'A perfect expression of the life of a modern university': collegiate gothic and urban progressivism at the University of Chicago, 1890–1918

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'A Perfect Expression of the Life of a Modern University': Collegiate Gothic and Urban Progressivism at the University of Chicago, 1890–1918

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ABSTRACT

Collegiate gothic architecture built in the United States during the early twentieth century has generally been considered an anti-modern reaction to the rapid changes of the period. This article challenges that interpretation by analysing the collegiate gothic architecture and planning of the University of Chicago from its incorporation in 1890 up to 1918, focusing on the work of Shepley, Rutan & Coolidge, which hitherto has been almost entirely neglected. In these decades, the campus changed considerably from the original 1893 quadrangular plan by Henry Ives Cobb. Archival sources are used to trace this shift, with particular attention to three major buildings designed by Charles Coolidge: the Tower Group (1903), Harper Memorial Library (1912) and Ida Noyes Hall (1916). In their architecture and planning, each of these projects set new precedents for the adaptive possibilities of collegiate gothic and changed how the campus related to its urban neighbourhood. From 1900, the university's leaders consciously opened the campus to its surroundings and realigned it to the Midway Plaisance, the renowned public greenway designed by Frederick Law Olmsted. In doing so, the university pioneered a new campus typology, the academic avenue, which represented a positive embrace of urban life within wider debates on the American city. Through this typology, the university's collegiate gothic architecture made meaningful connections with Chicago's progressive civic culture, in consonance with the educational philosophy of its founding president, William Rainey Harper.

On 5 June 1916, the University of Chicago celebrated the twenty-fifth anniversary of its founding with an elaborate pageant put on for more than 3000 spectators. Taking place outdoors in the shady quadrangles of its rapidly expanding collegiate gothic campus, the 'Masque of Youth' was organised by women students and faculty who dressed in medieval costumes to enact an allegorical tale (Fig. 1).[1] Led by the Spirit of Gothic Architecture and surrounded by the 'perfection of nature', the masque told how the Spirit of Youth was tested by Alma Mater through a series of trials: the Olympic Games, the Romance of Literature, the Spirit of Worship and the Lamp of

Knowledge. Finally, Youth received the Gift of Service, and was directed to 'spend her strength for others' by aiding the Spirit of the City.[2] The masque thus recounted in gothic allegorical imagery the journey of the Chicago student towards their ultimate purpose: service to an increasingly urbanised society.

For observers at the time, the embrace of the modern city through medieval imagery, so evident in the costumed pageantry of the masque and mirrored in the gothic elevations and massing of the university's buildings, was an achievement to be celebrated. Writing for the *Chicago Tribune*, Dorothy Ethel Walsh concluded: 'Do you not have borne in on you a realization of what a group of buildings such as these mean to a city? And do you not all over again appreciate how collegiate Gothic architecture serves as a perfect expression of the life of a modern university?'[3] In contrast, later scholars such as Roy Lowe, Robin Bachin and Sharon Haar have interpreted these links as incongruous and problematic.[4] In this they have followed the example set by the social economist (and Chicago faculty member) Thorstein Veblen, who in 1918 attacked gothic university architecture as a 'spectacular publicity' effort by wealthy donors, designed to impress the public when the money could have been better spent on research and outreach.[5] Were Walsh and other contemporary commentators simply seduced by a thinly veiled spectacle akin to the 'Masque of Youth'?

This article examines the University of Chicago's evolution over its first twenty-five years from an architectural and planning perspective. It argues that the collegiate gothic campus, with its fusion of open quadrangle and linear avenue, was a deliberate attempt to enrich the university's physical engagement with the surrounding neighbourhood and larger city. Although the process was not straightforward and was at times contradictory in its aims, the University of Chicago demonstrated how gothic symbolism could be adapted and reimagined to connect with the university's urban location and thus align with Chicago's robust progressive civic culture in the early twentieth century.

After a brief review of the wider scholarly context, the article uses archival sources to explore the connections between the architecture and planning of the university, its institutional identity and its alignment with the larger civic culture of Chicago at this time. It will show how the urban blueprint of Henry Ives Cobb's initial masterplan of 1893 was significantly expanded by the architecture of Shepley, Rutan & Coolidge, notably with the Tower Group (1903), Harper Memorial Library (1912) and Ida Noyes Hall (1916), as the university's orientation shifted outwards towards the urban avenue of the Midway Plaisance (Fig. 2). By 1916, as the 'Masque of Youth' processed from the old Women's Quadrangle to dedicate the new Ida Noyes Hall, the fusion of gothic symbolism and modern service in the pageant resonated in a transformed campus environment. The Oxford-inspired imagery of Charles Coolidge's architecture created an evocative urban stage-set that did indeed appeal to popular imagination, but also carried serious messages about the role of universities in the modern world, enhanced by innovative planning that self-consciously linked the university to Chicago's civic identity. The greensward of the Midway was the fulcrum of this process, as collegiate gothic campus and public boulevard merged to create a modern urbanism that was then unique in American universities.

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Fig. 1. *The 'Masque of Youth', University of Chicago, 5 June 1916, photograph (Hanna Holborn Gray Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library)*

COLLEGIATE GOTHIC IN THE UNITED STATES

The general history of gothic revival architecture in the US has been well documented. The writings of John Ruskin were especially influential and, by the second half of the nineteenth century, gothic-style buildings were widespread in American colleges and universities.[6] Yet, beginning in the 1890s, the collegiate gothic emerged as a distinctive mode not found in Britain (where, by this date, gothic was waning). It was predicated on a more archaeological study of purely English precedents, most especially the collegiate quadrangle/courtyard typology of Oxford and Cambridge. A comprehensive account of this late gothic flowering in the US has yet to be written, despite Loth and Sadler calling attention to the gap in the 1970s.[7] There have been numerous individual studies, however, especially by cultural historians relating collegiate gothic universities to a wider renewal of traditions unique to the American context at this time, predicated on a belief in Anglo-American cultural superiority and frequently with a racial subcurrent.[8]

Most studies in this area have focused on East Coast examples, especially the work of Ralph Adams Cram at West Point and Princeton. Cram's numerous theoretical writings continued the moralistic tones of Augustus Pugin and Ruskin, calling for a comprehensive transformation of American society based on the religious and cooperative precepts of the medieval world.[9] T. J. Jackson Lears (1981) placed Cram within a larger nexus of

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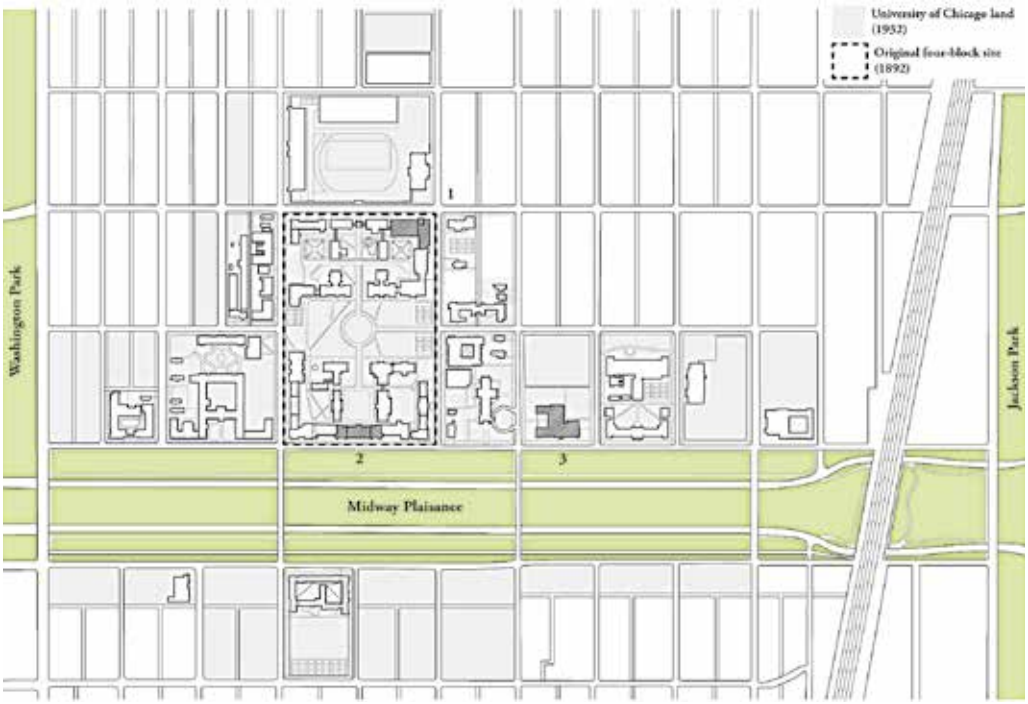

Fig. 2. *The University of Chicago campus, c. 1932, drawing by the author: 1) Tower Group; 2) Harper Memorial Library; 3) Ida Noyes Hall*

anti-modern cultural figures, emphasising his Anglo-Catholicism as the cornerstone of his mission for 'Gothic restoration'.[10] Lowe (1986) focused on a range of universities, including the University of Chicago, but still placed Cram as the central figure. He argued that a nationwide network of personal contacts among 'patrician intellectuals' and architects led to the creation of collegiate gothic campuses as expressions of Anglo-Saxon superiority, where 'the underlying motif was racial and was frequently articulated'.[11] More recent works by W. Barksdale Maynard (2012) and Jan Ziolkowski (2018) have further underscored the explicit Anglo-Saxon racial overtones as well as the rural orientation of most collegiate gothic campuses, seen as a deliberate antithesis to the modern metropolis.[12]

Writing from an educational rather than architectural perspective, Alex Duke (1996) examined the theme of American–English connections in the residential college typology adapted from Oxford and Cambridge by Princeton, Harvard, Yale and Chicago to varying degrees in the early twentieth century, emphasising the links between collegiate gothic architecture and the values of a traditional approach to higher education centred on individual character development and the liberal arts.[13] This narrative echoed the earlier (1984) work by Paul Venable Turner, who is still the only architectural historian to undertake a comprehensive study of American university planning. Discussing the collegiate gothic in a chapter entitled 'The

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Monastic Quadrangle', Turner's focus was similarly on Yale and Princeton, and he characterised the movement as a conservative reaction that promoted 'intimate community' and 'a nostalgia for the elitism of the past'.[14]

Studies by Bachin (2004), Haar (2011) and LaDale Winling (2018) have moved beyond the internal campus environment to explore the relationship of universities to their wider urban contexts.[15] Chicago stands as an important case study in these works, but the story is still one of elitist withdrawal. Bachin wrote that, 'rather than opening out into the community and standing as an integral part of the city, the University [of Chicago] closed itself off from the outside world with imposing stone walls, gabled roofs, and gargoyles'.[16] Similarly, Haar argued that the university's 'insulated' and 'tightly controlled' campus belied its educational agenda, and that the reformer Jane Addams's Hull House settlement was the more instrumental model for an integrated urban institution, adopted by university planners after the second world war.[17] These works reinforce Lowe's interpretation of the University of Chicago campus as anti-modern and out of keeping with the 'Progressive Era' reform culture supported by many of its own faculty members.[18]

Progressivism was a broad-based movement that sought to establish less corrupt and more participatory institutions throughout American society in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries — the period labelled by scholars as the Progressive Era. A major goal for many reformers was the promotion of civic renewal centred on urban space and urban institutions, reflected in the Beaux-Arts planning of the concurrent City Beautiful movement.[19] This movement had its roots in the nationwide 'groundswell of enthusiasm for Renaissance classicism' discussed by Patricia Ricci.[20] While it developed gradually over many decades, its first full flowering on a national level was in Chicago's Columbian Exposition of 1893, the World's Fair held to commemorate the 400th anniversary of Columbus's 'discovery' of America. Overseen by the Chicago architect Daniel Burnham with input from noted East Coast architects, the fair's central Court of Honor, known as the 'White City', presented a unified ensemble of neo-Renaissance palaces set amid formal promenades and lagoons that amazed spectators and had a lasting architectural and cultural impact.[21]

Around the same time, reforming university leaders began to embrace neoclassicism as the primary expression of the modern university. The concept of a university, as opposed to a traditional American college, was promoted in the 1870s and 1880s by Andrew Dixon White at Cornell and Daniel Coit Gilman at Johns Hopkins. They called for institutions that were not only research-oriented but also civically engaged, responding — as Frederick Rudolph put it in 1962 — 'to the unleashing of new impulses to social and economic mobility'.[22] By the 1890s, leaders at Columbia University in New York and the University of California embraced the same educational principles and put forth comprehensive Beaux-Arts campus plans. As discussed by Turner, these were fundamentally different from the collegiate gothic approach:

> The Beaux-Arts system allowed the fullest expression of the principles of the American university: grand in scale, clearly organized, and open to the world outside. The Gothic quadrangles, on the other hand, reflected the reaffirmation of the collegiate ideals of intimacy and introspection.[23]

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Thus, existing studies across cultural, educational and architectural history have interpreted collegiate gothic as primarily conservative and inward-looking, contrasted by the association of Beaux-Arts classicism with progressive reform and urban integration. Yet, whereas Lowe, Bachin and Haar all place the University of Chicago firmly in the former category, Turner includes it under 'The University as City Beautiful', seeing its combination of gothic buildings and symmetrical masterplan as a transitional step towards the Beaux-Arts campus.[24] Wolner's 2011 monograph on Henry Ives Cobb goes further, asserting that the Chicago masterplan was 'something remarkable in the history of campus design', set apart from the more cloistered collegiate gothic of Yale and Princeton by 'a larger scale, a higher density, a more urban character, and a unique fusion of cross-axial and quadrangular planning'.[25] While neither study looks at the development of the campus after Cobb, these more nuanced interpretations point to the complexity of Chicago's planning and why it is a highly relevant case study for re-evaluating the collegiate gothic and its relationship to US progressivism in the early twentieth century.

