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Housing E.I.'s G.I.s and Married Students: The Story of Trailers, Barracks, and Apartments at Eastern Illinois University

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Philip Mohr/Housing E.I.'s G.I.s: The Story of Trailers, Barracks and Apartments at EIU
Submission for Booth Library Awards for Excellence in Student Research and Creativity

Three factors spurred this project: one, the requirement to complete an original research paper for Dr. Nora Pat Small's HIS 5050 course; two, be a stepping stone for the 2012 Historical Administration (HA) class's exhibit on EIU architecture; and three, my passion for local social history. While researching EIU history in regards to Paul Sargent in 2011, one of my classmates stumbled on a photograph of Trailerville on the Booth Library digital archives website. The fact that a university used trailers to house students surprised me and inspired me to dig into the story. University archivist Bob Hillman filled me in with his knowledge of the trailers' presence based largely on Norma Winkleblack's informal history *Buildings and Grounds Historical Data, Eastern Illinois University*. Using that booklet as well as Charles Coleman's historical bulletin *Illinois State College: Fifty Years of Public Service*, I began research in the University Archives.

Both Bob Hillman and Johna van Behrens facilitated my interaction with primary sources such as bound volumes of the *Eastern Illinois University College Bulletin* and the archived Illinois State Teachers College Board Collection. These primary sources created a timeline of trailers, barracks buildings, and permanent apartments on campus as well as provided some rationale for their presence. The bulletins, written for an audience of prospective students, demonstrate the best aspects of all these housing arrangements. The board collection contains meeting minutes and reports that show candid discussion of housing problems at EIU and other Illinois colleges. Microfilm copied of the *Daily Eastern News* and its online index sped the process of determining reaction to housing conditions and aided in establishing the timeline.

Finally, the online photo archive allowed me to illustrate the paper; maps and photographs help the reader to conceive architecture and landscape far better than elaborate description.

In regards to book sources, the Booth Library stacks provided a wide array of books related to campus planning and architecture. Of course, no good campus planning leads to the use of house trailers, quite the opposite. Therefore, no theoretical literature includes the use of trailers on campuses. Very little historical literature exists on house trailers in general. Andrew Hurley's book *Diners, Bowling Alleys, and Trailer Parks: Chasing the American Dream in the Postwar Consumer Culture* provides some insight on the phenomenon of trailer living as a lower-class alternative to the postwar suburban version of the American dream. There is, however, some work done on temporary communities, especially in relation to migrant farmers.

The invisibility of temporary populations and temporary housing projects is due to their nature as temporary. When their purpose was complete, they are destroyed and left to the dustbin of memory. I would like to continue studying the temporary populations of the twentieth century to bring to light forgotten societies.

**Housing E.I.'s G.I.s and Married Students:
The Story of Trailers, Barracks, and Apartments at Eastern Illinois University**

Philip Mohr

Historical Administration Research Paper

Dr. Nora Pat Small; Dr. Debra Reid; Dr. Terry Barnhart

9 December 2011

Timeline

- 7 December 1941 – 2 September 1945: U.S. military involvement in World War II
- 22 June 1944: Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944 (G.I. Bill) became law
- September 1945: Eastern establishes Veterans Services Co-ordination Office under Anfinson
- 15 October 1945: Teacher's College Board approves Eastern's temporary housing plans
- mid-October 1945: first trailers arrive and are filled with married veterans
- May 1946: Buzzard announces intentions to use barracks for housing
- April 1947: Campus City residencies open
- by May 1948: Eastern gains ownership of trailers and barracks
- Summer 1950: Movement of trailers for the construction of Lincoln and Douglas Halls
- October 1951: trailer auction
- February 1952: Anfinson announces intention to disband Trailerville by the summer
- 1 February 1952: Teachers College Board recognizes the need to expand housing on campuses
- 1952-1953: Campus City refurbished in several stages
- 12 March 1956: Richard Brown delivers report encouraging permanent married housing on
campuses under the jurisdiction of the Teachers College Board
- October 1956: Eastern announces plan for University Apartments
- October 1958: plans for University Apartments finalized; construction begins soon
- December 1959: University Apartments open
- Spring Semester 1960: Close of Campus City & Trailerville
- November 1965: Opening of University Apartments phase two
- Fall 1968: Opening of University Apartments phase three

Introduction

Eastern Illinois University's campus was small before the 1940s when compared to its size and buildings of today. It handled students by the hundreds, instead of thousands. Except for the women living in Pemberton Hall, students found their own quarters around Charleston. The administration did not consider housing for married students a priority simply because the number of people who were both married and college students made no significant blip on the radar. Then, as many twentieth century narratives go, World War II changed everything. Providing on-campus housing options for postwar populations became a driving force in the development of Eastern's built environment.

The war reduced enrollment in higher education institutions during the early years of the 1940s, but when the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944 (commonly known as the G.I. Bill of Rights or the G.I. Bill) passed into federal law, colleges took notice. Eastern was in the midst of projects to develop its twenty-five year plan. However, it remained unprepared for the influx of married students and the predictions of college administration inadequately prepared the school for the years to come. This is not to belittle the plans or actions of Eastern or its governing bodies and administrators, but to indicate to what degree they underestimated the effects of mid-century changes in the world of higher education. Those in charge of Eastern's campus planning saw the post-World War II married student boom as a temporary issue that required temporary solutions. They may have assumed that housing arrangements would normalize to reflect the pre-war model. Eastern's administrators' failure to grasp the long-term need for married student housing led to a series of short-term solutions before they were able to muster the resources and will to erect more permanent housing.

To understand the housing situations as described in this paper, one must understand three terms: temporary, semi-permanent, and permanent. Temporary refers to structures that are not meant to be used for an extended period and will be removed soon after their erection or implementation. This assumes that residents will move on to permanent structures very quickly and does not recognize that certain amenities of comfortable living are necessary. The difference between temporary and semi-permanent is subtle. The latter herein means that the structure's life is planned to be short, but also recognizes that it will be part of the landscape until the implementation of a permanent solution. Semi-permanence can be manifest in the lack of permanent foundation or other methods of tying the structure to the landscape, but also features of social structures and ties to the landscape that reflect permanent structures and communities. Structures are permanent when they are constructed with neither intention nor plan to remove them. Material such as brick and strategic placement in the landscape indicate when a structure is permanent.

In order to explore the development of housing for veterans and married students on Eastern's campus, this paper takes advantage of literature on Eastern's history and more general sources on veteran resettlement as well as sources of primary information to establish a timeline, plans, and sentiments surrounding these housing projects. Secondary sources on suburban trailer living can give some context as to the temporary and permanent choices of young families in this era and aid in exploring temporary housing options. There are also a few secondary histories of Eastern as an institution that aided in setting the scene for this era and looking at how the campus changed and the ways in which the administration tried to steer the course of the university. The booklet *Building and Grounds Historical Data, Eastern Illinois University* as compiled by

Norma Winkleblack in 1994 has some factual errors that this paper should correct.¹ Most importantly, the Eastern Illinois University Archives holds many collections of primary documents from the Illinois State Teachers College Board, Eastern's college bulletins, and various building plans. Finally, the college newspaper, which went by the successive names of *Eastern Teachers News*, *Eastern State News*, *Eastern News*, and *Daily Eastern News* in the periods covered by this paper is useful for establishing a timeline and understanding views of the various housing developments at Eastern.

Temporary and Semi-Permanent Structures

Commercial developers who invented the trailer in the early twentieth century may not have considered the possibility that, within just a few decades, families would take up permanent, stationary residence in the units. When World War II ended and the soldiers sought new domestic lives, two mass-produced types of houses provided space. One was cookie-cutter houses and the other was trailers, neither of which fit the ideal of United States culture.² Both of these became the cheap way to live for the young, unestablished couples that would become famous for bringing about the postwar consumer way of life and begat the Baby Boom generation. These men and women revolutionized housing by settling in trailers as houses.

For the most part, trailer dwellers settled into what people called trailer parks or trailer courts. The former's etymology implies a temporary nature—a place to park, not necessarily to stay. The latter's ambiguity in the word "court" allows for possible permanence. Etymology aside, people employed either term to describe neighborhoods formed by establishing permanent residence in a trailer.

¹ See *Building and Grounds Historical Data, Eastern Illinois University*, edited by Norma Winkleblack (March 1, 1994), 41.

