



TOWN, GOWN, AND THE GREAT DEPRESSION: YALE AND NEW HAVEN DURING THE CONSTRUCTION OF YALE'S ORIGINAL RESIDENTIAL COLLEGES

In 1930, New Haven had nearly all the hallmarks of a city devastated by the Great Depression: thousands of hungry young children, unemployed parents wandering the streets looking for work, businesses shuttered. Meanwhile, the slice of the city that was Yale seemed impervious to the effects of the economic crisis. Throughout the Great Depression, the University hungrily bought up land and erected massive new buildings, including the eight which would come to serve as its first residential colleges. In the following pages, David McCullough III '17 explores this historical juxtaposition, tracing the simmering tensions which erupted between town and gown in this fraught time.

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A TUESDAY IN OCTOBER

October 29, 1929, New Haven: On the corner of College and Chapel Streets, the prominent Hotel Taft, with its whitewashed Gregorian columns and twelve-story red brick façade, towered over the quiet Green. Next door, a string of Ford Model As sat along the curb beneath the grandiose sign and overhang of the Schubert Theater. Behind locked doors, the theater began to bustle in preparation for the evening's performance. The steeples of the Trinity Episcopal, Center, and United Churches poked above the tree line, three abreast along Temple Street. And throughout the bustling Green, rows of elms took on their autumnal yellows and reds.

Through Church, Elm, and Chapel Streets, trolleys glided by whirring automobiles and rattling carts full of every good imaginable. The lunchtime rush of businessmen poured in and out of the Union League, while white storefront awnings shaded the sidewalk. Mom-and-pop shops, offering everything from cuts of beef, to shoe repairs, lined Church and Chapel Streets. Meanwhile, in the harbor, barges rolled in from Boston and New York, and made their way past Lighthouse Point Park and Oyster Point, toward the City Dock. Trains rumbled out of Union Station toward Hartford and Boston and New York. Across the harbor from the rail yard, the factories of Sargent & Co. and Benedict & Co. churned out lumber and coal. Several miles uptown, the Winchester Repeating Arms Co., another of the city's largest employers and manufacturers, still reaping profits from the First World War, roared along.

Meanwhile, across the Green and Chapel Street, New Haven's oldest tenant, Yale University, emulated the city's bustling energy. Students strolled along the walkways of the Old Campus, trudged in and out of the Chittenden Library, and sat along the famous Yale fence. The brick facades of Welch, Lawrence, and Farnam Halls walled the campus from the abutting Chapel Street, while the towering Phelps Hall, in the middle of the row of dormitories, acted much like a gate to the looming castle. Adorned in sport coats, lettermen sweaters, and sharp haircuts, upperclassmen strode out of the fraternity houses and dormitories along High Street, past the ongoing construction of the new colossus of a library at the center of campus – a library shaping up to be perhaps the grandest building on the campus, if not in the city.

Nearly a block away, the gold lettering on the new cenotaph memorializing Yale men in World War I glittered beneath the prominent columns along the side of University Hall – later Commons – and the giant windows and stone façade of Woolsey Hall. The two halls sat conjoined by the newly refurbished Memorial Hall, capped with its steel dome. Another block toward the center of campus stood the palatial Memorial Quadrangle, a square block of gothic revival dormitories. Constructed only a decade earlier, the white stone of the buildings still held its blanched radiance. The spectacular Quadrangle culminated in the 216-foot Harkness Tower, which rocketed above the New Haven skyline, pronouncing

in gothic magnificence the University's presence and all its splendor.

