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Gender, Architecture,
and Institutional Self-Presentation:
The Case of Duke University

Duke University occupies two campuses. These campuses, which were planned and constructed within the same seven-year period, initially operated as separate colleges for men and women.¹ They are approximately two miles distant from one another, connected by a strip of wooded land and Campus Drive (Figure 1). At the east end of this link is East Campus, known and functioning as the women's college campus until 1972 (Figures 2-4). Settled on the western edge of the city of Durham and enclosed in the semi-urban street grid, the 120-acre campus gives a neat, quadratic impression which is reinforced by its three-foot-high stone enclosing wall. The campus is penetrated, but not bisected by access roads on three of its four sides. Although the campus is not, in fact, a square, it is experienced as a rational set of rectilinear coordinates, so that even with a minimal experience of the site, the observer feels comfortably located.

The neat, neo-Georgian core of the women's campus, modeled on Jefferson's Uni-

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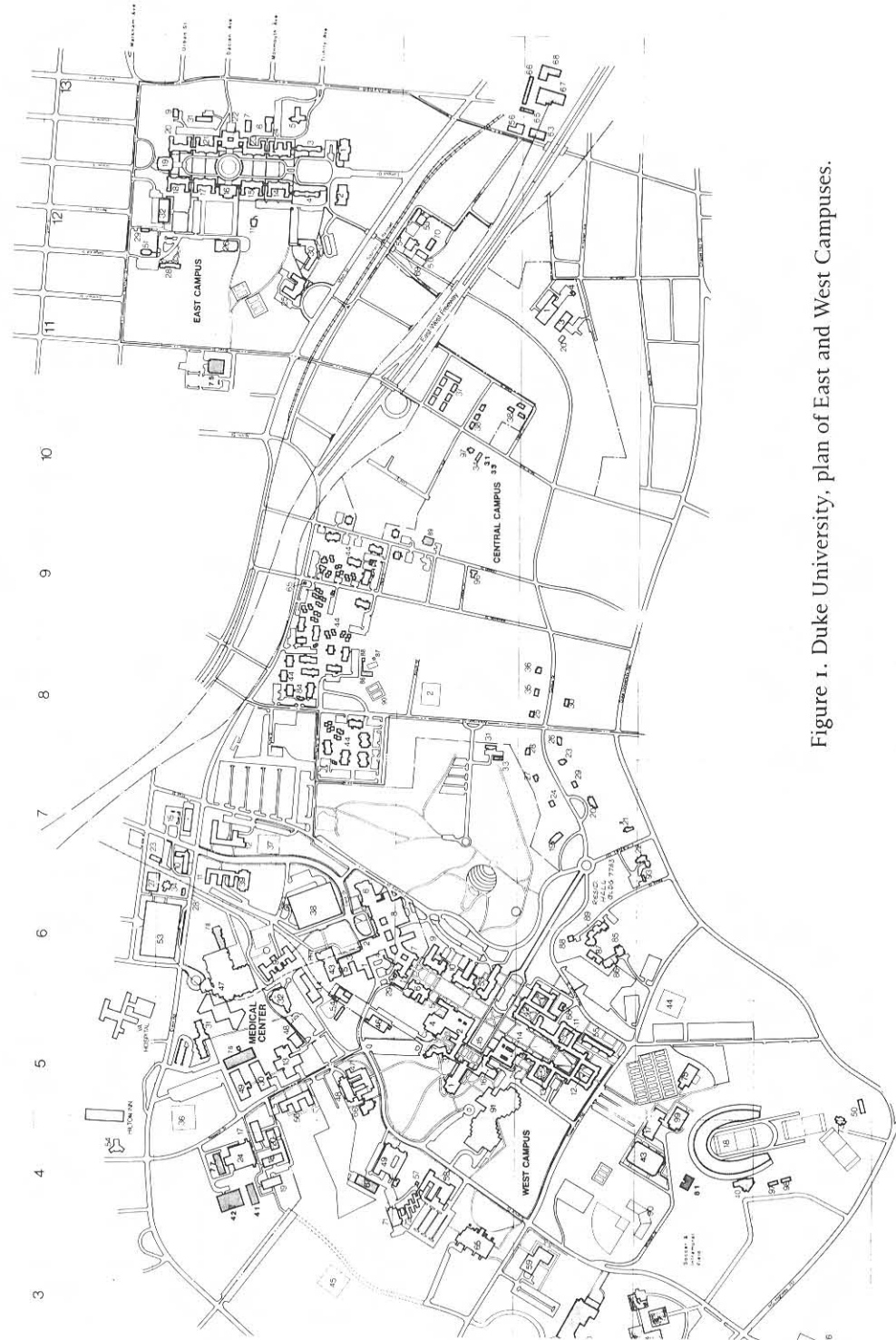


Figure 1. Duke University, plan of East and West Campuses.

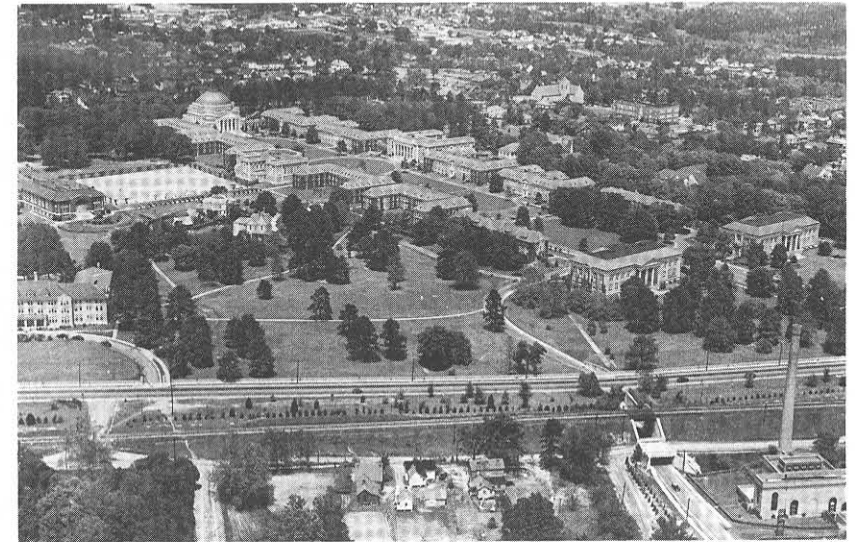


Figure 2. Duke University, bird's-eye view of East Campus.



Figure 3. Duke University, East Campus, Baldwin Auditorium.



Figure 4. Duke University, East Campus, Alspaugh Dormitory and Pegram Dormitory.

iversity of Virginia, is ordered by an axis introduced by the main gate and culminating in the low, broad dome of Baldwin Auditorium (Figure 3). The seated statue of the patriarch of the Duke family, Washington Duke, punctuates the design's horizontal axis. The architectural composition is perfectly symmetrical: not only are facing buildings identical, but the structures on either side of the short secondary axis running between the library and the student union repeat one another. Were it not for the names inscribed above the door lintels, it would be impossible to distinguish among the dormitories (Figure 4). From the center of the campus, the simple bilateral symmetry of the overall plan and the conformity of the individual buildings convince the observer that he or she fully comprehends the whole of the complex. This programmatic rationality, in addition to the precise character of the architectural style—with the geometric delineation of the red brick solids with white marble members—reinforces one's sense of spatial control. The experience of this setting is passive; the potential surprises of the architecturally heterogeneous periphery of the women's campus are masked and alienated by a thoroughly homogeneous core.²

At the southwest end of Campus Drive is the much larger West

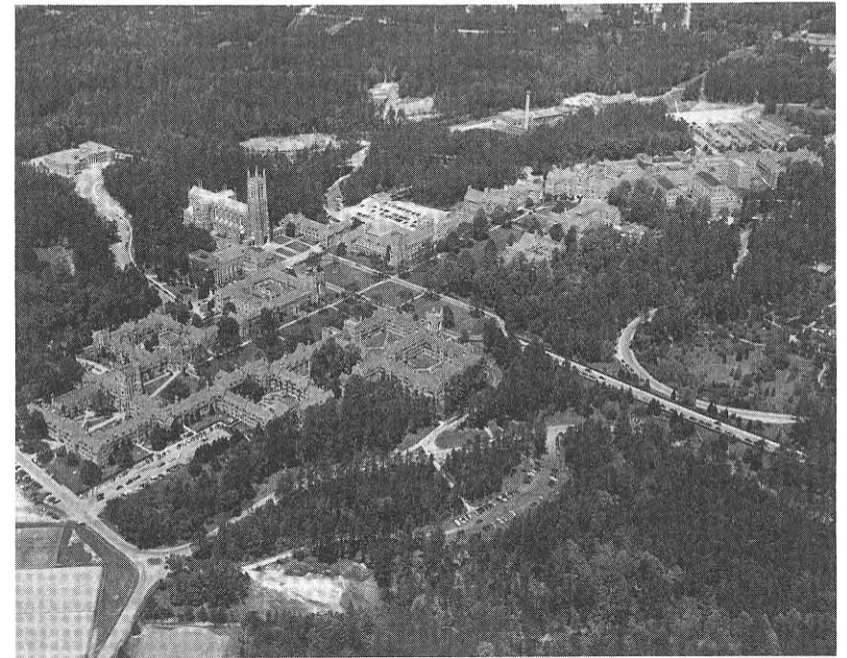


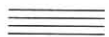
Figure 5. Duke University, bird's-eye view of West Campus.

Campus, identified until 1972 as the men's campus. The conception of the men's campus is essentially distinct from that of the women's (Figures 5–7). Through its landscaping, layout, and architectural style, West Campus invites investigation and promises the excitement of discovery. In contrast to the women's campus, the men's campus appears to emerge out of a forest. Despite a relatively high density of building on this campus, its scale and rurality are cleverly exaggerated by a complex, curvilinear road system designed by the masters of landscape mystification, the Olmsted Brothers.³ Undetected by the observer, roads and paths, separated by relatively narrow but opaque stands of pine and hardwood trees, wind back upon themselves. The circulation pattern disorients the observer, who confuses spatial ambiguity with physical extension.

Thus, the architecture of the men's campus, like its landscaping, promotes the pleasure of variety and unexpected disclosure. Even the

dominant axis along which the men's campus is organized is much more dramatically rendered than that of the women's campus—in-
stead of being prone, it is actively scandent. From the bottom of the hill on which the campus is set, the axis is revealed: a tree-lined, processional access rises toward the Chapel tower which terminates the visual field with a dominant vertical thrust. The ascent of the axis is punctuated and reinforced by the erect statue of the university's most beneficent donor, James Buchanan Duke (Figure 6). A major secondary axis, disclosed only when the observer reaches the center of the campus, increases the tension of the plan. More significantly, the arrangement of buildings is symmetrical only in the original sense of the word: the composition is balanced, but not rigidly bilateral. There are no architectural mirror images on the men's campus. The observer may broadly define his or her position in relation to the whole scheme by the Chapel tower, which visually dominates the architectural and natural features of the setting. The whole can, however, be grasped fully only by a thorough exploration of its varied parts.