² Andrew Hurley, *Diners, Bowling Alleys, and Trailer Parks: Chasing the American Dream in the Postwar Consumer Culture* (New York: Basic Books, 2001), 196.

Andrew Hurley understated the common perception of trailer living when he wrote “trailer coaches were not what postwar Americans had in mind when they imagined their suburban dream homes.”³ Due to the cheap and easy nature of trailer homes, such living conditions were what many people could afford despite veteran’s benefits. The National Housing Administration helped by providing trailer communities for readjusting veterans and workers during the era of industrial reconversion following World War II. Such actions reflect the progressive attempts during the Great Depression to develop government housing projects that settled migrant workers into permanent villages.⁴

Due to the so-called G.I. Bill of Rights, Eastern Illinois State Teacher’s College faced an influx of young men who used their federal allowance to matriculate. The college newspaper treated these men with great respect and referred to them affectionately as “E.I.’s G.I.’s [sic.]” on a regular basis. Eastern’s administration also tended to make efforts to accommodate the coming of the veteran population. Even so, the college had not enough housing for the men. In fact, the college provided quarters for neither male students nor families. The college did encourage the people of Charleston to rent apartments and let rooms to the incoming students.

The student newspaper chastised town residents for not opening their homes to veterans. A student-written editorial questions the possible economic and social reasons for what the author portrayed as a betrayal of loyalty to the men.⁵ This editorial is a very important piece for examination. First, it acknowledged the housing shortage, a simple fact. Second, it congratulated Eastern President Buzzard and Dr. Rudolph Anfinson, who oversaw the veterans on campus, on

³ Ibid., 197.

⁴ See Greg Hise, “From Roadside Camps to Garden Homes: Housing and Community Planning for California’s Migrant Work Force, 1935-1941,” in *Gender, Class, and Shelter: Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture*, V, ed. Elizabeth Collins Cromley and Carter L. Hudgins (Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press, 1995).

⁵ “Home Is where You Find It,” *Eastern Teachers News*, January 1, 1946, 2. The word men is used here as a generalization, there were at least two women veterans who attended Eastern; see “Female of the Species,” *Eastern Teachers News*, December 12, 1945, 1.

their efforts for housing the married veterans in the form of house trailers. It then criticized the people of Charleston for being unwilling to let rooms in their homes, which apparently was not the case earlier in the century. Fourth, the author emphasized the crowding that will continue to daunt Eastern and the nation's schools in general over the next several years due to the influx of veterans. It called for massive building projects, which were already under way at Eastern.

In the mean time, veterans and veterans' families lived in temporary housing. The first wave of eight trailers arrived during the fall quarter of 1945, and Anfinson immediately announced the order of several more.⁶ Additional groups of trailers arrived periodically. On January 20, 1947, President Buzzard reported that the Trailerville development "offers fifty-nine family units, three toilet-bath utility and one laundry utility unit. Ten additional privately owned trailers are attached to the project."⁷ The Trailers settled on the southwest corner of the intersection of Fourth Street and Grant Avenue, adjacent to the main part of Eastern's campus.

Without the federal government, which spent vast amounts of resources on benefits for veterans, the entire story of Trailerville would probably be nonexistent. The Federal Public Housing Administration actually owned the units as surplus of Great Depression programs. Having to deal with the housing administration, the Veterans Administration, and the Illinois Teachers College Board encumbered President Buzzard.⁸ On April 22, 1946, the board passed a resolution that allowed Buzzard to act on behalf of Eastern and the board in matters regarding

⁶ "College Establishes Trailer Camp for Ex-Service men: Parlor, Bedroom and Bath for \$10," *Eastern Teachers News*, October 19, 1945, 4; "Veterans Trailer Village Starts Operation; More Ordered," *Eastern Teachers News*, November 14, 1945, 1.

⁷ "Report of the Eastern Illinois State Teachers College for the Meeting in Carbondale, January 20, 1947," Illinois State Teachers College Board Collection, Eastern Illinois University Archives, Charleston, IL. This collection is hereafter referred to as TCB.

⁸ "Report of the Eastern Illinois State Teachers College for the Meeting in Chicago, April 22, 1946," TCB.

emergency housing for veterans and veteran families.⁹ Eastern acted swiftly to accommodate the veteran population influx of the late 1940s.

Questions about the conditions of living in trailers were the first issue that Eastern faced. When college president Buzzard presented the contract for the first eight trailers at the October 15, 1945, meeting of the Teachers College Board in Springfield, Illinois, Vernon L. Nickell, secretary of the board, called into question the appropriateness of trailer living. His opposition rested on his predisposition that assumed dubious "sanitary conditions", and he further stated "that in his opinion the returning veterans should be provided with the best facilities available, and that the housing standards for veterans should be comparable to those of other students on the campus of Eastern."¹⁰ Nickell's thinking used the same patriotic and respectful appeal as the newspaper editorial, but he directed his criticism toward the housing that Eastern arranged instead of what the Charleston population withheld.

The trailers Eastern provided under contract were certainly not glamorous living. One should also note that the college newspaper reported that "Eastern is the only teachers college in the state which boasts any veterans' housing" so soon after the war.¹¹ Despite the fact that the trailers did not represent the best in living during the era of American suburbanization, Eastern put forth the effort to fulfill their mandate and patriotic duty under the G.I. Bill by accommodating married veterans with an economical alternative to a mortgage or higher-rent housing in Charleston. Indeed, the attitudes surrounding Eastern's solution directly reflect the overall attitude toward trailer living in the United States. The house trailer provided a cheap, temporary bridge to the generally-accepted standard of living. Nickell may have preferred better housing for Eastern's student veterans' families. However, just as trailer parks developed into

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ "Minutes of the Meeting of the Teachers College Board, October 15, 1945," TCB.

¹¹ "Buzzard Gets Promise of Additional Trailers," *Eastern Teachers News*, April 3, 1946, 1.

starter homes for working veterans, the trailers at Eastern developed into the starter program for housing veteran families and married students.

In order to boost readers' opinions of trailer living at Eastern, the first families of the trailer park and the campus newspaper produced articles and photo spreads over the course of several weeks. When the school first announced the coming of trailers to the campus, the paper immediately began describing the amenities of the homes. The language included optimistic views of "attractive inlaid linoleum", "large water tank capacity", "innumerable cabinets", and "overnight visitors".¹² These are certainly generous descriptions that one should read with some degree of skepticism. Emil and Mary Moore became the first residents of what the paper called the "Veterans Trailer Village" in November of 1945. On the fourteenth of that month, the paper ran a series of pictures titled "News Camera Tells Story of Students' 'Life in a Trailer'" and the short article "Mary and Emil....Portray 'New' Life."¹³ These clearly show the trailers as happy homes for recently-married young men and women, places for social gatherings, and spaces in which the mistress carried out typical domestic activities.



Figure 1. Left photo: Mary and Emil Moore washing dishes together. Middle photo: Mary and Emil Moore playing Bridge with another Trailerville couple. Right photo: Mary and Emil Moore studying in their house trailer. News Camera Tells Story of Student' 'Life in a Trailer'" and "Mary and Emil....Portray 'New' Life," *Eastern Teachers News*, November 14, 1945, 6.

¹² "College Establishes Trailer Camp."

¹³ "News Camera Tells Story of Student' 'Life in a Trailer'" and "Mary and Emil...Portray 'New' Life," *Eastern Teachers News*, November 14, 1945, 6.

Despite the impermanence imbedded in the trailer project, Eastern's enrollment predicament disallowed a rapid change in living conditions for married veterans. The year 1944 marked the start of a twenty-five year plan for the expansion of the college. President Buzzard wrote in the newspaper that the school anticipated a post-war surge of students and was developing plans for their arrival by building a campus library, a science building, and three dormitory projects; he even acknowledges an anticipation of married veterans enrolling.¹⁴ The plan, though, lacked a solution for the married students. The long-term landscape of the school did not include housing for married students. Buzzard and the other officials probably had no concept of the looming married student housing crunch of the next decades.

