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作者简介

1989 年获得哈佛大学进化生物学博士学位，学术研究主要集中在历史科学的历史理论研究。作者有 16 年以上在哈佛大学、北卡罗来纳大学以及米德尔伯里学院的住宿学院生活管理经验，此外，他创建《学院之路：住宿学院和大学生活复兴》网站 (collegiateway.org)，并不断为此撰文。



AMERICAN HIGHER EDUCATION AND THE “COLLEGIATE WAY OF LIVING” 美国高等教育和“学院制生活”

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摘要：美国高等教育机构就其教育宗旨、组织结构和建筑风格而言，具有可观的多样性。但是，在所有多样性的背后，有两个鲜明的传统模式：去中心化的英国学院制模式和中心化的德国大学模式。早期美国高等教育缘自于英国学院制传统，强调学生智力性格的综合培养。而 19 世纪后期引入的德国大学传统，将大学的关注点转移到技术性的学术研究。尽管德国大学模式在 20 世纪的大部分时间具有支配地位，但目前，有一股广泛的复兴势头，人们对更古老的去中心化的英国学院制模式开始感兴趣。并且，在遍及美国及世界的大学校园中，正在规划和建造像牛津剑桥大学里的小型“住宿制学院”。这些住宿制学院或“院”（如有时被称作）为 100 多位学生提供了一个小型、稳定、教工领导而且如家一般的环境。它们的社交及建筑设计寻求有效的办法，消除学生常在大型德国大学模式中所经历的非人性化的官僚机构体验。学院制大学组织模式的复兴是当今世界有关教育社区设计的最显著的趋势之一。

关键词：住宿制学院、住宅体系、住宿生活、宿舍、去中心化、高等教育、学生住宅

Abstract: Institutions of higher education in the United States are remarkably diverse in their educational purposes, their organizational structure, and their architectural styles. But underlying all this diversity are two distinct historical models: the decentralized British “collegiate” model of university education, and the centralized Germanic university model. Early American higher education grew out of the British collegiate tradition and emphasized the comprehensive development of students’ intellect and character, while the Germanic university tradition, introduced in the late 1800s, shifted the focus to technical scholarship and research. The Germanic university model held sway for much of the twentieth century, but there is now a widespread renewal of interest in the older decentralized British collegiate model, and in universities across the United States and around the world, small “residential colleges” like those at Oxford and Cambridge are now being planned and built. These residential colleges or “houses” (as they are sometimes called) provide small, stable, faculty-led, home-like environments for a few hundred students each, and their social and architectural design seeks to counteract the impersonal bureaucratic experience that

students often have in large Germanic-style universities. This revival of the collegiate model of university organization is one of the most important trends in the design of educational communities in the world today.

Keywords: residential colleges, house systems, residence life, dormitories, decentralization, higher education, student housing

一. 美国的高等教育

对于一个旁观者，美国高等教育最鲜明的特色在于组织的多样性。在这个国度的每个地区，你都能发现存在一系列各式各样的大学，包括公立与私立的，大型与小型的，择优型与普及型的，宗教性与世俗性的，研究型与授课型的，城市与乡村的，贵族式与平民化的，以及以职业教育为导向与以综合教育为导向的。

这种组织结构的多样性反映在美国校园建筑风格、元素以及构成的多样性上。从 18 世纪的乔治亚砖墙，到 19 世纪的新古典主义大理石和罗马风的砂岩，再到 20 世纪初期的哥特式花岗石，以及 20 世纪的后期现代主义混凝土和钢，这些在许多大型美国校园中能察觉到的建筑变化，使得每所大学都成为一座活的教育建筑博物馆。

尽管对于一个旁观者，或一个正在犹豫选择上哪所大学的年轻人而言，面对大学组织的多样性会有相当的困惑，但事实上，隐含在几乎所有变化之下，大致有两条主要的历史脉络。如果我们希望了解一些有关当今大学规划和社区设计最重要的趋势，特别是在大型校园中营造“住宿制学院”的趋势，那么，我们必须首先理解这两个传统模式是什么，以及它们有何异同。

这两种传统即是英国高等教育的“学院制”模式和德国或欧洲大陆高等教育的“大学”模式。这两个历史模式分别代表了非常不同的组织教育社区的观念，而且，它们在美国过去 200 年里的相对影响，经历了此消彼长。

1. 英国高等教育“学院制”模式

英国著名的牛津剑桥大学是英国高等教育的“学院制”模式的原型。尽管牛津剑桥是大型学术机构，但每个学生都隶属于在大学内、且仅有一两百人的某个小型住宿制学院，这些学院在校园中扮演“家”的角色。从剑桥的彼得豪斯学院和国王学院，到牛津的贝利学院和玛格丽特夫人学院，60 所“牛桥”住宿制学院不仅是宿舍——睡觉的地方，也是拥有各自的就餐间、娱乐室、小型图书馆以及庭院的独立居所。指导学院的教育理念是，让学生深入到社区生活里，得到个人生活和思想智力的学习成长。而且，不论风格如何，这些学院建筑都有意维系这一指导原则。