Much like the elms along the green, the city seemed in every way, on that fall Tuesday, to glow. In fact, it glowed so much one might easily forget at that very moment, some eighty miles away at the New York Stock Exchange, the Dow Jones Industrial was falling to -12%, throwing the country, and then the world, into the greatest depression in history. By 1931, about 10,000 New Haveners, an unprecedented number in a city of only 162,000, were out of work; many more faced reduced hours and wages. As researcher Margaret Hogg reports, "About 3,400 families had all their earners idle, and these contained about 10,900 persons of whom 3,100 were children under fourteen years of age. In addition, about 17,850 families had some work shortage."¹ Unlike many areas of the country, while the Depression slammed the city, it did not cripple it, particularly in the early years. Furthermore, while the Depression also affected the Yale, between 1929 and 1934 the University expanded both physically and culturally, and in doing so, provided respite for New Haven. With this expansion, however, a litany of town and gown issues arose. During the Depression, the construction of Yale's original eight residential colleges and many academic buildings accentuated many token issues between universities and their host cities, as the project provided brief economic relief for some, but not nearly enough to sustain the city through the Depression. As this rapid development pushed Yale onto the world stage, the city struggled and grew more resentful of the university that seemed to take little interest in its host city.

ORIGINS

In the spring of 1920, Yale President Arthur Twining Hadley, at the age of sixty-five, announced he would retire from his post on June 21 of the following year. Hadley had graduated from Yale College, and studied political science at Yale after graduation. He had been a tutor, instructor, and professor at the University, all while maintaining a career as a distinguished economist. In over two decades as Yale's president, he led the University into a period of unparalleled growth. Under his tenure the endowment grew from \$4.5 million to over \$25.5 million. He began to shift administrative and financial control away from isolated parts of the University, particularly the college, and toward the university as a whole. Furthermore, he had expanded the campus. During his presidency, over forty buildings had been purchased or erected. He initiated the construction of new laboratories, classrooms, power plants, University Hall, Woolsey Hall, Yale Bowl, and his last and crowning achievement, the Memorial Quadrangle. Hadley's tenure set Yale on pace to become the major international university it strove to be, and the announcement of his retirement set off one of the most intense searches for a successor in Yale history.²

After months of deliberation over a number of candidates, the Corporation settled

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on the then-president of the Carnegie Foundation, James Rowland Angell. He was “a brisk middle-sized man with a generous nose, shrewd reticent grey eyes, hair bordering on the carrot, and a quizzical way of talking out of the side of his mouth.”³ He also boasted an impressive resume, although not one grounded at Yale. The son of a renowned University of Michigan president, Angell had been a professor of psychology and dean of the Faculty of Arts, Literature, and Science. He served as the acting president of the University of Chicago, and the chairman of the National Research Council.⁴ Furthermore, Angell advocated all things intellectual and strove to create an environment that catered to such beliefs. As he stated in his inaugural address at Yale, “It will always be true that where the great investigators and scholars are gathered, thither will come the intellectual elite from all the world.”⁵ Upon arriving at Yale, though, Angell faced a number of problems.

Angell took charge of a Yale rife with financial, social, and logistical issues. Over the last decade the University had grown reliant on alumni funds to meet its costs, a financial practice which Angell deemed unnecessary and unsafe. In addition, the post-war rush of students put great strain on the limited housing provided by the University, as well as overflowed in many classrooms. Furthermore, the lack of campus loyalty and the revelry of the 1920s had lured Yale students away from the academic culture Angell and the administration emphasized. Finally, in the fall of 1928, as the \$38,970,068 Sterling gift built nine major campus buildings, news broke that Edward S. Harkness, the Yale the administration looked to for the donation to help further the ongoing expansion, had donated \$3 million to Harvard for a housing plan. It came to the fore that Harkness was displeased by how a number of his friends had been treated at the college and disapproved of many of their social mainstays, like the societies and fraternities. Therefore, while Yale needed better housing and financial plans, Harvard received donations from Yale alumni – another strike against the new, alien, Yale president and the shifting culture of the University.