Rather than immediately building a permanent solution to the married student boom, the college concentrated on its pre-existing plan to house the single student population in dormitory buildings. Movement on such large projects requires years of preparation. The married students waited years for their turn in campus building projects. In the mean time, the trailers became more permanent as the college decision makers concentrated on these permanent structures for the single students. While one is unable to determine the administration's estimate of the length of the trailers' use, no replacement came about for over a decade. Perhaps college planners understood that the trailers would be on campus for an extended stay; the early months of the trailer park's existence increasingly indicated planning for continued existence.

The first indications of a kind of permanence for Trailerville came through physical improvements and community development. As the first trailers arrived in late 1945, Eastern grounds keepers planned sidewalks and landscaping for the trailer village site in addition to the

¹⁴ "President Buzzard Lists Future Plans for School," *Eastern Teachers News*, May 31, 1944, 2; Charles H. Coleman, "Eastern Illinois State College: fifty Years of Public Service," *Eastern Illinois State College Bulletin*, January 1, 1950, 271-4.

necessary water, electric, and sewage hook-ups.¹⁵ Social manifestations of a permanent community came about in the form of a kind of governing body consisting of trailer residents who reported directly to Anfinson.



Figure 2. This photo, circa 1950, shows a Trailerville resident mother and two children. Note the trailers, sparse landscaping, and sparse amenities. "Trailerville, or Married Student Housing," Booth Library Photo Archives.

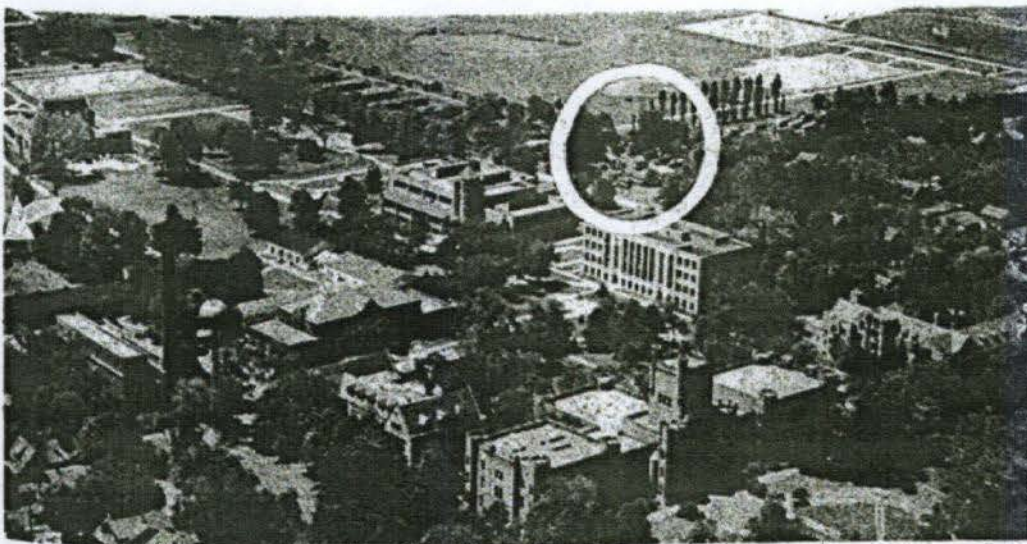
Across the turn of the 1940s to the 1950s, the trailers continued to assert permanence on the Eastern landscape. First, the college actually gained possession of the trailers in 1948.¹⁶ The Trailers were already surplus from the housing administration, which was one reason they were so available. Lacking full documentation, it seems that the college simply acquired all of the trailers from the government at little or no cost. As long as the trailers functioned, the school had use for them. Demand for married housing on campus remained high in the decades following the war.

¹⁵ "Veterans Trailer Village."

¹⁶ "Trailerville-Campus City Prove Cheap, Adequate Home for Vets," *Eastern State News*, May 18, 1949, 3.

An article in May of 1949 demonstrates this point. The Eastern State News reported on rumors that "Trailerville has now served its purpose and will be disposed of this summer."¹⁷ Dr. Anfinson denied such talk and made clear that the trailers would be a part of campus for the foreseeable future. Eastern, five years after it started preparing for an influx of married veterans, had no plans for a permanent solution. Just like trailer parks throughout the country, Trailerville seemed like a permanent suburb, and the continued housing crunch at Eastern provided the demand for the trailers to stay. Anfinson made clear the fact that housing for married people would most likely not be open for incoming students because the waiting list for married housing options was already longer than anticipated vacancies.¹⁸

Going up



AERIAL PHOTO of campus showing sites selected for new dormitories and modern home-management house. Circle in center outlines present site of Trailerville where two new residence halls are to be built. Arrow on left points to approximate site on Seventh street where duplex home management house will be erected.

Figure 3. "Going Up," *Eastern State News*, September 28, 1949, 1.

Trailerville played such an important part in Eastern's housing scheme that it relocated when Lincoln and Douglas Halls were built. The newspaper printed in 1949 an aerial photograph

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ "Few Housing Units Available in Spring' Anfinson Reports," *Eastern State News*, May 11, 1949, 1.

of Eastern's campus with a circle around Trailerville, indicating the site for the two new dormitories; the headline read, "Housing Program Calls for Re-Location of Trailerville."¹⁹ The article made clear that the location best fitted the school's overall building plan and that the trailers, mobile by nature, were the logical choice for relocation. Summer of 1950 saw the migration of Trailerville directly west of its original location.²⁰ Nothing reinforced the idea of these housing units as temporary more than this plan to actually move them to another part of campus. Contrary to this, though, nothing made the trailers more permanent than building dorms and retaining the trailers.

One must recognize that necessity reinforced the semi-permanence of the trailer park and that Eastern sought the disposal of the trailers as early as possible. Indeed, Eastern slowly reduced the number of trailers on campus over the course of the 1950s. First, the college put twenty-one of its thirty-one trailers up for silent auction in 1951, just over a year after moving the park.²¹ Already the total number of trailers shows a great decline from the peak of sixty-seven units. One assumes that some trailers sold at this time. However, the sale may not have gone as well as Anfinson and Eastern had hoped. Eastern planned for the abandonment of the trailers by the summer of 1952, but could not afford to put married students out on the streets; Trailerville lingered small, but necessary.²² In September of 1957, the college still had possession of sixteen, which Eastern president Doudna sought to dispose of as convenient.²³ The Trailerville gradually dwindled but did not reach zero until the construction of permanent married housing at the end of the decade.

¹⁹ "Housing Program Calls for Re-Location of Trailerville," *Eastern State News*, September 28, 1949, 1.

²⁰ "Meeting of the Eastern Illinois State College for the Meeting at Charleston, Illinois, September 25, 1950," TCB. The number of trailers that Eastern relocated in 1950 is unclear and warrants more research. Board reports and the newspaper leave much information untold.

²¹ "Need a Trailer, Then Here Is the Opportunity" and "Fading Away," *Eastern State News*, October 10, 1951, 5.

²² "Anfinson to Pore over Trailerville Rules at Meeting," *Eastern State News*, February 27, 1952, 1.

²³ "Supplement to the September 16, 1957, Report of the Eastern Illinois University for the Meeting in Normal Illinois," TCB.

The fuss over providing emergency housing for veterans and expanding permanent singles housing marginalized attention to Trailerville for much of its existence. What began as a creative and exciting plan for the school in 1945, dropped off of the map in the 1950s. The trailers clearly existed on campus after their relocation, but the maps printed in college bulletins no longer showed Trailerville as part of the campus. This suggests that, even as suburbanites viewed trailer parks as a blight upon their landscape, the trailers as permanent fixtures at Eastern were not a point of pride. On the other hand, trivial mentions and some Trailerville news such as mayoral elections sprung up in the newspaper, though the village received only one article filled with laud similar to the mid-1940s. Juanita Howard brought to the attention of readers the view of Trailerville as a necessary refuge for young families who have little money to spend on rent as long as other campus facilities filled to capacity.²⁴