CHOOSING GOTHIC AT CHICAGO

Incorporated in 1890, just as the wider ideas about Beaux-Arts planning and the collegiate gothic campus were emerging, the University of Chicago originated from attempts to create a national Baptist university, replacing an earlier defunct institution of the same name.[26] Despite these origins, the university was from the beginning non-sectarian, conceived as 'one of the broadest and most liberal in its spirit ever devised'.[27] This ethos was shaped largely by its first president, the energetic 34-year-old William Rainey Harper. An Old Testament scholar recruited to Chicago from a professorship at Yale, Harper sought to create, in his own words, a 'unique and comprehensive' plan to 'revolutionize university study in this country'.[28] His vision combined the predominant educational models discussed earlier, namely a traditional liberal arts college and a research-oriented university, along with the incorporation of a university press, community outreach and adult education.[29]

Furthermore, Harper stipulated that this was to be an urban institution first and foremost, located within Chicago's boundaries. Backed by the financial resources of the oil tycoon John D. Rockefeller as well as Chicago's business elite, the fledgling university in 1890–91 purchased four contiguous blocks totalling seventeen acres in Hyde Park, a rapidly urbanising neighbourhood seven miles south of the downtown Loop. The site fronted the Midway Plaisance which, a mile long and wider than typical parkways of the time, had been created in the 1870s to connect Washington and Jackson parks. Collectively comprising the 'South Park' of Chicago, all three were the work of the celebrated landscape designer Frederick Law Olmsted and an important component of the system of parks and boulevards that ringed Chicago.[30]

While Harper had a free hand to establish the educational programme, he worked closely in these early stages with several prominent figures on the university's architectural and planning direction. These included the Baptist minister and university secretary Thomas Wakefield Goodspeed, who was instrumental in bringing the institution to Chicago, and members of the board of trustees Martin A. Ryerson and Charles L. Hutchinson. Like Harper, Ryerson and Hutchinson were in their thirties

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when they joined, and the former especially, as president of the board, was supportive of Harper's progressive outlook, including the authorisation of large budget deficits to fund his innovative and untested schemes. Both served on the board into the 1920s, long after Harper's death in 1906, helping to ensure the continuity of his vision.[31]

Already in the autumn of 1890, Goodspeed suggested to Harper the importance of establishing a clear architectural vision for the campus, referencing William Burges's ground-breaking (although largely unbuilt) quadrangle plan for Trinity College, Hartford, as well as the latest gothic buildings at Yale, with which Harper would have been very familiar.[32] Shortly after this, Ryerson undertook a tour of additional examples that included specific buildings at Harvard, Princeton and the University of Michigan, and by early April 1891 he had sketched a 'complete plan for the buildings'.[33] It is clear from this sequence of events that, even before any architects were approached, there was general agreement for both a quadrangular plan and gothic-style buildings.

The more formal process began at the end of April 1891, when six Chicago architectural practices known for their cultural buildings were invited to submit an overall plan for the site as well as detailed designs for three buildings.[34] Only three firms responded. While none of the masterplan proposals survives, the designs for the main recitation building were published in the press, all in the fashionable Romanesque style influenced by H. H. Richardson.[35] Cobb designed several notable works in this mode, including Chicago's Newberry Library and the Fisheries Building at the Columbian Exposition, both completed in 1893; the university's interest in his work came from his buildings at Lake Forest College and Northwestern University.[36] The committee on buildings and grounds debated the proposals, noting that none of them was satisfactory. Cobb's designs were particularly singled out for criticism, but he was thought to have the strongest overall reputation and on 5 June he was chosen by unanimous vote and officially appointed.[37] Within a few weeks of his hiring, Cobb and the university's leaders mutually agreed to change the style of the buildings to 'the very latest English Gothic'.[38]

The collaborative nature of the university's early decision-making speaks against notions of a top-down, trustee-led culture or suggestions of ideologically motivated Anglo-Saxonism.[39] The correspondence makes clear that the choice made at Chicago, predating Princeton's collegiate gothic transformation by at least five years, was a largely practical one that responded to piecemeal trends being seen at a wide range of other institutions where gothic-style buildings were widespread (although full-scale quadrangular planning was still rare). Given the leading role of Ryerson and Hutchinson in Chicago's business community, local architectural preference was also important in a period of rapidly changing tastes. By the late 1880s, Romanesque was increasingly associated with Chicago's commercial architecture, including Richardson's landmark Marshall Field's Wholesale Store from 1887 and the skyscrapers emerging at this time.[40] Both Ryerson and Hutchinson also served on the board of the Art Institute (Hutchinson was its founding president), which in 1893 replaced John Root's Richardson-inspired building (completed only in 1888) with a neo-Renaissance museum building by Shepley, Rutan & Coolidge on a new site, an exemplar of the nationwide civic Renaissance as discussed by Ricci.[41] Both at the university and other institutions, Romanesque was rejected for other styles (gothic and Renaissance) that were seen to have greater cultural resonance.

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The university's architectural ambitions must also be seen within the national context of Chicago's competition with New York for cultural dominance. Chicago had risen from the ashes of the 1871 fire to become the country's 'second city', and Harper's new university drew on this symbolic rebirth, adopting the phoenix as its emblem. Just as Chicago was being promoted as the future premier metropolis of the entire US, Harper foresaw a similar ascendancy that was picked up and fanned by the local press. Reporting on the university's opening day on 1 October 1892, the *Inter Ocean* claimed it was the first truly American university, one that would 'furnish the advantages of Leipzig, Berlin, Heidelberg, Edinburgh, Cambridge and Oxford here at home'.[42]

The sense of limitless ambition was reinforced in 1890 by Chicago's success in being chosen by the US government (over New York) as the site of the World's Columbian Exposition, and the fair's location in Jackson Park and along the Midway made comparisons with the new university inevitable.[43] When the Exposition officially opened in 1893 (a year later than planned), visitors to the original Ferris Wheel on the Midway were presented with bird's-eye views of the emerging campus. And while the buildings of the White City were ephemeral, the University of Chicago came to see itself as the primary legatee of the fair, enshrined in its Alma Mater song:

> The City White hath fled the earth,
> But where the azure waters lie,
> A nobler city hath its birth,
> The City Gray that ne'er shall die.
> For decades and for centuries,
> Its battlemented tow'rs shall rise,
> Beneath the hope-filled western skies,
> 'Tis our dear Alma Mater.[44]

The meteoric rise of the 'City Gray' bore out these ambitions, as increasing student numbers accompanied scholarly advances in economics, the social sciences and other emerging disciplines; within ten years, Chicago was ranked as one of the foremost universities in the country.[45] In a radio talk reflecting on the thirtieth anniversary of the fair in 1923, the professor Nathaniel Butler noted that 'the University, like the city of Chicago, stands in the very forefront in the ranks of progressive thought in politics, education, art and religion […] In every one of these spheres the World's Fair expanded our views.'[46] Butler's picture of the fair as a bastion of progressivism was exaggerated, but it does accurately reflect its lasting impact, especially in Chicago.[47] In linking its own progressive mission with the cultural memory of the Columbian Exposition, the university helped to write the narrative of the fair's legacy and explicitly tied itself to Chicago's quest for cultural ascendancy.

THE COBB PLAN AND URBAN PROGRESSIVISM

The University of Chicago's strong sense of connection to the neoclassical Columbian Exposition is a reminder that its collegiate gothic buildings were achieved within the framework of a highly ordered masterplan. The importance given to planning in the

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Fig. 3. *Henry Ives Cobb, masterplan for the University of Chicago, 1893, aerial view in ink from the southeast (Hanna Holborn Gray Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library)*

early stages is especially pertinent because, at the time, there was no built precedent for this type of campus. The dazzling order of the White City was in fact being conceived nearly simultaneously; after extensive debate, the site of Jackson Park was confirmed in November 1890 and its architectural conception began in February 1891, when Burnham held the first meetings with the larger team of architects.[48] This was around the same time that Ryerson was sketching his own plans for the campus.

As Ryerson wrote, the guiding tenets of the university's plan were 'beauty, simplicity, and stability'.[49] These principles can be seen in the formal qualities of the revised masterplan that Cobb submitted in late June 1891, several weeks after he was officially hired. Given the evident dissatisfaction with Cobb's original proposal, this revised plan almost certainly reflected Ryerson's influence. And while the plan continued to be refined until its final published version in 1893 (Fig. 3), all the major decisions were affirmed in these early sketches. The plan combined the four-block site into one contiguous area (although the primary axes echoed the urban street grid that was to be vacated).[50] As described by Goodspeed at the time, the site was then divided into 'six quadrangles, each surrounded with buildings, leaving in the center a seventh, the main quadrangle, giving unity to the whole design'.[51] As this passage indicates, the quadrangle terminology was present from the very beginning, implying direct connection with Oxford's medieval legacy. Yet, whereas Oxford quads were known for their picturesque charm, the overall organisation at Chicago was hierarchical and symmetrical on two axes. The central quadrangle would contain the primary teaching and ceremonial buildings, while smaller and more enclosed quads in each corner

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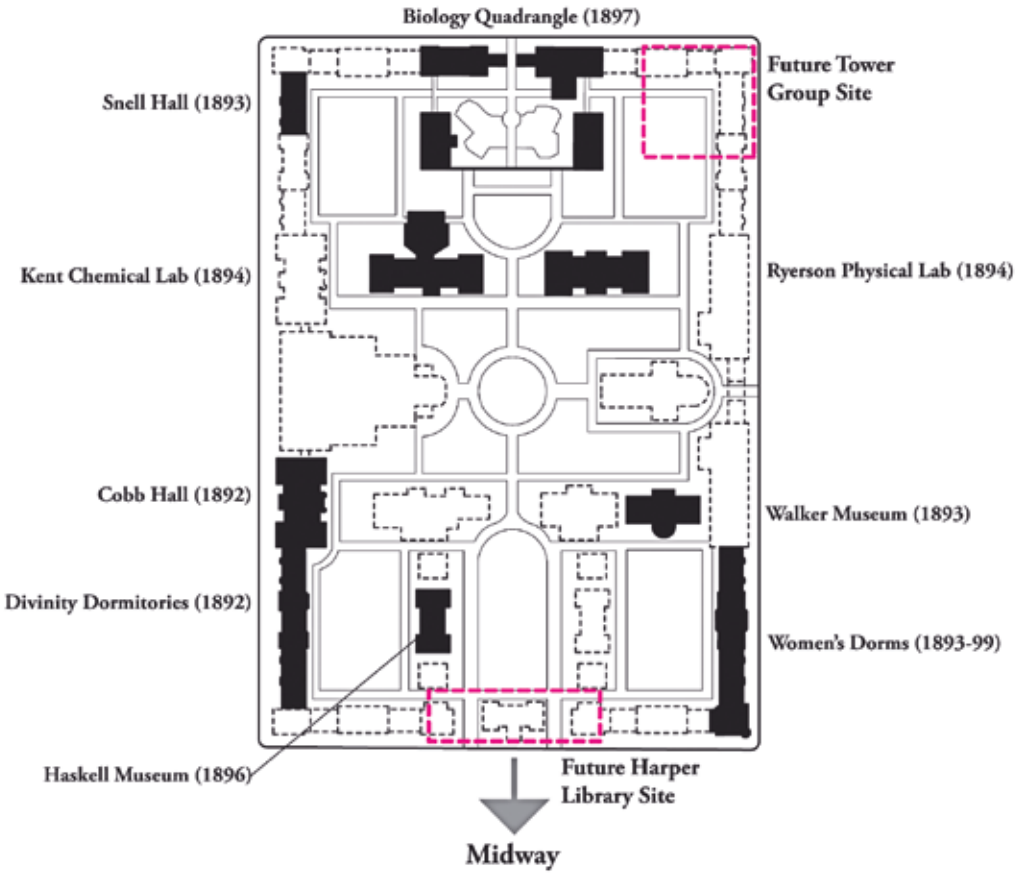

Fig. 4. *Buildings completed on the main University of Chicago site up to 1900, drawing by the author; dashed outlines indicate buildings from the original 1893 masterplan*

provided dormitories for the four constituent parts of the student body: the Junior College, the Senior College, women and graduate students.

