Hill dormitories, with the glass hyphen visible on the right side of the photo. Source: "Foss Hill Slideshow." Wesleyan University Office of Residential Life. N.d. http://www.wesleyan.edu/reslife/housing/residence/Nicolson_gallery/slideshow.swf (accessed 4/1/14).

Chapter 2.

Figure 2.1 Fay House, the first building of Radcliffe College. Source: "Fay House Reopens After Renovations." Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study at Harvard University. 2012. http://www.radcliffe.harvard.edu/schlesinger-library/blog/fay-house-reopens-after-renovations (accessed 1/29/14).

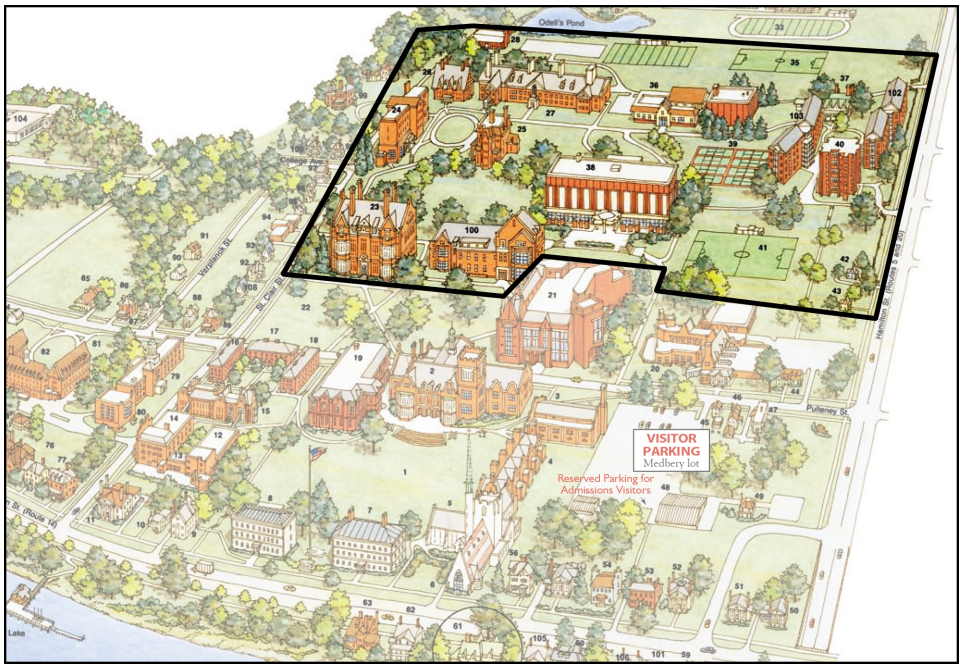


Figure 2.2 Current map of Hobart and William Smith Colleges with coordinate campus of William Smith College outlined in black. Source: Hobart and William Smith Colleges, "Campus Maps," 2014. http://www.hws.edu/about/campus_maps.aspx (accessed 4/22/14). Edited by author.

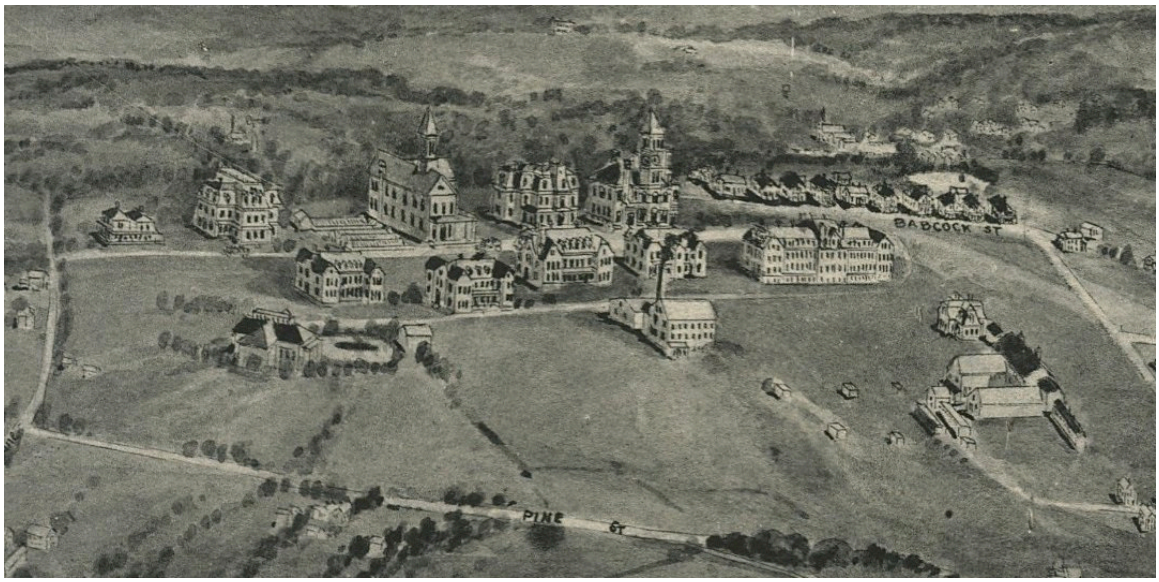


Figure 2.3. Long Lane School as it appeared ca. 1915. Source: Thaddeus M. Fowler, *View of Middletown, Conn., 1915*. New York, NY: Hughes and Bailey, 1915. From the University of Connecticut MAGIC Historical Map Collection. http://magic.lib.uconn.edu/historical_maps_connecticut_towns.html (accessed 1/29/14).

Figure 2.4. One of the Long Lane School Cottages. Source: Francis, Abbey. "Long Lane School – The Early Years," *The Wesleyan Argus*, February 13, 2014. http://wesleyanargus.com/2013/09/16/long-lane-school-the-early-years/ (accessed 1/29/14).