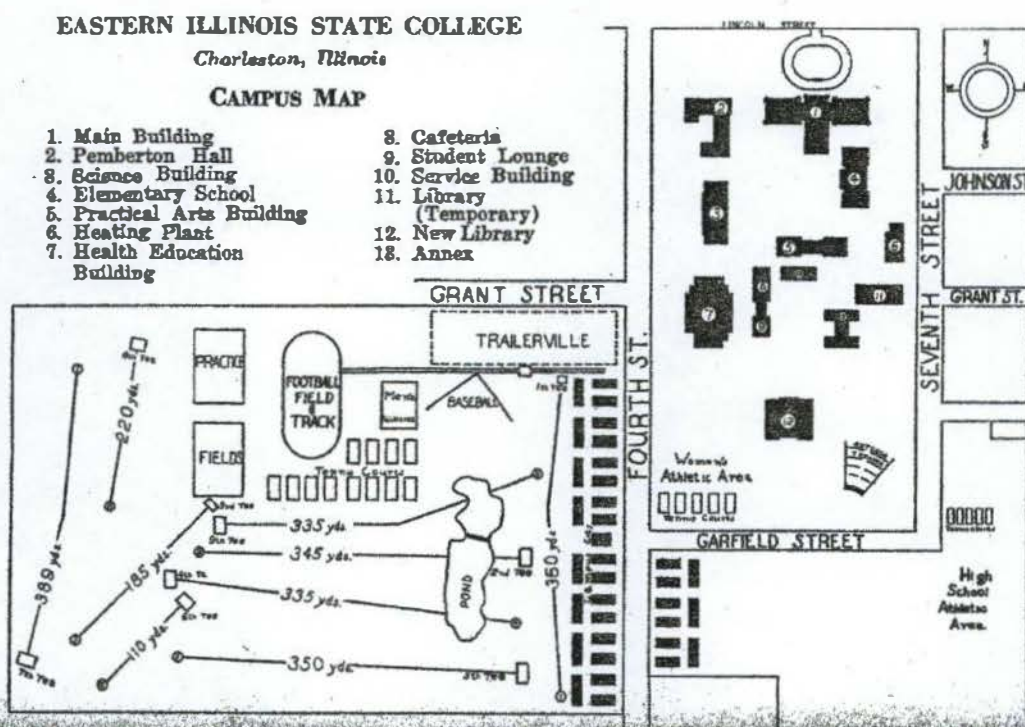


Figure 4. Eastern Illinois State College Bulletin, July 1, 1950.

²⁴ Juanita Howard, "Trailerville' Proves Invaluable; Stops housing Worries for Families," *Eastern States News*, February 2, 1955, 6.

Status as second best came about very early in Trailerville's life. In 1948, "several families with children in Trailerville [were] awaiting more adequate quarters."²⁵ But better residences arrived two years earlier. In early 1946, Eastern hoped for prefabricated houses from the housing administration. Though approved "to dismantle, transport and reassemble complete, temporary housing facilities for the use of veterans," the school received only more shipments of trailers until that summer.²⁶ By May, the administration intended to divide several surplus army barracks buildings into apartments for ninety-six single veterans and seventy-one veterans' families for use in the upcoming Fall 1946 term.²⁷ Figure 4 shows the barracks as columns of black rectangles on a campus map included in the yearly college bulletin that Eastern distributed to students and prospects.

Delays in delivery severely cramped living conditions for veterans. By the end of August 1946, Buzzard and Anfinson knew that the barracks would not be ready for veterans and families by the start of classes in September.²⁸ The odd obsession with keeping veterans separate from other students at first glance may seem to add to the problem. However, one must keep in mind that the school did not yet provide any housing for other groups: single males, married civilians, or many of the single women. Prior to these efforts and those in the recent twenty-five year plan, Pemberton Hall was the only dormitory, and it housed only a finite number of women. All attempts to accommodate veterans as a special group were truly special until the coming of the large campus dormitories in the 1950s. For those veterans whose names rested on the waiting list for Trailerville or who remained unmarried, off-campus housing was sparse.

²⁵ "Dean's Office Receives Housing Applications," *Eastern State News*, April 14, 1948, 5.

²⁶ "Minutes of the Meeting of the Teachers College Board, January 7, 1946," TCB.

²⁷ "College Receives More Housing; Total Granted Jumps to 168: Telegram from Lucas Conveys Good News," *Eastern Teachers News*, May 15, 1946, 1; "News Blueprints Plans for Emergency Housing" and Jo Brannah, "Administration Seeks to Billet 168 Additional War Veterans," *Eastern Teachers News*, June 3, 1946, 5.

²⁸ "Trailerville Sprouts Dormitory Suburb," *Eastern Teachers News*, August 20, 1946, Section 2, 1; "Anfinson Reports on Barracks Construction," *Eastern Teachers News*, September 9, 1946.

The college provided unappealing extra-temporary quarters in the Health Education hall, now the McAfee Gym building, for the single men matriculating under the G.I. Bill.²⁹ The school provided this space for the veterans until the converted barracks were ready. The coming of surplus army barracks in 1947 may not have been veterans' ideal living conditions. They, after all, recently returned from living in barracks and other Spartan conditions during the war. But over the course of the 1950s, the barracks of "Campus City" evolved from a subdivision of Trailerville to the preferred living space for married students.

A college newspaper headline in August of 1946 read, "Trailerville Sprouts Dormitory Suburb." The paper identified the postwar housing crisis in the year prior to the coming of the barracks, and it was therefore only natural for the students to think of Trailerville, upon which the spotlight shone for two years, as the dominant housing project in 1947. Campus City soon gained prominence as its superior living space and amenities placed it naturally above the trailers and as the trailers dilapidated from age and the college sought to dispose of them. As the veterans began moving into the new facilities, Dr. Anfinson told the *Eastern Teachers News* about the order of accommodation.

Priority of the apartments was given as follows:

1. Veterans with children living in town, or having no home in Charleston.
2. Veterans with children, living in single trailers.
3. Veterans with children from other trailers.
4. Other married veterans with no children, in the order that their names appear on a list in Dr. Anfinson's office.
5. Three apartment buildings have been set aside for faculty members.³⁰

²⁹ "Vets Create Makeshift Home in men's Corrective Home," *Eastern Teachers News*, October 9, 1946, 4.

³⁰ "Vets Moving into New 'Barracks' Homes," *Eastern Teachers News*, April 16, 1947, 1, 8.

Such a plan for the distribution of Campus City dwellings indicates a secondary motive to the barracks. The administration wanted to clear out Trailerville even as early as the opening of the newer temporary facilities. If not, then Anfinson's office recognized the poor conditions in which the trailer-bound families lived and thought they deserved a chance to live in these apartments.

And just as the newspaper ran booster articles about the conditions of the trailers, the April 23, 1947, issue offered a glimpse into life in the new married veterans' apartments with a photo of a "tickled pink" couple washing their dishes together.³¹ While one interpretation of this is boosterism, a more fair interpretation of the excitement over the barracks is that they were seen as a true alleviation of Eastern's and the veterans' housing dilemmas. Furthermore, Eastern planned the barracks development as semi-permanent from the start. This meant that Campus City was never to be a permanent fixture on Eastern's landscape, but the school committed itself to maintaining them until a better solution could be implemented. So the residents enjoyed comforts superior to the residents of Trailerville, which the administration intended to be very short-lived.

The school implemented plans to give Campus City better amenities in comparison to Trailerville. On July 16, 1947, Eastern christened the apartment complex with a celebration including President Buzzard, voting on a name, and a contingent from the college band.³² Campus City included such conveniences as concrete sidewalks, a cafeteria, a co-operative store,

³¹ "Apartmentites," *Eastern Teachers News*, April 23, 1947, 5.

³² "Celebration July 16; To Name Apartments," *Eastern Teachers News*, July 9, 1947, 1. It was at this meeting that the apartment residents officially chose the name Campus City.

recreation hall, optional furniture, semi-permanent laundry facility, and garden space in addition to a nursery school shared with the families of Trailerville.³³

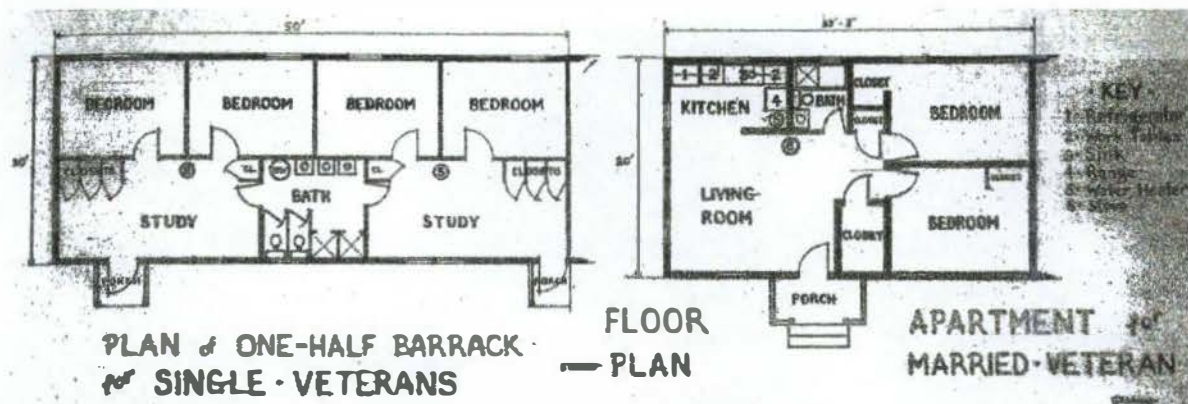


Figure 5. "News Blueprints Plans for Emergency Housing," *Eastern Teachers News*, June 3, 1946, 5.