In part, this mixture of classical order and gothic informality reflected Harper's hybrid educational ambition, combining English collegiate and German research models. Writing for *Scribner's Magazine* in 1895, the faculty member and novelist Robert Herrick praised the 'modern imagination' of the founders for planning the campus as a 'single unit', but also celebrated the 'peaceful calm' of its quadrangles and 'gentle English gardens'. He further noted how 'one seeks curiously in the system of the University of Chicago for the predominating type or ideal […] The care for the individual students by the many deans remind one of the English Oxford or Cambridge. On the other hand […] the emphasis placed upon the doctor's degree, investigation, research—all point to the German university.'[52] For the *Architectural Record* critic Charles Jenkins, writing in 1894, the connection to the 'old English Universities of Cambridge and Oxford' was

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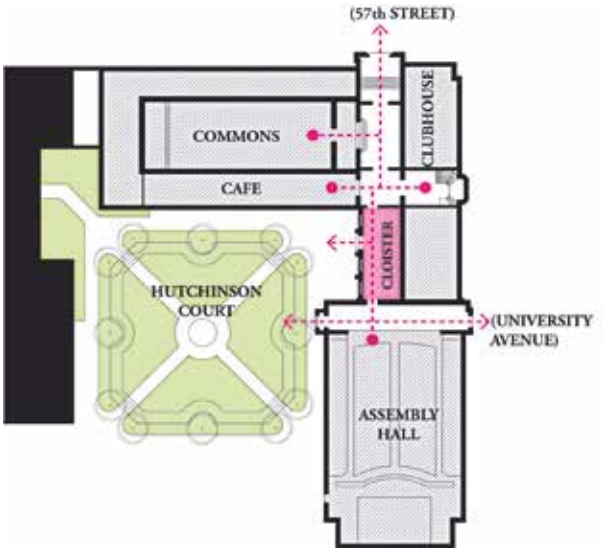

Fig. 5. *University of Chicago, Tower Group, ground-floor plan, drawing by the author; pink lines indicate circulation route*

paramount, with Cobb's sheltered quadrangles intended to 'remove the mind of the student from the busy mercantile conditions of Chicago and surround him by a peculiar air of quiet dignity'.[53]

Both Lowe and Bachin drew on Jenkins's article to support their critiques, but a sense of enclosure is not necessarily synonymous with exclusionary practices.[54] As Wolner noted, Cobb's quadrangles were 'monumental units in the definition of urban space […] Given Harper's program and Hyde Park's rapid urbanization, Cobb's quadrangles helped transform a suburban idyll into an integral part of a modern city.'[55] This interpretation relates strongly to another major legacy of the Columbian Exposition shared by the university's leaders — urban order as a force for positive social change. Jenkins's article supports this by alluding to the improvements of the surrounding neighbourhood instigated by the university's development: 'All around it handsome buildings are springing into existence […] The streets and avenues are finely paved.'[56] The promotion of density in conjunction with urban development and improvements such as paved roads was an innovation of Chicago's collegiate gothic, contrasting with the more typical rural emphasis noted earlier.

A similar combination of urban gothic ideals and social purpose was in evidence at another Chicago institution, Hull House, which was founded in 1889 by Jane Addams and Ellen Gates Starr with a mission to help assimilate recently arrived foreign immigrants. It became an instrumental partner in the ground-breaking social science research at the university in the following decades, and what began as a suburban house progressively urbanised into a dense configuration of buildings that affirmed the urban block pattern of Chicago in a similar way to Cobb's quadrangles.[57] Photographs of Ruskin and William Morris were hung on the wall at Hull House, and the primary inspiration for the project was Toynbee Hall, the pioneering settlement house founded in east London in 1884.[58] This was a university extension scheme

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where young men and women educated at Oxford and Cambridge came to work with local impoverished communities, and the building was designed in a late gothic style deliberately reminiscent of English collegiate models. While there is no indication that this connection contributed to the university's choice of gothic, these examples do point to the diverse uses and identities associated with gothic at the time it was beginning to build, including links through Ruskin and Morris to reform culture.[59]

Harper and many of his colleagues were in close accordance with the settlement mission. His own programmes for the university extension scheme and adult education classes were the first such in the US, and the University of Chicago's own settlement house was established in 1894 — also with female leadership under Addams's protégé Mary McDowell.[60] These initiatives related to the efforts made by many universities in the period to respond to the discourse of expanding democratic ideals. In giving the keynote address at the dedication of the University of Chicago's School of Education buildings in 1903, the president of Columbia University Nicholas Murray Butler argued: 'Those universities, striking root in a democracy, have become particularly popular institutions. They have put off one by one the marks of privilege and of exclusiveness, and under the sheltering care of the modern democratic state they have become the pride of a democratic people.'[61] Harper was central to this discourse. Like most progressives at the time, he was politically a liberal Republican, and he had first-hand experience of American politics through his involvement in Chicago's public school system. In this work he came into close contact with the city's vaunted political machine controlled by the Democratic Party, noted for its backroom deals and corrupt practices that progressives sought to reform.[62]

These experiences no doubt shaped Harper's progressive idealism, and in 1899 he gave a celebrated address on 'The University and Democracy' at the University of California — a statement that John Boyer described as 'pure Midwestern Progressivism'.[63] Harper argued that universities should be free from any direct religious or political control, that the university was 'the prophet—that is, the spokesman—of democracy', and that it 'must include the masses and maintain their sympathy and interest'.[64] These ideas around non-sectarianism and mass appeal opposed more traditional models of elite education still upheld at this time in many older East Coast institutions. A conspicuous example of this difference was the University of Chicago's embrace of self-promotion through mass media, as demonstrated by the publication of Harper's addresses and the numerous press articles, guidebooks, and so on, that the university produced.

The strategies of mass appeal were not ends in themselves, but linked to more serious efforts to make urban environments the incubators of a more participatory democracy, as Harper elaborated in his address for Butler's own inauguration at Columbia in 1902:

> A university which will adapt itself to urban influence, which will undertake to serve as an expression of urban civilization, and which is compelled to meet the demands of an urban environment will in the end become something essentially different from a university located in a village or small city […] It will gradually take on new characteristics both outward and inward, and it will ultimately form a new type of university.[65]

Just as the settlement houses promoted a correlation between urban order and social reform, Harper made a direct connection between a university's institutional structure, its

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Fig. 6. *University of Chicago, Hutchinson Commons, Tower Group, Shepley, Rutan & Coolidge, photograph of 1903 (Hanna Holborn Gray Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library)*

location and its physical form. In this way, ordered campus planning served as harbinger of wider urban reform. This was not lost on contemporaries. Flint Nott's 1904 guidebook noted that, compared to the 'architectural conglomerate of Chicago', the university was 'planned and built in a full sense of relation […] Many buildings, however beautiful in themselves, are ugly if they take no account of each other.'[66] The 'conglomerate' referenced here was the typical street corridor lined with heterogeneous façades, the product of unregulated speculative development that was the norm in all US cities. The university's leaders and progressive reformers alike found this sense of disorder, usually linked to the perceived crassness of unregulated commercial culture, unacceptable.[67]

Thus Harper's desire for urban integration must be understood in relation to these larger debates around democracy and progressive reform of the city. While the hybrid nature of the Cobb plan served as an important expression of these ideals, within ten years it was already out of date as Harper's ambitions extended well beyond the original four-block site. As newspapers later noted, 'that a line of gray buildings should extend for a mile on both sides of the Midway was one of the pet schemes of

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the late President Harper'.[68] This expanded vision of the campus further affirmed the university's urban progressivism while pushing its embrace of collegiate gothic in new directions.

CHARLES COOLIDGE AND THE TOWER GROUP

By 1900, Cobb had completed seventeen buildings on the central site, all of them adhering closely to his 1893 plan (Fig. 4).[69] The gothic style of these buildings was not especially based on Oxford or Cambridge, but an original combination of weighty grey-stone walls, turrets, crenellations and red-tile roofs.[70] Because the completed buildings were dispersed across the campus, very little of Cobb's centralised and enclosed structure had been realised; apart from the self-contained Biology Quadrangle, the campus fabric was open, with incomplete landscaping and paths that gave a look of disorder despite the consistency of the architecture.[71] The inward-looking quadrangles of the original plan remained incomplete for decades and were heavily modified in the process.[72]

As Cobb devoted more attention to new projects in New York and Washington, his work for the university underwent delays and its leadership was increasingly dissatisfied.[73] A decisive step was taken in the spring of 1900, when Hutchinson travelled to Oxford with another architect, Charles Coolidge of Shepley, Rutan & Coolidge, the successor firm to Richardson. Hutchinson wrote enthusiastically to Harper: 'I am coming home with great ideas of what our future buildings ought to be and only wish that we might begin over again. I see so many ways for improvement […] I should attempt to tell you a little of all that is beautiful and interesting in the most charming of all places.'[74] Hutchinson's reaction here was visceral rather than ideological, based on the romantic visual appeal of the Oxford colleges. Shortly after this trip, in July 1900, Coolidge was officially hired as architect for the new Tower Group, thus ending Cobb's tenure at the university.[75] Coolidge was the lead designer at Shepley, Rutan & Coolidge, with the firm expanding beyond Richardson's distinctive stylistic voice and showing versatility in many styles, including California Mission Romanesque for Stanford University (1887–1906) and Renaissance classicism for two of Chicago's most prominent downtown cultural institutions, the Art Institute (1893) and the Public Library (1897).[76] As president of the Art Institute and principal donor of the Tower Group, Hutchinson was the instrumental figure in replacing Cobb with Coolidge.

Located at the northeast corner of the original four-block site, abutting 57th Street and University Avenue, the Tower Group was a multi-function complex of a sort for which Cobb's plan had made no provision. Intended as the primary social centre for male students, it included the dining hall (commons), men's social club and an assembly hall, as well as more modern amenities like a café, bowling alley and barber shop (Fig. 5).[77] Coolidge's collegiate gothic was thus immediately adapted to new and modern uses. At the same time, the design included a near-exact replica of the dining hall at Christ Church, Oxford (Fig. 6).[78] At this stage the Coolidge firm had designed very little in the gothic style, which may explain the obvious architectural copying in this project. It is clear, however, that the primary inspiration stemmed from Hutchinson's enthusiastic reaction to Oxford, and the whole scheme was worked out, as Goodspeed described, in collaboration between Hutchinson, Ryerson, Coolidge and Harper.[79]

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Fig. 7. *University of Chicago, Mitchell Tower, Tower Group, seen from the north, Shepley, Rutan & Coolidge, photograph of 1903 (Hanna Holborn Gray Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library)*

As well as the Christ Church dining hall, works from Magdalen and St John's colleges were referenced, and this more thoroughgoing adaptation of Oxford collegiate gothic was seen as a revelation, especially compared to the more idiosyncratic work of Cobb.[80] To Goodspeed, 'the University never expended money more profitably' than at the Tower Group: it was 'a creation of beauty of extraordinary educational value to every student'.[81] Similarly, Nott's 1904 guidebook described the Tower Group as the university's 'architectural capstone' and went on:

> The mediaeval pomp and magnificence of it all—the rich wainscot, the traceried windows, and those ornate lanterns depending from the hammer beams—make one think, surely this building has no relation to modern life. But when one learns that he may sit down in this hall to three good meals a day for three dollars and a half a week, he sees at once the vital connection.[82]

Historic imagery and modern life, in Nott's view, were not incompatible. If people enjoyed the sense of lavish historical illusion, they simultaneously celebrated that these were brand-new buildings intended to serve modern needs.

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Like the Columbian Exposition a decade earlier, Coolidge's architecture acted as a historical stage-set within the larger urban theatre of Chicago.[83] This element of 'enchantment' and miraculous growth was increasingly evoked after 1900 to describe the expanding campus.[84] In his alumni speech in 1916, William Scott Bond reflected how

> In these twenty-five years beauty has come upon this land left waste by the great exposition, and now we may look around us upon the gray and green of our own city […] Growing with the vigor of life that characterizes the larger community of which it is a part, is a great university—the youngest of the great universities of this country.[85]

While the image of tradition was acknowledged, the experience of the university's collegiate gothic architecture was seen as a positive element in modern urban life, the achievement of youthful vigour rather than a nostalgic trip into the past.

These reflections primarily centred on appearance and style, but the connection to urban modernity was further enhanced in the Tower Group's planning, evolving from the urban qualities of Cobb's earlier work. Coolidge's design exploited the corner site by integrating the complex into the surrounding streetscape: the main entrance was not through the quadrangle but from 57th Street, boldly proclaimed by the 127 ft Mitchell Tower (Fig. 7), a copy of the tower at Magdalen College, Oxford.[86] Fitted with chimes in 1908 to commemorate the first dean of women, Alice Freeman Palmer, the tower became an instant landmark to the surrounding residential streets, and there are clear parallels with the familiar church spires that punctuated most Chicago neighbourhoods.[87] This was a marked departure from Cobb, all of whose buildings featured entrances from, and ornamental embellishment within, the quadrangles alone. Furthermore, the Tower Group was placed in one of the corner quadrangles originally meant for dormitories, thus disrupting the centralised hierarchy and functional zones of Cobb's plan.