早期美国高等教育就基于这一英国教育理念，不仅注重学术训练，也注重学生道德培养以及性格和个性的发展。这种教育理念规定，学生不应只参加教师所讲授的课程，而是每个学院必须为学生及老师提供住宿和公共就餐的场所，而且，学生和老师在像家一样的环境中经常同餐同宿。教育历史学家塞缪尔·埃利奥特·莫里森曾说，“光是学习书本，只要上课和读书或许就可以做到，但是，只有成为同一间学院社



区的成员，一起学与辨，食与饮，嬉与祈，通过学生以及师生间不断的亲近交流，无价的品德才有可能被传授到年轻人的身上”。

在广袤的早期美国农村里，英国高等教育模式成就了美国的小规模、常在乡间的“自由文理学院”的悠久卓越传统。这些机构向本科学生提供了数代的住宿制教育，而且，这些通常可为全校学生提供住处的住宿制校园，常常跻身于美国最优美校园的行列。从东部的艾姆赫斯特学院，到中西部的奥柏林学院，再到太平洋沿岸的波莫纳大学，这些小巧独立的校园将它们的教学已任视为造就公民，而非训练工人；培育学生让其拥有一个有意义的人生，而非得过且过。今天，从这些学院的教育大纲和校园建筑中，依然能反映出曾经引领美国高等教育最初 200 年发展的英国“学院制”宗旨，这一宗旨指出，在小型社区环境中，学习和成长更能发挥得淋漓尽致。

2. 德国“大学”模式和首次学院制模式复兴

在 19 世纪早、中叶，另一种迥异的高等教育组织模式开始扎根于美国本土。而且，伴随而来的是一种对校园建筑，尤其是对校园居住的不同视角。这就是德国或欧洲大陆的“大学”模式。它所标榜的不是过去大不列颠的学院制大学——牛津和剑桥，而是德国当时新建的柏林大学。

德国模式的提倡者们更关注高级研究和研究生教育，以及服务于学术自身及国家的学术成就。他们试图淡化本科生教育，而且认为学生宿舍毫无价值。他们满足于学生自己在城里随意找到一处栖身之所，而绝不会思考社区生活本身就是高等教育的重要要素。

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1 牛津大学及其住宿制学院

英国学院制大学组织模式完美地体现在这个纪念盘上。大学的校徽处于中央，四周围绕着组成大学的 37 个非中心化的住宿制学院。每个住宿制学院都是 1 个由 100 多位学生和老组成的独立教育社区，拥有各自的活动场地、住宿空间、就餐空间、图书馆以及公共活动室。

2 耶鲁大学皮尔森学院的庭院

1930 年代，耶鲁和哈佛大学是首批试图复制英国学院制模式的美国大型机构。这两所大学目前已有 12~13 个独立的住宿制学院，每个学院拥有各自的小庭院、公共活动区、图书馆以及餐厅。在这张冬景中，餐厅在左，学生住宿房间在右。

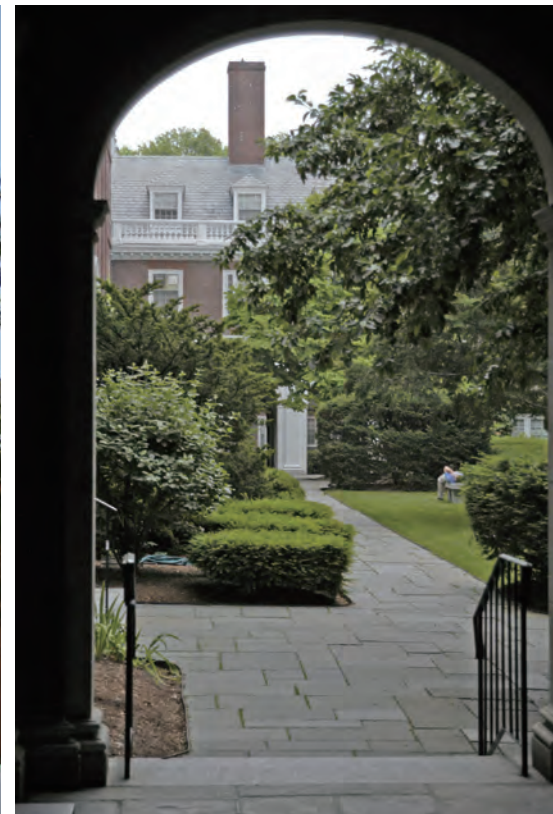
3 看向哈佛大学洛威尔学院的院落

住宿制学院的院落是功能性空间，在温暖季节不仅作为社交中心，而且还可以是室外音乐会的场地，甚至成为教育性的园艺空间，不同季节的花木给学院内的房间带来生机。

在整个 19 世纪，德国大学模式逐渐蔚然成风，而且，其影响力和许多著名美国公立（州立）大学的壮大紧密相关：密歇根大学、得克萨斯大学、加利福尼亚大学以及其他许多大学。随着大型图书馆、科研实验室、大讲堂以及办公楼的出现，蔓延的校园成为建筑焦点，其影响程度之深乃至在 19 世纪中期，密歇根大学的校长试图把校园中的所有学生宿舍扫地出门。