Figure 5 shows the floor plan for the barracks conversion. The permanence of the physical structure aside, the size of the apartments was clearly superior to the small trailers. Campus City apartments had actual rooms that more closely reflect houses. However, while living conditions in Campus City were by most standards preferable to trailers, the converted barracks remained barracks in many ways, mainly in their exterior architecture. That is, as a caption to the floor plan for the single veterans' units said: "E.I.'s G.I.'s came back and the single ones [single male veterans] moved into barracks somewhat different than they had used in service—but not much."³⁴ This first critical piece, which was not even an article, but a caption, marked a change in attitude toward the barracks units. Trailerville fell out of esteem very quickly, especially with the coming of Campus City. Likewise, Campus City lost its cheerful welcome as residents realized the slapdash buildings in which they lived. The paper used the terms "Campus City" and "barracks" interchangeably, as does this paper, as a way of

³³ "Trailerville Sprouts"; "News Unveils Floor Layouts for Temporary Housing Units," *Eastern Teachers News*, August 20, 1946, 3; "Vets Moving"; "Garden Plots Save Money for Dwellers of Campus City," *Eastern State News*, May 26, 1948, 11.

³⁴ Untitled illustration, *Eastern State News*, October 13, 1948, 3. The illustration was one of the two floor plans in Figure 5.

recognizing the fact that housing was indeed made from barracks and resembled them in many ways, despite attempts at beautification.

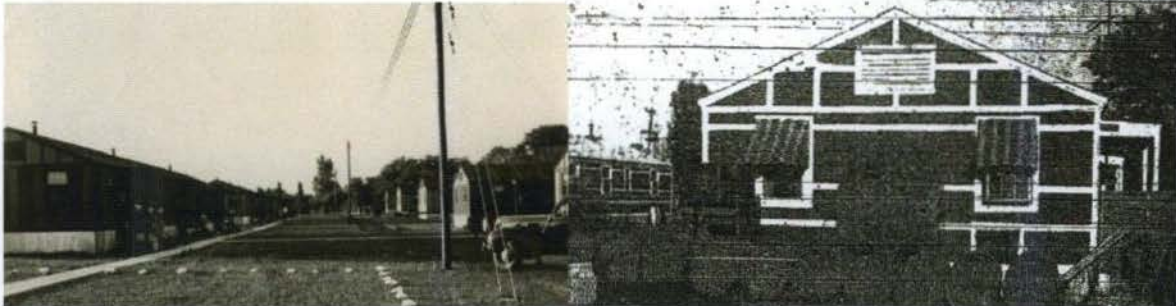


Figure 6 (Left). "Campus City, Married Student Housing, 1940's," Booth Library Photo Archives.

Figure 7 (Right). "Roll Out the Barrel," *Eastern State News*, October 5, 1955, 7.

Not only were the temporary housing choices between two undesirable situations, but despite their efforts to accommodate the married students as they built dormitories for singles, Eastern's administrators struggled to find space for families. During the spring term of 1948, the newspaper announced that Anfinson's office received applications for the remainder terms in that year and that "there are several families with children in Trailerville awaiting more adequate quarters."³⁵ Still in 1949, the fullness of married accommodations was newsworthy.³⁶ Eastern's two plans for housing its married students only partially alleviated the problem, and ultimately fell short of the goal.

Inadequate facilities in Campus City extended the life of Trailerville. This is a simple statement that the administration either underestimated the postwar student body, was impotent to house veteran and married students even five years after victory, or both. Such a large influx of students, including these veterans and couples, hit Eastern that even with the great efforts of Buzzard and Anfinson, the college was incapable of providing enough room.

³⁵ "Dean's Office Receives."

³⁶ "Few Housing Units."

In July 1948, when the college actually gained complete ownership of both the trailers and the barracks buildings, the aforementioned rumors of removing all trailers occurred. But no such scuttlebutt surrounded the buildings of Campus City. The barracks had a more permanent quality by their nature of being somewhat house-like. They also housed many more students than Trailerville. The Campus City site was clearly semi-permanent instead of clearly temporary. No apparent talk about a fully permanent solution for married students circulated in official sources. Even if President Buzzard and Dean Anfinson desired permanent apartment complexes in the late 1940s or early 1950s, other development projects on campus—Booth Library, Lincoln and Douglas Halls, and classroom buildings—bound their resources. Once the school was furnished temporary housing to cover a great portion of the population, veteran and married students took a back seat to other projects in planning stages before these housing issues came to bear.

Permanent Structures

As permanent as Campus City and Trailerville must have seemed during their extended existences, Eastern always planned them to be only temporary, or “emergency”, housing. When the Korean War escalated into a longer and longer conflict, the administration took a lesson from World War II and planned ahead for the possibility of another influx of veteran students. Rather than plan to remove Campus City, they fixed up the barracks with new roofs and fresh paint on some in 1952 and renovations for many units in 1953.³⁷

Also in 1952, the Teachers College Board reported that the physical plant of the teachers colleges in Illinois lacked adequate room and housing for postwar education trends.³⁸ In 1956, thirty-seven executive reports later, board president Richard G. Brown summarized the efforts Illinois colleges made to temporarily provide for veteran students’ families, the challenge that the

³⁷ “Barracks to Be Redecorated,” *Eastern State News*, July 23, 1952; “Student Apartments Get Facelift,” *Eastern State News*, November 4, 1953.

³⁸ “The Role of the Teachers College in Higher Education in Illinois,” *Eastern State News*, 1 Feb 1952.

colleges misestimated over ten years earlier.³⁹ The married student population shifted away from solely an issue of veteran affairs as the college-attending demographics changed in the mid-twentieth century. People who had not served also came to school married. Whereas the housing crunch of the late 1940s was certainly brought about by the G.I. Bill encouraging both married and unmarried veterans to continue education, the demand for married student housing extended beyond what President Buzzard's administration foresaw. Eastern, and the other colleges under the board, needed a permanent solution to an evolving problem.

Brown provided two possible solutions: "interest private investors" and "construction of permanent quarters."⁴⁰ Brown's report clearly favored the latter. Given the trouble Eastern students faced with their attempts to find privately-owned housing in Charleston in the wake of World War II, Eastern did well to build their own, on-campus permanent apartment buildings for married students.

The college wasted no time following up on Brown's suggestions. By the end of 1956, the board approved Eastern's plans to build the apartments.⁴¹ Committee meetings to plan the new housing started in November of 1956 and included administration, architects, and "two student wives".⁴² The school obviously wanted the permanent facilities to reflect what married people needed. Including the women in addition to professional planners lent legitimacy to the effort. The next month, the committee visited apartments at Indiana University as a model for Eastern's plans.⁴³ During studies on setting the rent figures for the new apartments, the statistics clearly showed that about two-thirds of the married students lived off-campus.⁴⁴ While these

³⁹ "Report No. 43 of the Executive Officer: Housing for Student and Staff Families," 12 Mar 1956, TCB.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ "48 Unit Married Housing Project here Receives Go Ahead Also," *Eastern State News*, October 31, 1956, 1.

⁴² "Prexy Has Meeting on Housing Units," *Eastern State News*, November 21, 1956, 1.

⁴³ "Committee Visits Indiana Married Housing Units," *Eastern State News*, December 12, 1956, 11.