These changes were supported by the landscaping work of the Olmsted Brothers, who were hired in 1902 to transform the campus grounds.[88] Their work at the university over the next ten years began to open Cobb's quadrangles, skilfully blending axial paths and connecting vistas with picturesque landscape features that carried on from their father's work nearby on the Midway and Jackson and Washington parks.[89] The Tower Group formed the backdrop to Hutchinson Court, completed in 1906 with a sunken paved courtyard and central fountain, a design loosely reminiscent of the Great Quadrangle at Christ Church.[90] While the foursquare layout of the sunken court referenced British medieval quadrangles and cloister design, to the north and east it was connected to the street through the prominent entrances and circulation corridors of the Tower Group. To the south, the court extended without interruption into the adjoining open space, giving the campus a greater sense of integration and spatial flow. Thus, in contrast to Cobb's enclosed architectural plan, Coolidge and the Olmsteds emphasised openness and views between the quadrangles and the wider city.

Hutchinson Court quickly became the primary ceremonial space on the campus, used for events such as the annual convocation and commencement ceremonies (Fig. 8). In the process, as imagery of the Tower Group replaced the bird's-eye Cobb plan in guidebooks and other publications, it effectively ended the vision of the campus as a hierarchical composition arranged around a dominant central space.[91] With

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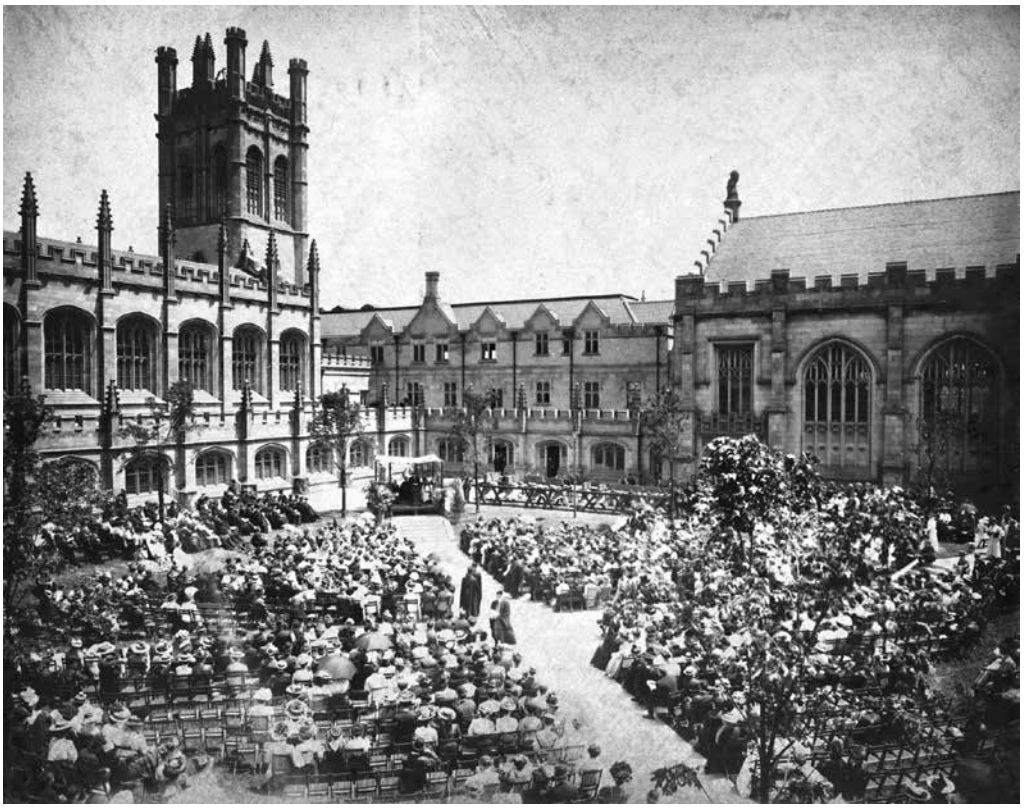

Fig. 8. *University of Chicago convocation ceremony in Hutchinson Court, photograph of* c. *1910 (Hanna Holborn Gray Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library)*

these changes, the university was feeling its way towards a new model despite the lack of a revised guiding masterplan: the progressive vision of Harper was being reimagined through the combination of evocative gothic illusion and more direct urban engagement.

THE LIBRARY GROUP AND SHIFTING TO THE MIDWAY

The next major development tackled by Coolidge was the reorganisation of the university's library system. This time, he had significant faculty input. Originally academic departments held their own book collections and in the early buildings, which were primarily for the sciences, each included a small library.[92] In 1899, a faculty committee was appointed to determine whether the system of departmental libraries should be continued or replaced by a centralised system. The guiding force was Ernest DeWitt Burton, a professor and close associate of Harper who was involved in all architectural decisions on the campus after this point. He undertook faculty interviews in every department to determine individual needs and views on the larger organisation

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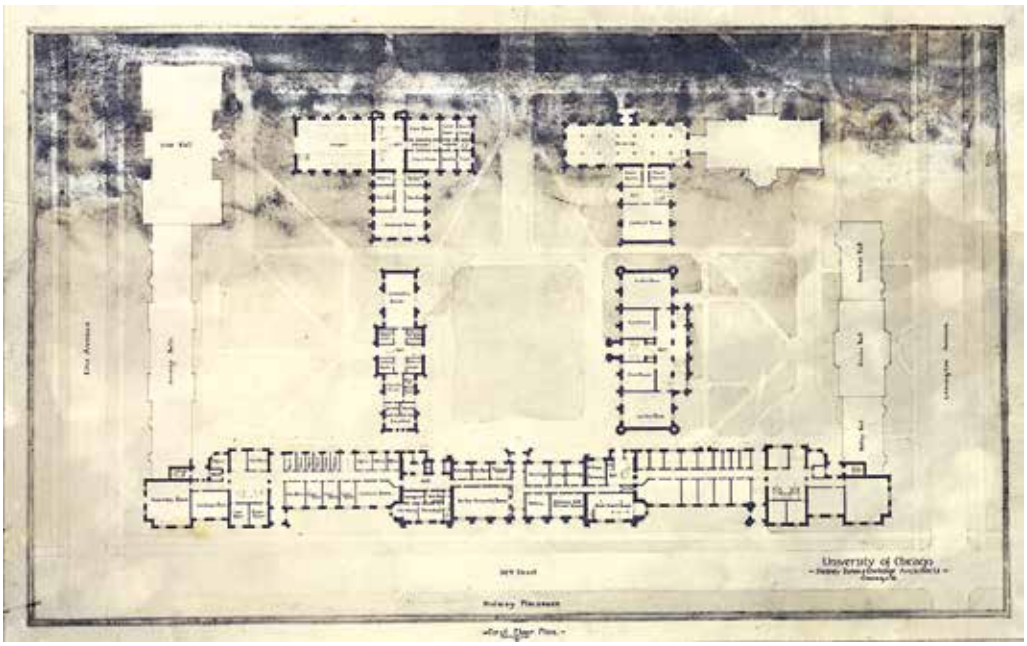

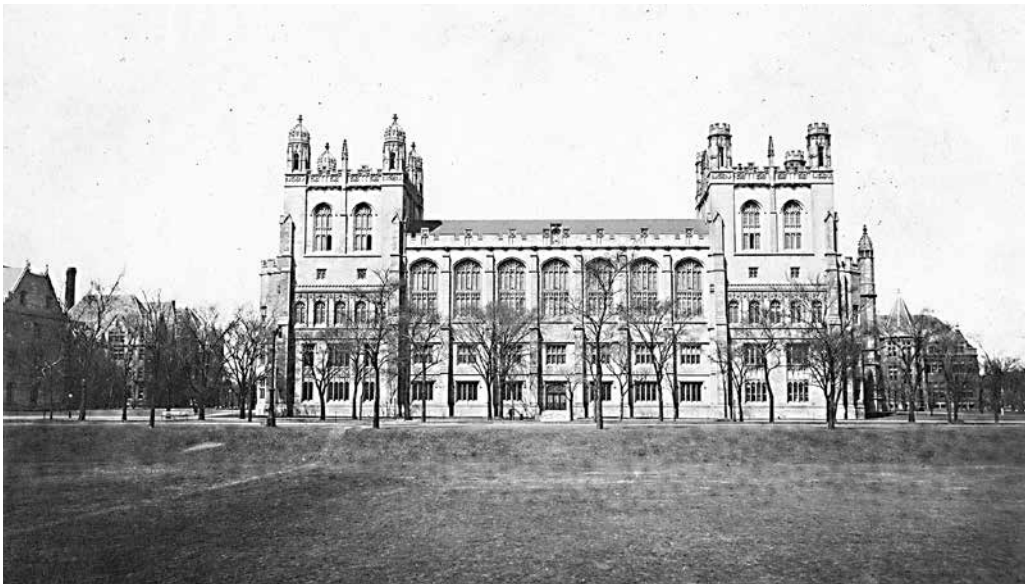

Fig. 9 *(top) and* Fig. 10. *Ground-floor plan of the Library Group proposal for the University of Chicago by Shepley, Rutan & Coolidge, 1902, ink drawing showing centralised entrance corridor connecting the Midway and campus; and a photograph of 1912 showing the south elevation of the Harper Memorial Library from the Midway (Hanna Holborn Gray Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library)*

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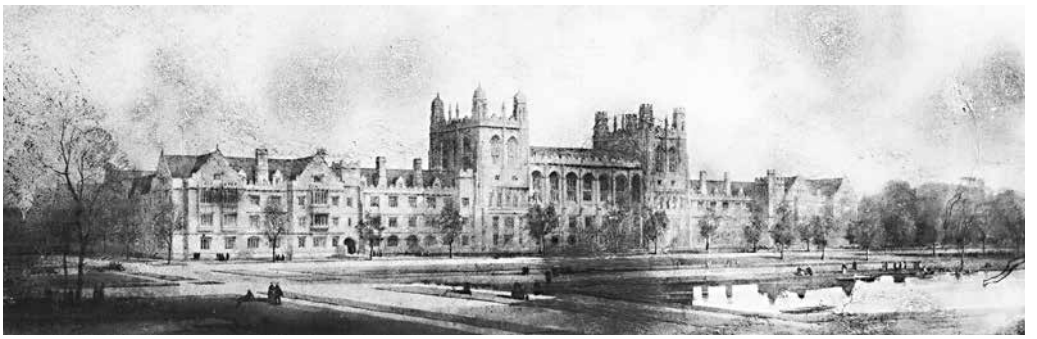

Fig. 11. *Shepley, Rutan & Coolidge, watercolour of the proposed Library Group as seen from the Midway, 1916 (Hanna Holborn Gray Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library)*

of the library system, a process that continued for several years.[93] In 1902, the library commission report was finalised and officially adopted by the board of trustees.[94] This report resolved the organisational problems and proposed an architectural solution that reconfigured the southern half of the main campus (Fig. 9).

In the new scheme, each humanities group would retain its own departmental library, but all the planned humanities buildings (seven in all: philosophy, history and the social sciences, classics, modern languages, oriental languages, the divinity school and the law school) would be grouped into an interconnected complex centring on a new main library building. Coolidge and his team quickly worked out an architectural layout, heavily guided by Burton and the committee.[95] As had been the case with Cobb, while Coolidge worked out the detailed outlines, the planning initiative came from the university. Not only did the faculty propose the system of interrelated department libraries that led to the linked architectural solution, it also drove all discussion of building placement and debated architectural issues such as how governing building lines and heights should be established.[96] The eight new buildings were completed by 1929, nearly all built as originally outlined.

The centrepiece was Harper Memorial Library, designated after President Harper's untimely death early in 1906, which was completed by Coolidge's firm in 1912 (Fig. 10). The library's 262 ft façade facing the Midway demonstrated a subtle interplay between monumental symmetry and gothic informality, as well as a more nuanced use of precedents than the earlier Tower Group. As the 1913 library handbook stated, the design was

> inspired by the examples of King's College Chapel at Cambridge, and Magdalen College and Christ Church at Oxford. The Library is not copied from any particular building, but the features of its design have their origin in the motives of those ancient buildings and it is wrought in that style of architecture to meet present-day needs.[97]

Coolidge's studious adaptation of English collegiate precedents thus continued to play an important role in giving a more impressive visual identity to the campus.

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Given the library's role as a memorial building dedicated to the university's founding president, particular attention was paid to the symbolic programme. Ornamental carvings presented the coat of arms of universities from around the world, including six Oxford and six Cambridge colleges, sixteen European universities, twenty-six North American institutions, plus two from Asia (Tokyo and Calcutta). The majority of these were placed on the public Midway-facing elevation.[98] The list was compiled by Burton with extensive faculty input and debate, involving arguments over whether both Oxford and Cambridge should be featured over other European universities, the geographical range of US institutions including women's colleges (but with no reference to African American colleges) and a desire to add 'the new Oriental universities'.[99] The wide input from faculty members across the university indicates the seriousness with which they viewed this task, and is a good example of how gothic symbolism was not only about creating a popular image; it could be adapted creatively to express institutional values, in this case the global and historical lineage of universities and their contribution to scholarship.