Yale did, however, have new housing to help accommodate the increase in enrollment after the First World War, courtesy of the Harkness family: the Memorial Quadrangle. Yet even this extra dormitory space proved insufficient for the swell in student population. As a result, the University erected new dormitories that professor and historian George Pierson characterized as “mere city barracks,” and the food was not much better.⁶ As a result, many students opted to live in fraternity houses, which, to the dismay of the administration and the alumni, inhibited campus unity and spirit. As Charles Seymour, University provost and eventual master of Berkeley College, wrote in a special edition of the *Yale Alumni Weekly* entitled “The Yale Residential Colleges,”

Yale was founded upon the principle of the small college, with its vivid esprit de corps, drawing its inspiration from the example of the English

colleges. It was a family the members of which, Faculty as well as students, were intensely conscious of the bond that held them together [...] But as the Classes continued to grow in size, as the semi-monastic life of the student was invaded by the pleasant but disturbing influence of the automobile and the weekend party, as the increasing freedom of choice in studies threw Freshman with Juniors, Sophomores with Seniors, the integrity of the Class as a unit broke down.⁷

This spirit of the English small college, coupled with the success and elegance of the Memorial Quadrangle, led Angell to believe some derivative of the Oxford-Cambridge college system would suit Yale. After some deliberation, the Corporation agreed. During the summer of 1926, Samuel H. Fisher, a member of the Yale Corporation, encouraged the president to write his ideas and a request for \$10-12 million to Harkness in a letter. Fisher personally delivered the letter, and after several hours of hard thinking, Harkness said, "Alright, Sam, I'll do it."⁸ Several years later, they broke ground.

CONSTRUCTION

After a few small disagreements and poor communications between Angell and Harkness, the benefactor held true to his word and, in 1930, gave to the University \$15,725,884.96 to build, equip, and endow eight new quadrangles.⁹ The University hired James Gamble Rogers as the principal architect and the projects commenced. Over the course of the next five years Yale not only rebuilt itself, but also employed over 1,000 New Haveners a day and pumped millions of dollars into the local economy. By the start of the school year in 1933, gothic granite fortresses, gleaming in the late summer sun, stood prominently along York and High Streets, in the place of old academic buildings, "city barrack" dormitories, and gymnasiums.¹⁰ So opened the gates of Branford, Calhoun, Davenport, Jonathan Edwards, Pierson, Saybrook, and Trumbull Colleges (Saybrook and Branford were merely the repurposed Memorial Quadrangle). Berkeley College followed in 1934, and finally, a year later, Timothy Dwight.

The new colleges brought about an entirely new university culture. As Seymour's essay states, "On the social side it will wipe out distinction between Yale College and the Sheffield Scientific School; all undergraduates are given equal opportunity for membership in the Colleges."¹¹ The administration hoped to slash the fissures in the student body created by both the different schools, namely Sheffield Scientific and Yale College, and the fraternities, and focus life on a group of abutting quadrangles called residential colleges. The new colleges would provide students with intimate settings within the wider university, and still establish a common Yale identity. Within these intimate settings, the administration established academic amenities yet unheard of at the University. As President Angell stated

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in his 1933 Alumni Day Address, “Each college is under a Master [...] He will associate with himself a body of Fellows, some of whom will be resident in the college [...] Ultimately we wish all undergraduates not living at home to reside in the Colleges.”¹² And Seymour continues in his report,

The Master and Fellows assume responsibility for the educational welfare of the student group in the college. They are expected to guide the undergraduate in his choice of courses, in his supplementary reading in his preparation for final examinations. Opportunities are thus opened for personal contact between Faculty and undergraduates. The basis of such contacts is not the tyrannical schoolmaster and unwilling school boy relationship, but the principle of co-partnership for the conquest of learning. Opportunities are also opened for the undergraduates to develop social relationships with men of their own age, intimacies which Yale believes to an invaluable part of education.¹³

Such a plan came entirely new to the University, and laid the foundation for the social familiarity between students and faculty that the University both boasts of and enjoys today.