Figure 2.5. The cottage residences at Smith College. Source: "Dewey House," Smith College. N.d. http://sophia.smith.edu/blog/arx340-01s12/one-object-exhibits/iris/ (accessed 1/29/14).

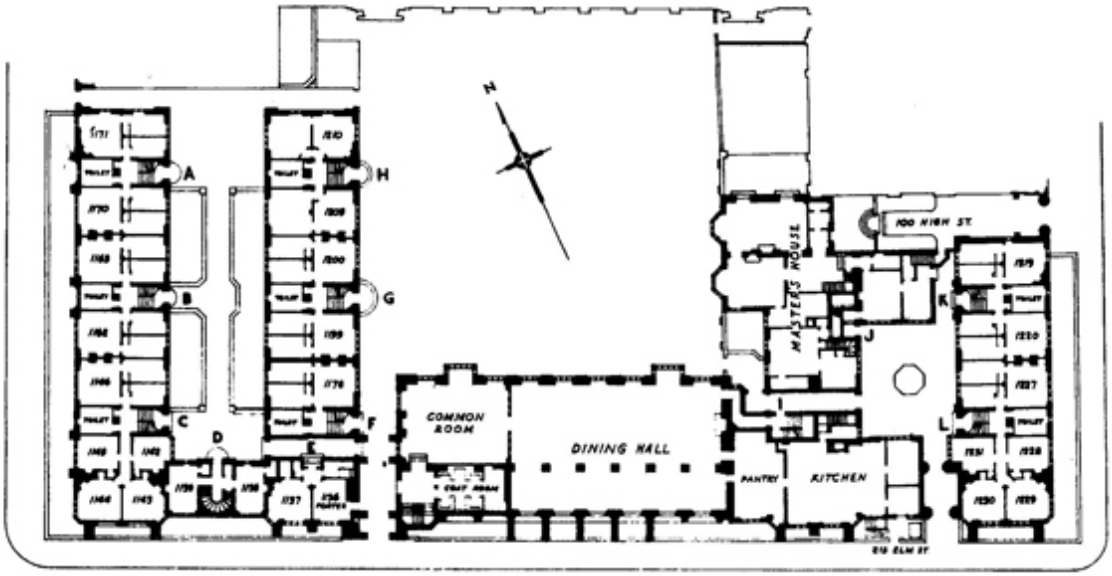
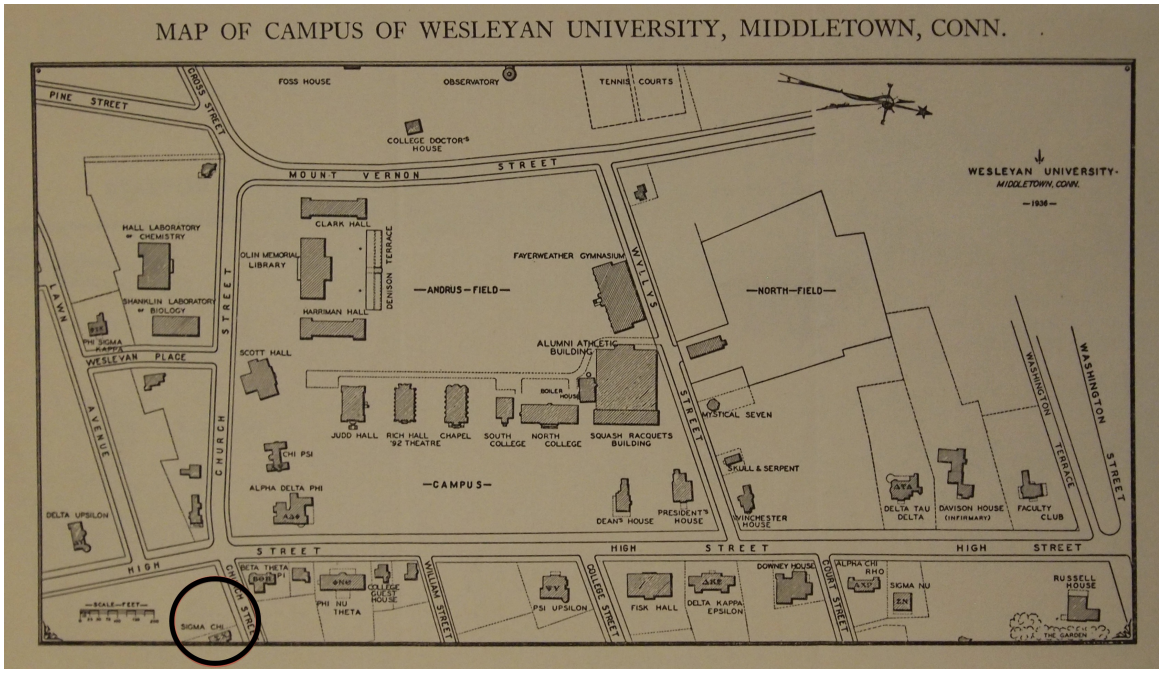


Figure 2.6 The ground floor of Trumbull Residential College at Yale, as it appeared upon its completion in 1933. Source: Culvahouse, Tim. ""But I Still Think It's Ugly:" Explaining Architecture to Non-Architects, Part III." American Institute of Architects California Council. 2013. http://www.aiacc.org/2013/08/27/but-i-still-think-its-ugly-part-3/ (accessed 1/29/14).

Chapter 3



3.1 Wesleyan University Map showing Sigma Chi House at the lower left. Source: "Map of Campus of Wesleyan University, Middletown, CT," 1937. Box 1, Collection 1000-209, Wesleyan University Campus Maps, Wesleyan University Special Collections and Archives, Middletown, CT. Edited by author.

Figure 3.2. The Commons Club. Source: "Sigma Chi," ca. 1936-37. Folder: Commons Club, Formerly Sigma Chi House – Photos, Wesleyan University Archives, Middletown, CT.