In the priority given to the symbolism of the Midway elevation, Harper Library was the first of the university's buildings to give the street primacy in its design. In their landscape plans, the Olmsted Brothers had recommended an 'imposing gateway' in the centre of the future library building, with 'a carriage drive and two footways through an arch or arches extending through the building'.[100] Burton agreed with the idea and position of the entrance but not the form, arguing instead for 'an interior corridor' connecting the Midway and the quadrangles, and this was what was adopted, with large entrance doors in the centre of the building opening on to the parkway. In Burton's words, the 'middle point of the library is […] the proper place for the front door of the main quadrangle […] A splendid entrance there should be at that point, but it should be like the front door of a house, rather than like the carriage entrance to the grounds.'[101] This affirmation of the Midway as the location for the university's 'front door' indicates the importance of the urban parkway as the symbolic frontage connecting the quadrangles and the larger public realm.

Over the following decades, as the Library Group came to completion, the Midway entrance of Harper Memorial Library was joined by additional pedestrian entrances connecting the university's open network of quadrangles with the public avenue. While the university's perimeter buildings maintained a sense of urban density and lively streetscape, this extensive public and semi-public realm of green spaces represented something very different from the strict divide between public and private that characterised typical urban development, including the Cobb plan. Compared to most institutions in the US, this sense of an ordered, public-facing campus was novel.

Together, the Tower Group and the Library Group realigned the campus. While Cobb's seven quadrangles were retained as a basic organisational framework, their hierarchy and enclosure were eliminated. By moving the most important buildings to the perimeter, the university's relationship to the street and the surrounding city was prioritised, and given clear symbolic weight by the elaborate collegiate gothic imagery of the public-facing Mitchell Tower and Memorial Library. From this point, the linear Midway served as the symbolic focal point of the university, a strategic shift that fundamentally altered the typology of the campus and its connection to Chicago.

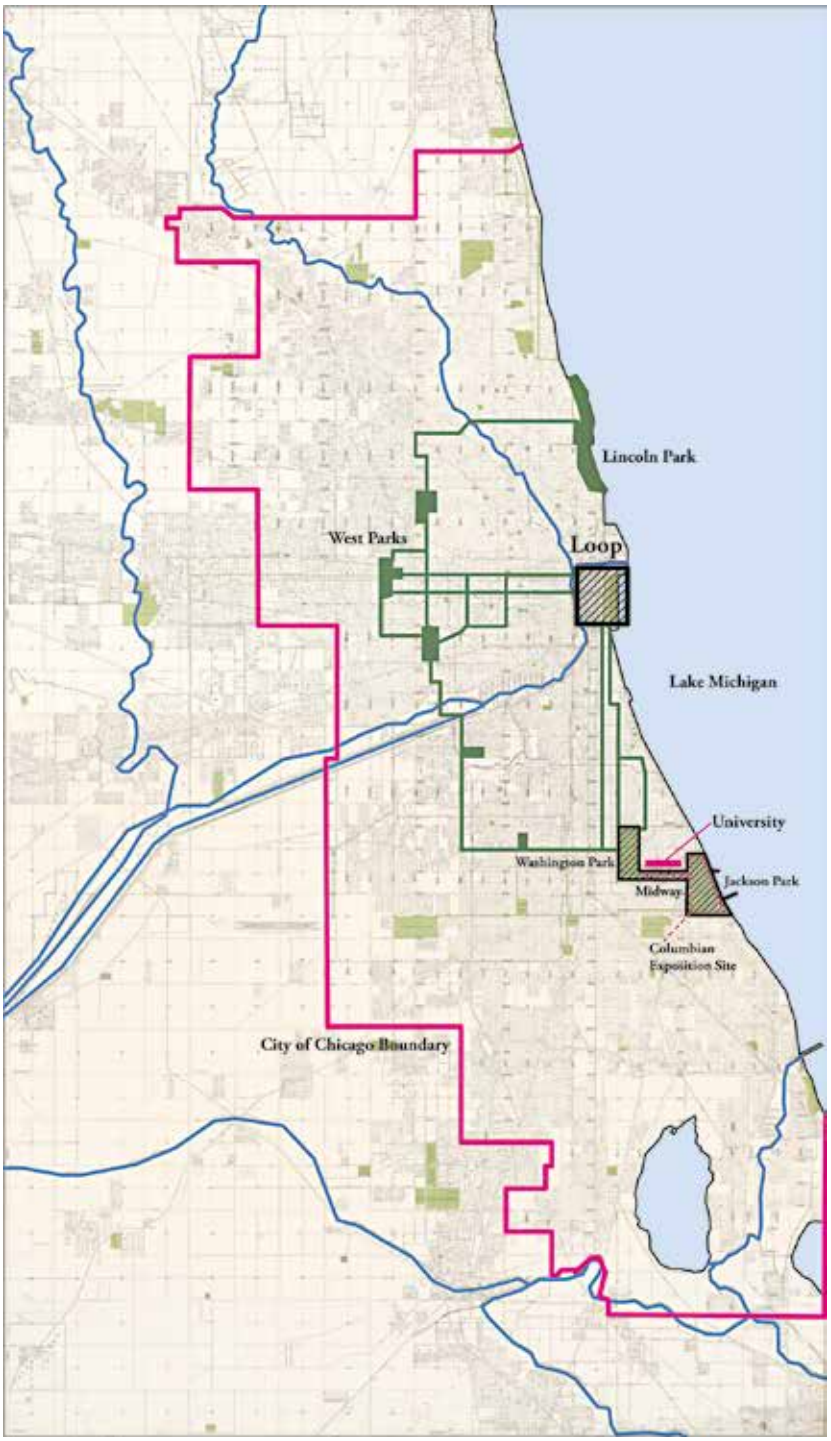

Fig. 12. *Chicago park system, c. 1916, drawing by the author*

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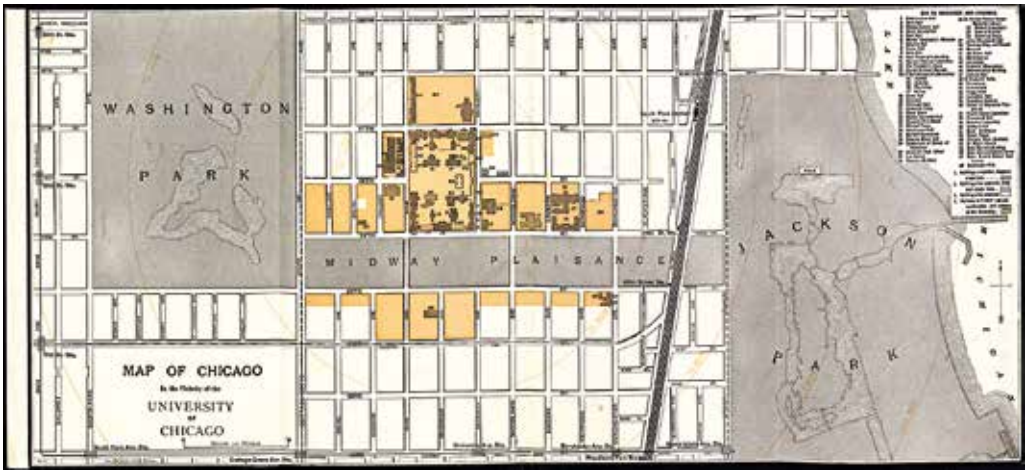

Fig. 13. Map of Chicago in the Vicinity of the University of Chicago, *from the* Annual Register *(1916–17); orange shading indicates campus landholdings (Hanna Holborn Gray Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library)*

ENVISIONING THE ACADEMIC AVENUE

At the time of the World's Columbian Exposition, the Midway had become nationally renowned as the site of the Ferris Wheel and other 'fairground' attractions, to the extent that the term 'midway' came into common parlance at amusement parks around the country. Contrasting with the 'high culture' of the White City in Jackson Park, this area of the fair also included ethnographic displays of indigenous peoples from around the world, some of whom performed for the visitors. Critics at the time, as well as later scholars, pointed to the problematic nature of these exhibits and their racist imperialism.[102] Yet, in Chicago at least, the memory of these events quickly shifted. As Herrick noted in 1895, just two years after the fair, the university's early buildings had at first 'frowned across the fence at the giddy street in Cairo', but this unruly scene had been consigned to 'oblivion' as Olmsted restored the Midway to its original purpose as a formal parkway lined with ordered rows of trees, paths and simple green lawns.[103] Jenkins likewise noted the transformation in his 1894 review: 'The southern end of the grounds, which face the Midway Plaisance, will soon look out on a beautifully appointed park, as the South Park Commissioners are redeeming this strip of pleasure ground from its turmoil of last year and laying it out in charming manner.'[104]

Thus, as the university took shape, it was the lasting quality of the Midway as a beautiful landscape rather than the problematic displays of the exposition that formed its identity. As part of Olmsted's original vision, there were also longer-term plans to build a canal down its centre to connect with the waterways and lagoons of the adjacent parks and into Lake Michigan.[105] This canal was never built, but it was dramatically captured in Coolidge's own watercolour rendering of the projected Library Group (Fig. 11). The view included the proposed demolition of Cobb's Foster dormitory (to the

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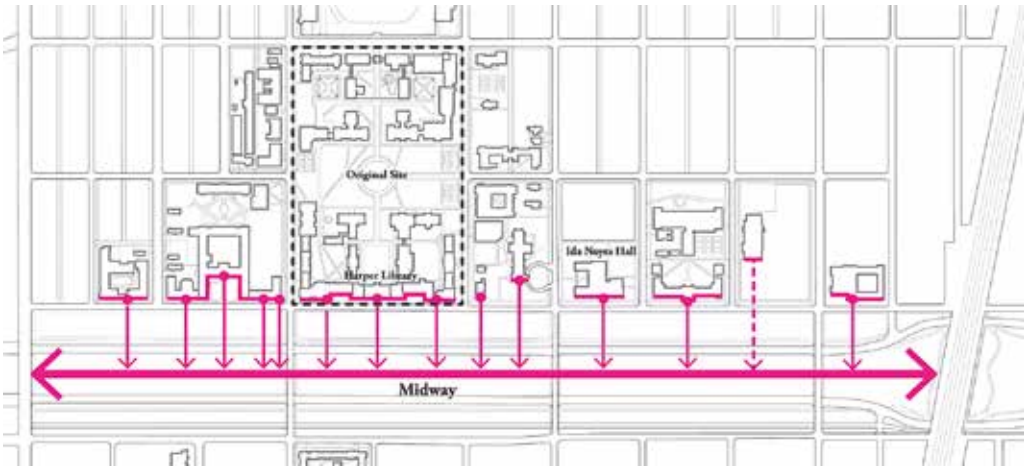

Fig. 14. *University of Chicago campus, c. 1932, drawing by the author showing the linear structure of the academic avenue; arrows indicate building entrances opening on to the Midway*

east) to create a more cohesive design across the entire frontage, and it is clear from the image how the scale of the buildings was conceived in relation to the Midway's own spaciousness; Harper's twin towers, similar in outline but different in detail, complement rather than overwhelm. The overall effect blends picturesque intimacy and monumental formality in equal measure.

That Coolidge chose to depict the university from this viewpoint, and not from one of the quadrangles, is indicative of the university's reorientation to the city. Just as Mitchell Tower formed a key urban marker, Harper Memorial Library protruded above the Midway treetops and reflected the university's embeddedness within its city. With this shift, the garden atmosphere that originated in the quadrangles was maintained, but rather than sheltering university members from all outside conditions, green space would now connect them, physically and symbolically, to the larger city. Thus the Midway cannot be seen as merely a larger version of the quadrangle model. And unlike the private lawns of other American campuses, the Midway remained a public parkway, managed by the city's South Park Commission.

Chicago's extensive system of public parks and boulevards fulfilled an important role in the early twentieth century. It was one of the largest integrated urban park systems in the world, and as such one of the superlative examples of the city's civic achievement (Fig. 12).[106] As the Chicago Plan Commission noted in the 1920s, 'For many years the Chicago boulevard system was the one big civic accomplishment which the citizens could take pride in showing to visitors.'[107] Embedded in this civic pride was the popular idea, frequently referred to in the press, that 'these parks are for all the people, all the time, *without restriction!* [original emphasis]'.[108] In more sober tones, this notion was affirmed by the elected board of the South Park Commission:

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Fig. 15. *Michigan Avenue and Grant Park, Chicago, aerial photograph of 1930 (University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign)*

> These parks are not charitable or philanthropic enterprises; they are public institutions for all the people. Supported entirely by public taxation, their uses, their policy, their future growth and activities are matters of public concern and public action.[109]

The parks were thus a defining example of Chicago's self-perceived democratic civic culture, evolving through citizen activism and participation and often defying the political division between Democrats and Republicans.[110] By the early twentieth century, Chicago's parks had moved away from the paternalism of the nineteenth century and embraced new ideas of recreation, community centres and working-class participation, shifts that share close parallels with the settlement house movement discussed above.[111] In this sense, Chicago's parks were a key example of the progressive orientation championed by Harper and Butler, and so the university's increasing alignment with the Midway and this larger system represented an important congruence of ideas.