但是到 19 世纪末 20 世纪初，越来越鲜明地是，为了实现学术研究上的成功，德国大学模式缺失一个在更古老的小型学院才拥有的重要要素，即社区感，以及关注每一位作为特殊个体的学生的成长。在 1909 年，当时身为普林斯顿大学校长伍德罗·威尔逊（后为美国第 28 届总统，译者注）曾抱怨德国式的大学教授，说这些教授自己并不认为“和他的学生们的生活、在课余间的所思所为有任何责任关系，上完课后，理所应当认为自己已经尽职尽责”。

当时一批杰出的教育界领袖，包括哈佛大学的弗兰克·波尔斯和艾波特·劳伦斯·罗威尔，以及加利福尼亚大学的罗伯特·戈登·斯普劳尔都对威尔逊的抱怨表示赞同，而且他们开始回过头重新审视英国的学院制模式，看看这样的模式如何在现代大型大学中调整或重塑。1930 年，斯普劳尔写到：“像加利福尼亚大学这样的机构，其结症之一在于能否找到一条系统组织校园的出路，在不牺牲大型大学里更重要优势的同时，小群体的优势能被保存下来”。斯普劳尔的解决方案是建造鲍尔斯学生公寓，一栋规模宏大的校园居住体，它不仅被构想为睡觉的地方——集体宿舍，而且，像更早期的英国牛津剑桥的住宿制书院一样，是一个拥有自己餐室和图书馆的学生居住社区。



鲍尔斯学生公寓是早期独栋建筑的范例，但更彻底重建英国住宿制书院模式出现在 1930 年代哈佛和耶鲁大学，以及 1950 年代莱斯大学的校园中。在这儿，雄心勃勃的教育领导者重组了整个本科生结构，以及所有相关的辅助建筑设计，形成一整套住宿制学院或“院”（“houses”）。同样，这和英国牛津剑桥独立的住宿制学院极为相似。这些富丽的建筑集合体（其中许多建筑采用了乔治亚和哥特复兴风格）在各自的大型大学中，为学生提供了小型、去中心化并且由教员指导的住所。学生在这里可以享受学生间，以及和老师及访问学者间亲近的日常交往，而且可以有大量机会将其聪明才智奉献给这个社区。

尽管学院制模式在哈佛及耶鲁大学获得了巨大的成功，但 20 世纪中期，这种去中心化的组织模式在其他大型美国大学中举步维艰。二战危机让大学的研究需求极大加重，政府资金大量流入实验室和研究项目。战后，由于政府教育基金资助二战退伍老兵，许多大学校园规模急剧膨胀。一些大学决策者们开始像商人思考为扩充而扩充，不像教育家去关注营造产生优异学术的环境。这一时期，尤其是 60、70 年代，为满足数量的需求涌现出一批质量糟糕的学生宿舍。在很多校园里，它们是你可能看到的最糟糕的那种，不论在设计上、还是材料上，都前无古人。

然而，到了 90 年代，急速扩充带来的负面影响，以及伴随的忽略传统小型学院价值等问题被重新提起。比如，在得克萨斯大学，一位住在 3 000 人的超大学生宿舍里的学生深感孤独，她曾写到：在校园里“无法感受到似曾相识的归属感和包容感”，这些感觉是她一生中已经熟悉的。“在我的家乡，我身后有一个支持我的强有力的后盾，包括整个社区中所有的老老少少”。然而，在她所处的这个极为庞大但缺乏人情味的大学里，这种个人关注和鼓励已然消失殆尽。

出于对这些顾虑的回应以及对当今现实的认识，即自 1960 年代以来，大型校园中萌生的许多组织结构与建筑布局已经变得官僚化和非人性化，一场英国式学院模式的真正复兴正在美国及世界范围内悄然兴起。大学教职工、学生、规划师以及建筑师又一次试图回答罗伯特·戈登·斯普劳尔在 1930 年提出的问题：我们应该如何组织一座大型校园，使我们能在大型学院的语境中，保留小众群体带来的优势？

二．“学院制”模式的四个基础

今天的教育家和教育策划者们已经认识到：回答斯普劳尔问题的答案有四个部分。每一部分分别描述了成功住宿制学院的组织性基础的一个方面。这四项组织性基础依次决定了所需要的建筑要素的选择与配置，以维系成功的住宿制学院。