Figure 3.3. The Commons Club. Source: "Sigma Chi," ca. 1936-37. Folder: Commons Club, Formerly Sigma Chi House – Photos, Wesleyan University Archives, Middletown, CT.

Figure 3.4. Harrison B. Freeman House (left). Source: Shreve, Lamb, and Harmon, Architects. "Harrison House and Jane Addams House," 1936. Campus and Buildings Photo FREE-JA-03-006, The Linda Lear Center for Special Collections and Archives, Connecticut College, New London, CT. Available from Connecticut College Archives Flickr: http://www.flickr.com/photos/conncollegearchives/3048610184/in/set-72157609451284969 (accessed 1/20/14).

Figure 3.5. Freeman House Living Room. Source: "Freeman House," 1938. Campus and Buildings Photo DORM-FREE-01-017, The Linda Lear Center for Special Collections and Archives at Connecticut College, New London, CT. Available from Connecticut College Archives Flickr: http://www.flickr.com/photos/conncollegearchives/5497479791/ (accessed 1/20/14).

Figure 3.6. Foss Hill Complex. Source: Gottscho-Schleisner Inc., "Foss Hill," Image n.d-19. Folder: Foss Hill Dorms – Photos, 08-068, Wesleyan Special Collections, Middletown, CT.

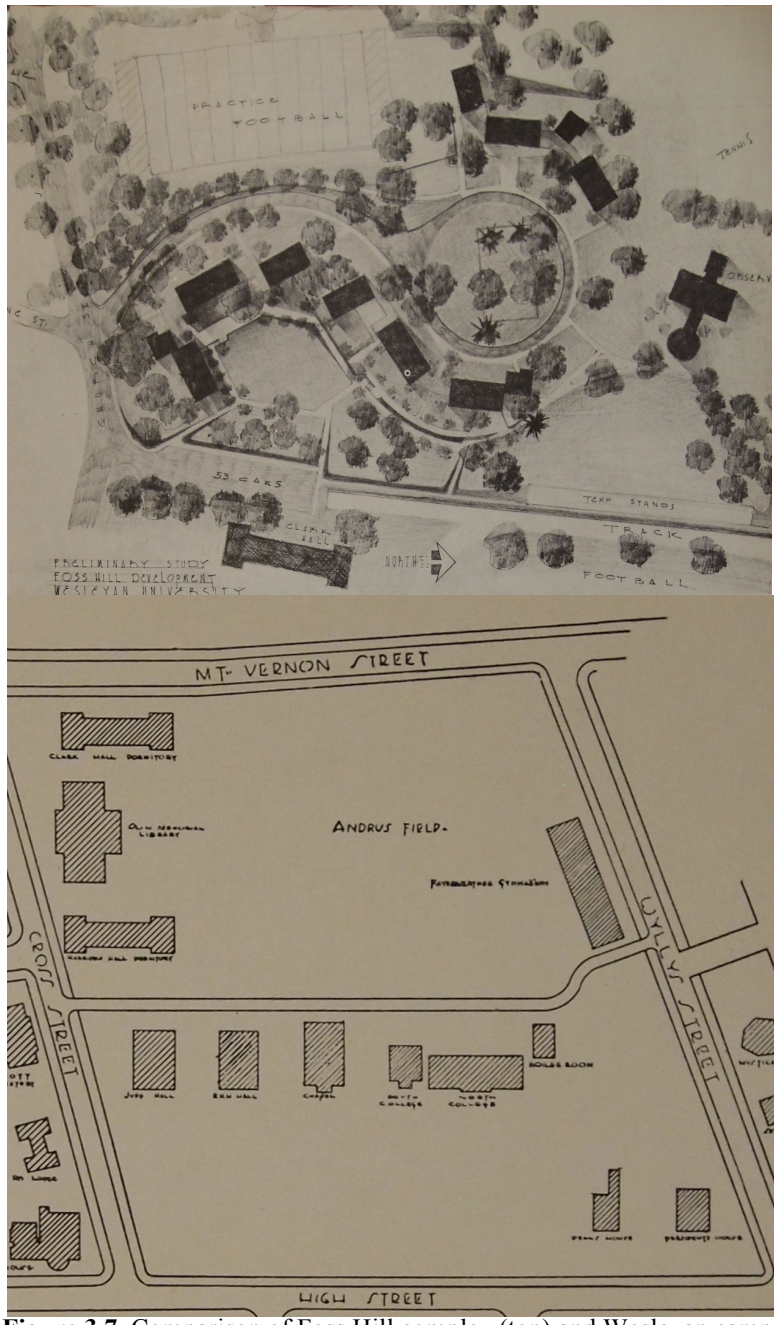


Figure 3.7. Comparison of Foss Hill complex (top) and Wesleyan campus ca. 1927 (bottom). Source: (top) "Preliminary Study, Foss Hill Development, Wesleyan University." Folder: Foss Hill Dorms – Photos, 08-068, Wesleyan Special Collections, Middletown, CT.
(bottom "Present Plan of Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn," 1927. Box 1, Collection 1000-209, Wesleyan University Campus Maps, Wesleyan University Special Collections and Archives, Middletown, CT.

Figure 3.8. Foss Hill Dorm Lounge. Source: Gottscho-Schleisner Inc., "Foss Hill." Folder: Foss Hill Dorms – Photos, 08-068, Wesleyan Special Collections, Middletown, CT.