Even before Harper Memorial Library was completed, the realignment to the Midway was being augmented by Rockefeller's purchase of new land. In December 1903, Rockefeller presented the university with the deeds to all the remaining blocks on the north frontage of the Midway, the value of the land totalling over $1.5 million.[112] The purchases continued unabated, and in 1907 the entire south front of the Midway, consisting of nine blocks valued at more than $2 million, was also deeded to the

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Fig. 16. *University of Chicago and the Midway, aerial photograph of* c. *1930*
(Hanna Holborn Gray Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library)

university, taking the total site area to around 100 acres (Fig. 13).[113] As the *University of Chicago Weekly* proclaimed, 'This great stretch of land along the Midway will in a few years be covered with buildings, and the University will become in a literal sense "The Midway School", as the newspapers are fond of calling it.'[114]

In press releases related to these land purchases, a new term was introduced to formalise the university's new form: the academic avenue. The academic avenue that was developed at Chicago is unique in US universities and, despite its prominence in archival sources, has gone largely unrecognised in scholarly accounts.[115] As a typology, serial expansion along an avenue was not dependent on the axes of symmetry found in Cobb's original plan or its Beaux-Arts counterparts (Fig. 14). This allowed for greater flexibility in planning, as future building needs did not have to be predetermined according to a set hierarchy. At the same time, gothic stylistic consistency among the heterogenous buildings along the avenue ensured that a sense of order was maintained — always a primary concern of the university's leaders.

Within this framework, the academic avenue allowed for moments of monumentality and panoramic distance rare in collegiate gothic universities. At the end of the 1920s, the well-known Cambridge fellow C. F. Andrews visited and compared the 'singular' Midway perspective to the famed Cambridge Backs and its 'perfect green lawns'.[116] However, the Midway panorama is both more urbanised and more insistently linear

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thanks to the regular block structure of Chicago's urban grid. A more apt comparison is Chicago's own downtown lakefront, where the panoramic expanse of Grant Park confronts the urban street wall of Michigan Avenue and its soaring collection of heterogenous skyscrapers (Figs 15 and 16). In both cases, the combination of serial development and panoramic distance provided by generous green space allowed for a heightened visual juxtaposition of naturalistic park and urban density.

This was a new type of experience made possible by the modern US metropolis. Already in 1899 these potentials were being celebrated in the official university guidebook, which described how, on the Midway, 'the uncounted thousands of lights glitter from carriages, automobiles and bicycles, like an endless swarm of fireflies'.[117] Thirty years later in the pages of the *University of Chicago Magazine*, this urban experience was connected to the university's own activities and achievements:

> Even a casual stranger, intrigued by the Midway's north line of Gothic building, could get a thrill out of realizing, as he walked east […] that he was passing a place where babies were being born; then a place where the actuality of death […] was being fought as well as man can fight it; on to a place where scholars were delving into versions of Plato and Aristotle, and analyzing the modern greats of literature; to a Library in which were housed the rarest of manuscripts; past a Social Science building where workers were busy making murder spot maps; to a great Chapel, with its aspiring reredos only a few blocks from the surgical amphitheater; to a beautiful center for women's activities; on to a place where the teachers of the future were studying, then to a handsome new gymnasium. The line tells a story of what may be called, unhesitatingly, progress, and progress difficult to match.[118]

While rather bombastic in tone, the passage's description of the varied collection of activities taking place within the university buildings along the Midway captures the serial experience of moving along the academic avenue. Once again, the idea of an urban stage is pertinent, the academic avenue acting to display modern research and learning for a wider public audience, whether on foot or, increasingly, through the window of an automobile.

BREAKING THE QUADRANGLE MODEL: IDA NOYES HALL

The architectural potential of the academic avenue culminated with Coolidge's Ida Noyes Hall (Fig. 17), which formed the centrepiece of the university's celebrations in 1916. The hall served as the principal social and athletic centre for the women of the university, performing the same role that the Tower Group did for the men. After LaVerne Noyes's donation in honour of his late wife made the new building possible in the summer of 1913, plans moved swiftly and construction was authorised in February 1914.[119] It was stipulated by the trustees, on the recommendation of the buildings and grounds committee, that Ida Noyes Hall should 'be placed on the Midway frontage' within the allocated block.[120] Initial plans had sited it instead on 58th Street to the north, but 'subsequent studies of the situation made it clear that the Midway site […] was in every way preferable'.[121] This change solidified the university's growing group of buildings facing the Midway and allowed for a more elaborate building than originally

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Fig. 17. *University of Chicago, Ida Noyes Hall seen from the Midway, Shepley, Rutan & Coolidge, photograph of 1916 (Hanna Holborn Gray Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library)*

intended. As with Harper Memorial Library, a committee of faculty and students — women, in this case — was extensively consulted in developing the plans. The complex contained a range of social facilities for women: a gymnasium, swimming pool and other athletic facilities; an elaborate commons/dining room; and numerous social spaces for women students, including a library, informal theatre, veranda/common room facing the Midway, and an open cloister garden.[122]

The prominent placing on the Midway of the women's building made it a worthy successor to projects such as the Women's Building at the Columbian Exposition, designed by Sophia Hayden and decorated with murals and sculptors by female artists.[123] Like most western US universities at the time (but unlike those in the east), the University of Chicago was coeducational from the beginning. Goodspeed drew attention to this in his 1916 history: 'The most important element […] would, of course, be the students, and the institution was to be coeducational. Men and women were to be admitted to all its privileges on equal terms. This had been decided before the educational plan had

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been considered.'[124] The women's dormitories at the southeast corner of the original site were among the earliest buildings constructed and, under the leadership of longstanding faculty members such as Alice Freeman Palmer and Marion Talbot, Chicago quickly became known as a progressive institution for women. By 1902, the gender ratio of the undergraduate student body was nearly 50:50.[125] And while almost a decade elapsed between the Tower Group and Ida Noyes Hall, they were originally conceived almost simultaneously: Burton had engaged in a major study of the project from 1901–06 in conjunction with Coolidge's firm, but funds were then unavailable.[126]

While adapting the image of a domestic-scaled Tudor country house conformed to gender stereotypes associating female students with more 'refined' domestic environments, Ida Noyes Hall still fitted within the monumental gothic language of the other buildings and gave visible recognition to the importance of women in shaping the university. The building was captured in a striking watercolour rendering by Coolidge, an aerial view oriented towards the cloister garden, with the imagined canal of the Midway shimmering in the distance (Fig. 18). Contemporaries lavished praise on the building and hailed it as 'the finest University building for women in the world'.[127] As part of her extended *Chicago Tribune* series on the university's buildings, Dorothy Ethel Walsh was the most effusive: 'In this hall one is impressed anew by the educational advantage derived from beautiful surroundings […] Surely within those walls characters must broaden and small or petty thoughts take wing through sheer shamefacedness!'[128] Such praise exceeded even the fanfare that had accompanied the completion of the Tower Group in 1903.

While the building's elaborate architectural details and interior fittings drew the attention of the critics, the planning ethos behind Ida Noyes Hall went unremarked but was in fact more daring. The site plan was characterised by open-endedness — celebrated in Coolidge's watercolour by foregrounding the cloister garden — and further emphasised by the organisation of the building into a single mass rather than it forming part of a larger quadrangle as the initial studies had indicated.[129] This was a decisive departure from all earlier buildings on the campus. Even the Tower Group and Harper Memorial Library, with their urban orientation, had maintained the structure of Cobb's quadrangles. With its location on a site free from these previous constraints, Ida Noyes Hall's Midway elevation and open cloister, both facing the street, were fully dependent on the surrounding urban infrastructure (Fig. 19). In particular, the cloister garden cleverly affirmed and disrupted the quadrangle model. Traditional cloisters were enclosed on four sides and accessed internally, but Coolidge adapted the form as a publicly accessible three-sided court opening on to Woodlawn Avenue. Similar creative adaptations had been part of the Tower Group, where an internal 'cloister corridor' formed one edge of Hutchinson Court and served as a connecting link between the court, the principal internal spaces and two adjoining streets (see Fig. 5).[130] The 'cloisters' of the Tower Group and Ida Noyes Hall functioned as an ambiguous transition space that negotiated between exterior and interior and between campus and city: familiar medieval precedents were reinterpreted to serve new purposes. More emphatically than any of Coolidge's previous work, the architecture and planning of Ida Noyes Hall demonstrated a synthesis: gothic intimacy and urban monumentality were both intrinsic to the building's identity.

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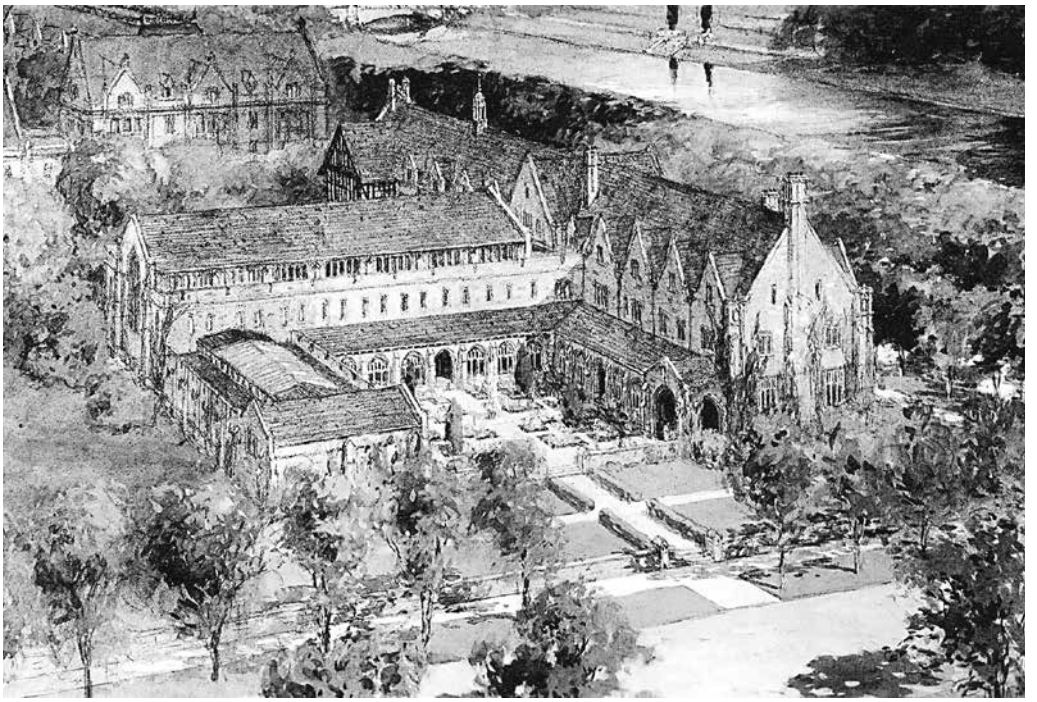

Fig. 18. *Shepley, Rutan & Coolidge, pencil and watercolour aerial view of Ida Noyes Hall from the northwest, 1916 (Hanna Holborn Gray Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library)*

CONCLUSION: THE MIDWAY'S MEANING

The synthesis seen in Ida Noyes Hall was paralleled by the evolving planning of the university more generally: the monumental Midway frontage was achieved through gothic design while the quadrangles were infused with Beaux-Arts axial vistas. The result balanced formal and picturesque, openness and enclosure, a dynamic tension between the civic grandeur of the Midway façade and the sheltered intimacy of the courts, with landscaped greenery suffusing the whole. While Coolidge served as chief designer, these changes did not originate with him; they were achieved by a close partnership of administrators, faculty and trustees, driven by the progressive vision of Harper that had set the entire enterprise in motion. Because this vision was not based on an all-encompassing architectural theory such as that proposed by Cram, its expression shifted considerably over time, as seen in the strategies that emerged in the years after the initial Cobb plan: opening the quadrangles, aligning to the Midway and creating the academic avenue. In contrast to longstanding ambivalence to the urban within US culture, these were inherently urban strategies that were fundamentally in sympathy with other developments such as Hull House and the World's Columbian Exposition.[131] Together they portrayed a positive vision of the civic and cultural potentials of urban life in many different forms.

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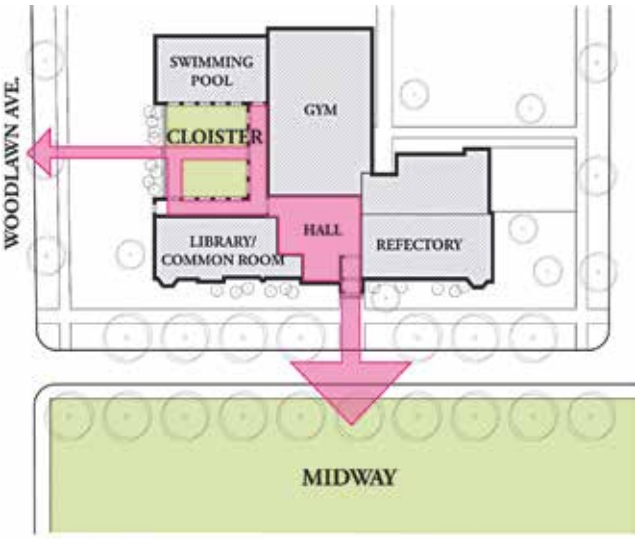

Fig. 19. *Ground-floor plan of Ida Noyes Hall drawn by the author; pink shading indicates public circulation through the building*

In the 1920s, the academic avenue continued to expand, especially through the building of another important landmark, the university chapel by Bertram Goodhue, completed directly to the west of Ida Noyes Hall and fronting the Midway in a similarly open-ended manner (see Fig. 14).[132] The neighbourhood of Hyde Park also rapidly urbanised, continuing the process that began with the university's original buildings in 1893 (Fig. 20). In the same period, the university embraced larger-scale buildings creating the imagery of a skyscraper metropolis, and the academic avenue was renamed the 'Midway Skyline'. While this strengthened the urban presence of the campus, many of these new buildings did not match the nuance and balance seen in the work up to 1916. After the second world war, by contrast, deteriorating social and racial relations in Hyde Park led to a longer-term inward focus and a renewed embrace of the quadrangle model.[133] These later developments have obscured the advent of the more outward-facing 'Midway School'. Yet, in the relatively brief period from 1890 to 1918, there was a close alignment between the university's architecture and planning, its institutional embrace of progressivism and its efforts to tie itself with the urban conditions and identities of Chicago.