首先，大型校园生活应当去中心化，变成每个社区约有 400 人的小单元。学生如往常一样上课，并利用整个大学的各种教学研究设施。但是，他们在课余时间以及一天结束后，可以回到他们的小型在校住所，即属于自己的住宿制学院。在那儿，每个人作为个体成员彼此相互了解。“成员”观念在这种环境中至关重要。建筑师、规划师以及管理者会自然通过房间数、床位数以及租用率来思考问题，但大学的主要教育目标是在大型集合体中营造出小型社交群类，即小社区或小团体。这就是住宿制学院。当从一开始，我们就选择适度规模的社会群体，便会看到许多建筑要素自然而然地展开。

第二，这些住宿制学院单元的领导力应当在学术教员手中，而不应在全职管理人员手中。最佳的教育模式总是关注当下和个体，而且，我们设计目的之一应当是努力在正式课堂之外，增加学生、师生间的个人接触。经验丰富的老师和学者总有办法利用非正式的教育机会将课堂学习和日常生活

注释：
1 “学院制生活”引自马萨诸塞作家科顿·马撒(Cotton Mather, 约 1701 年出生)之语。该词的意思就是“住宿制学院里的生活方式”，即在一个教育社团里和其他学生及老师同宿同餐的共享经历。马撒将之和私宅以及城里租赁房进行对比；在那儿，学生的生活被隔离，无法从日常和师生间的随意交流中获得益处。



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4 杜伦大学范米尔德特学院的会员册
一个住宿制学院，首先最重要的是一个社区，其实才是一组建筑。当你进入一个住宿制学院的建筑内部，首先映入眼帘的应是这个学院真正的图景，即一个构成该学院的会员名单。学院不是建筑，学院是人。

5 莱斯大学贝克学院餐厅
在任何一所住宿制学院中，最重要的一个房间是餐厅。它应当精心设计，可以变成剧场放映电影，也是有关学院的艺术作品以及传统的活的画廊。其风格，可以如这里所示，是传统的，或者是明快现代的。但是，维持学院社区生活的基本要素应时刻存在。



结合在一起，以此丰富住宿环境。住宿主管和管理人员，不论其初衷如何美好，都可能由于缺乏必要的经验和学术背景，而难以有效地实施。

第三，构成整个大学的住宿制学院单元应当具有社会交往的稳定性和持久性。比如，在一所四年制的大学中，一个 400 人的住宿制学院每年平均补充更新的学生人数只有 25%（就是说：每年有 100 人毕业，并有 100 名新生招入填补空缺）。这种稳定性将让一系列的传统在住宿制学院中得以维系；熟悉亲切的生活节奏给予学生思辨的机会，拓展他们的能力。在住宿制学院里，新一年的生活不应是取代前一年的，相反，应秉承，并在此基础上使之丰富。

第四，大学里的每个住宿制学院应当是整个大学学术多样性的代表性采样。尽管，人们或许忍不住按照学科分类学生，比如，所有理科学生住在一栋楼里；所有管理科学生住在另外一栋，但这并不是最佳的教育布局。如果学生想从整个校园所聚集的各种不同天资和兴趣的同伴那里有所收获的话，那么，他们必须在日常生活中融入到这种多样性里。一个好的住宿制学院应当把学生以及老师紧密联系在一起，这样一位工程师将会从一位诗人身上学到东西，一位人类学家也能从一位物理学家身上学到东西。

鉴于这四项组织原则，什么是能够支持成功的住宿学院所需要的必不可少的建筑元素与布局呢？简言之，基本元素与布局和学院的总体建筑结构、室内公共空间以及学生与教师住所有关。在我的网站《学院之路：住宿制学院与大学生活复兴》(collegiateway.org) 中给出了非常详尽的答案，希望感兴趣的读者来浏览¹。

在整体建筑结构中，大型大学的住宿制学院应采用低层建筑（千万不要超过 4 层高），而且其体块或者楼群应聚焦在小型中央草坪、花园或



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6 杜伦大学圣爱登学院图书馆

大学里每个住宿制学院都是一个自给自足的社区，各自拥有供学院成员使用的小型图书馆和学习室。圣爱登学院的宽敞单间的图书馆设有一些计算机终端和供学生使用的代表性藏书，以及能望到远处的杜伦市和杜伦大教堂的优美景色。

7 瓦瑟大学中一个住宿制学院里的漂亮的低年级公共活动室

这是一个住宿制学院低年级公共活动室以传统风格设计的完美实例，设有壁炉、存放少量书和杂志的书架，以及多个可同时容纳几组社交活动的就座区。瓦瑟大学是一个可独立授予学位的自由文理学院，它把住宿制学院称为“院”（正如哈佛一样）来避免和作为一个整体的学院名称相混淆。