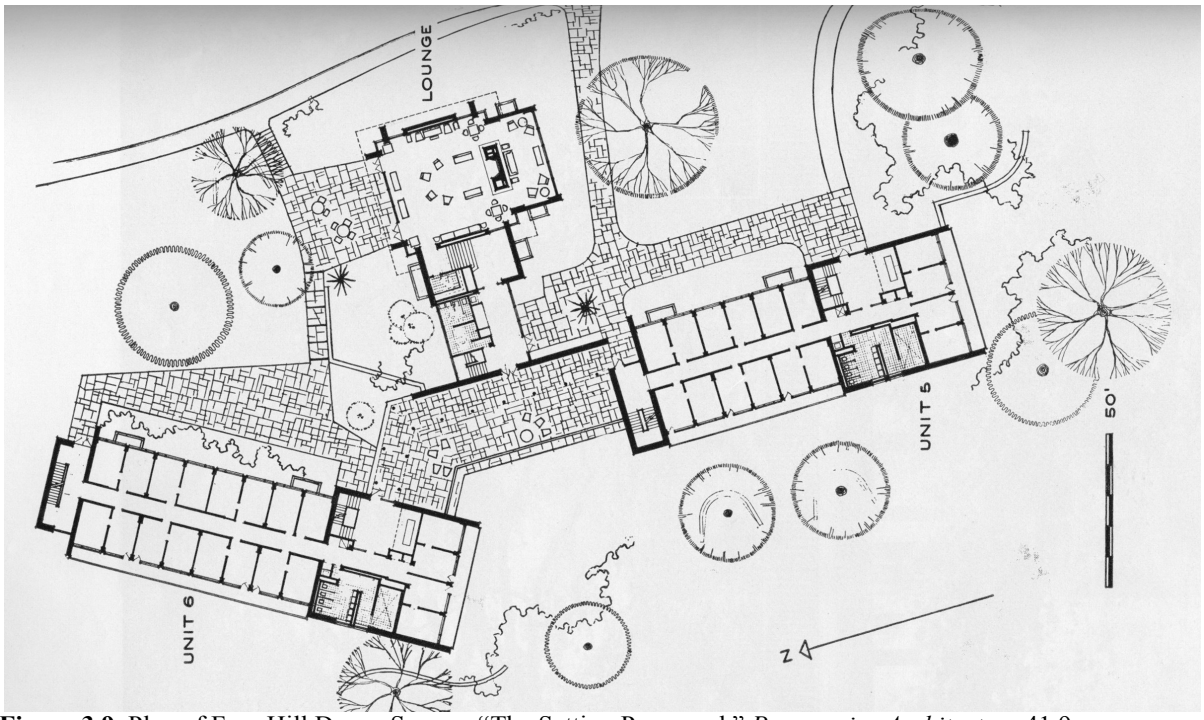


Figure 3.9. Plan of Foss Hill Dorm. Source: "The Setting Preserved." *Progressive Architecture* 41.9 (1960): 152.

Figure 3.10. Katherine Blunt House. Source: Photo by author. June 6, 2011.

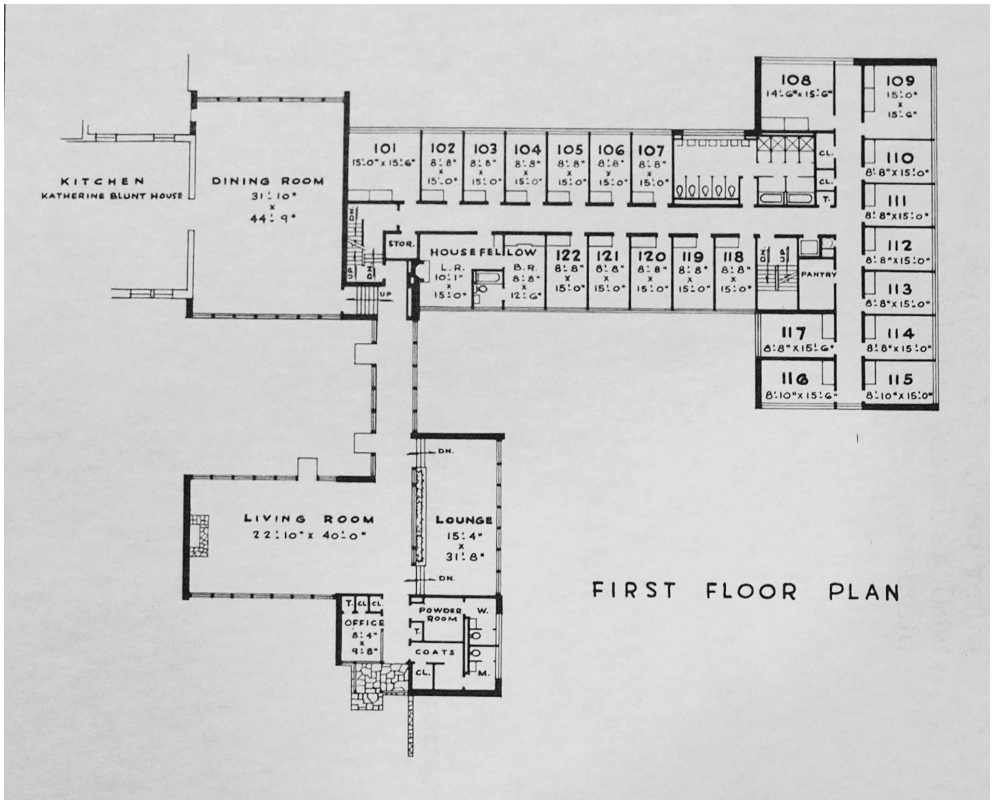


Figure 3.11. Larrabee House first floor plan. Source: "Dormitory Floor Plans: Larrabee House," Box: Campus and Buildings Box 8, Folder: Larrabee House, The Linda Lear Center for Special Collections and Archives, Connecticut College, New London, CT.