The Collegiate Gothic style of the architecture of the men's campus complements its plan. The profile of the buildings is filigreed with towers and pinnacles. The surface is highly textured: the irregularity of the rough-cut, variously sized and colored schist is exaggerated by prominent pointing. It is further layered with protruding buttresses and receding blind arches. Diverse details—gargoyles, crests, bosses—which adorn the structures are individually and expressively carved (Figure 7). In contrast to the uneventful refinement and order of the women's campus, the men's campus exploits ambiguity and anticipation.



An unusually short period of time lapsed between the planning of the two campuses and the completion of enough of the plant for occupation. James Buchanan Duke promulgated the Duke Endowment in December 1924, providing for the establishment of a university in North Carolina named for the family. The fourth article of the indenture specified that if Trinity College would change its name to Duke within three months of the signing of the document, it would be the beneficiary of the \$6 million (the sum soon became \$19 million) set aside for this institution.⁴ Surviving letters suggest that the friends

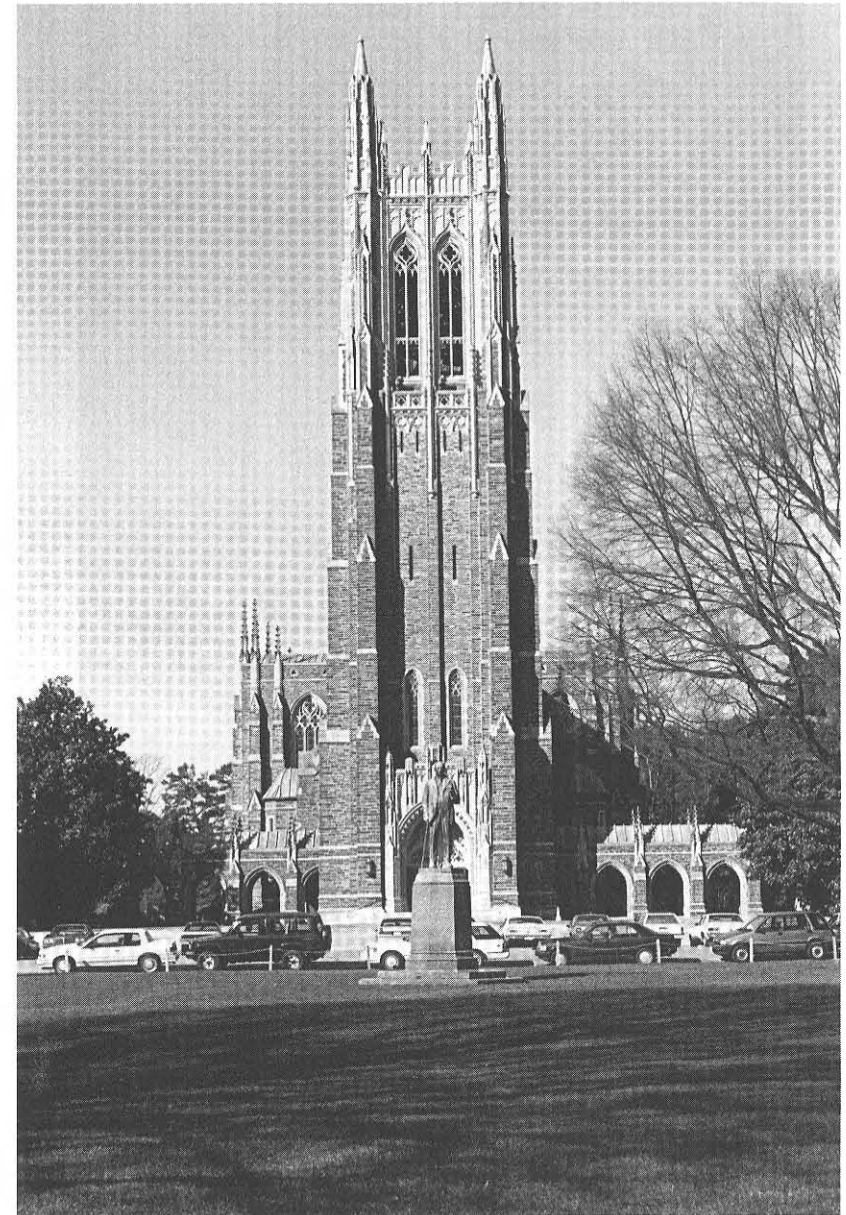


Figure 6. Duke University, West Campus, Duke Chapel.

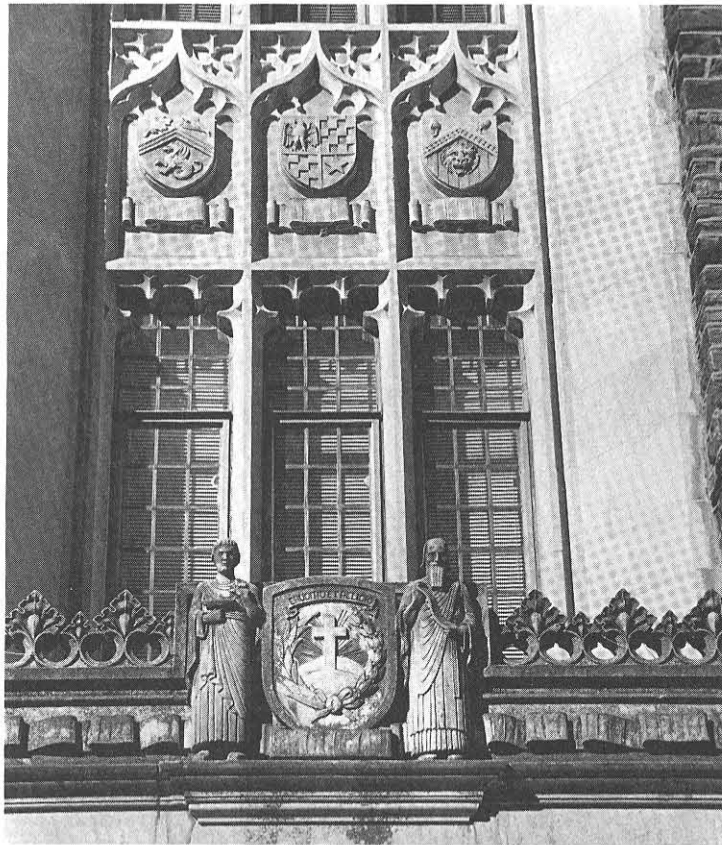


Figure 7. Duke University, West Campus, portal sculpture with the Duke motto, *Eruditio et Religio*.

and alumni of Trinity College overwhelmingly favored accepting J. B. Duke's condition, although the sentiments of the few who did not indicated their moral reservations about aligning the college with the tobacco magnates. One anonymous Christian wrote:

Are we not all well aware of the fact that the Methodist Church has for many years opposed the iniquitous tobacco business; and has this Church been aided to any extent by any other Church or organization in its earnest [*sic*] efforts to put a stop to this terrible sin? Do you suppose this effort on the part of the Methodist

Church has had nothing to do with the attitude of Mr. Duke towards Trinity and the conditions he has made in his proposition to buy it out body, name and soul?⁵

A special meeting of the trustees was called and the name change was unanimously accepted. What had been Trinity College would change not only its name, but its physical form.

The Duke family's connection with Trinity College was longstanding. The college was founded in 1838–1839 as Union College in the small town of Trinity in Randolph County, North Carolina, near High Point. It was reorganized and renamed Trinity College in 1859.⁶ In 1892, the new president of this Methodist-affiliated institution, John F. Crowell, a northerner trained at Yale University, sought a change in venue on the grounds that a progressive institution of higher learning must be located in an urban rather than rural setting.⁷ Washington Duke and Durham outbid Raleigh for Trinity College. With its move in 1892 to a manufacturing town, the college's support "passed more and more into the hands of industrialists," most notably the Duke family.⁸

Washington Duke and his sons worked their way out of poverty after the Civil War by manufacturing and marketing tobacco products. James Buchanan Duke became the president and most active force first in the American Tobacco Company and then in the Duke Power Company. Benjamin Newton Duke was Trinity College's most consistent promoter within the Duke family. He was a trustee of Trinity by 1889, before its move to Durham. It was apparently B. N. Duke's persistent advocacy of the college that finally interested his younger, more entrepreneurial brother, J. B. Duke, in the educational enterprise and ultimately led to the establishment of the Duke Endowment and the founding of Duke University. The other principal character in the genesis of this venture was William Preston Few, president first of Trinity College, then of Duke University between 1910 and 1940.⁹ Few seems to have had a visionary premonition of the new institution:

In March, 1921 I had a serious illness and during this illness I had a good deal of free time to reflect. The whole idea of the University became clear in my mind. I dictated it to my wife and requested her to see that it reached Mr. Duke whatever the out-

come of my illness might be. Almost immediately I passed into unconsciousness from which I am told no one expected me ever to return.¹⁰

It seems that it was his thoroughly thought-out and compelling plan for the expansion of Trinity College that convinced J. B. Duke of the feasibility of promoting a university.

As early as 1924, J. B. Duke had appointed Horace Trumbauer, an architect working out of Philadelphia, to design both campuses.¹¹ Trumbauer, who had no formal architectural education, was one of the great eclectic practitioners of the first third of the twentieth century.¹² He attracted and retained an extremely wealthy clientele by producing what they wanted: palatial homes and philanthropic institutions which embodied their patrons' idiosyncrasies in monuments of "good taste." Just as Trumbauer first constructed houses for Mrs. A. Hamilton Rice, formerly Mrs. George E. Widener, and later was commissioned by her as architect of the Widener Library at Harvard, Trumbauer's appointment as architect of the two campuses of Duke University indicates not only his reputation but also J. B. Duke's appreciation of the Duke mansion on the corner of Fifth Avenue and East 78th Street in New York City, built by Trumbauer between 1909 and 1910.¹³ The head of Trumbauer's office during the firm's work on the university was the distinguished black architect Julian Abele. In contrast to Trumbauer himself, Abele had studied at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts in Paris, the most prestigious school of architecture in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Abele seems to have played an important role in the planning and construction of Duke, though the lack of surviving documentation makes it difficult to attribute specific parts of the project to individuals.¹⁴

The sites of the campuses, as well as their architect, had been located by J. B. Duke and Few before 1925. The women's campus was to occupy the space and some of the buildings of old Trinity College. In the first decades of the century, Trinity College had been largely rebuilt by Messrs. Hook and Rogers, architects of Charlotte, N.C. In 1911, President Few wrote that this firm

planned all but one of the buildings that have been erected at this college within the past fifteen years. Mr. C. C. Hook . . .

has the good taste and the imagination to plan, and the expert knowledge to execute his plans. We are now in the midst of a large building scheme, which is based entirely upon his ideas.¹⁵

The principal buildings of the old college complex were the Victorian-Baroque library, the sub-Second Empire Alspaugh Hall, the Beaux-Arts Memorial Hall and the matching East and West Duke buildings, and the twin Dutch-Renaissance dormitories (Figures 8–10). The central piles of old Trinity College were torn down to accommodate the neo-Jeffersonian women's college of the new university. Although the East and West Duke buildings and the pair of dormitories were retained on the periphery of the new scheme, they were, according to Few, "reworked, the interiors entirely rebuilt or remodeled and redecorated."¹⁶ Apparently these older structures were seen as something of a stylistic embarrassment to the administration: they are cropped in a number of the bird's-eye views of the women's campus which appeared in university publications after 1930.