This sense of the ephemeral recalls the fleeting 'Masque of Youth', which had put forward its own fusion of gothic display and the modern city. Two years after the event, in 1918, it was memorialised by the artist Jessie Arms Botke as a gothic-style mural wrapping the walls of the attic theatre in Ida Noyes Hall (Fig. 21). The mural recreated 'the most elaborate [performance] of the kind that had ever taken place at the University'.[134] Marching figures depict the stages of the masque, surrounded by trees and foliage. Through the trees, in the background, are glimpses of the university's buildings, most prominently Mitchell Tower, Harper Memorial Library and Ida Noyes Hall. Taken as a whole, the processional setting is an abstracted vision of the Midway, Coolidge's evocative collegiate gothic buildings blending with nature in an unfolding serial panorama.

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Fig. 20. *Maps showing the university and southern part of Chicago in* c. *1893 and* c. *1932, drawn by the author based on Sanborn fire insurance maps*

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Fig. 21. *Jessie Arms Botke, 'Masque of Youth' mural showing Alma Mater led by the Spirit of Gothic Architecture, Ida Noyes Hall, 1918 (Hanna Holborn Gray Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library)*

The mural's idealistic depiction of modern education in the guise of the fourteenth century is a reminder that there is no easy equivalence between architectural expression and the values behind it; at Chicago, the meaning of collegiate gothic architecture shifted considerably over time, from Cobb to Coolidge and beyond. Today, the collegiate gothic is still inextricably linked to the perceived elitism of higher education. Yet, in the Progressive Era, the University of Chicago did not stand as an elite bastion of established value, but as a complex stage on which new ideas were being tested, including the idea of what an urban university might be. While there were undoubtedly ambiguities, limitations and disruptions to this approach, its underlying intentions were clear. The university sought ways to combine established cultural symbolism with a more open campus environment in tune with the progressive search for democratic civic culture, fittingly symbolised in the academic avenue on the Midway.

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BIOGRAPHY

Stephen Gage is a lecturer in the School of Architecture at the University of Reading. His research investigates the interrelated evolution of cultural institutions, landscape and public space in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, with a particular focus on universities and the gothic revival. Publications include 'Compacting Civic and Sacred: Goodhue's University of Chicago Chapel and the Modern Metropolis', in *Modern Architecture and the Sacred* (Bloomsbury, 2020). He completed his PhD at the University of Cambridge, and previously was the inaugural Bass Scholar in Architecture and recipient of the RIBA President's Award for Research for his MPhil dissertation on the influence of Oxbridge collegiate gothic in Britain and the United States. He is an architect by training, holding an MArch from Yale University, and is currently the programmes officer of the Society of Architectural Historians Great Britain. Email: s.g.gage@reading.ac.uk

NOTES

1 The term 'collegiate gothic' was probably first coined by Alexander Jackson Davis in the mid-nineteenth century and has been in use ever since, but it was not until the 1890s that it acquired the more distinctive connotations discussed in this article. See Paul Venable Turner, *Campus: An American Planning Tradition* (New York: Architectural History Foundation, 1984), p. 124.

2 University of Chicago Library, Special Collections Research Center [hereafter SCRC], Department of Buildings and Grounds Records (Box 24, Folder 11), 'Committee on Dedication of Ida Noyes Hall', typed memorandum, *c.* 1916.

3 SCRC, Scrapbooks Collection (Box 13), Dorothy Ethel Walsh, 'The Quadrangles—University of Chicago', cutting from the *Chicago Tribune*, *c.* 1919.

4 Roy Lowe, 'Anglo-Americanism and the Planning of Universities in the United States', *Journal of the History of Education Society*, 15, no. 4 (1986), pp. 247–59; Robin F. Bachin, *Building the South Side: Urban Space and Civic Culture in Chicago, 1890–1919* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004); Sharon Haar, *The City As Campus: Urbanism and Higher Education in Chicago* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2011).

5 Thorstein Veblen, *The Higher Learning in America* (New York: B. W. Huebsch, 1918), pp. 143–46.

6 See Calder Loth and Julius Trousdale Sadler, *The Only Proper Style: Gothic Architecture in America* (Boston: New York Graphic Society, 1975). On Ruskin's influence, see also Patricia Likos Ricci, '"Who is this Renaissance? Where did he come from?": Englishness and the Search for an American National Style, 1850–1900', *Architectural History*, 64 (2021), pp. 45–68.

7 Loth and Sadler, *The Only Proper Style*, p. 155.

8 Lowe, 'Anglo-Americanism'; Johanna G. Seasonwein, *Princeton and the Gothic Revival: 1870–1930*, exhibition catalogue, Princeton University Art Museum (Princeton, NJ, 2012).

9 T. J. Jackson Lears, *No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture, 1880–1920* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1981); Michael D. Clark, *The American Discovery of Tradition, 1865–1942* (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 2005).

10 Lears, *No Place of Grace*, pp. 203–07.

11 Lowe, 'Anglo-Americanism', pp. 250–59.

12 W. Barksdale Maynard, *Princeton: America's Campus* (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 2012); Jan M. Ziolkowski, *The Juggler of Notre Dame and the Medievalizing of Modernity, Vol. 3: The American Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Open Book Publishers, 2018), pp. 189–238.

13 Alex Duke, *Importing Oxbridge: English Residential Colleges and American Universities* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1996).

14 Turner, *Campus,* pp. 215, 245.

15 Bachin, *Building the South Side*; Haar, *City as Campus*; LaDale C. Winling, *Building the Ivory Tower: Universities and Metropolitan Development in the Twentieth Century* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018).

16 Bachin, *Building the South Side*, pp. 53–54.

17 Haar, *City as Campus*, p. 27.

18 Bachin, *Building the South Side*, p. 54; see also Lowe, 'Anglo-Americanism', p. 254.

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19 Kevin Mattson, *Creating a Democratic Public: The Struggle for Urban Participatory Democracy in the Progressive Era* (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 1998); William H. Wilson, *The City Beautiful Movement* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989). See also Maureen A Flanagan, *America Reformed: Progressives and Progressivisms 1890s–1920s* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007); Michael McGerr, *A Fierce Discontent: The Rise and Fall of the Progressive Movement in America 1870–1920* (New York: Free Press, 2003).
20 Ricci, 'Englishness and the Search for an American National Style', p. 63.
21 For a concise account, see Jon A. Peterson, *The Birth of City Planning in the United States, 1840–1917* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003), pp. 61–73. See also Dennis B. Downey, *A Season of Renewal: The Columbian Exposition and Victorian America* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2002); James Gilbert, *Perfect Cities: Chicago's Utopias of 1893* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1991).
22 Frederick Rudolph, *The American College and University: A History* (New York: Knopf, 1962), p. 245.
23 Turner, *Campus*, p. 245.
24 Turner, *Campus*, pp. 172–77.
25 Edward W. Wolner, *Henry Ives Cobb's Chicago: Architecture, Institutions, and the Making of a Modern Metropolis* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2011), p. 194.
26 The most in-depth primary account of the university's early history is Thomas Wakefield Goodspeed, *A History of the University of Chicago* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1916).
27 Thomas Wakefield Goodspeed quoted in John W. Boyer, '"Broad and Christian in the Fullest Sense": William Rainey Harper and the University of Chicago', *Occasional Papers on Higher Education XV* (Chicago, IL: The College of the University of Chicago, 2005), p. 130.
28 William Rainey Harper quoted in John W. Boyer, *The University of Chicago: A History* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2015), p. 127.
29 For Harper's educational plan, see Goodspeed, *History*, pp. 130–57 and Boyer, *The University of Chicago*, pp. 116–57. For an architectural overview, see Jean F. Block, *The Uses of Gothic: Planning and Building the Campus of the University of Chicago, 1892–1932* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Library, 1983).
30 See Victoria Post Ranney, *Olmsted in Chicago* (Chicago, IL: R. R. Donnelley & Sons, 1972).
31 Brandon L. Johnson, *Building for a Long Future: The University of Chicago and Its Donors, 1889–1930* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Library, 2015). See also Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, *Culture and the City: Cultural Philanthropy in Chicago from the 1880s to 1917* (Louisville, KY: University of Kentucky Press, 1976), pp. 50–120, and Steven J. Diner, *A City and Its Universities: Public Policy in Chicago, 1892–1919* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1980), pp. 58–75.
32 SCRC, Founders' Correspondence (Box 1, Folders 11–12; Box 2, Folder 1–2), letters from Thomas Wakefield Goodspeed to William Rainey Harper, 7 September 1890 and 7 October 1890. For a discussion of Burges's design, see Turner, *Campus*, pp. 217–19.
33 SCRC, Founders' Correspondence (Box 1, Folders 11–12; Box 2, Folder 1–2), letters from Goodspeed to Harper, 1 November 1890 and 14 April 1891.
34 SCRC, Founders' Correspondence (Box 1, Folders 11–12; Box 2, Folder 1–2), letter from Goodspeed to Harper, 27 April 1891. Goodspeed laid out the brief and named all six firms, as well as the work for which they were noted.
35 Giffard Nelson, 'The University of Chicago and Its President', *Harper's Weekly*, 30 May 1891, pp. 410–11.
36 SCRC, Founders' Correspondence (Box 2, Folder 2), letter from Goodspeed to Harper, 27 April 1891. For Cobb's wider output, see Wolner, *Henry Ives Cobb's Chicago*.
37 SCRC, Founders' Correspondence (Box 2, Folder 3), letter from Goodspeed to Harper, 5 June 1891. The other two firms debated were Patton & Fisher, which submitted plans, and Adler & Sullivan, which did not respond to the initial invitation.
38 Goodspeed, *History*, pp. 221, 421; Block, *Uses of Gothic*, pp. 8–13.
39 Bachin, *Building the South Side*, p. 72; Lowe, 'Anglo-Americanism', p. 252.
40 See Carl W. Condit, *The Chicago School of Architecture* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1964), pp. 60–63.
41 Ricci, 'Englishness and the Search for an American National Style'. See also Ingrid A. Steffensen-Bruce, *Marble Palaces, Temples of Art: Art Museums, Architecture, and American Culture, 1890–1930* (Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 1998), pp. 24–30.
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43 For Chicago's selection as host city, see Mel Scott, *American City Planning Since 1890* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1969), pp. 31–33.
44 Goodspeed, *History*, pp. 452–53. The song was originally written by a student member of the university's glee club in 1894.
45 SCRC, Scrapbooks Collection (Box 13), Harry Pratt Judson, 'The University of Chicago', *Munsey's Magazine*, 34, no. 2 (November 1905), pp. 153–65; Walter Dill Scott, 'Chicago's Education Progress Based on Highest Standards', *Christian Science Monitor*, 10 October 1923.
46 SCRC, Office of the President, Harper, Judson and Burton Administrations [hereafter HJB] (Box 80, Folder 5), *The World's Columbian Exposition and the University of Chicago: Radio Talks by Harold H. Swift and Nathaniel Butler* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1923), p. 7.
47 The fair's connection to US imperialist narratives is one such example. See M. Christine Boyer, *Dreaming the Rational City: The Myth of American City Planning* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1983) and Andrea Oppenheimer Dean, 'Revisiting the White City', *Historical Preservation*, 45, no. 2 (1993), pp. 42–49, 97–98.
48 Peterson, *Birth of City Planning*, pp. 66–67.
49 Block, *Uses of Gothic*, p. 13.
50 The city formally approved vacating all existing streets and alleys on the site in September 1891 (Goodspeed, *History*, p. 172).
51 SCRC, Founders' Correspondence (Box 2, Folder 2), letter from Goodspeed to his sons, 28 June 1891.
52 Robert Herrick, 'The University of Chicago', *Scribner's Magazine*, 18, no. 4 (October 1895), pp. 399–417.
53 Chas E. Jenkins, 'The University of Chicago', *Architectural Record*, 4 (October–December 1894), p. 240.
54 Lowe, 'Anglo-Americanism', p. 252; Bachin, *Building the South Side*, pp. 53–54.
55 Wolner, *Henry Ives Cobb's Chicago*, pp. 193–94.
56 Jenkins, 'The University of Chicago', p. 246.
57 For an overview, see Louise W. Knight, *Citizen: Jane Addams and the Struggle for Democracy* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2005). For an architectural discussion, see Guy Szuberla, 'Three Chicago Settlements: Their Architectural Form and Social Meaning', *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, 70, no. 2 (May 1977), pp. 114–29.
58 Michael H. Lang, *Designing Utopia: John Ruskin's Urban Vision for Britain and America* (Montreal: Black Rose Books, 1999), pp. 55–56; Szuberla, 'Three Chicago Settlements', pp. 117–19.
59 See Lang, *Designing Utopia.*
60 Szuberla, 'Three Chicago Settlements', pp. 115–17, and Block, *Uses of Gothic*, pp. 72–79. See also SCRC, University of Chicago Settlement Records (Box 1). The architect was Dwight Perkins, who also designed Hitchcock Hall on the main university campus.
61 Nicholas Murray Butler, 'Addresses at the Dedication of Emmons Blaine Hall', *University Record*, 9, no. 1 (May 1904), p. 13.
62 Harper's involvement included a term on the city's board of education, 1896–98 and the chairmanship of the mayor's commission to reform Chicago schools, published in 1899. See Boyer, 'Broad and Christian', pp. 155–74.
63 Boyer, 'Broad and Christian', p. 134.
64 William Rainey Harper, 'The University and Democracy', 1899 speech reprinted in *The Rise of the Research University: A Sourcebook*, ed. by Louis Menand, Paul Reitter and Chad Wellmon (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2017), p. 350.
65 William Rainey Harper, 'Inauguration Address for Nicholas Murray Butler', speech reprinted in 'Addresses of Greeting', *Columbia Daily Spectator*, 22 April 1902, pp. 5, 7.
66 Flint Nott, *The University of Chicago: A Sketch* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1904), p. 29.
67 Horowitz, *Culture and the City*, pp. 50–55; Boyer, *University of Chicago*, pp. 176–86; Diner, *A City and Its Universities*, pp. 47–51.
68 SCRC, Edward Goodman Papers (Box 7), 'Gift of $2,000,000 by John D. to U. of C', newspaper cutting, 27 April 1907.
69 Goodspeed, *History*, pp. 301–07, 325–26. A chronological listing of the university's gothic buildings, including their architects and donors, can be found in Block, *Uses of Gothic*, pp. 224–27.
70 Turner, *Campus*, pp. 223–33; Wolner, *Henry Ives Cobb's Chicago*, pp. 200–13.
71 SCRC, HJB (Box 68, Folder 1), letter from the faculty buildings and grounds committee to the University Council, 25 October 1901.
72 Calvert W. Audrain, William B. Cannon and Harold T. Wolff, 'A Review of Planning at the University of Chicago 1891–1978', *University of Chicago Record*, 12, no. 4 (28 April 1978), pp. 47–80.