者庭院之上，成为社区的几何中心，而且大家每天都穿过其中。底层应采用矮墙或绿篱围合，当进入底层，会有种在学院“里”的特殊感觉。

设计考究的室内公共空间也极其重要，因为住宿制学院旨在利用教育培养社区生活。最重要的公共空间是全体成员共同使用的大餐厅，它也可以成为进行音乐演奏的音乐厅和观看表演及电影的剧场。一个宽敞简洁的长方形大厅，有良好的室内采光，布置可移动的家具，以及在一端放置略微升起的平台，已经是数世纪以来的典型设计，而且至今魅力依然。接下来的重要空间是一个宽敞的公共起居室，传统上称为“低年级学生活动室”，适合谈天、每周的社交活动、非正式的聚会以及一般性学习和休憩。一个小型图书馆和学习室也很重要，同样，靠近入口的学院领导办公区也一样重要。

最后，不仅为学生，而且还要为 2~3 个教员提供适宜的居住空间——包括监督整个社区的学院“主管”或“院长”，和专门负责学生生活的“主任”。学生居住单元的设计应能鼓励本科生在整个大学期间都想住在这里（通常的学位课程是 3~4 年）。实现这一目标的最佳途径之一是配置不同大小和质量的房间，允许学生根据自己的资历选择。所有学生便会理解，他们第

一年的房间可能并不是最好的，但如果留下来，将和其他人一样，有机会升级到更好的房间。

三．美国及世界范围内的第二次“学院制”模式复兴

今天，这些概念在什么地方正付诸实践呢？如前所述，一场英国式学院模式的真正复兴正悄然而至。刚才描述的组织原则和建筑元素正以各种风格 and 不同完成度在广泛多元的美国大学校园中被实施。有些案例中，现存的住宿学院系统正在扩充；有些案例中，全新的住宿学院正在建立；同时，有些案例中，建立起部分的系统，并等待将来的拓展，例如：

- 在位处新泽西州的普林斯顿大学，也就是 100 多年前伍德罗·威尔逊首次提出住宿制学院系统的地方，一个现存的局部性住宿制学院系统正在扩充。来年，每一位普林斯顿的本科生将隶属于大学中的一个小学院，就像在牛津和剑桥，以及哈佛和耶鲁。在这些新近建成的建筑中，最具雄心的是具有传统哥特风格的惠特曼学院，由德米特里·波菲里奥斯设计，他最近凭借这项工程获“德赖豪斯奖”。



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8 杜伦大学西尔德和圣必德学院
在一个设施全面的住宿制学院里, 通常有一间为资深教员提供的公共活动室, 适合社交活动、休憩和个人学习。它比低年级公共活动室小, 常常是学院历史纪念物的珍藏室。

9 弗吉尼亚大学布朗学院院长住所
教员领导力是住宿制学院的中心概念。这间在弗吉尼亚大学校园的早期美国式住宅, 是大学里住宿制学院之一布朗学院的院长正式行使职能的住所。底层用作学生和教员社交活动和聚会场所, 左侧的门廊直接联系到学院的办公区。学生住宿区在后部草坪的对面。



- 在位处得克萨斯州的莱斯大学, 由 20 世纪 50 年代建立的悠久成功的住宿制学院体系最近已完成扩建, 新增了邓肯学院和麦克穆特瑞学院。若想行之有效, 住宿制学院必须保持小规模, 而且, 对于如莱斯这样正在扩张的大学, 必须通过增加所容纳的学院数量, 才能维持单个学院的规模和质量。
 - 在位处康涅狄格的耶鲁大学, 两个新的住宿制学院的设计图纸正在建筑师罗伯特·斯特恩的绘图桌上。或许在不久的将来, 将加入到现有的 12 所学院的行列中。
- 正像哈佛及耶鲁大学在 30 年代创建一整套的住宿制学院体系一样, 在最近的 20 年间, 已有几所美国大学建立了相似的体系, 为所有本科生提供住宿。
- 在肯塔基州的莫瑞州立大学是一所中等级别的公立大学。它直接借鉴英国模式, 创立拥有 8 个住宿制学院的系统。和流行观念恰恰相反,

莫瑞州立大学案例证明，和许多私立大学一样，住宿制学院系统也可以在公立大学中蓬勃发展。而它的成功依靠的不是财富，而是通过聪明整合有限的社会及建筑要素。

- 在密苏里州的杜鲁门州立大学，另一所中等级别的公立大学也已为本科生建立起一套住宿制学院系统。
- 宾夕法尼亚大学，一所大型都市大学，已经雄心勃勃地将其整个本科生群体组织在拥有 11 个学院制住所的系统中，其中大部分由现有的住宿制学院集合而成。当然，住宿制学院体系可得益于全新建造的建筑，但在很多情况下，旧建筑改造就完全够用。