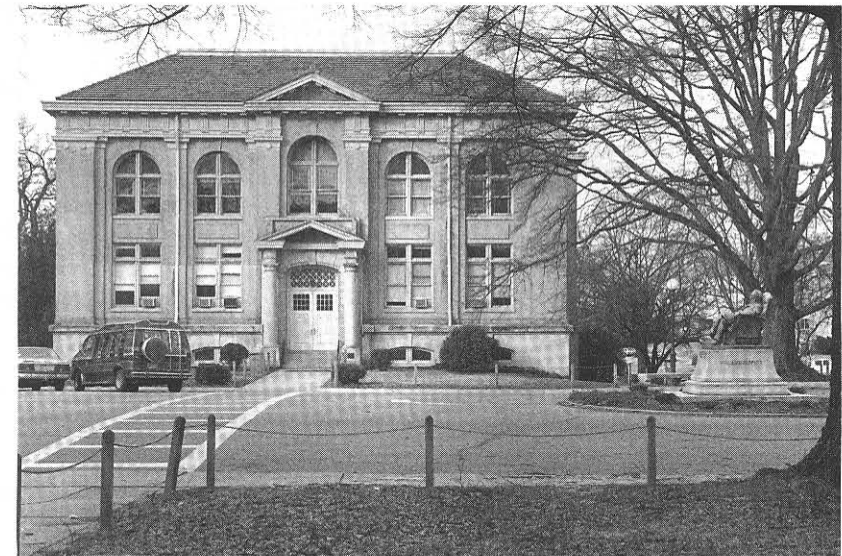


Figure 8. Duke University, East Campus, statue of Washington Duke and the West Duke Building.

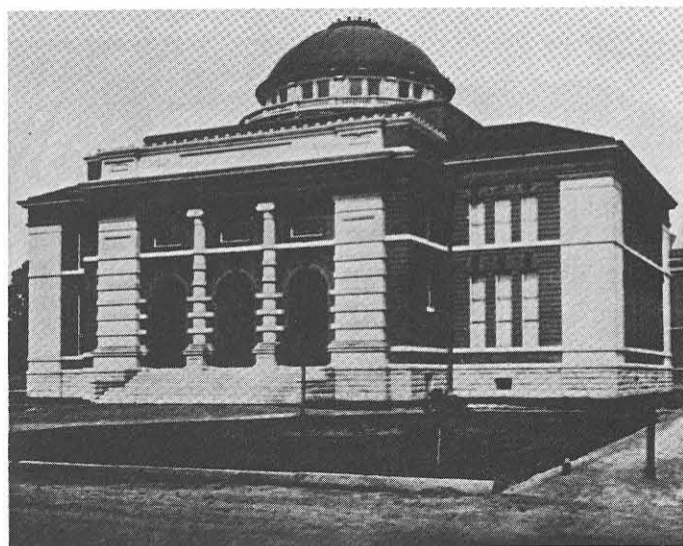
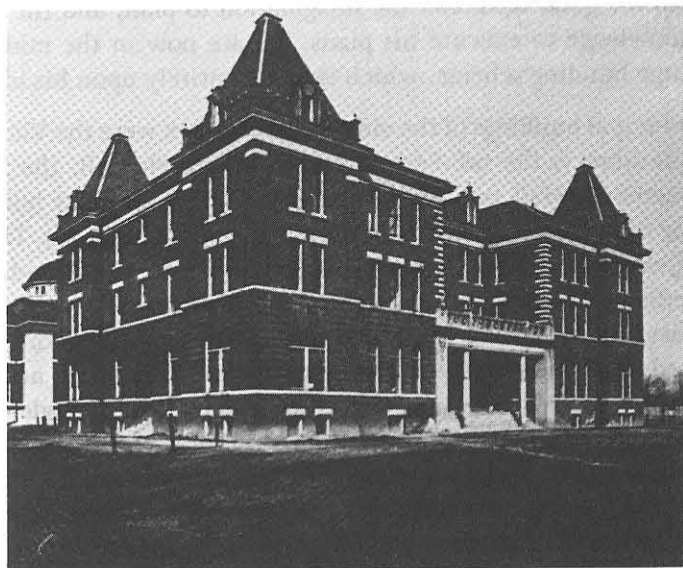


Figure 9. Trinity College, Alspaugh Hall (top) and the library (bottom), both destroyed in 1925 for the construction of the Co-Ordinate College for Women, Trinity College pamphlet, 1913.

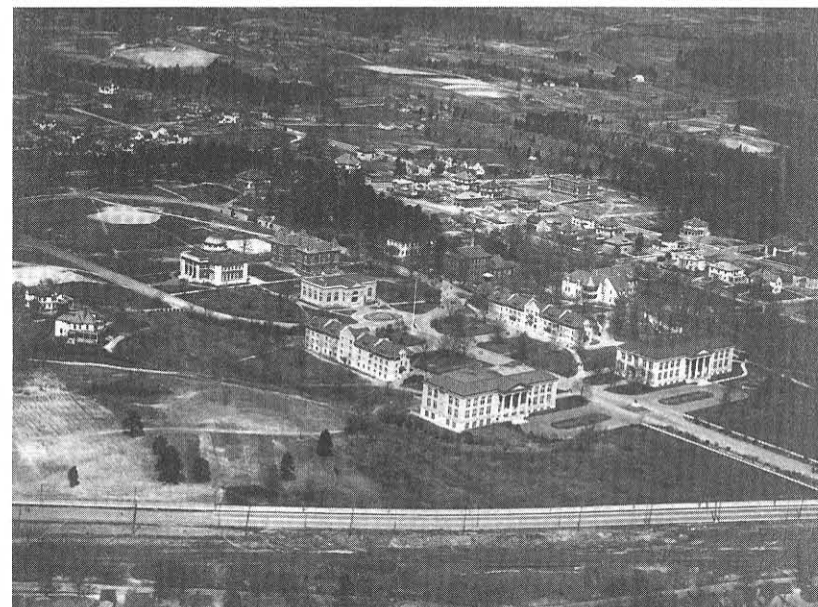


Figure 10. Trinity College, bird's-eye view before its rebuilding as the Co-Ordinate College for Women.

The site for the men's campus was also in hand before the publication of the Duke Endowment.¹⁷ After speculation about Trinity College's expansion had driven up the prices of property adjacent to its campus, J. B. Duke's agent, Robert L. Flowers, surreptitiously gained control of a great expanse of wooded land to the southwest of the college.¹⁸ J. B. Duke gave the authorization for the purchase of the tracts on which options were held in the spring of 1924. Although the land for the men's campus was acquired before the establishment of the university, the site, in contrast to what would become the women's campus, was virginal; the rolling pine- and hardwood-covered setting was virtually untouched by construction.

Plans for the women's campus were drawn and the contract for twelve new buildings was signed by July 1925. Construction on East Campus moved very rapidly. The president of the institution, William Preston Few, described the progress:

Plans for buildings on the Women's College campus were rushed with the purpose to let the contract before Mr. [J. B.] Duke's death [in early October 1925]. During the rapid construction of those buildings and during the time we occupied them and were engaged in the organization of the University, life . . . was raised to its top capacity.¹⁹

The buildings of the women's campus were finished by 1927. More time was taken in the construction of the men's campus, as Few points out:

The building program on the University campus was much more extensive and prolonged. In this there were many thrills. . . . But most of all I have been thrilled by the noble Chapel, with its rare beauty, its organs, and its bells. . . . The Chapel at the center of the University is intended to be symbolical of the truth that the spiritual is the central and dominant thing in the life of man.²⁰

Though more time was spent in the construction of the men's campus than the women's, it too was built very quickly, considering the magnitude of the undertaking. Enough of the construction on the men's campus was finished by 1930 to allow it to function as such. With the completion of the Chapel in 1932, the main phase of the university's building program came to an end.



Two factors legitimate a critical comparison of the architecture of the men's and women's campuses of Duke University. First, they occupy the same historical and conceptual territory. Most campuses of comparable size were realized in multiple phases which embody shifts in educational practice as well as in architectural style. In contrast, the two campuses of Duke University were planned and built in a relatively short time span between 1925 and 1932, by a single architect, and under the close scrutiny of only two patrons: J. B. Duke, who funded the enterprise, and W. P. Few, who realized his vision of a university incorporating Trinity College. Second, the art historical context of the project makes the choice of distinct styles for the men's and women's campuses significant. In phases of architectural eclecticism, style functions as a more sensitive indicator of a patron's

perspective than it does when a single style is dominant, as was the classical style in the eighteenth century and the International Style in the middle of the twentieth. Duke University was built in the ripeness of architectural eclecticism in the United States.

The rise at the turn of the century of a new class of university patron—the fabulously wealthy industrialist/entrepreneur—coincided with the golden age of architectural eclecticism. Patrons had their choice of styles and the wherewithal with which to model an imposing architectural self-image. They had architects who could conspicuously display the new wealth in residential Romanesque castles, classical temples, renaissance villas, and baroque palaces. Their public structures manifest the same license: the monument was the clear physical expression of the authority, munificence, and eccentricities of the donor. The Stanfords, for their Leland Stanford Jr. University, built between 1887 and about 1903, specified the Spanish style of the California missions.²¹ This provincial vernacular style was translated by Stanford's architect, Charles A. Coolidge, into massive Romanesque forms. The mature plan for the Stanford campus shows it introduced by a triumphal arch and dominated by a version of H. H. Richardson's Trinity Church.²² The neoclassical style was chosen by Seth Low for the rebuilding of Columbia University by McKim, Mead, and White in 1894. There, the centerpiece is the Pantheon-like Low Library.²³ The Gothic became increasingly popular from the 1890s through the early decades of the twentieth century. The master plan by Henry Ives Cobb of 1893 for John D. Rockefeller's new University of Chicago exhibits a series of seven Gothic quadrangles (one of which was the Women's Quadrangle) squeezed into the small urban site. Both Yale and Princeton Universities were reworked in the Gothic style in the first two decades of the twentieth century.²⁴

The arrangement of buildings was as important as their style. The appropriate formula for the expression of the status of an institution was provided by the *Ecole des Beaux-Arts*. The competition drawings which formed the basis of the *Ecole's* curriculum set the standard of grandiloquent formality deemed consistent with the status aspired to by many American patrons.²⁵ Impressive vistas were generated by hierarchically ordered, monumental structures, typically but not inevitably of a classicizing ilk.²⁶ On the model of baroque palace com-

plexes and eighteenth-century urban planning schemes, composition was usually controlled by a principal building. In state universities and in some private institutions of the period, the dominant structure was an administration building, as at the University of Wisconsin, or a library, as at the University of California at Berkeley. In institutions established by a patron, however, the intended focus of the scheme was typically a memorial, often of a religious character, to a member of the institution's founding family, as at Stanford.²⁷