73 Cobb wrote a long letter defending himself against accusations: SCRC, Jean F. Block Papers [hereafter JBP] (Box 1, Folder 1), letter from Henry Ives Cobb to William Rainey Harper, 23 January 1900.
74 SCRC, HJB (Box 82, Folder 12), handwritten note from Charles Hutchinson to William Rainey Harper, 4 April 1900.
75 SCRC, board of trustees minutes, vol. 3, 17 July 1900. Cobb's final settlement was designated in May 1901 (SCRC, committee on buildings and grounds minutes, 15 May 1901).
76 There is no published monograph on Shepley, Rutan & Coolidge. For a concise background, see SCRC, JBP (Box 2, Folder 1), typewritten notes by Jean F. Block; also J. D. Forbes, 'Shepley, Bulfinch, Richardson & Abbott, Architects: An Introduction', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 17, no. 3 (1958), pp. 19–31.
77 'Tower Group, University of Chicago', *Inland Architect and News Record*, 43, no. 2 (March 1904), p. 15.
78 On their Oxford trip, Hutchinson and Coolidge had men take complete measurements of the hall at Christ Church (see Hutchinson to Harper, 4 April 1900, in note 74).
79 Goodspeed, *History*, p. 345.
80 For a full detailed description, see David Allan Robertson, *The University of Chicago: An Official Guide* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1916), pp. 48–67.
81 Goodspeed, *History*, p. 347.
82 Nott, *The University of Chicago*, pp. 27–28.
83 Neil Harris, *Cultural Excursions: Marketing Appetites and Cultural Tastes in Modern America* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1990), p. 126.
84 For example, 'A Wonderful Campus', *Chicago Herald* article of 1915 quoted in Goodspeed, *History*, p. 421; SCRC, Harold H. Swift Papers (Box 210, Folder 20), J. V. Nash, 'Historic Oxford Transplanted Upon an Illinois Prairie', *Dearborn Independent*, 9 December 1922, pp. 12–13.
85 William Scott Bond, 'On Behalf of the Alumni', *University Record*, New Series, 2, no. 3 (July 1916), p. 111.
86 'New Buildings for the University of Chicago', *The Inland Architect and News Record*, 36 no. 5 (December 1900), p. 40.
87 Goodspeed, *History*, p. 346.
88 SCRC, committee on buildings and grounds minutes, vol. 1, 29 September 1901; SCRC, JBP (Box 2, Folder 3), typewritten report from Olmsted Brothers to Charles Hutchinson, 20 March 1902.
89 This was a characteristic achievement of their work more generally: see William W. Tippens, 'The Olmsted Brothers in the Midwest: Naturalism, Formalism, and the City Beautiful Movement', in *Midwestern Landscape Architecture,* ed. by William H. Tishler (Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2000), pp. 159–73.
90 SCRC, JBP (Box 2, Folder 3), Jean F. Block, 'The Work of John C. Olmsted', unpublished typewritten notes.
91 For example, Mitchell Tower forms the frontispiece to both Nott's *The University of Chicago* and Robertson's *Official Guide*.
92 Goodspeed, *History*, pp. 230–41.
93 Burton was a close adviser to Harper and Judson as presidents of the university, before assuming the role himself in 1924. See the memorial issue to President Burton, Henry Justin Smith, ed., *The University Record* (July 1925), pp. 167–200.
94 SCRC, board of trustees minutes, vol. 4, 16 September 1902. For full records of the library commission, see SCRC, Library Office of the Director Zella Allen Dixson Records [hereafter LOR] (Box 1, Folders 1–11).
95 Coolidge submitted an initial block plan dated 22 July 1902, sent with a letter to Burton describing the plans. In this version, almost all departments are placed differently except the main library: SCRC, LOR (Box 2, Folder 6), letter from William J. Clark on behalf of Charles Coolidge to Ernest DeWitt Burton, 29 July 1902. By August, the final positions had been determined: Ernest DeWitt Burton, 'Report of the Library Commission', *The University Record*, 12, no. 9 (January 1903), pp. 265–68.
96 Burton, 'Report of the Library Commission', p. 265; SCRC, LOR (Box 1, Folder 2), 'Library Commission', undated memo, *c.* 1901.
97 SCRC, Archival Buildings File, 'Handbook of the Libraries of the University', 1913, p. 8.
98 See note 96.
99 SCRC, LOR (Box 8, Folder 5), letter from Ernest DeWitt Burton to Harry Pratt Judson, 16 February 1911. In choosing Tokyo and Calcutta (over Cairo and examples from South America and Australia), Burton especially worried about how to gain accurate copies of their seals to prepare for carving. The full collection of faculty correspondence can be found in SCRC, LOR (Box 7).

100 Olmsted Brothers to Hutchinson, 20 March 1902, p. 23 (note 88). The Olmsteds were directly consulted by Coolidge on the library commission plans in the summer of 1902: SCRC, LOR (Box 2, Folder 6), letter from William J. Clark to Ernest DeWitt Burton, 29 July 1902, and telegram from Charles Coolidge to William Rainey Harper, 31 July 1902.
101 SCRC, LOR (Box 1, Folder 9), letter from Ernest DeWitt Burton to William Rainey Harper, 21 March 1903. Burton noted that this change had the unanimous approval of the buildings and grounds committee as well as Coolidge.
102 Ricci, 'Englishness and the Search for an American National Style', pp. 62–63. See also Gilbert, *Perfect Cities*, pp. 111–19.
103 Herrick, 'The University of Chicago', p. 399.
104 Jenkins, 'The University of Chicago', p. 246.
105 Ranney, *Olmsted in Chicago*, p. 27.
106 Daniel Bluestone, *Constructing Chicago* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1991), pp. 52–54.
107 'Chicago Plan Progress', Chicago Plan Commission report, 1 July 1927, p. 24, available at <hathitrust.org> [accessed 11 January 2022].
108 SCRC, Office of the President Mason Administration Records (Box 9, Folder 7), 'Hotels of the Jackson Park District', 1924 brochure. This maxim has long complicated plans for building new cultural institutions within Chicago's parks, including recent controversy over the location of the Obama Presidential Library in nearby Jackson Park (Taylor Moore, 'The Obama Library is Coming to Chicago. Will Local Residents be Displaced?', *Guardian*, 24 May 2021 <theguardian.com/environment/2021/may/24/obama-library-chicago-gentrification-fears> [accessed 11 January 2022].
109 SCRC, *Report of the South Park Commissioners* (1913), p. 45.
110 See Liam T. Ford, *Soldier Field: A Stadium and its City* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2009), pp. 8–12, 17–29.
111 Galen Cranz, *The Politics of Park Design: A History of Urban Parks in America* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1982), pp. 61–99; see also Peterson, *Birth of City Planning*, pp. 168–69.
112 SCRC, board of trustees minutes, vol. 4, 15 December 1903; 'Announcements', *University Record*, 8, no. 8 (December 1903), p. 246.
113 'Gift of $2,000,000' (see note 68).
114 Charles W. Collins and Robert L. Henry Jr, eds, *A Decennial Souvenir of the University of Chicago Weekly* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1902), p. 15.
115 Similar to existing academic studies, recent guides to the university have ignored this history in favour of promoting Cobb's quadrangle concept: Jay Pridmore, *Building Ideas: An Architectural Guide to the University of Chicago* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2013).
116 C. F. Andrews, 'Chicago Impressions', *University of Chicago Magazine*, 21, no. 8 (June 1929), p. 423.
117 SCRC, Archival Buildings File (Folder 25), 'Buildings and Grounds of the University of Chicago: A Souvenir 1892–1899', *University of Chicago Weekly* [n.p.], also available at hathitrust.org.
118 John P. Howe, 'Five Years of Building', *University of Chicago Magazine*, 21, no. 9 (July–August 1929), p. 480.
119 Goodspeed, *History*, pp. 439–42; SCRC, board of trustees minutes, vol. 8, 4 June 1913 and 4 February 1914.
120 SCRC, board of trustees minutes, vol. 8, 4 February 1914.
121 SCRC, HJB (Box 64, Folder 10), undated press release, *c*. 1916.
122 See the press release (note 121); also Block, *Uses of Gothic*, p. 119.
123 See Regina Megan Palm, 'Women Muralists, Modern Woman and Feminine Spaces: Constructing Gender at the 1893 Chicago World's Columbian Exposition', *Journal of Design History*, 23, 2 (2010), pp. 123–43.
124 Goodspeed, *History*, p. 137. Historic eastern colleges, including Harvard, Yale, Princeton and Columbia, remained male-only well into the twentieth century, often with separate women's colleges loosely attached to them. By contrast, most state universities were coeducational from the middle of the nineteenth century onwards; by 1910, more than 58 per cent of universities in the US were coeducational. See Barbara Miller Solomon, *Educated Women: A History of Women and Higher Education in America* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1985), pp. 43–60.
125 Boyer, *The University of Chicago*, pp. 149–51. Both Talbot and Palmer were recruited from Wellesley. For a discussion of Talbot's wider influence, see Robert A. Schwartz, 'Reconceptualizing the Leadership Roles of Women in Higher Education: A Brief History on the Importance of Deans of Women', *Journal of Higher Education*, 68, no. 5 (1997), pp. 502–22. For women's dorms, see Block, *Uses of Gothic*, pp. 26–31.
126 See SCRC, HJB (Box 85, Folder 42), and LOR (Box 2, Folders 6–8).

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127 SCRC, Department of Buildings and Grounds Records (Box 24, Folder 13), Frances Hooper, 'Ida Noyes Hall, An Achievement in Livableness on a Large Scale', magazine cutting, *c.* 1916.
128 SCRC, Scrapbooks Collection (Box 13), Dorothy Ethel Walsh, 'The University of Chicago: Ida Noyes Hall', *Chicago Tribune* newspaper cutting, *c.* 1919.
129 SCRC, Architectural Drawings Collection (Drawer 41, Folder 10).
130 See Goodspeed, *History*, pp. 345–48.
131 See James L. Machor, *Pastoral Cities: Urban Ideals and the Symbolic Landscape of America* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1987), pp. 3–23.
132 Stephen Gage, 'Compacting Civic and Sacred: Goodhue's University of Chicago Chapel and the Modern Metropolis', in *Modern Architecture and the Sacred*, ed. by Ross Anderson and Maximilian Sternberg (London: Bloomsbury, 2020), pp. 125–42.
133 See Winling, *Building the Ivory Tower*, pp. 79–117.
134 SCRC, Department of Buildings and Grounds Records (Box 24, Folder 11), 'The Masque of Youth', dedication programme, 14 January 1918.

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