在许多校园里，局部性住宿制学院系统，或者整个系统的初始计划，正在不断发展。

- 在田纳西州的范德堡大学已经完成了中央校区综合性再设计的初始阶段，从而支持将来住宿制学院系统的发展。
- 密西西比大学刚刚建成并开始使用两所新建的住宿制学院，这是该州的首例，而且如果资金允许的话，他们还打算建造更多。
- 在得克萨斯州的贝勒大学新近开放了第一所住宿制学院——布鲁克斯学院，由汉伯瑞·埃文斯事务所设计，以传统的形式优美展现了设计。
- 在纽约州的康乃尔大学新近完成其西校园的重新设计，建立了由 5 个学院制“住所”构成的系统，这显示出在这一经典的大型德国式州立大学里，英国的学院模式确实能被引入。

学院模式已经被重新高度重视。由美国流行的新闻杂志排名的前 25 所大学里，其中一半目前已有、或正在计划完整的、或局部的住宿制学院系统。而且，这一住宿制学院运动决不仅局限于美国本土。

- 住宿制学院系统早已在加拿大、澳大利亚和新西兰等国生根，而且长期繁荣发展。它们都基于英国模式。在过去 20 年间的众多发展中，我们特别要指出的是加拿大英属哥伦比亚大学的绿色学院和圣约翰学院，以及新西兰奥塔哥大学的阿贝学院。这些住宿制学院特别招收研究生，而非本科生。
- 在英国本土，最近几年间全新的住宿制书院已在杜伦大学、肯特大学和罗汉普顿大学建成。尽管学院模式起源于英国，但此模式一直长期局限在牛津和剑桥大学。现在有很多其他英国大学也开始拥有某种模式的住宿制书院系统。
- 在德国，新建的雅各布大学，一所面向国际学生的私立自由文理大学，从设计一开始便采用学院模式。已经完成四所住宿制学院，而且在将来会

有更多类似学院出现。

- 在亚洲，住宿制学院引起教育者和建筑师的特殊关注，而且，已在新加坡国立大学、澳门大学以及香港中文大学积极推进。在近 5 年内，香港中文大学在原有的 4 所学院的基础上又增加了 5 所。正如大学所说，这些新建的住宿制学院“是为创造一个亲切的社区，在这里，学生和教员学习、分享以及成熟思想；是为学生营造一个环境，在这里，有意气相投的学院生活和学习体验；是为了提供田园式的关爱、素质教育以及通才教育；是为了通过正式和非正式的教育拓宽学生的视野”。

四．学院制生活

1636 年，美国第一所高等教育机构在马萨诸塞州一处狭小且仅有 6 年历史的拓荒定居点成立。事件的一位见证人曾想，或许可以聘请一些学者来此授课，但在那个贫穷的年代，试图建立像在大洋彼岸著名的英国大学里纯正的住宿制学院当然不明智。但是，早期作家科顿·马撒告诉我们，马萨诸塞州的殖民领导者们认为，他们的学生应“以一种更为学院制的生活方式进行培养”是至关重要的²。他们知道，只是学习书本从图书馆里就能获得——而且在我们所处的今天，可以从图书馆和互联网上获得。但是，光是书本学习并不能获得全面教育。只有共同生活在一个亲切、持久、具有学术多样性的社区里，才能获得大学教育的所有益处，而且才能学习到“如何最佳运用其才智，对他们身处的这个世界有所贡献。”

【英文正文原文】

1. Higher Education in the United States

To an outside observer, the most distinctive feature of American higher education is its organizational diversity. In every region of the country one can find a wide range of universities that are public and private, large and small, selective and non-selective, religious and secular, research-oriented and teaching-oriented, urban and rural, wealthy and less wealthy, career-focused and focused on general education. This organizational diversity is mirrored in the diversity of architectural styles, elements, and configurations that can be found on American campuses. From Georgian brick in the 1700s, to Neoclassical marble and Romanesque sandstone in the 1800s, to Gothic granite in the early 1900s, to Modernist concrete and steel in the late 1900s, the architectural variation that can be seen on many large American campuses makes each university a living museum of educational design.

As confusing as all this organizational diversity can be to an outside observer, or to a young person trying to decide which university to attend, there are in fact two broad historical models that underlie nearly all of the variation. If we wish to understand some of the most important trends in university planning and community design today—in particular, the trend

to establish “residential colleges” on large campuses—we must first understand what these two traditional models are and how they differ.