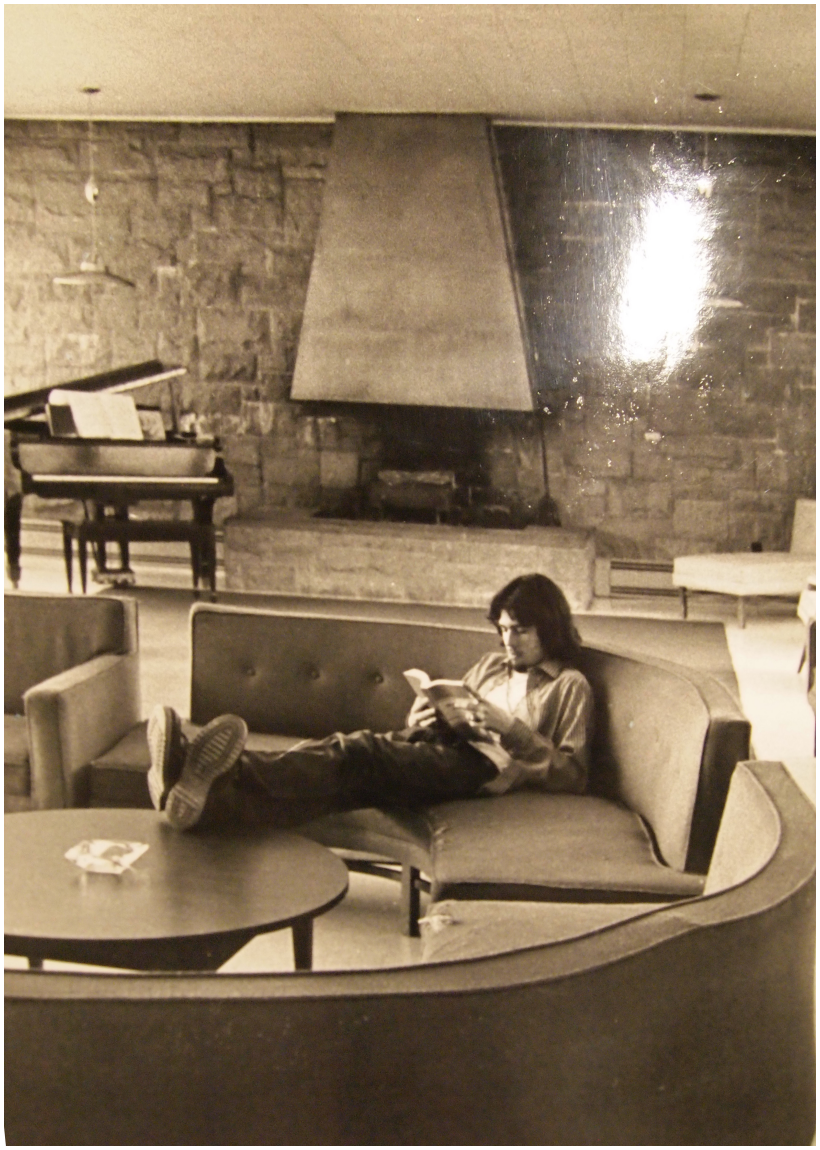


Figure 3.12. Larrabee House living room. Source: Arthur Bleich, "Larrabee," n.d. Folder: Dorm Life: Larrabee, The Linda Lear Center for Special Collections and Archives, Connecticut College, New London, CT.

Figure 3.13. Larrabee House. Source: Joseph Molitor. "Larrabee House," 1960. Campus and Building Photos LAR-01-008. The Linda Lear Center for Special Collections and Archives at Connecticut College, New London, CT. Available from Connecticut College Archives Flickr: http://www.flickr.com/photos/conncollegearchives/sets/72157622602474835/ (accessed 1/20/14).

Chapter 4.

Figure 4.1. Alsop House, Wesleyan's first art center. Source: Friends of the Davison Art Center. "Contact Us." Wesleyan University, 2011. https://fdac.wesleyan.edu/contact-us/ (accessed 1/14/14).