Furthermore, the colleges brought about new academic and extracurricular plans. Academically, the administration sought to reduce class sizes and course loads. They sought to establish a “Reading Period” before final examinations, and to strengthen the honors courses. They sought, in short, to give students more freedom. The administration also changed the intramural sports programs, and deemed it a positive influence to allow the colleges to function like athletic units as a means to enhance social interactions. They established an Inter-College Athletic Council, rule books, and a trophy and award system. It became a huge success and in the first year “over 1,000 cards were returned by students wanting to take part in at least three different branches of athletics during the year.”¹⁴ From their opening, the colleges became an immense success among students. And while Yale was building, redeveloping, and establishing Inter-College Athletics Leagues, New Haven bore the weight of the Great Depression.

THE DEPRESSION

At Yale, the Depression manifested itself in a number of ways. While the University expanded its campus and changed its social and academic culture, other aspects suffered. Ordinary income at the University took a hit, income from the endowment declined by 21%, and gifts from the alumni fund dropped by 85%. From 1931-1935, the University cut expenditures by freezing promotions and salary increases, squeezing hourly employees,

and not renewing single-year faculty appointments. The Yale College faculty dropped from 107 in 1931 to 90 in 1932, and the enrollment fell from 6,190 in 1929-30 to 5,362 in 1934.¹⁵

Nevertheless, the University still enjoyed immense success during the Depression. In a speech on Alumni Day in 1933, Angell proclaimed Yale a place where men bedraggled by the Depression could, “Breath for a little the purer, kindlier air of this ancient seat of learning, where the things of the spirit still reign supreme and bid defiance to the transient ills, and youth still faces life joyously and compounds with adversity as being nine-tenths sheer adventure.”¹⁶ And despite the University’s financial setbacks, Angell’s assertion, though embellished, was not far from the truth. For many undergraduates, particularly for those from wealthy backgrounds, life at Yale resembled a Fred Astaire movie. Between classes and homework, students traipsed off to weekend football games, crew races, dances, and fraternity gatherings. And when the residential colleges opened in September of 1933, undergraduates lived in swanky suites, exercised in the college’s new squash courts, and ordered from printed menus meals served by uniformed waitresses.¹⁷

Meanwhile, in the city streets, “Morale was so low that people would just shuffle along, with their heads down, afraid of running into someone who might recognize them in their miserable condition.”¹⁸ In 1931, as the construction of the colleges began, more than 11,000 of the city’s 68,000 working people were idle and 18,000 city families had no full time wage earner.¹⁹ That year John W. Murphy of Fairhaven had been elected mayor. The son of Irish immigrants, Murphy grew up poor and for most of his adult life had little. He had always been frugal, and as mayor, not much changed. In some senses, a fiscal conservative like Murphy was the perfect Depression-era mayor because the city had no money to spend. However, he did believe governments—particularly city governments—had the potential to inspire social change. Therefore, while his administration attempted to balance the budget, they also sought to find innovative means of bringing in money without raising taxes, which were already high.

In the winter of 1932, when he took office, Murphy inherited a government deeply in debt, and a city crippled by unemployment and poverty. Moreover, a year earlier, the Board of Alderman endowed the Department of Charities and Corrections with only \$40,000 to administer direct relief to the poor. With no hope of receiving state or federal relief, Murphy sought alternate ways of redistributing what little wealth the city had. He forced a review of all departments and cut ten city employees. Murphy worked with the Citizens Committee to help employ 1,300 men a day through the Department of Parks and Public Works, although the jobs paid \$3.50 a day, and generally lasted only three days. Then he donated ten percent of his salary, \$7,500, to the city treasury, and called all city employees, many of whom were making less than \$1,000 per year, to do

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the same. After lots of persuasion, they did. As the winter of 1932 pushed on, though, unemployment grew, 10,850 in January, 11,800 in February. And as unemployment worsened, the city's resources, particularly its financial resources, dwindled.²⁰

Across the Green from City Hall, however, sat one of the nation's wealthiest universities, which, to outsiders, seemed to enjoy nearly annual multi-million dollar donations. Furthermore, Yale was expanding, buying up blocks of cheap city property and planning to erect, in the place of the old houses and businesses, massive, tax-exempt buildings. With the new president's mission to turn Yale into a world-famous research university, it appeared the school would wall itself off from the city yet again. Under these circumstances, the debate over taxation began.