It was the fashionable, Gothic-quadrangle style combined with the established Beaux-Arts program that excited Duke's patrons. The enthusiasm for a campus following such a design is apparent from Few's writings. In a letter of 9 September 1924, President Few expressed his opinion on the matter of the architectural style of the new university to the ailing B. N. Duke:

As I wrote Mrs. Duke just as I was hurriedly leaving Atlantic City I came on here to see Mr. J. B. Duke and Mr. Trumbauer, the Philadelphia architect. The architect has gone over to the Tudor Gothic style of building. Because I did not know how much additional cost might be involved in it I have had little to say except to Mrs. Duke the other day in Atlantic City about my preference in architecture, but Tudor Gothic is distinctly my first choice. Mr. Trumbauer had a great day out here last Saturday and I think it had Mr. J. B. Duke's approval. It is but the sober truth to say that when these buildings as now planned are put on the grounds we will have here the most harmonious, imposing and altogether beautiful educational plant in America.²⁸

Few's remark that the architect had "gone over" to Tudor Gothic suggests that Trumbauer had originally favored another style, most probably the classicizing one in which the great majority of his buildings were designed. It seems likely that his mind had been changed not by Few, but by the Dukes. At least one member of the Duke family had already been impressed by the Gothic at a much earlier point. Brodie Duke wrote to his younger half brother, B. N. Duke, from Europe in 1891:

I tell you we are far behind [Europe] in church structure in America. They [the great ecclesiastical monuments of France and

England] are grand beyond description covering whole Squares & every kind of carvings outside and inside. . . . I only wish Pa [Washington Duke] had come with us. I know he would have loved it, & here I want to say I know we are going to miss it on Trinity. Oh! if Crowell [president of Trinity College] could see the college Buildings & Chapels at Oxford England he would have changed Trinity. He is hurrying things too much. It ought to have taken 3 years to build the main building. . . . But our people need Traveling.²⁹

J. B. Duke's specification—"I want the central building to be a church, a great towering church that will dominate all the surrounding buildings"—certainly suggests the Gothic mode; his continued involvement in making stylistic adjustments further indicates the part that he must have played in the original decision.³⁰ On 3 February 1925, J. B. Duke's assistant, Mr. Eugene Gilbert, wrote to Trumbauer: "I feel sure that Mr. Duke is greatly interested in having the original plan sketched out so that . . . the buildings [of the men's campus] shall show slightly more strength and ruggedness than was indicated in some of the sketches of the original plan."³¹ Trumbauer's inclusion of J. B. Duke and his associates in discussions concerning the models for the university buildings is also reflected in his letter to J. B. Duke's attorney, G. G. Allen, who was traveling in England:

Referring to our interview of yesterday, I append a list of the buildings [Oxford; Cambridge; Eton; Canterbury; Wells; Glastonbury; Lichfield; Haddon Hall, Derbyshire; Much Wenlock Priory, Shropshire; Durham; and Chester] that might be of interest to you as they were the basis from which designs of the men's university were inspired. In case you are pressed for time and can see only a limited number of these buildings, I would particularly like you to see the tower of Canterbury Cathedral as the tower of the chapel was suggested by the Canterbury spire.³²

William R. Perkins, J. B. Duke's friend and associate, recorded the patron's personal interest in overseeing the building operations:

Mr. Duke went out during the afternoon and walked over the proposed site, covering a large acreage, for the proposed main

Duke University buildings, locating the various buildings and deciding how to lay out the grounds, and among other things Mr. Duke picked out a knoll on which he said he thought he would probably build him a cottage in which he could live while he watched the erection of the University buildings.³³

J. B. Duke as well as President Few embraced the Gothic style as appropriate for the men's campus. The religious associations of the Gothic, established in England by the middle of the nineteenth century by such eloquent polemicists as Pugin and Ruskin, contributed to its influence in the United States.³⁴ Although the Gothic style never represented a radical social program in this country as it did for Viollet-le-Duc in France or Morris in England, it did develop a strong Anglo-Saxon affiliation. Particularly in England the Gothic also came to have powerful nationalist connotations: so the new Catholic cathedral at Westminster would be built in a "style which was absolutely primitive Christian" (Italo-Byzantine) in part because the Anglican associations of the Gothic made that style an inappropriate choice.³⁵

But it was perhaps just these associations and others that made the Gothic appropriate for the planners of Duke University. President Few, along with many of his contemporary educationalists, linked the Gothic with the collegiate system of higher learning represented by Oxford and Cambridge:

They [*Eruditio et Religio*, learning and religion, the motto first of Trinity College, then of Duke University] have stood together in English civilization and were brought to America from the Mother Country. On the *main* campus a style of architecture has been used that links the University with this past.

Or even more explicitly:

There has been from the beginning not only a complete plan for the grounds and buildings, but also an equally well defined and well understood ideal for the invisible university. . . . The colleges . . . with the emphasis on character and culture and on training for service to country, to causes, and to humanity, will be in the English tradition of education. This will explain the architecture here; for the College is the heart of the Univer-

sity and these buildings tie us to the great historic traditions of learning in the English-speaking race.

And finally, most eloquently:

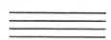
On the University Campus we have used a style of architecture that links us with the past by merely putting those lines in our buildings which, as Woodrow Wilson said of the Tudor Gothic buildings at Princeton, "point every man's imagination to the historic traditions of learning in the English-speaking race." . . . [This architecture is] intended to suggest . . . the full, untrammelled pursuit of truth and religion with its *burning passion* for righteousness in the world. . . . [Duke University's] Gothic architecture, instinct as it is with aspiration and the glory of the imperfect, will proclaim the beautiful hope that righteousness and truth, gentleness and strength, goodness and beauty can live together, and living together, can build a world that will sustain a civilization with great and enduring qualities.³⁶

The amount of space and the character of the language devoted by Few to descriptions of the university's Gothic structures indicate their privileged status. Yet despite this grandiloquent appreciation of the Gothic style, neither Few nor the Dukes chose to use it for the women's college. In fact, only rarely are comments specifically made about the restrained Georgian style of the women's campus. Even in the chapter on "The Co-Ordinate College for Women," in his unpublished manuscript, *The Beginnings of an American University*, Few makes no mention of its Jeffersonian model. He writes simply:

The Trinity College campus was set apart for the uses of the Women's College. Twelve new buildings were added; the [remaining] old buildings were reworked, the interiors entirely rebuilt or remodeled and redecored; and all of them designed especially for Women's College although the plant was not turned over to them until the West Campus was occupied in 1930. The renovated buildings and the new buildings harmonize and constitute an *appropriate* and beautiful college plant.³⁷

The lack of articulated interest in classicizing styles generally, and in the Georgian style in particular, is most apparent in an anno-

tated scrapbook compiled by Few and Frank C. Brown, a professor of English and friend of B. N. Duke's. This scrapbook chronicles Few and Brown's tour of twenty-one universities and colleges undertaken in March and April 1924, in preparation for planning the new campuses. Postcards and photographs with a handful of plans interspersed with handwritten comments in a quarto notebook document Few and Brown's investigation. Judging from the marginalia, the two were preoccupied with such details as the percentage markup in the college stores, the display of patrons' portraits in university halls, the distribution of no-smoking signs, and practical design (boiler manufacturers, table construction, paneling in administrative offices). With the exception of dormitory plans, they exhibited a minimal concern with architectural programs. Nevertheless, Few and Brown's preference for the Gothic as opposed to the classical is indicated by the relative weight of notation made on the campuses rendered in that style. Only four universities, Chicago, Pennsylvania, Yale, and Princeton—all realized in the Gothic style—have over ten pages of the scrapbook devoted to them.³⁸ Institutions such as Sweet Briar College, the University of Virginia, and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, which were constructed along neoclassical lines, have very brief entries. Several comments in the scrapbook make explicit Few and Brown's promotion of the Gothic style. Written in a large hand next to an illustration of the newly refurbished library at Princeton is the pointed remark: "N.B. — The library herewith illustrates what can be done with a bad piece of architecture: the old bizarre, late Victorian front is to be made into this collegiate Gothic."³⁹ This sounds like a possible model for reclaiming certain old Trinity College buildings. The laconic notation above a photograph of Jefferson's Rotunda at the University of Virginia, "The library is an abominable building," is particularly peculiar since it was Jefferson's Rotunda, as restored by McKim, Mead, and White after a fire in 1895, that provided the model for the centerpiece of the women's campus, Baldwin Auditorium (Figure 11).⁴⁰



Documentation or the lack of it suggests that the excitement and fervor involved in the construction of the men's campus and embodied in its Gothic structures were absent from the realization of

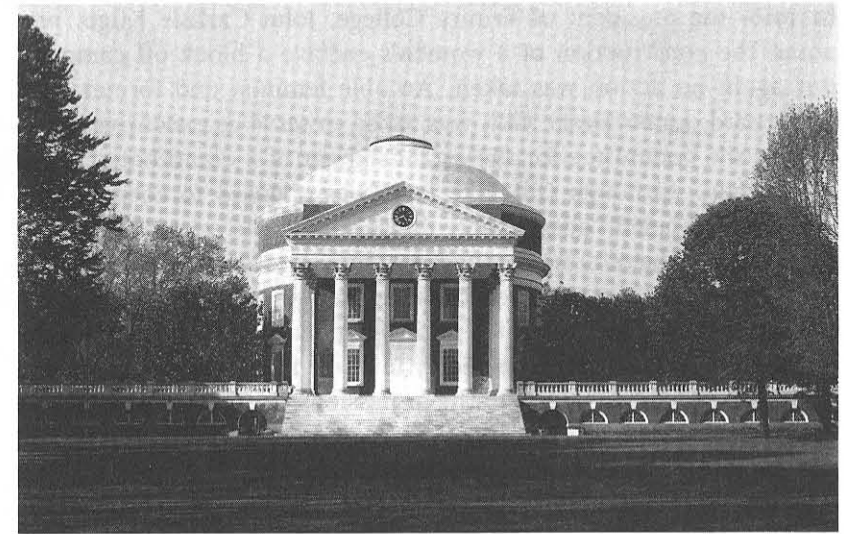


Figure 11. University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Thomas Jefferson's Rotunda, built between 1817 and 1826 and restored by McKim, Mead, and White, 1896–1899. Photo courtesy of the University Archives, Special Collections Department, University of Virginia Library, Charlottesville, Va.

the women's campus. The women's college seems to have been peripheral topographically and architecturally; not surprisingly, marginality also characterized the history of women at Trinity College. Women did not matriculate at Trinity College until the last quarter of the nineteenth century. In 1879, three sisters, Teresa, Persis, and Mary Giles, became the first women to receive degrees from Trinity College. They fulfilled the institution's requirements through private instruction, not being "allowed to attend classes with men until their senior year when they were admitted to the classes of President Craven."⁴¹ In 1896, Washington Duke made an extraordinary gift of \$100,000 to the college on the condition that women be admitted to full privileges.⁴²

Washington Duke's gift and his later (1903) withdrawal of its conditional status reflect the administration's consistent treatment of women as worthy but expendable adjuncts to their educational mission. In 1903, a plan for a coordinate college for women on the Radcliffe-Harvard model was accepted, but it was not acted upon.