⁴⁴ "Married Student Housing Survey Figures Released," *Eastern State News*, January 30, 1957, 8.

statistics did not in themselves demand on-campus housing, it shows many families had no chance of getting space in Trailerville or Campus City and that many families paid more to have better living conditions. After the many steps involved in prepping a project of this magnitude, building on the complex was approved in the second half of 1958.⁴⁵

When the apartments opened, it was another in a long line of mid-century developments that intertwined the college's twenty-five year plan from 1944 and developments since the board set the plan in motion. The plans for the student union and the apartments passed the board at the same time.⁴⁶ The union remains a clear example of the extreme modernism even in the era of modernist design. The architecture firm designed the University Apartments to fit firmly into the modernist genre displayed in much of the southern half of Eastern's campus. This is a fact which the newspaper praised during the apartment complex opening.⁴⁷

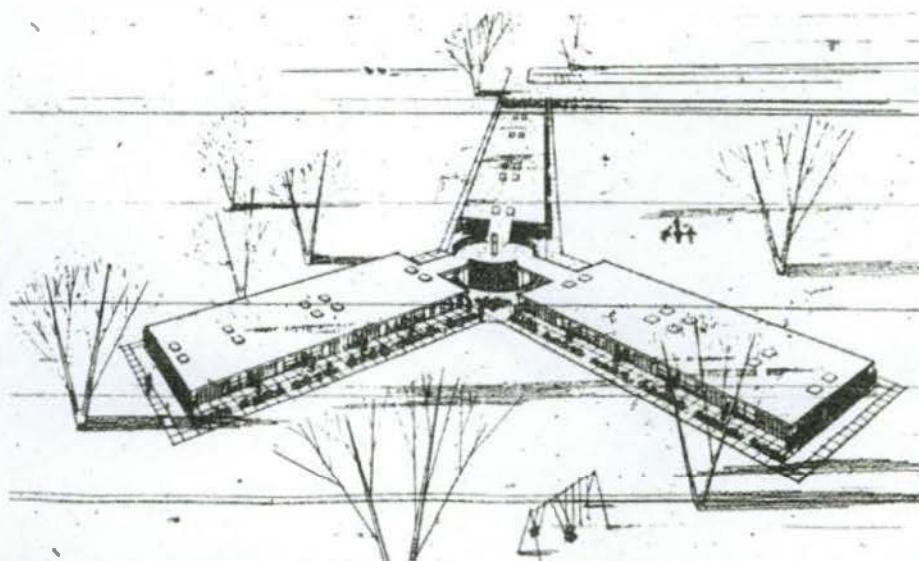


Figure 8. Concept drawing for University Apartments. "For the Married," *Eastern State News*, January 21, 1959, 10.

⁴⁵ For a more complete timeline, see newspaper articles including: "Eastern Plans Student Housing Project," *Eastern State News*, February 5, 1958, 1; "Government Approves Housing Loan," *Eastern State News*, March 26, 1958, 1; "New Housing Project Opened for Bidding: Construction for 60 Apartments Scheduled to Begin in Late July," *Eastern State News*, July 2, 1958, 1; "Teachers College Board Okays Eastern's Married Housing Units," *Eastern State News*, October 29, 1958, 1.

⁴⁶ "48 Unit Married Housing Project."

⁴⁷ "New \$500,00 Married Housing opened: Units Feature Modern Design," *Eastern State News*, December 16, 1959, 1.

Looking at Figures 8 and 9, the planar surface and geometric shape of these buildings clearly demonstrates the aesthetic of rational modernism that developed in previous decades. Elements such as the flat roof and the brick walls extended by wooden fences that separate the apartments demonstrate striking similarity to recent modernist trends. They represent the minimal necessity or “lowest acceptable standard” according to a kind of scientific asceticism.⁴⁸ The interior of the apartments also reflect a rational modernist trend in providing people with space scientifically determined to be necessary for living. These apartments were small for students who were married with or without children. However, they did provide the basic needs for a twentieth century household: living room, bedroom (either of which could double as a study), kitchen area, and bath. The University Apartments truly did not provide residents with spacious living, and there is no indication that their grounds and furniture were superior to those at Campus City. Research into the amenities and furnishings would be a complementary project, but clearly the largest difference between the Campus City and the University Apartments rested purely in the structures themselves.



Figure 9. “University Apartments, or Married Student Housing,” Booth Library Photo Archives.

⁴⁸ For example, see the Chandler Farms units designed by Burton D. Cains and Vernon DeMars in Dell Upton, *Architecture in the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 236-7; see also Hise.

Cinder block and brick construction enforced the University Apartment buildings' presence. The architect planned for minimal adornment in wood, interior and exterior. Exposed brick walls on the inside not only worked with the rational aesthetic, but also with both budgeting and a sense of permanence in the landscape. Campus City may or may not have seemed permanent to residents or onlookers, but Trailerville had no feel of permanence and made no indelible impression on the physical campus.

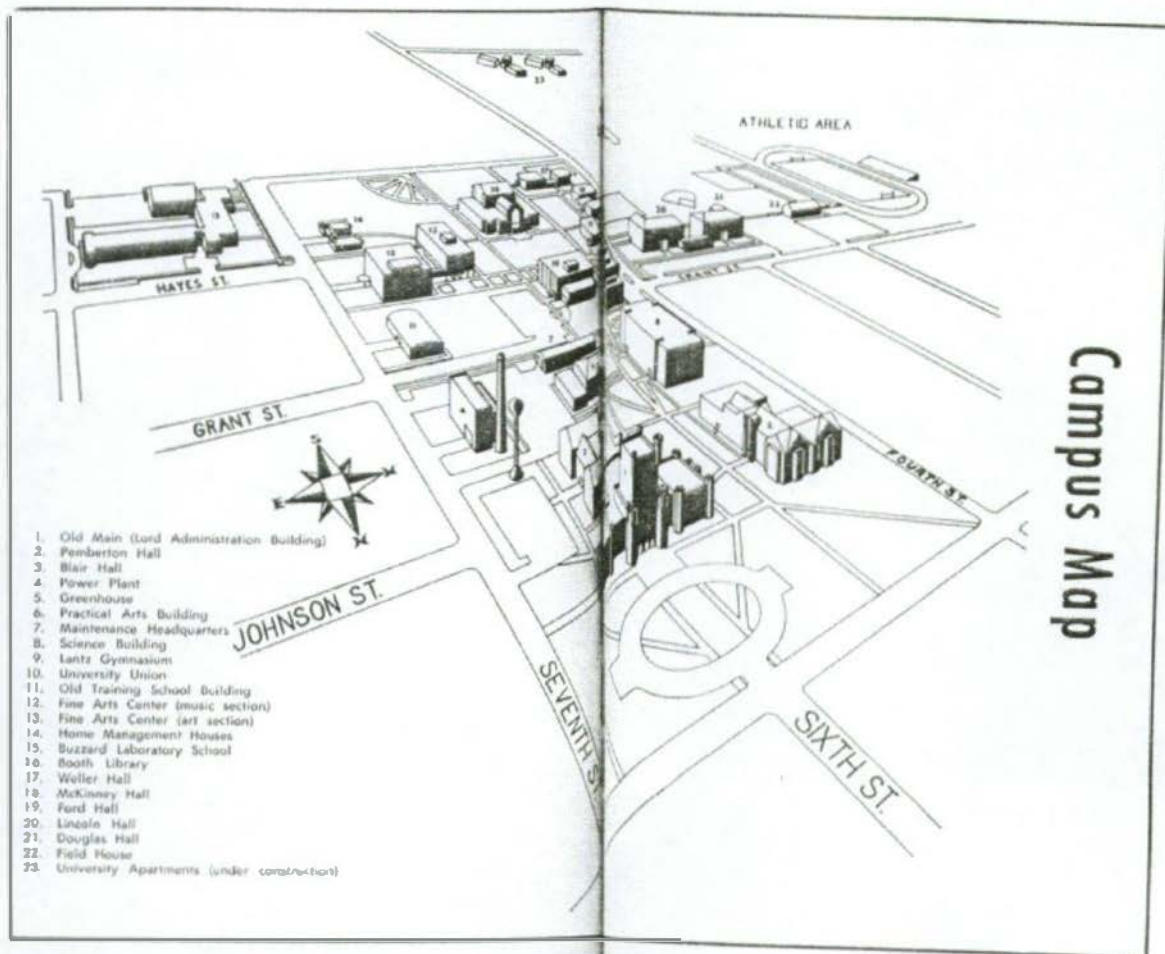


Figure 10. *Eastern Illinois State College Bulletin*, April 1, 1959.