TAXATION

Mayor Murphy, who never hesitated to stick it to the powerful Yale, claimed the University's new policy of buying property and thus removing it from the city's tax roll was "eating into the vitals of the city and adding to our tax burden by reducing the taxable property in the city."²¹ Because the University was tax exempt, every property it bought during its time of robust expansion not only displaced local families and businesses, but also removed massive chunks of the city's tax base. At a time when New Haven needed money, this further crippled the economy. Moreover, although the residential colleges, both in their building and operation, employed thousands of New Haveners, they also inhibited the local economy by eating up land that would otherwise be taxed by the city government. Therefore, among people of New Haven, John W. Murphy included, the thought of taxing the University became all too popular.

In 1937, Arnold Guyot Dana '83 published an intricate financial analysis of the city. His report delved into the issue of tax exemption, and reflected many of the popular opinions of the period regarding Yale's tax exemption. In 1934, Yale's land held a tax value of \$12.3 billion, over a third of the tax value of all the tax-exempt land in New Haven, which had increased 25.5% from 1930-1934.²² In 1934, Yale's buildings were valued at \$55 million, "in other words, Yale's buildings absorb 5/8 of the city's total tax-exempt valuation of buildings."²³ Given the imminent economic hardship in the city, New Haveners called for a tax on the University properties.

To this growing sentiment, Angell responded. In his Alumni Day address in 1933, he confronted the matter:

The legendary antipathy between town and gown has rarely reached serious crises. In the relations of Yale and New Haven and, in general, each has been proud of the other in the end of their common heritage [...] There is occasionally a disposition to stress the disadvantages which the presence

of the University brings to the City, forgetting the innumerable benefits, including huge financial considerations, which would be lost to New Haven were the University not present. We are in the midst of one these periodic upheavals in which the financial distress of the City leads many to turn complainingly upon the University as an intolerable burden which can only be adequately lightened by the taxation of University properties now by charter and statute exempt.²⁴

He likened the city to a whining child going through a difficult time, and reminded his Ivy League audience that Yale not only benefited New Haven in multifarious ways, but also had no obligation to the city according to its charter. Angell even stated that New Haven recruited Yale to the city from Saybrook, and should therefore be thankful for its presence and reminded of its importance to the city, explaining that “The bitter struggle of the lower Connecticut Valley towns to prevent the removal of Yale from Saybrook to New Haven, with its ensuing and unhappy destruction of books in process of transfer is but one episode in a long line testifying to the value of a college to a town.”²⁵ He then set several shallowly expressed legal precedents about how a tax would violate both the charter and the nature of how universities were intended to run. Angell called the notion to tax a university the product of a “fire of ignorance, jealousy, and the natural desire to cut one’s own tax rates by acquiring the right to tax large masses of visible property which are now exempt.”²⁶ He then went on to list the many benefits the University brought to the city.

As he stated, “The University expended last year in New Haven for materials or services over \$1,300,000—this is in addition to very large expenditures for building operations—over eight and a half millions involving the services of one hundred New Haven business concerns employing on the average more than a thousand men a day.”²⁷ In 1932, with a payroll of \$4.3 million, Yale was one of the city’s largest employers. Furthermore, according to Angell, Yale brought about 175,000 visitors yearly to the city, who expended some \$875,000. Angell added that according to a “conservative estimate” Yale students spent \$3.5 million in New Haven annually.²⁸ In the previous year, Yale provided \$50,000 in scholarships to New Haven boys. Angell also referenced that New Haven citizens could use the New Haven Hospital with no cost to the city thanks to generous Yale benefactors. He reminded the audience that Yale’s lectures, orchestra, book collection, Gallery of Fine Arts, and renowned Peabody Museum all lay open to New Haven locals. According to Angell, for a university whose mindset and charter held no obligation to the city, Yale was doing pretty well. Furthermore, to respond to the growing controversy regarding taxation, the University published detailed accounts, in book and pamphlet form, outlining many of the same statistics and opinions as Angell expressed in his Alumni Day speech.