In 1910, the president of Trinity College, John Carlisle Kilgo, proposed the construction of a women's enclave a block off campus.⁴³ But again no action was taken. An able feminist and former dean of Barnard, Laura Drake Gill, was asked to serve as executive secretary of the committee for the establishment of a coordinate college for women. Although Gill, like Few, was opposed to coeducation, which she labeled "unspeakably dangerous to the social outlook of the women," the reforms she suggested proved too radical for Few and his colleagues: too critical of Trinity's present treatment of women; too ambitious in her plans for an independently funded and administered women's college; too deeply invested in education as a means of providing women access to the professions. So again nothing came of the project.⁴⁴ It was not until 1924, stimulated by the prospect of the foundation of Duke University, that President Few hired the first woman dean with faculty status, Alice M. Baldwin, who had headed the Department of History at the Baldwin School, Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania, and who had a Ph.D. from the University of Chicago.

Dean Baldwin's credentials and experience notwithstanding, President Few conceived of female education as preparation for the domestic obligations of a middle-class woman. He had considerable scorn for all-female institutions such as Bryn Mawr and Vassar, and was suspicious of thoroughly coeducational endeavors such as those at Oberlin and Michigan. Few articulated the familiar and conservative "separate but equal" ideal for women's education—now recognized as a proven formula for social marginality; the establishment of Duke's Co-Ordinate College for Women meant

that practically all undergraduate courses for women would be composed of women exclusively but taught in the main, if not wholly, by the same [male] teachers that teach the men. . . . I know no valid argument against coeducation, but we have to reckon with the prejudice of most men and many women through all our eastern states.⁴⁵

He described the mission of the women's college in the following terms:

A wide field of usefulness and a place of commanding influence in this country await the college that, while cherishing the

chivalric ideal of women which has always characterized the civilization of the English race at its best estate, at the same time puts into the education of women complete intellectual sincerity, holds up sufficient standards of excellence, and keeps on its teaching staff *men* of first rate qualities.⁴⁶

Few acknowledges the functional distance between the two campuses even while he emphasizes links between them:

In general the theory is that a student of the Women's College may fulfill the requirements for the A.B. degree without having to go to the West Campus for any courses of instruction, but the way is kept open for juniors and seniors to use all the University libraries and laboratories and to enter any course for which they are qualified.⁴⁷

No mention is made here of the logistical problems involved in women taking classes on the men's campus, although they must have been significant. A city bus service ran between East and West, but students were encouraged to walk. Indeed, in order to take advanced work in many areas, notably the natural sciences, women had no choice but to make their way to the men's college. For example, no middle- or upper-level courses were offered in chemistry on the women's campus. Indeed the only chemistry course given exclusively on the east campus was "Household Chemistry."⁴⁸ Those arts subjects that were regarded as particularly appropriate for women were, of course, housed on East Campus.

With the exception of teachers' training, undergraduate education for women was not preprofessional. The domestic diction with which the curriculum is described identifies its objectives. According to Few, Alice M. Baldwin defined the women's college as "a place where able, well-prepared girls . . . may meet together and learn to understand each other in the comradeship of work and play."⁴⁹ Such language is more appropriate for a sewing bee than a liberal arts education.

Myth often expresses a social reality unretrievable in fact. One of the common historical fictions continuing to circulate at Duke acknowledges women's isolation. It is popularly believed that Washington Duke provided money to endow the women's college on the

condition that a ten-foot-high wall be constructed around the campus to insure the virtue of the occupants. To comply to the letter but not the spirit of the terms, college administrators directed that seven of the ten feet be buried beneath the ground, leaving the present wall only an aesthetically pleasant three feet aboveground.⁵⁰

The symbolically potent wall, the siting of the women's campus two miles away from the new university and its rendering in a distinct, "appropriate" architectural style conform to the conservative educational ideology espoused by Few. It was also compatible with the powerful patriarchal conventions which ordered the lives of the Dukes. The privileged position of the male members of the family is eloquently articulated in death. Washington Duke, flanked by his sons Benjamin Newton Duke and James Buchanan Duke, are interred in feudal splendor. Life-size marble portraits of all three—dressed in business suits rather than armor—recline on sarcophagi in the Memorial Chapel to the left of the main altar of Duke Chapel, the architectural centerpiece of the university (Figures 12–13). Thirty-three tons of marble were imported for the sarcophagi from the famous quarries of Carrara in Italy. Charles Keck was the sculptor; Allesandrini was the finisher who worked by pointing from Keck's plaster models. The cost of the three sarcophagi was approximately \$55,000. "This undertaking for Duke is unique in their [the William F. Ross Co.] history, and is so rare as to be beyond recollection by a number of men in the industry."⁵¹ In contrast, the deceased women of the family are not on display: one is buried in the crypt below the Memorial Chapel (Mrs. James Buchanan Duke), and the rest in Maplewood Cemetery on what was then the outskirts of town.



From the pyramids of Egypt to that of the Transamerica Insurance Company, architecture has functioned not only as a purveyor of status and authority, but also as an embodiment of a set of values.⁵² Thus the early advertising brochures sent to prospective students by Trinity College and later Duke University presented the academy's buildings as the materialization of the educational mission of the institution. The intended audience for these pamphlets is explicitly indicated. A 1915 pamphlet begins, "Trinity College gladly extends



Figure 12. Duke University, Duke Chapel, tomb of Washington Duke.

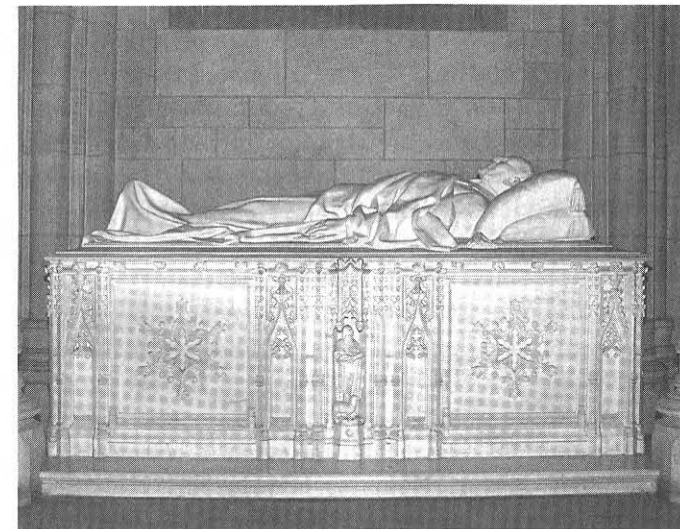


Figure 13. Duke University, Duke tombs, detail of B. N. Duke.

a hearty welcome to all young *gentlemen* fitted to take advantage of the privileges and blessings of a college course.”⁵³ The brief texts concentrate on the unusually healthy character of the buildings, on regimen, and on the high standing of the college among institutions of higher learning in the South. They make no mention of the qualifications of the faculty or number of books in the library. Emphasis is on the visual portrayal of the institution. The frontispiece of a 1919 brochure reads:

In this booklet only representative views of Trinity grounds and buildings are given. It is not possible to convey an adequate impression of the great park with all its fine new buildings, many trees of various kinds, hundreds of flowers, walks and driveways.

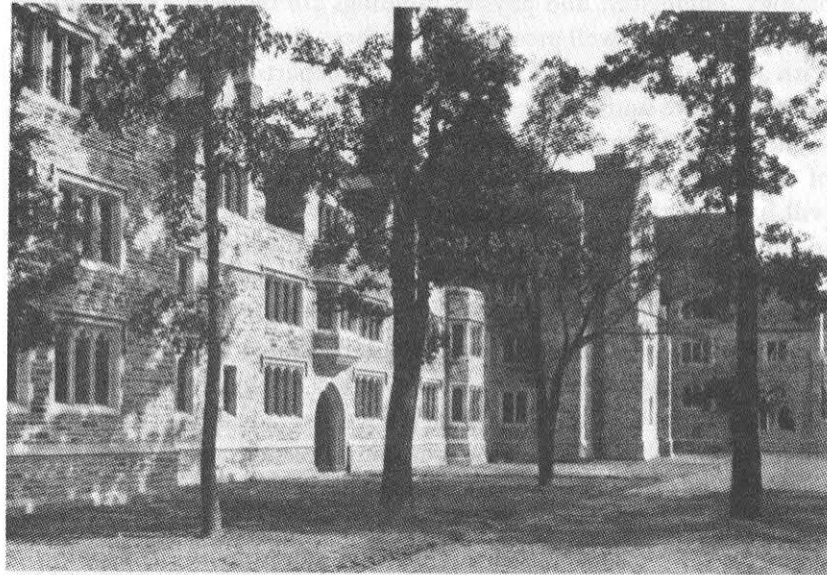
The buildings themselves are presented as emblems of respectability, rather than as settings for collegiate activity. Aesthetic objectivity is insured by representing the college structures as unsullied by human habitation (Figure 9). In an album of 1913, only two of the twenty-three images of college buildings have secondary figures. Dining halls appear with tables set with linen and glassware but without students; auditoriums are strangely vacant. In the view of the reading room of the library, the plaster casts and life-size photographs of ancient and Renaissance sculpture are more animated than the few isolated readers. The antiseptic images of Aycock and Jarvis, halls of residence erected in 1911–1912, are appropriately labeled: “These dormitories are thoroughly hygienic.” Only three pages at the end of the brochure present views of college life—“physical training,” “athletic exercises,” and a theatrical production.

The institution—first Trinity College and then Duke University—continued to promote itself almost exclusively through reference to its physical plant until the early 1950s, although over the years certain modifications are made in the presentation. In the later teens and early twenties more photographs of college teams, sporting events, and the glee club are introduced, though still relegated to the back of the pamphlet. Again, beginning in 1920, bird’s-eye perspectives, which so effectively impose an aesthetic distance on the object, become an inevitable part of the pictorial presentation. Most dramatically, after the opening of the west campus in 1930, photo albums demonstrate the prestigiousness of the men’s campus by the choice

and distribution of images. The first twenty-two of the thirty pages of a 1930 edition are devoted to the men’s campus. Views of the biology, chemistry, and physics buildings are labeled: “The sciences are exceptionally well provided for in these three units. . . . Equipped with ample laboratories, classrooms, and departmental libraries these buildings have unusually complete facilities.” The architect’s drawing of the as yet incomplete Chapel is captioned: “Destined to become one of the most magnificent edifices in America, the new Duke Chapel will have all the features of an architectural masterpiece, signifying in a definite way the spiritual ideals of the University. . . . This structure will dominate the entire University group and occupy a position of the main axis of the campus.” The assumption underlying such a presentation of the university is explicitly stated below an image of Craven Quadrangle (referred to as “Group A” dormitories in Figure 14): “Students in Duke University have the advantage of inspiring surroundings which, aside from academic considerations, are capable of subtle influences upon their lives” (Figure 14).