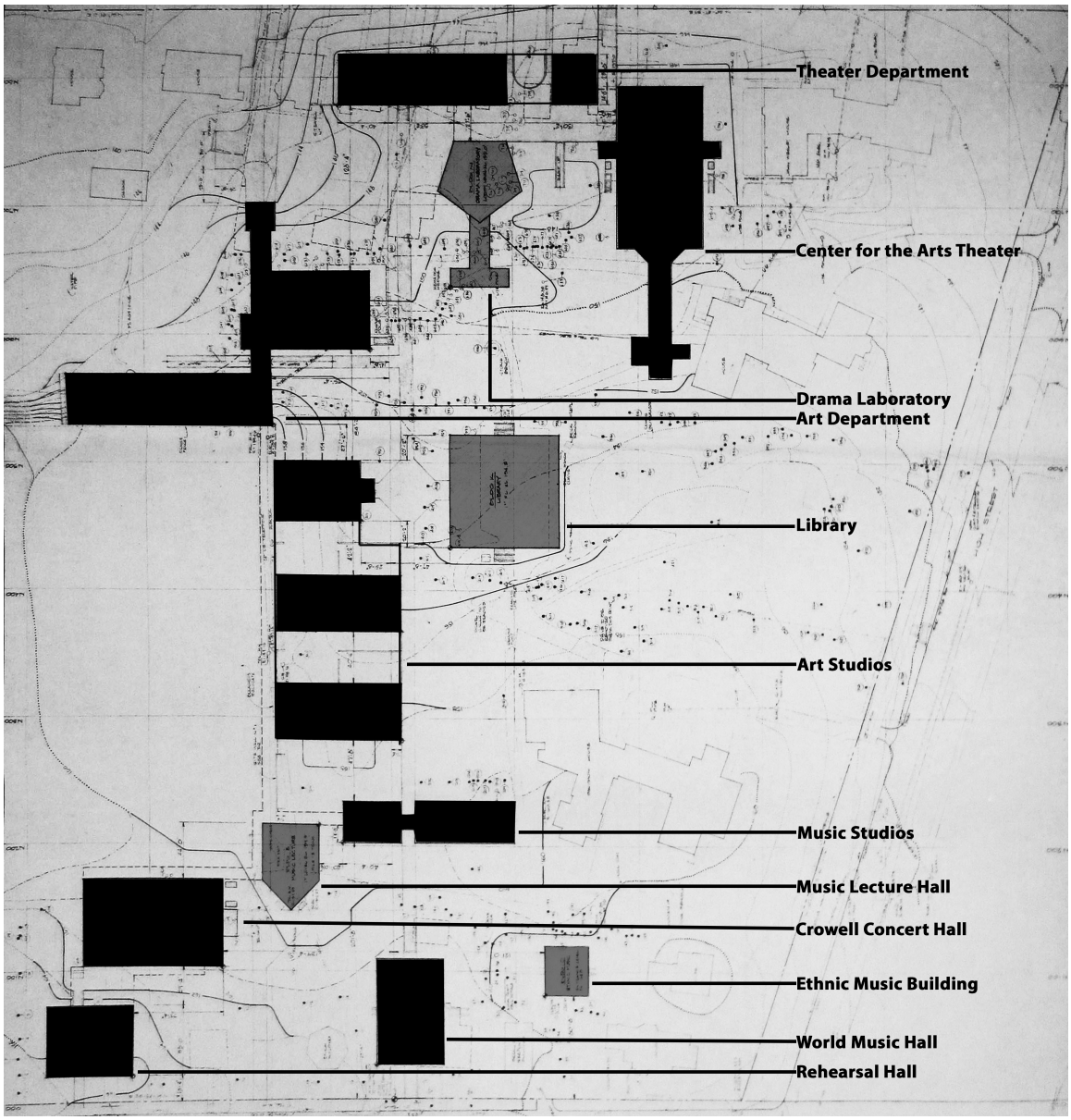


Figure 4.2. The initial layout for Wesleyan's art center, with the buildings later cut from the plan marked in grey. Source: "Site Plan," 1968-69. Center for the Arts. Broadside Case Collection, Collection #1000-79, Wesleyan University Special Collections & Archives, Middletown, CT

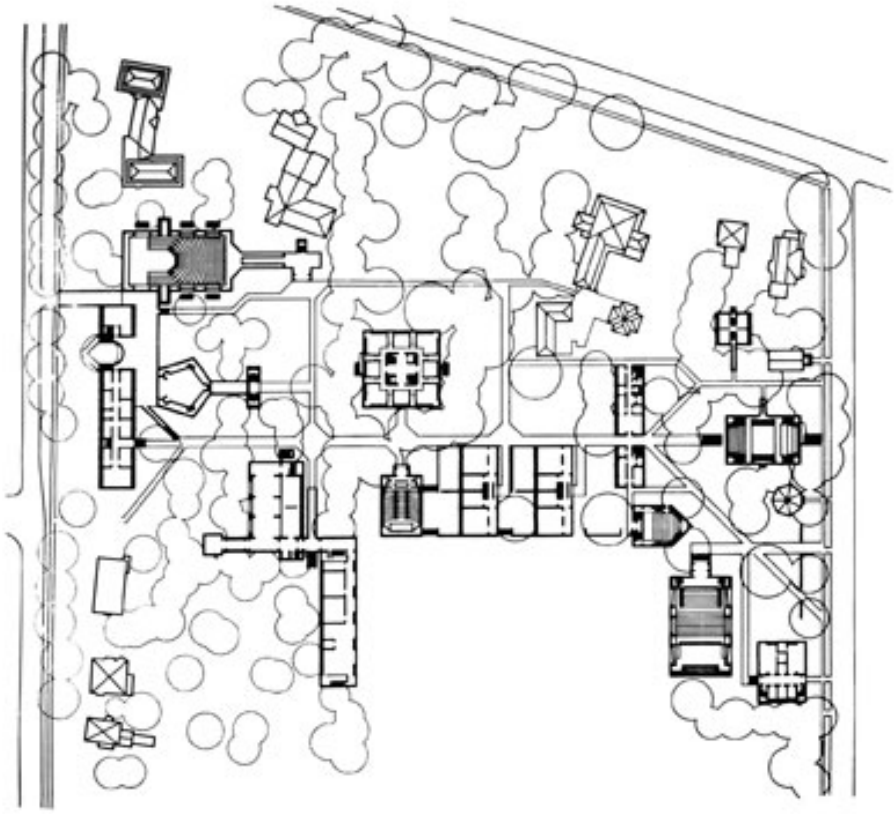


Figure 4.3. Plan and view of Wesleyan's new art center. Source: KRJD. "Center for the Arts, Wesleyan University," n.d. http://www.krjda.com/Sites/WesleyanInfo1.html (accessed 1/15/14).

Figure 4.4. Gallery space in Wesleyan's new art center. Source: KRJD. "Center for the Arts, Wesleyan University," n.d. http://www.krjda.com/Sites/WesleyanInfo1.html (accessed 1/15/14).