Locals had rebuttals, however, and Dana documented many of them in his book.

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He began by addressing the charter, “Some question remains [...] whether a Connecticut court of equity would decide that all the rights conferred by Charter on the College of 1792, when its entire real estate embraced less than 100,000 square feet or a little more than two acres, should be construed to cover [...] the huge group of institutions comprising Yale,” especially in a time when the city was “crowded and overloaded with financial burdens and responsibilities.”²⁹ Furthermore, Yale also held tracts of unused city land, when the city needed to build. Finally, Dana listed a set of demands to Yale from New Haven published in the *New Haven Journal Courier*. They were:

1. That Yale contribute a substantial sum annually to the city to aid it in meeting costs of maintaining the municipality whose benefits Yale shares.
2. That Yale shall refrain from withdrawing taxable property from the grand list for a period of at least ten years.
3. That Yale restore to the taxable grand list all unoccupied or unused land that it now holds.
4. That Yale encourage visitors to Yale to use city hotels, restaurants or other places to accommodate them, instead of providing for them in college buildings.
5. That permission be accorded to New High School teams to use Yale athletic fields, whenever this arrangement may be made without interfering with the field activities of Yale athletes or their associations.³⁰

The authors supported their demands on a number of claims, namely that while Yale offers many cultural amenities to the city, most New Haveners have neither the time nor the money to indulge in them. They asserted the new college system hurt the local hotels and restaurants that once profited from undergraduate business. The authors accused the University of keeping the city in the dark as to its grand plans for development. And they stated that because the University had expanded into a major research institution of worldwide reputation, the charter for the little local college of 1792 had become antiquated. But the demands went largely ignored. In the thick of these debates, Mayor Murphy proposed that Yale drop the financial aid set aside for Yale students, and instead give it to the city. However outlandish Murphy’s proposal, the Corporation’s response summarizes nicely their general position toward the city: “Yale was not chartered to contribute money to help the City of New Haven to fulfill the various governmental duties and obligations imposed upon it.”³¹ And thus, New Haven floundered through the Depression while the University, behind its newly constructed gothic barriers, continued to thrive and expand.

CONCLUSIONS

So, where to stand? Does a wealthy university's presence in a city obligate it to assist the wellbeing of that city, especially in times of hardship? The Yale administration and corporation of the Depression years certainly did not think so. They understood well that coexistence meant inevitable cooperation—if University activities could benefit the city, great, if not, oh well. Overall, the city's wellbeing remained an afterthought. Yale faced its own unique problems during the Depression and had ambitions independent of the city. In fact, in most cases the city acted more as the anchor than the engine. The University needed vast alumni donations to help fuel its expansion into a research university of unparalleled excellence. Administrators needed to reverse an unhealthy undergraduate social culture. They hoped to rebuild the campus while not inhibiting their receding finances, particularly those parts, like the alumni fund, that the Depression hit hardest. The wellbeing of New Haven appeared nowhere in these plans.

On the outside, however, it appeared Yale gobbled up the city and then changed the cityscape into non-taxable buildings of exorbitant grandeur. As the gothic cathedrals rose, the multi-million dollar donations flowed in. While professors and researchers moved in from around the world, and elegantly dressed undergrads jaunted off to weekend crew races and society dances, thousands of New Haveners sat idle, and thousands of local families remained without a stable income. While wealthy alumni gave eight-figure gifts to build new dormitories and dining halls that took away from city business, every public servant in the city, the Mayor included, took pay cuts. Yale did indeed have no legal or financial obligation to help the city alleviate the hardships of the Depression, and Yale buildings were legally tax exempt; however, the University did buy up taxable city property, and did overtly display its wealth while the city suffered. Beyond hiring locally for the construction and maintenance of the new buildings, the University did not go out of its way to ease that suffering.