The two traditions are the British “collegiate” model of higher education, and the Germanic or Continental-European university model of higher education. These two historical models represent very different conceptions of how educational communities should be organized, and over the last two hundred years their relative influence in the United States has waxed and waned.

a. The British ‘Collegiate’ Model of Higher Education

The great universities of Oxford and Cambridge in England are the prototypes of the British “collegiate” model of higher education. Although Oxford and Cambridge are both large institutions, every student belongs to a small residential college of only a few hundred members within the university, a residential college that serves as a campus home. From Peterhouse and King’s College at Cambridge, to Balliol College and Lady Margaret Hall at Oxford, the sixty “Oxbridge” residential colleges are not merely dormitories—sleeping places—but are instead independent households furnished with their own dining rooms, recreational spaces, small libraries, and gardens. The educational philosophy that governs them is the idea that students learn and grow, both personally and intellectually, from being immersed in community life. And the architecture of those colleges, whatever its style, is intended to support that governing philosophy.

Early American higher education was based on this British educational philosophy, and it emphasized not only academic training, but also the moral development of students and the development of character and individuality. This educational philosophy dictated that students should not merely attend lectures given by scholars, but that each institution should also provide housing and common dining facilities for its students and its teachers, and that students and teachers should live and dine together regularly in an almost family-like environment. “Book-learning alone might be got by lectures and reading,” observed the educational historian Samuel Eliot Morison, “but it was only by studying and disputing, eating and drinking, playing and praying as members of the same collegiate community, in close and constant association with each other and with their tutors, that the priceless gift of character could be imparted to young men.”

In the spacious early-American countryside, the British model of higher education gave rise to the long and distinguished tradition of small and often rural “liberal arts colleges” in the United States. These institutions have provided broad educational offerings to undergraduates for generations, and their residential campuses, which usually provide housing for all students, are often among the most beautiful in the country. From Amherst College in the East, to Oberlin College in the Midwest, to Pomona College on the Pacific coast, these small and independent campuses see it as their purpose not to produce workers, but citizens; not to train students to make a living, but to make a worthwhile life. They continue to reflect today, in their educational programs and their campus architecture, the British collegiate philosophy that guided American higher education for its first two hundred years: the philosophy that says learning and growth take place most effectively in a small community setting.

b. The Germanic ‘University’ Model and the First Collegiate Revival

In the early and mid-1800s, however, a second and very different organizational model of higher education began to gain a foothold in the United States, and along with it came a different view of campus architecture and campus housing in particular. This was the Germanic or Continental-European university model, and it took as its exemplar not the old collegiate universities of Oxford and Cambridge in Great Britain, but the then-new University of Berlin in Germany.

Advocates of the Germanic model, concerned more with advanced research and graduate studies, and with scholarship both for its own sake and in the service of the state, tended to de-emphasize undergraduate education and saw little value in student housing. They were content to let students find lodging wherever they could around the town, and they in no way conceived of community living itself as an important component of higher education.

The Germanic university model rose in popularity all through the 1800s, and its influence was responsible for the growth of many of the great public (state-sponsored) universities in the United States: the University of Michigan, the University of Texas, the University of California, and many others. Sprawling campuses with large libraries, science laboratories, lecture halls, and office buildings became the architectural focus, so much so that the University of Michigan’s president in the mid-1800s tried to eliminate dormitories entirely.

But by the late 1800s and early 1900s it was becoming clear that, for all its success in research and scholarship, the Germanic university model lacked an important element that the older small colleges possessed: a sense of community, and a concern for the personal development of each student as an individual. The Germanic-style professor, complained Woodrow Wilson at Princeton University in 1909, did not see himself “as related in any responsible way to the life of his pupils, to what they should be doing and thinking of between one class exercise and another, and conceived his whole duty to have been performed when he had given his lecture.”

A number of prominent educational leaders of this period, including Frank Bolles and Abbott Lawrence Lowell at Harvard University and Robert Gordon Sproul at the University of California, were sympathetic to Wilson’s complaint, and they began to look again at the British collegiate model to see how it could be adapted to, or recreated within, the large modern university. “One of the problems of such an institution as the University of California,” wrote Sproul in 1930, is to find a way to organize the campus so that “the advantages of the small group may be retained without sacrificing the even greater advantages of membership in a large university.” Sproul’s solution was Bowles Hall, a magnificent campus residence that was conceived not simply as a sleeping place—a dormitory—but as a residential community of scholars with its own dining room and library, just like the earlier residential colleges of Oxford and Cambridge in Great Britain.

Bowles Hall was a pioneering single-building example, but the most complete reestablishment of the British collegiate model took place at Harvard and Yale universities in the 1930s, and at Rice University in the 1950s, where ambitious educational leaders reorganized the whole undergraduate population, and all the supporting architecture

as well, into collections of residential colleges or “houses”—again, very like the independent residential colleges of Oxford and Cambridge. These magnificent collections of buildings, many of them constructed in the Georgian and Gothic Revival styles, gave students small, decentralized, faculty-led homes within their respective universities, where they could benefit from close daily interaction with one another and with teachers and visiting scholars, and where they could have a multitude of opportunities to contribute their own talents to the community.