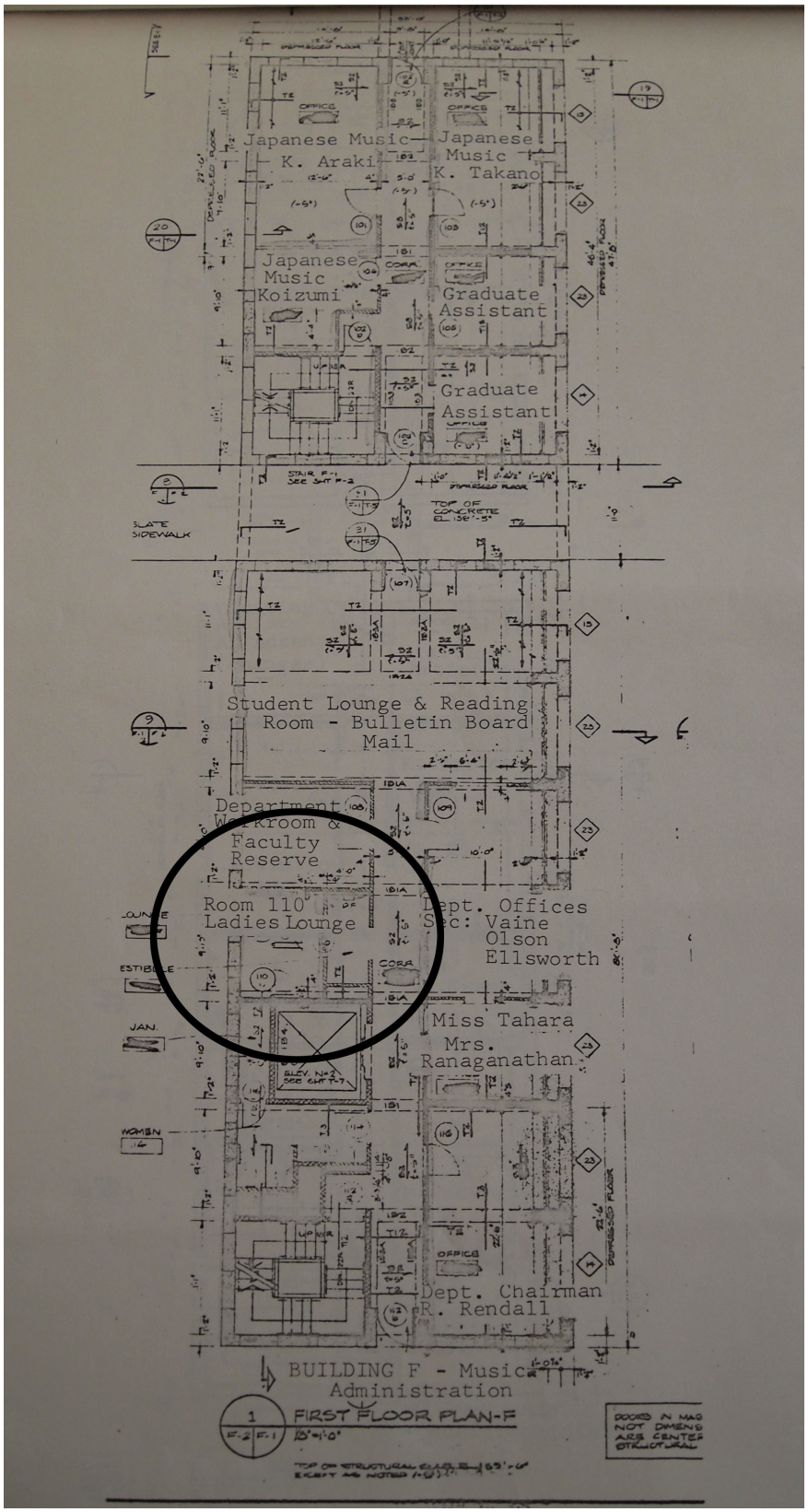


Figure 4.5. The ladies lounge included in Wesleyan's new art center. Source: "Wesleyan Arts Center," 1969. Folder: Center for the Arts, 01-024. Wesleyan University Archives and Special Collections, Middletown, CT. Edited by author.

Figure 4.6. Cummings Art Center at Connecticut College. Source: Phillip A. Biscuti. Cummings Art Center, 1970. Campus and Building Photos CUMMINGS-03-022. Linda Lear Center for Special Collections and Archives at Connecticut College, New London, CT.

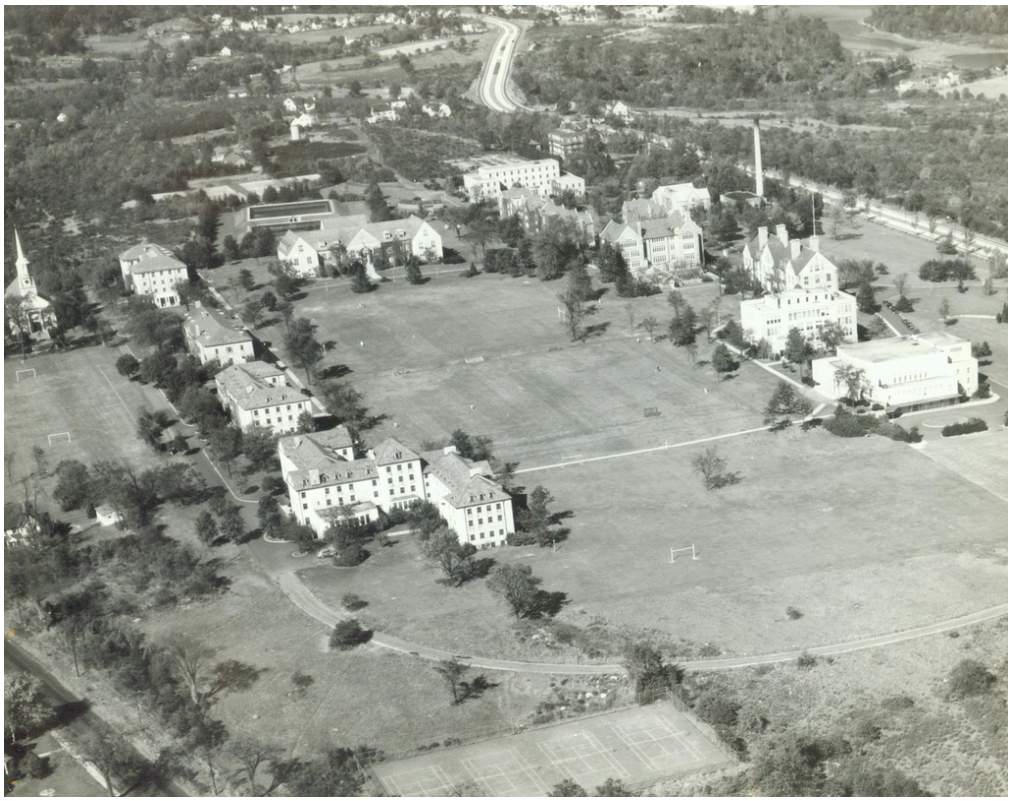


Figure 4.7. Aerial view of Connecticut College, ca. 1940. Source: Campus and Buildings AERI-01-021. Linda Lear Center for Special Collections and Archives at Connecticut College, New London, CT. Connecticut College Archives Flicker. 2014 < http://www.flickr.com/photos/conncollegearchives/2890116685/ >.