Such a statement problematizes the treatment of the women’s campus. Not only do the small number and subordinate positioning of the images suggest the peripheral nature of the women’s campus, but the selection of photographs reveal a more passive educational program. A symmetrical, frontal image of Alspaugh is identified not specifically, as are all the structures on West, but generically as “a typical dormitory where women students make their home.” Nearly a third of the images of the women’s campus depict the grounds. “Long care has made the college’s campus one of the most beautiful to be found anywhere,” reads the caption below an unidentifiable bit of well-groomed lawn with neatly spaced trees. Images tend to be anonymous and unindividuated, in contrast to the clear specificity of the booklet’s treatment of structures on the men’s campus.

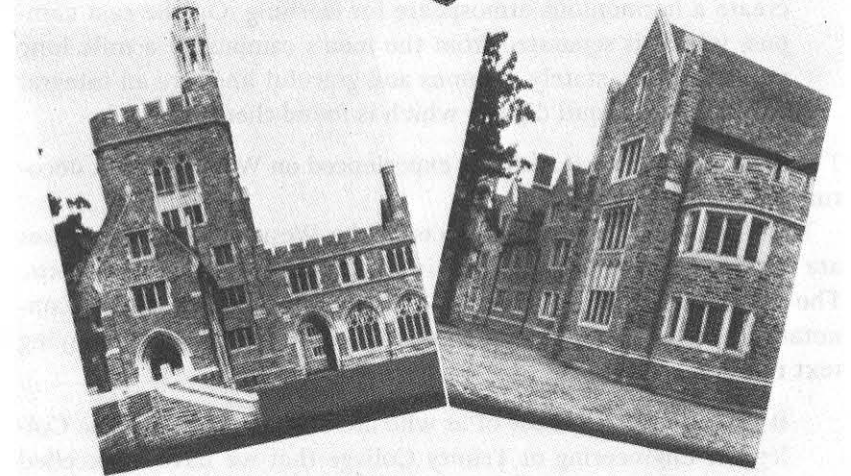
In the early 1950s, the form of the illustrated bulletin changed dramatically in response to developments in advertising, shifts in the role of higher education in American life, and greater competition among private institutions for bright students. Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz suggests that students were also becoming more conscious of the effect that the relative status of the institutions they attended had on their subsequent careers.⁵⁴ Emphasis is relocated from the impressiveness of the physical plant of the institution to the excitement of the



STUDENTS IN DUKE UNIVERSITY HAVE THE ADVANTAGE OF INSPIRING SURROUNDINGS WHICH, ASIDE FROM ACADEMIC CONSIDERATIONS, ARE CAPABLE OF FURTHER INFLUENCES UPON THEIR LIVES. ANOTHER VIEW OF GREAT A BORMITORIES REVEALS ARCHITECTURAL BEAUTY COMBINED WITH THE NATURAL SCENIC ATTRACTIONS OF THE CAMPUS.



ARCHES AND VAULTED PASSAGEWAYS LEAD INTO THE COURTS OF THE DORMITORIES. THERE ARE TWO LEVELS IN THE DORMITORY END OF THE MAIN QUADRANGLE.



THE MULTI-COLORED STONE, OF A RICH, TIME-MELLOWED APPEARANCE, USED IN ALL OF THE NEW DUKE BUILDINGS, WAS TAKEN FROM THE UNIVERSITY'S OWN QUARRIES SIXTEEN MILES FROM THE CAMPUS. ON THIS PAGE ARE OTHER CHARACTERISTIC DORMITORY VIEWS.

Figure 14. Views of Duke University from the Duke University illustrated bulletin of 1930.

student activities it supports. Women are visually integrated into the presentation of the university as part of its attraction. Nevertheless, its gender-specific educational goals are still implicit in both images and texts.

In a brochure entitled *Let us tell you about . . . Duke University* of about 1952, for example, laboratories and science lectures are pictured as exclusively filled with men; women are predominant only in interior design and painting classes. More telling are a series of parallels presenting views of the men's and women's campuses on facing pages of the same bulletin. In the upper half of one page is the Chapel tower, viewed asymmetrically over the arcade between Kilgo Court and the student union, below the photograph appears the label, "Gothic Restlessness." On the lower half of the opposite page is a view of the Ionic colonnade of the women's college library, titled "Georgian Repose" (Figure 15). The text confirms the pictorial statement of the difference between the men's and women's campuses. It reads:

On the west campus restless spires and soaring arches all blend to create a harmonious atmosphere for learning. On the east campus, which is separated from the men's campus by a mile long winding drive, stately columns and graceful lines are an integral part of the tranquil dignity which is found there.

The message is clear: learning is experienced on West Campus; decorum is learned on East.

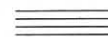
The distinct educational projects of the West and East campuses are even more clearly manifested in another set of images and texts. The left page is titled, "Living out West," which bears with it connotations of the heroic claiming of the frontier. The accompanying text reads:

It is the feeling of those of us who are doing our work in the College of Engineering or Trinity College that we have unexcelled accommodations for living and studying.

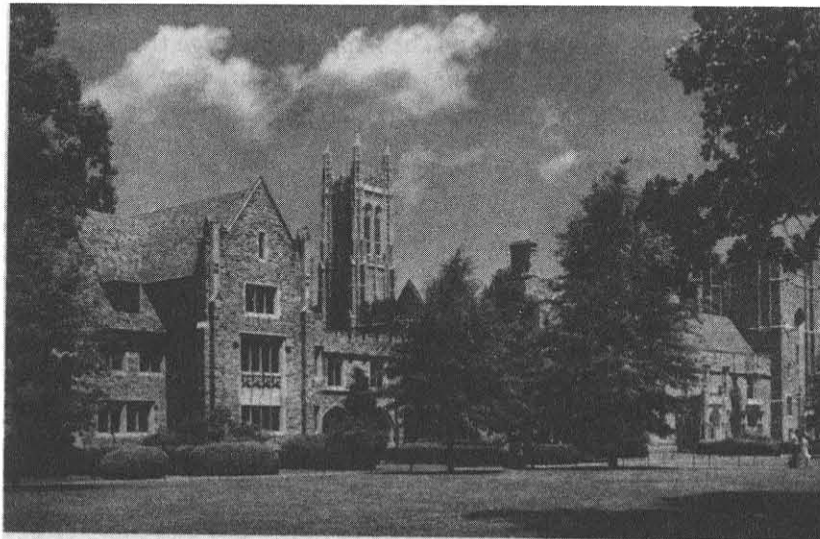
In contrast, the right page is labeled "Living back East," implying the effete refinement of conservative high culture. The passive, dependent status of the women is clearly articulated in the text:

The fine spirit of companionship that comes from having a beautiful campus all our own and the happy knowledge that the men of the University with whom we're studying are just a mile away make life on the Woman's College Campus wonderful.

Counterbalancing photographs of dormitory rooms on East and West are as gender-biased as the texts (Figures 16–17). In the men's campus dormitory, two men are depicted at their desks, back to back, engrossed in their studies. The scene is very different in the east campus bedroom. No desk is visible. Three young women sit chatting on a bed, flanked by another woman on a chair and one on the floor. Four of the women are knitting; the fifth is perusing a magazine. Thus, while the advertising brochures of the university record the shifting role played by architecture in the self-presentation of the academy, they also document the consistently peripheral position of the women within it.



Duke University provides an example of the use of architecture in the construction of conservative cultural norms in this country during the first half of the twentieth century. But this consideration of the material setting of a major American institution of higher education reveals more than the power of patriarchy in the modeling of academic life. Although the Co-Ordinate College for Women and Trinity College for Men merged in 1972, ending the segregation of women on East Campus, the marginalization encoded in the architecture of the institution is still effective. Indeed, the shifting of academic departments between East and West provides a gauge of their relative weight within the institution. Greek and philosophy have been moved to East; geology and engineering relocated on West. The Department of English, previously divided between East and West, was for the most part united on West after Stanley Fish was appointed to the chairmanship. Duke's presently high stature is directly related to its attraction for students intent on preparing themselves for careers in medicine, law, and business; departments affiliated with these prestigious enterprises are located on West. The only departments now settled exclusively on East Campus are those typically



West Campus—Chapel tower seen over the arcade between Kilgo Court and the Student Union.

Gothic Restlessness

The Two Campuses of Duke University—west campus for men, east campus for women—have been described as among the most beautiful in the world.

On the west campus restless spires and soaring arches all blend to create a harmonious atmosphere for learning. On the east campus, which is separated from the men's campus by a mile long winding drive, stately columns and graceful lines are an integral part of the tranquil dignity which is found there.

The west campus is comprised of some 5,000 acres of beautiful forests, at the edge of which lie the buildings. The architecture of the buildings is Collegiate

Gothic and the construction is of native stone. The main buildings are grouped about a quadrilateral. The dominant feature of the campus is the Chapel with its tower reaching 210 feet into the air. The main library houses over 600,000 of the more than one million books owned by the University. The Duke Library is the largest in the South. The Duke Hospital and Medical School which close the north end of the quadrilateral comprise a medical center which is internationally known and respected. There are other classroom buildings and laboratories, including a new Engineering Building and a new

Physics Building, which lie behind the main quadrangles. Beyond the four dormitory groups lie the gymnasiums and tennis courts, the stadium with a seating capacity of some 50,000, and the baseball field. The Sarah P. Duke Memorial Gardens which are annually visited by thousands are located to the right of the main entrance. It is on this campus that the students of Trinity College, The College of Engineering, and the majority of the graduate and professional students live and study.

The Woman's College or east campus is comprised of 108 acres enclosed by a stone wall. Georgian

architecture characterizes the major part of the construction which is of red Baltimore brick. The main buildings are grouped about a quadrilateral. This campus is a complete unit in itself and includes among its buildings the Auditorium which seats 1,400 people; the Union Building with offices, Dining and Service Rooms; a Library; three Science Buildings; three classroom buildings; an apartment building containing eighteen units for faculty members; ten dormitories arranged to house over 1,000 students; an athletic field and gymnasium with a swimming pool; and several faculty residences.

Georgian Repose

East Campus—Columns of the Woman's College Library typify East Campus architecture.