As far separated from the main campus as Trailerville and Campus City were, the new apartments sat even further away. Original plans placed them directly south of the heart of

campus, but the administration believed that would block the expansion of planned building.⁴⁹ While Eastern placed great importance on the new married housing, the college pushed it to a far edge of the grounds. Single student dormitories that now form the Quad were soon to come. This push for the apartments to be far away from the core in order to provide space for development certainly correlates to the drive to build the apartments for the reason of removing the trailers and barracks in order to expand the campus.⁵⁰

The administration otherwise wished for there to be no more trailers on campus. Because the units were at least twelve years old and the school had not poured funds into them, Trailerville fell into disrepair. Eastern had cleared out residents of all school-owned trailers and Doudna clearly wished to "be able to close out the trailer camp entirely", referring to those students who owned trailers on college grounds, when the University Apartments opened.⁵¹ No obstacle prevented the school from disbanding its trailer park at no expense to the campus except the displacement of eighteen resident families who lived in their own trailers. After the close of 1958, the Eastern Illinois University Bulletin did not mention the availability of the trailer park, probably signaling its extinction.

Campus City, on the other hand, remained a fixture of the campus until the first phase of construction on the permanent complex reached completion. Doudna, facing pressure from campus expansion, worked to phase out the barracks buildings. First, the Campus City population was concentrated into fewer buildings to begin destruction in favor of a parking lot in mid-1959.⁵² As the Campus City occupancy had already decreased, the plan did not place a great crunch on the housing of married and veteran students. As Doudna continued to push for the

⁴⁹ "College to Acquire New Land"; "Eastern Plans Student Housing Project."

⁵⁰ For information on campus expansion projects, see "Seven New Buildings Planned; Program to Cost \$16 Million," *Eastern State News*, February 1, 1961, 1, 6.

⁵¹ "Informal Report of Eastern Illinois University for the Meeting in Charleston, Illinois, September 19, 1958," TCB.

⁵² "Report of the Eastern Illinois University for the Meeting in Charleston, Illinois, April 19-20, 1959," TCB.

removal of barracks buildings later that year, it became clear that the students voluntarily vacated the Campus City for better residences in Charleston.⁵³ Rapidly phasing out Campus City naturally occurred in light of a coincidence of favorable conditions: the school wanted to remove the buildings because they were temporary, dilapidating money holes, and stood in the way of new construction; many students found preferable, off-campus housing alternatives.

The barracks village never fully disintegrated until the University Apartments opened to student residents in December of 1959, and the final residents of Campus City moved out of the barracks in 1960. Occupation priority of the new apartments facilitated the goals of removing the remaining temporary housing at Eastern. Dr. William D. Miner, director of veterans' services at Eastern by 1956, gave guidelines for the University Apartments that were very similar to Anfinson's upon the opening of Campus City:

1. New faculty members have priority over all other housing applicants.
2. G.I. students with children living in trailerville [sic.] have priority over those veterans with children not living in trailerville [sic.].
3. G.I. students with children (the number of children is not taken into consideration) not living in trailerville [sic.].
4. G.I. students without children.
5. Non-veterans with children.
6. Non-veteran students without children.⁵⁴

⁵³ "Report of Eastern Illinois University to the Building Committee for the Teachers College Board Meeting, September 21, 1959." TCB.

⁵⁴ "New Housing Project...Should Have Established Rules," *Eastern State News*, September 26, 1956, 2; "Miner Lists Rules for Housing," *Eastern State News*, October 3, 1956, 1. The inclusion of faculty accommodations in this plan and the previous plan for Campus City raises further questions about the ability of Charleston to accommodate an influx of professors to provide instruction for the expanding university.

Faculty aside, the first preference went to those on whom the school focused greatest pressure to relocate. Eastern, seeking to finally remove the trailers from campus, granted those families living in the trailers preference over other groups. Miner's office also favored the families with children, indicating their greater need for better housing. The list also facilitated the emptying of Campus City by favoring veteran student families and then non-veteran families.

This permanent housing policy was consistent with the reasons for the complex's construction. Campus demographics indicated no change in the need for married student housing, so the school implemented plans to finally relieve this stress. At the same time, the University Apartments increased the pressure to remove temporary housing that stressed the budget, constrained construction, and no longer acted as a draw for admissions.

Not long after the University Apartments opened, Eastern realized once more that it lacked enough facilities for its married students. In the 1963 to 1964 school year, applications for the apartments far exceeded vacancies.⁵⁵ At the March 16, 1964, meeting of the Teachers College Board, the university pleaded for permission to add another building to the complex. It would physically resemble the two buildings already standing and add to the mission in the university's master plan. In other words, this would be another step in the ongoing process of expanding housing.

Construction was under way by the end of that year, and needed to be so in order to meet Eastern's goal of opening the new apartments for the fall term of 1965. The apartments did not reach completion by the intended time, but opened for occupation in November 1965.⁵⁶ Turmoil surrounded the living conditions as students took up residency because not all furnishings, bed frames for example, had arrived. At the same time, the new apartments provided better, more

⁵⁵ "Report of the Eastern Illinois University for the Meeting in Charleston, Illinois, March 16, 1964," TCB.

⁵⁶ "Report of the Eastern Illinois University to the Board of Governors of State Colleges and Universities, November 15, 1965," TCB.

“peaceful” accommodations than such super-temporary housing rooms as at motels and Greek housing.⁵⁷

In the same Board meeting that he presented the second phase complete, Dr. Doudna asked the board for thirty or sixty more units in another phase of the University Apartments. He argued that near-future incoming student population projections placed the number of families to be well above Eastern’s capability to house them.⁵⁸ In contrast to Trailerville as a stopgap, the inception of the third phase of the apartments was preemptive action against a scientifically calculated need. The projection for the fall of 1967 may or may not have been correct, but Eastern pressed forward in the venture for additional units.

When the sixty-four unit addition opened in the fall of 1968, it marked the final construction in the University Apartments complex. Though Eastern considered the possibility of an even higher demand as servicemen returned from the Vietnam War, the third phase ended the project.⁵⁹ This is not to say that the University Apartments project reached culmination, though.

Abhorrence over the third phase architecture haunted Eastern for many years, and perhaps continues to do so. Students’ and administrators’ reactions to the architecture and landscape of the new buildings was sharp anger and intense disgust. While Trailerville and Campus City began with booms and ended after declines, third phase University Apartments faced criticism even before completion. The first notice of the third phase in the *Eastern News* was a photograph with only a basic caption stating that these would be two stories, concrete, have little fenestration, and more interior room than the earlier units.⁶⁰ Subsequent articles in

⁵⁷ Dick Fox, “Students Gain Personal Freedom in Apartments,” *Eastern News*, October 4, 1967, 6.

⁵⁸ “Report of the Eastern Illinois University to the Board of Governors of State Colleges and Universities, December 20, 1965,” TCB.

⁵⁹ “Report of the Eastern Illinois University to the Board of Governors of State Colleges and Universities, July 18, 1968,” TCB.

⁶⁰ “Apartments Go Two Stories,” *Eastern News*, April 30, 1968, 2.

June and September 1968 exposed details on the issues with the newest buildings, calling the brutalist architecture “austere” and describing how little light and ventilation residents would receive through the windows as well as the problems of installing utilities into concrete structures and the poor layout of permanent fixtures.⁶¹ Essentially, the two-story buildings proved to be a disastrous addition to the University Apartments as applications dropped due to criticism and repulsion of the conditions grew.

In reaction to what President Doudna called a “mistake” on the part of the school, Eastern made several attempts at improvement and appeasement.⁶² Concrete stools that were original to the new University Apartments as landscape elements received coats of paint to provide “color and life” for its residents and then bids for trees and shrubs came in by October 1968.⁶³ The university struggled to maintain the apartments even as soon as the early 1970s, when plaster in the bathrooms fell victim to chipping and other maintenance issues kept plant operations busy.