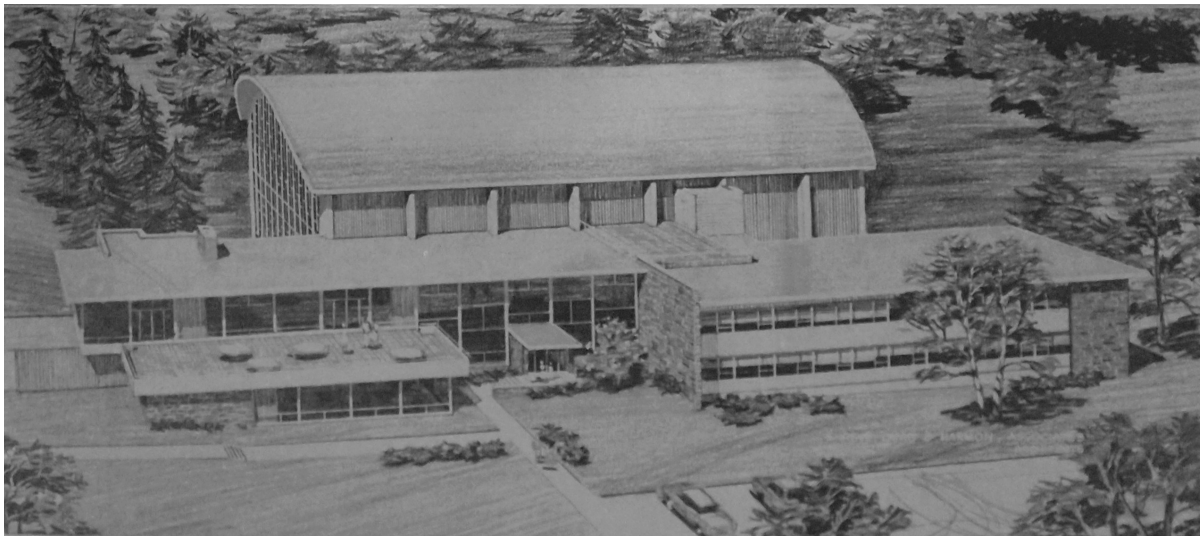


Figure 4.8. Rendering of Crozier Williams as built. Source: "Crozier-Williams Center," n.d. Box: Campus and Buildings Box 2, Folder: Buildings: Crozier-Williams Student Center – Skykes Fund/Sykes Wing, The Linda Lear Center for Archives and Special Collections at Connecticut College, New London, CT.

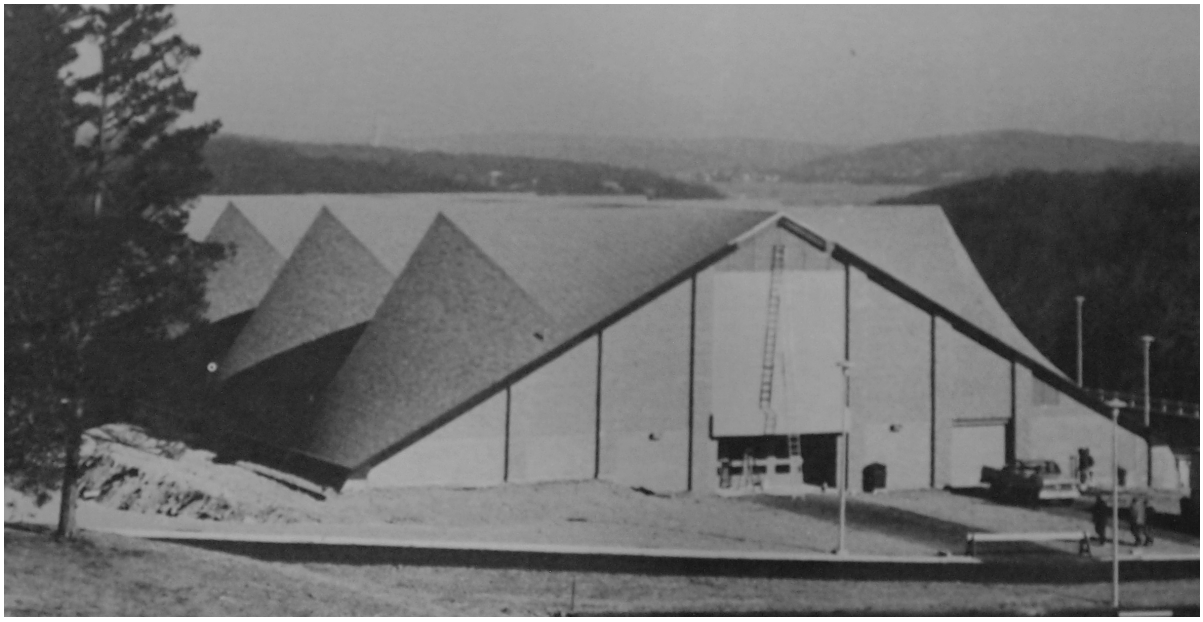


Figure 4.9. Dayton Arena at Connecticut College, ca. 1980. Source: Segall, Vivian. "Skating Under the Hyperbolic Paraboloid," *The Connecticut College Alumni Magazine* 57.3 (1980): 6.

Figure 4.10. The Connecticut College athletic complex. Source: Google Maps, 2014. https://www.google.com/maps (accessed 1/13/14).