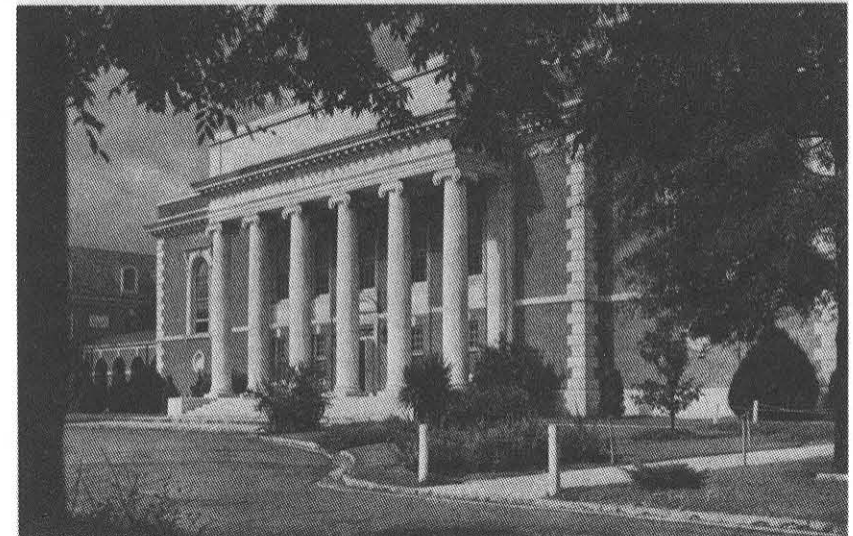
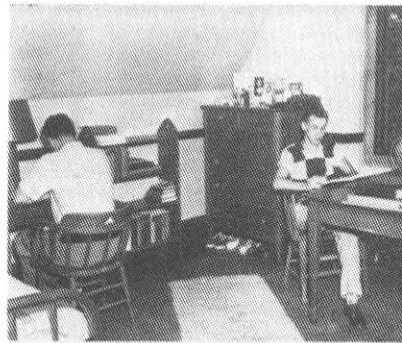


Figure 15. Views of Duke University from *Let us tell you about . . . Duke University*, c. 1952: "Gothic Restlessness" and "Georgian Repose."



Living Out West

It is the feeling of those of us who are doing our work in the College of Engineering or Trinity College that we have unexcelled accommodations for living and studying. Duke men feel lucky to live in such beautiful surroundings.

(1) Pictured at top left is a typical dormitory room. Virtually all of the undergraduate students enrolled live on the campus.

(2) Top Right: Here is a view of one of our four cafeterias where most students eat daily.

(3) Right Center: This picture shows a normal class in session. It is the University's policy to limit class enrollment to an average of twenty-five students.

(4) Bottom Right: Study? Why yes we've found it necessary to "hit the books" in order to maintain a creditable average. The student shown here is getting assistance from one of the library staff members.



Figure 16. Duke University, West Campus, men's dormitory room, from *Let us tell you about . . . Duke University*, c. 1952: "Living out West."



Living Back East

The fine spirit of companionship that comes from having a beautiful campus all our own and the happy knowledge that the men of the University with whom we're studying are just a mile away make life on the Woman's College Campus wonderful.

(1) Top left: Here's a view of a room in Pegram House. Our accommodations are comfortable and convenient.

(2) Left Center: We hold our student assemblies in the Auditorium, where, among other things, we discuss the problem of student government.

(3) Bottom Left: We're waiting for a bus to take us to the other campus for one of our classes. We have a twenty minute break between classes.

(4) Bottom Right: The East Campus Library has reading rooms and ready reference books for our use. Here is a scene in one of the reading rooms with one of the Woman's College students hard at work.

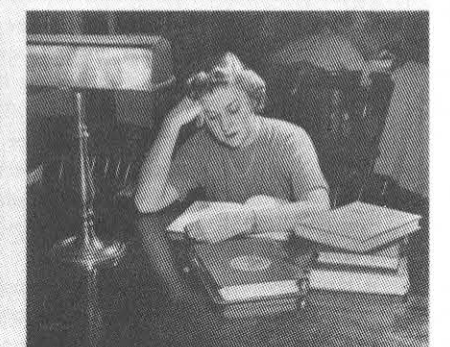
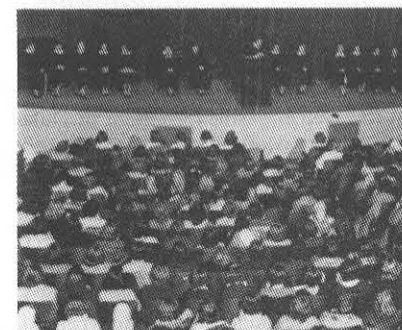


Figure 17. Duke University, East Campus, women's dormitory room, from *Let us tell you about . . . Duke University*, c. 1952: "Living back East."

associated with the arts: art, music, drama, philosophy, and classics. Whether the traditional weakness of the arts at Duke University relegated them to East, or their siting on East insured their low profile, it is nevertheless apparent that a department's location on East Campus still indicates its relatively low institutional status. Perhaps by considering the social and political as well as purely aesthetic implications of institutional building, architectural historians may contribute to bringing the pressure of understanding to bear on the present as well as the past.

Notes

Unless otherwise indicated, all figures and unpublished references are from the Duke University Archives. The research and writing of this essay was stimulated and subsidized by a mainstreaming grant awarded by the Women's Study Program of Duke University. I am also indebted to Dr. William E. King, Duke University Archivist, for his many helpful suggestions.

- 1 The institutional context and ideological content of buildings are gaining recognition as legitimate arenas of debate among architectural historians and critics, although the role of these historians and critics has been revised by those who are neither. Historians such as Carl Schorske and Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz have productively considered buildings as documents in the reconstruction of the past rather than as elite objects of appreciation. See Carl E. Schorske, *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna: Politics and Culture* (New York, 1981); and Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, *Alma Mater: Design and Experience in the Women's Colleges from Their Nineteenth-Century Beginnings to the 1930s* (Boston, 1984). Some theorists, architects, and cultural critics have also offered a compelling critique of conventional formalist and empiricist analysis. See Manfredo Tafuri, *Theories and History of Architecture* (New York, 1980); Robert Venturi, Denise Scott Brown, and Steven Izenour, *Learning from Las Vegas* (Cambridge, Mass., 1977); and Fredric Jameson, "Postmodernism, or The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism," *New Left Review* 146 (1984): 53–92.
- 2 A number of structures outside the main quadrangle of the women's campus survived from Trinity College days, including the Bishop's House (Continuing Education), which was begun in 1911 for the college's former president, Bishop Kilgo, the old gymnasium (the Ark), built in 1898, and Epworth Inn (Epworth), constructed with a donation from B. N. Duke in 1892, now only a truncated survival of the impressively scaled original. For surveys of the campus buildings, see Marguerite E. Schumann, *Stones, Bricks and Faces: A Walking Guide to Duke University* (Durham, 1976); and Claudia P. Roberts, *The Durham Architectural Survey* (Durham, 1982), 172–84.
- 3 By 1930 the university had acquired over five thousand acres of land. Olmsted

Brothers, established in 1898, continued the firm originally founded by Frederick Law Olmsted and Calvert Vaux in 1858. The senior partners were John C. Olmsted, who died in 1920, and Frederick L. Olmsted, Jr., who retired in 1949. A member of Olmsted Brothers, Percival Gallagher, was called to Durham for consultation February 20–23, 1925. The relevant part of his report reads:

We all looked over a number of drawings Mr. Trumbauer brought, nearly all he had shown Mr. [J. B.] Duke before, for Trumbauer had been working on the problem for some months if not nearly a year. But they were all for the present Campus of Trinity College. This idea had but recently been abandoned and Trinity is to be made a Women's College in Duke University and a wholly new site is to be built up as a Men's College. The purpose of the visit then was to determine this new site and to enable Mr. Duke to make decisions with respect to the options for land that Prof. Flowers had been taking on some 5,000 odd acres of land southwest of Durham.

- 4 *The Duke Indenture* (Durham, 1925), 12–14, 74–75.
- 5 William Preston Few Papers, Correspondence File, 18 December 1924.
- 6 Earl W. Porter, *Trinity and Duke, 1892–1924: Foundations of Duke University* (Durham, 1964), 3ff. For a more personal account of the history of the institution by one who informed that history, see William Preston Few, "An Old College and a New University," in *The Papers and Addresses of William Preston Few, Late President of Duke University*, ed. Robert H. Woody (Durham, 1951), 343–53.
- 7 Porter, *Trinity and Duke*, 19–29; see also the best introduction to the history of Duke and its patrons, Robert F. Durden, *The Dukes of Durham* (Durham, 1975), 92–94.
- 8 William Preston Few, *The Beginnings of an American University*, chap. 3, p. 8.
- 9 See Robert H. Woody, "Biographical Appreciation," in Woody, ed., *William Preston Few*, 1–141.
- 10 Few, *Beginnings*, chap. 1, p. 3.
- 11 At least from February 1924, President Few was providing Trumbauer's office with building specifications (Few Papers, Correspondence File, 7 February 1924).
- 12 See Walter C. Kidney, *The Architecture of Choice: Eclecticism in America, 1880–1930* (New York, 1974), 29; and James T. Maher, *The Twilight of Splendor* (Boston, 1976), 50–51.
- 13 Alfred Branam, *Newport's Favorite Architects* (Long Island City, 1976). The Duke mansion was given by Mrs. Duke and Miss Doris Duke to the Institute of Fine Arts of New York University in 1957 (*New York Times*, 14 April 1962). Shortly after J. B. Duke's death, the mansion was assessed at \$1.6 million and its furnishings at \$600,000.
- 14 There is, however, a working diary of progress on the site for the years 1925 and 1926 apparently kept by B. M. Hall.
- 15 Few Papers, Correspondence File, 1 April 1911.
- 16 Few, *Beginnings*, chap. 7, p. 6.
- 17 Few, *Beginnings*, chap. 1, p. 1; chap. 10, p. 1.

- 18 The Durham realtor, L. G. Cole, who wanted to act as an agent for the acquisition of the land east of Seventh Street and north to Guess Road, wrote to J. B. Duke on 10 March 1924: "To my mind Trinity College is in its infancy and I am persuaded that you and your brother, Mr. B. N. Duke, are planning great things" (Few Papers, Correspondence File). This letter was forwarded to President Few, who replied to Cole in rather disingenuous terms: "In reply please allow me to say very definitely that we have no need whatever for additional land adjacent to our present holdings. We are making our plans to develop and enlarge the plant on the land we now hold" (Few Papers, Correspondence File, 18 March 1924).
- 19 Few, *Beginnings*, chap. 1, p. 8.
- 20 *Ibid.*, chap. 1, pp. 8–9.
- 21 Karen J. Weitze, *California's Mission Revival* (Los Angeles, 1984), 21–24.
- 22 Paul V. Turner, Marcia E. Vetrocq, and Karen Weitze, *The Founders and the Architects: The Design of Stanford University* (Stanford, 1976), 39–45.
- 23 Francesco Passanti, "The Design of Columbia in the 1890s, McKim and His Client," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* (May 1977): 69–84.
- 24 Julius Lewis, "Henry Ives Cobb, The Grand Design," *University of Chicago Magazine* (Spring 1977): 1–12. For Princeton University, see Ralph Adams Cram, "Princeton Architecture," *American Architect*, 21 July 1909, 21–30; for Yale University, see William H. Goodyear, "The Memorial Quadrangle and the Harkness Memorial Tower at Yale," *American Architect*, 26 October 1921, 299–314.
- 25 For competition drawings and their relation to the curriculum of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, see Neil Levine, "The Competition for the Grand Prix in 1824," in *The Beaux-Arts and Nineteenth-Century French Architecture*, ed. Robin Middleton (Cambridge, Mass., 1982), 66–123.
- 26 Paul Venable Turner, *Campus: An American Planning Tradition* (Cambridge, Mass., 1984), provides an excellent introduction to the history of American campus planning.
- 27 Although of course dedicated to Leland Stanford, Jr., Stanford University functions as a memorial to the entire family, just as Duke University commemorates J. B. and Benjamin as well as Washington Duke. See Turner, Vetroce, and Weitze, *Founders and Architects*, 9–39. The Stanfords commissioned Frederick Law Olmsted to draw up the site plan of their university. Their continuous engagement in the design and construction process led to the modification of Olmsted's plan, which characteristically privileged nature, into an extremely formal, hierarchical Beaux-Arts design.
- 28 Few Papers, Correspondence File, 9 September 1924.
- 29 B. N. Duke Manuscripts, Manuscript Collection, 21 May 1891, Duke University.
- 30 Quoted in William Blackburn, *The Architecture of Duke University* (Durham, 1939), 17.
- 31 Frank C. Brown Papers, Brown-Trumbauer Correspondence, Manuscript Collection, Duke University.
- 32 Letter from H. Trumbauer to G. G. Allen, Operations and Maintenance Department File.