In September 1974, an *Eastern News* article printed two significant statements from apartment residents in one article: Lee Baldrige said, “I feel lucky to live here.... They put up these buildings as temporary homes for married students, they’re cheap to live in and I think they serve their purpose well;” while Mary Pat Cvinar said, recognizing the concrete “fad” in brutalist architecture, “People wonder how we can live out here. I hate it, simply hate it.”⁶⁴ The former expressed gratitude for permanent structures that served as a temporary home for married students, ignoring aesthetic issues and emphasizing the sheer utility of the apartments. The latter

⁶¹ Sharon Bundy and Mike Szachnitowski, “New Married Housing Entirely Concrete,” *Eastern News*, June 26, 1968, 3; Sharon Bundy and Dave Kidwell, “Apartment Complex Stirs Tenants’ Wrath,” *Eastern News*, September 27, 1968, 1.

⁶² *Ibid.*

⁶³ “Report of the Eastern Illinois University to the Board of Governors of State Colleges and Universities, September 19, 1968.” TCB; “Report of the Eastern Illinois University to the Board of Governors of State Colleges and Universities, October 17, 1968,” TCB.

⁶⁴ Susan Black, “Tenants React to Married Housing Conditions,” *Eastern News*, September 23, 1974, 3.

criticizes the unforgiving design of the apartments, finding it too impossible for the years a student and spouse spend on campus.

Conclusions

The delineation of temporary, semi-permanent, and permanent structures is evident in Eastern's three phases of married student housing. Trailerville, in intent and initial implementation, was temporary. It was supposed to be a stopgap until married students could occupy better housing or the housing crisis ended at Eastern. When Campus City opened, it removed some of the strain pressing on Eastern from married students, but demand remained high enough that Trailerville became a semi-permanent fixture. Anfinson's office cut off repeated attempts to remove the trailers because such an action would put many students and their families out on the street. The barracks from the beginning had a more permanent air about them because of their resemblance to permanent houses and their utilities and landscape development, which were superior to Trailerville. Beginning as semi-permanent, they tended toward the more permanent end of that spectrum as the school refurbished them in the early 1950s. Eastern was so energetic in pushing the opening of the more permanent options, that occupation took place on a rolling basis, occupying unfinished units or finished units in an unfinished building. After the two impermanent options Eastern implemented after World War II, the school made provisions for the University Apartments. By choosing a permanent location on the campus, designing the architecture to fit the scheme of mid-century building development, and finally building the brick and wood buildings, married students had housing that the college did not intend to remove.

The various stages of married student housing at Eastern indicates very well the social niche of that demographic in the college—or university. Only a piece of a larger change in the

student body, married students placed specific pressure on the school. What began as a short-term issue in Veterans Affairs became permanent need in housing accommodations for veterans and non-veterans alike. Because the G.I.s of World War II formed the projected bubble in college enrollment in the 1940s and 1950s, the school's desire to house them in temporary structures was well-reasoned. The men and women attending school under provision of the G.I. Bill caused a wave that would subside, logically. Being special cases, the school attempted to provide as well as it could for the needs of these men and their families to have rather independent on-campus living. While it may seem odd that the school provided veteran-specific housing as opposed to mixing veterans and non-veterans in the same facilities, one must realize that Eastern did not have any housing for male students at the end of WWII. The special, temporary veterans housing for both married and singles was a special case until the large mid-century dormitory projects reached completion.

Eastern did not foresee the long-term issue of providing housing for large numbers of married students that consisted of a mixture of both veterans and non-veterans. Having only one women's dormitory and plans to expand campus already set and underway, the college remained unable to meet the continued demand for campus apartments. The emergency housing, the trailers and barracks, lingered for about fifteen years, much to the inconvenience and annoyance of the administration. More veterans came to Eastern in the 1950s as a result of the Korean War, which triggered a continuation of the veteran family bubble. This agglomerated with another, more general change in the number and demographics of people attending college. Suffice it to say, Eastern faced an increasing number of married students even after the wave of World War II veterans passed. Finally, the school came to terms with the fact that married students would continue to be part of the student body and had the appropriations and planning to implement a

permanent solution by the end of the 1950s. By the end of the 1960s, the school grew so used to needing to expand apartment capacity along with the number of people serving in the military that they considered a feasibility study for expansion in contingency of another population boom due to the Vietnam War.

By the 1960s, Eastern's campus featured permanent apartments for married students. Claiming the University Apartments as a victory at the end of the battle to provide for these students, though, is a dubious argument. Only sixty apartments were part of the original plans, but expanded greatly with the two later phases. Furthermore, just as the excitement faded from Trailerville and Campus City, student satisfaction with the University Apartments waned quickly. The school had its permanent solution that, now set in stone, still did not measure up to the needs of the students. The stages of married student housing demonstrate temporary, semi-permanent, and permanent housing that all ended in dissatisfaction on the part of residents and administration. At the time of the mid-1970s, the university had facilities for its married students that were permanent and largely dissatisfactory, suggesting that resident satisfaction was not solely determined by the permanence of a structure, but largely by design and the individual resident's perception of the function of the apartment.

Annotated Bibliography

Primary Sources

Booth Library Photo Archives. Eastern Illinois University Archives, Charleston, IL.

Photos provide illustration so the reader is able to see the living conditions of families in Trailerville, Campus City, and the University Apartments as well as the campus landscape.

Eastern Illinois State College Bulletin [also titled *Eastern Illinois University College Bulletin*].

Various editions, 1946-60. Eastern Illinois University Archives, Charleston, IL.

Bulletins demonstrated the availability of housing options to different student demographics and showed some consideration of intentions for housing project developments. The bulletins also provided campus maps for illustration.

Daily Eastern News [also titled *Eastern Teachers News*, *Eastern State News*, and *Eastern News*].

Various editions, 1944-1974. Booth Library microfilm collections, Eastern Illinois University, Charleston, IL.

The school newspaper provided hard dates for the timeline of housing projects. More importantly, because it was a medium between administration and students, it gives valuable insight to the opinions of the school, student body, and residents.

Illinois State Teachers College Board Collection. Various documents, 1945-60. Eastern Illinois University Archives, Charleston, IL.

These documents aided in forming a concrete timeline as well as showing the efforts of administrators to work through the housing problems at EIU. This collection has the potential for extensive research into a broader study of student population and college/university physical plant growth.

Secondary Sources

Buildings and Grounds Historical Data, Eastern Illinois University, edited by Norma

Winkleblack. March 1, 1994.

This is a very basic overview of Eastern's physical landscape. Its brevity, though, leads to some inaccuracies, but remains a decent starting point for research projects.

Coleman, Charles H. *Eastern Illinois State College: Fifty Years of Public Service*. Eastern

Illinois State College Bulletin, January 1, 1950. Eastern Illinois University Archives, Charleston, IL.

Coleman's history is a touchstone for studying the university. For basic factual information, this is the place to turn first.

Hise, Greg. "From Roadside Camps to Garden Homes: Housing and Community Planning for

California's Migrant Work Force, 1935-1941." In *Gender, Class, and Shelter:*

Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture, V, edited by Elizabeth Collins Cromley and

Carter L. Hudgins, 243-58. Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press, 1995.

The idea of permanent structures for temporary populations is one bridge between college campuses and migrant farming communities. This article analyses the ideas behind housing farm workers. The housing projects created as a result of their existence parallel in many ways the development of married housing at Eastern.

Hurley, Andrew. *Diners, Bowling Alleys, and Trailer Parks: Chasing the American Dream in the*

Postwar Consumer Culture. New York: Basic Books, 2001.

Very little work exists on the phenomenon of house trailer living. Hurley tackles the idea of alternative quarters during the age of suburbia. His conclusion that trailers were meant

as stepping stones and would up as permanent solutions rings somewhat true in the narrative of Trailerville and even Campus City.

Thornburg, David A. *Galloping Bungalows: The Rise and Demise of the American House Trailer*. Hamden, CN: Archon Books, 1991.

This is an interesting survey of the history of the trailer—house and recreational—in the United States. While having very little bearing on Eastern's efforts, it is a useful resource for researching the development, use, and cultural perceptions of these structures.

Upton, Dell. *Architecture in the United States*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1998.

This is a survey book by a revered architectural historian. It was useful for establishing the architectural movements surrounding Eastern's era of great campus planning and expansion in the 1940s-60s. Its photographic samples make physical comparisons simple, and its description of modernist architectural theory and aesthetic proved useful in description of the University Apartment project.