Regardless of perspective, the fact remains that featured nowhere in Yale's grand strategy was the thought that a healthy New Haven meant a healthy Yale. While the University employed local labor during its expansion, it remained aloof from and evasive of city politics. As a result, the building of the residential colleges and the expansion of Yale's campus at the outset of the Great Depression both forever improved Yale culture and enhanced its international reputation, and further grounded a grand university in a struggling city that, for the most part, resented its presence.

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NOTES

1. From Margaret Hogg and Ralph Hurlin's *The Incidence of Work Shortage in New Haven, CT*, as seen in Douglas Rae, *City: Urbanism and Its End* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 239.
2. Brooks Mather Kelley, *Yale: A History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974), 366-7.
3. *Ibid.*, 370.
4. *Ibid.*
5. *Ibid.*, 371.
6. *Ibid.*, 373.
7. Charles Seymour, "The Yale Residential Colleges," *Yale Alumni Weekly*, Vol. XLIII (New Haven: The Yale Publishing Association, December 22, 1933), 2.
8. Kelley, *Yale: A History*, 373.
9. *Ibid.*, 376.
10. *Ibid.*
11. Seymour, "The Yale Residential Colleges," 2.
12. James Rowland Angell, "President Angell's 1933 Alumni Day Address," 1933, Box 29, Folder 325, James Rowland Angell, President of Yale University, Records (RU 24), Manuscripts & Archives, Yale University Library.
13. Seymour, "The Yale Residential Colleges," 2.
14. *Ibid.*, 6.
15. Gaddis Smith, "Life at Yale During the Great Depression," *Yale Alumni Magazine*, Nov/Dec 2009. <https://yalealumnimagazine.com/articles/2644-life-at-yale-during-the-%20great-depression.html>.
16. Angell, "Alumni Day Address," 1933, Angell Papers.
17. Smith, "Life at Yale During the Great Depression."
18. Mark Mininberg, *Saving New Haven: John W. Murphy Meets the Great Depression*, (New Haven: Fine Arts Publications, 1981), 32.
19. *Ibid.*, 56.
20. *Ibid.*, 57-9.
21. Rae, *City: Urbanism and Its End*, 250.
22. Arnold Guyot Dana, *New Haven's Problems*, (New Haven: Tuttle, Morehouse, & Taylor, Co., 1937), 55.
23. *Ibid.*
24. Angell, "Alumni Day Address," 1933, Angell Papers.
25. *Ibid.*
26. *Ibid.*
27. *Ibid.*
28. *Ibid.*
29. Dana, *New Haven's Problems*, 56.
30. *Ibid.*, 58c.
31. Smith, "Life at Yale During the Great Depression."

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TITLE IMAGE

Photographs of Berkeley College, Yale University, 1933-1997 (inclusive). Manuscripts & Archives, Yale University. <http://images.library.yale.edu/madid/oneItem.aspx?id=1770053&q=berkeley%20construction&q1=&q2=&q3=&q4=&q5=&q6=&q7=&q8=&q9=&q10=&q11=&q12=&q13=&q14=&q15=&q16=&q17=&q18=&q19=&q20=&q21=&q22=&q23=&q24=&q25=&q26=&q27=&q28=&q29=&q30=&q31=&q32=&q33=&q34=&q35=&q36=&q37=&q38=&q39=&q40=&q41=&q42=&q43=&q44=&q45=&q46=&q47=&q48=&q49=&q50=&q51=&q52=&q53=&q54=&q55=&q56=&q57=&q58=&q59=&q60=&q61=&q62=&q63=&q64=&q65=&q66=&q67=&q68=&q69=&q70=&q71=&q72=&q73=&q74=&q75=&q76=&q77=&q78=&q79=&q80=&q81=&q82=&q83=&q84=&q85=&q86=&q87=&q88=&q89=&q90=&q91=&q92=&q93=&q94=&q95=&q96=&q97=&q98=&q99=&q100>