- 33 William Robertson Perkins Papers, Manuscript Collection, Duke University.
- 34 Phoebe B. Stanton's *The Gothic Revival and American Church Architecture* (Baltimore, 1968) was the first and still basic study of the ecclesiological movement in England and its impact on American church architecture. The emphasis in Ralph Adams Cram's *The Gothic Quest* (New York, 1918), especially 38–50, on the capacity of the style to inspire piety and individual morality is typical.
- 35 W. de l'Hopital, *Westminster Cathedral and Its Architect* (London, 1919), 25–26.
- 36 Few, *Beginnings*, chap. 3, p. 11; emphasis mine; chap. 5, p. 1; chap. 18, p. 6.
- 37 *Ibid.*, chap. 8, p. 6; chap. 6, p. 6; emphasis mine.
- 38 Frank C. Brown and William Preston Few, *Diary*, 1924. Institutions visited included: Boston University, Bryn Mawr, Chicago, College of the City of New York, Columbia, Cornell, Harvard, Haverford, Johns Hopkins, MIT, Mount Holyoke, New York University, Peabody, University of Pennsylvania, Princeton, Randolph-Macon, Sweet Briar, Syracuse, Vassar, University of Virginia, and Yale. See Lewis, "Grand Design," for details on the University of Chicago. Yale University was remodeled around a dominant Gothic tower by James Gamble Rogers beginning in 1917. The University of Pennsylvania had been rebuilt in the Gothic style when the campus moved from the center of Philadelphia in 1872; see Montgomery Schuyler, "Architecture of American Colleges," *Architectural Record* 5 (September 1910): 183–200. Princeton University in particular presented a model of Gothic architecture as the appropriate style for an elite, exclusive, male institution, for which Turner provides some documentation (*Campus*, 227).
- 39 Brown and Few, *Diary*, 44.
- 40 Brown and Few, *Diary*, 106. This note was brought to my attention by the Duke University archivist, Dr. William E. King. See also *A Monograph of the Works of McKim, Mead, and White, 1879–1915*, text and captions by Leland Roth (New York, 1973), 32–33.
- 41 Few, *Beginnings*, chap. 8, p. 2.
- 42 W. Duke to J. C. Kilgo, 5 December 1896, B. N. Duke letter book, Manuscript Collection, Duke University; statement from B. N. Duke to the trustees of Trinity College, Trustee Records, 20 April 1903.
- 43 The site proposed is now occupied by McPherson Hospital (Porter, *Trinity and Duke*, 91–92, 146).
- 44 Drafts of Gill's correspondence with Clinton W. Toms, J. B. Duke's associate, are reprinted here and can be found in the Few Papers, Correspondence File, 15 May and 21 May 1915. Toms shared this correspondence with President Few.

May 15, 1915

My dear Mr. Toms,

The enclosed statement covers my views about the women's problem at Trinity. It seems to me that the Trustees have a deep responsibility to end the present seriously unsatisfactory situation in a thoughtful and constructive way. So far things have been sadly hap-hazard.

If I had the power to give and to control, I would certainly give an immedi-

ate fund of \$500,000, as a trust fund, under the control of a Joint Committee consisting of three members from the Board and three outside members (one of which should be a woman), and the Dean of the Women's Department Ex-officio, to be applied to the gradual attainment of the ends outlined in the memorandum: i.e. continuing as high grade instruction to women as they now receive, and degrees vouched for by Trinity College, but with separate social and administrative activities, and a return of the name of Trinity to connote a college for men.

If this proves to be wisely managed, I would provide that an increasing amount up to a total \$1,500,000 shall be added through the years, as the demand arises.

This seems to me a wise investment to accomplish the two desirable ends: to carry out Mr. Washington Duke's known wishes for women, and to return Trinity to a straight men's environment.

May I not hope to talk this over fully with you in time to prepare for any possible action by the Trustees in June? I wish Mr. J. B. Duke could also be brought to focus his clear business brain on the proposition. But, having intruded upon him at New Years in order to bring things to some clear definition out of an intolerable state of paralysis, I hate to bother him again. Will you tell me how this proposition strikes you?

Very truly yours,
Laura Drake Gill

Memoranda on the Trinity College Situation

The conclusions which have grown clear to me after months of careful study of the relation of women to Trinity College, are as follows:

1. The exclusion of women from instruction at Trinity would not only be a backward step in institutional administration; but would also be a distinct loss to the intellectual status of women teachers and scholars in North Carolina and in the whole South.
2. The present system of coeducation is bad for the men, and unspeakably dangerous to the social outlook of the women.
3. Trinity College would give best service to its men if the women were not present in the classrooms; and would have greater loyalty from men if it were known as a college for men only, as are Harvard and Columbia.
4. The naming of the women's department by a separate designation would leave the Trinity name to express exclusively masculine associations, and is eminently desirable.
5. This *need* not imply any further expense than is proposed in a proper residence hall and gymnasium for women, and in such segregation of women in separate sections as can now be done by Faculty action without increased

budget for instruction. However an extra endowment provision is *highly advisable*.

6. This policy would, however, demand a Dean of the Women's department, who shall have full administrative control of the women's academic life,—just as the present Dean has control of discipline and selection of courses for the men. But, in any event, until such a Supervisor of women's welfare is appointed, no more girls ought to be received in the college life. I mean not even next fall.

7. The good standing of Trinity is due to the fact that it has had more funds than any other southern college except Vanderbilt. Dr. Kilgo's far sighted and fearless policy of preserving high standards of scholarship and conduct have given quality to the scholastic life. The single source of large funds and the consequently appropriate concentration of authority in the representatives of a great international business, have given a more modern business administration than is usual in Southern Colleges. Trinity is fortunate in having a formative period under a wise monopoly of power; it will be well if this monopoly shall continue until a few more large matters of policy are brought abreast of current educational theory. Whenever this monopoly of control shall cease there will probably be at least two decades of cessation of progress until the general public shall have forgotten the earlier monopolistic situation, and until the Alumni shall feel the pressure of unmet needs. Then, and only then, will the College pass into the condition of support by the general public in which older institutions like Harvard and Yale now stand. It is to be hoped that Trinity may be far on its development before this interruption of progress comes.

In view of these beliefs, I would recommend to the policy of adequate residence conditions already outlined:

1. A separate name for the women's department.
2. A separate endowment at least large enough to provide a Dean of the women's department, a gymnasium teacher, and clerks; and as much more as they find reasonable and possible.
3. A policy of separate class sections to whatever extent can be financed without embarrassment.
4. The reservation of the name Trinity College, and as large a share of separate existence as may prove feasible, for men exclusively.

Respectfully submitted,
Laura Drake Gill

Attached to Drake's Letter of 15 May

[Added in script:] Spencer College would seem to me a fine name and the best historical name, in case there is no family name which would please the donors.

A definite policy of emphasizing junior & senior advantages for girls who have taken the freshmen sophomore courses at some college for women, would seem to me wise. A three years course for an M.A. degree in the science of public health, in sociological & economics courses, in psychology & philosophy of education, would appeal to quantities of young women who have had either full courses in the junior colleges or two years in a good college for women. It would save Trinity from a lot of crude young girls, with small social outlook.

Draft of Toms's Response to Gill

21 May 1915

Dear Miss Gill:

I thank you for your letter of the 15th inst., but because of the serious business depression, I do not think it advisable at this time to make any effort in the direction indicated by you to secure funds for the Women's College. I also regret that I shall be unable to confer with you regarding this matter prior to Trinity Commencement.

The dormitory allocated to women during the First World War, when the number of women matriculating at Trinity was slightly increased to compensate for the drop in male enrollments, was immediately reassigned to men when they began returning to college. Female students were removed to a frame house off campus on Watts Street. Southgate Dormitory, isolated in the southwest quadrant of the old campus, was built by funds raised by B. N. Duke and Durham citizens for the purpose of housing women. It was occupied by women in 1921 (Few, *Beginnings*, chap. 7, p. 2).

45 Few to J. H. Reynolds (president, Hendrix College), 18 August 1921.

46 Few, *Beginnings*, chap. 8, pp. 4–5; emphasis mine. When Few said “men” he meant men. In 1911 Few had replied to a woman who had applied for a faculty position in the following terms: “Your letter of the 4th has been received. We have no vacancy in Trinity College for which you are eligible. Our faculty is composed entirely of men” (Few, *Papers and Addresses*, 126).

47 Few, *Beginnings*, chap. 8, pp. 6–7.

48 Duke University, *Bulletin of Undergraduate Instruction (1930–1931)*, 72.

49 Few, *Beginnings*, chap. 8, p. 8.

50 This myth has no factual foundation. The university architect's memo of 17 August 1915 provides the following description of the wall: “The wall [is] to be 30 inches high and on this 30 inch wall is to be built a four inch cap, making [the] wall 34 inches above the surface of the ground.” William Preston Few added a note: “But first there is one other detail to settle. Mr. J. B. Duke wishes the fence to be 36 inches.” The construction of the wall was completed before 1919.

51 *Boston Evening Transcript*, 17 April 1935.

52 During the first half of the twentieth century, a building was often used by educa-

tional institutions, manufactures, banks, hotels, churches, etc. instead of a logo on such daily paraphernalia as stationery letterheads.

53 *Trinity College*, Illustrated Bulletin, 1915, 3; emphasis mine.

54 Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, *Campus Life: Undergraduate Cultures from the End of the Eighteenth Century to the Present* (New York, 1987), 189–90. For an insightful reading of the image of college women at the turn of the century as presented in texts see Lynn D. Gordon, “The Gibson Girl Goes to College: Popular Culture and Women's Higher Education in the Progressive Era, 1890–1920,” *American Quarterly* 39 (1987): 211–30. I want to thank my colleague Dr. Cecile Whiting for bringing this article to my attention.