Despite the great success of the collegiate model at Harvard and Yale in the 1930s, the revival of this decentralized organizational pattern within other large American institutions was slow to catch on during the middle part of the twentieth century. The crisis of World War II put heavy research demands on universities, and government money flooded into science laboratories and graduate research programs. After the war many campuses grew enormously in size thanks to state-sponsored educational funding for returning veterans, and some university leaders began to think more like businessmen seeking expansion for its own sake, rather than like educators aiming to cultivate an environment of academic excellence. The low-quality student housing that was built of necessity on many campuses during these years, particularly in the 1960s and 1970s, is among the worst you can find, in both design and materials, from any period.

But by the 1990s the negative consequences of rapid expansion, and the concomitant neglect of traditional small-college values, were being recognized again. An isolated undergraduate in a vast 3000-student dormitory at the University of Texas, for example, wrote that on campus she “did not feel the same sense of belonging and inclusion” that she had known all her life. “In my hometown I had a strong support system that included all ages of people from throughout the community,” but in her enormous and impersonal university this kind of personal attention and encouragement had vanished.

In response to concerns like these, and out of a genuine acknowledgment today that many of the organizational structures and architectural configurations that have sprouted up on big campuses since the 1960s have become bureaucratic and inhumane, a true revival of the British collegiate model is now underway, both in the United States and around the world. University faculty, students, planners, and architects, have once again been trying to address Robert Gordon Sproul’s question from 1930: How should we organize a large campus so as to preserve the advantages of the small group in the context of a large institution?

2. The Four Foundations of the Collegiate Model

Today’s educators and educational planners recognize that the answer to Sproul’s question has four parts, each part describing one of the four organizational foundations of a successful residential college system. These four organizational foundations in turn govern the choice of architectural elements and configurations that are needed to support a successful residential college community.

First, the life of a large campus should be decentralized into smaller units of about 400 members each. Students will continue to take classes and make use of the teaching and research facilities of the university as a whole, but between classes and at the end of the day they return to their small campus homes—their residential colleges—where they are known one-by-one as individual members. And the notion of *membership* in this context is vital. It is natural for architects, planners, and administrators to think in

terms of rooms, beds, and rents, but the primary *educational* objective is to create small social groupings—small communities or societies—within the larger whole. This is what residential colleges are. When we begin with social groups of the right size, many architectural elements will be seen to follow along naturally and automatically.

Second, the leadership of these residential college units should be in the hands of the academic faculty, rather than in the hands of full-time administrative staff. Education at its best is always local and personal, and one of our design objectives should be to increase the amount of personal contact students and teachers have with one another outside of the formal classroom. Experienced teachers and scholars can always find ways to enrich the residential environment with informal educational opportunities that integrate classroom learning and daily life. Housing managers and administrative staff, however well meaning, rarely have the experience and academic background necessary to do this effectively.

Third, the residential college units that make up the university as a whole should be socially stable and permanent. In a university with a four-year course of study, for example, a residential college of 400 members will have an annual turnover of only 25%. (100 members graduating each year, and 100 new members arriving to take their place.) This kind of stability will allow a wide range of traditions to develop within the residential college, and a familiar and comfortable rhythm of life will permit students to take intellectual chances and stretch their abilities. The life of each year in a residential college should not replace the life of the year before, but should instead build upon it and enrich it.

Fourth, each residential college within the university should be an academic cross-section of the university as a whole. While it might be tempting to group students according to subject—all the science students in one building, for example, and all the business students in another—this is not the best educational arrangement. If students are to benefit from the great range of talents and interests that can be found on the campus as a whole, they must be immersed in that diversity on a daily basis. A good residential college should mix its students and teachers together so the engineer will learn from the poet, the biologist from the historian, the anthropologist from the physicist.

Given these four organizational principles, what are the essential architectural elements and configurations needed to support a successful residential college? I offer a detailed answer to that question on my website, “The Collegiate Way: Residential Colleges and the Renewal of University Life” (collegiateway.org), which I invite all interested readers to visit. In brief, the essential elements and configurations relate to the overall architectural structure of the college, the indoor common spaces, and the residential rooms for students and faculty.

In its overall architectural structure, a residential college within a larger university should always be low-rise (never more than four storeys tall), and its blocks or wings should focus on a small central lawn, garden, or courtyard that is seen as the geographical heart of the community, and through which everyone passes each day. The grounds should be enclosed within a low wall or hedge so there will be a distinct sense of being “in” the college when entering onto the grounds.

Well-designed indoor common spaces are also essential since the aim of a residential college is to cultivate community life in the service of education.

The most important common space is a large dining hall for all the members, one that can also serve as a concert hall for musical performances and a theater for plays and films. A large and simple rectangular hall, with good natural lighting, moveable furniture, and a slightly raised platform at one end has been the standard design for centuries, and it is a good one still today. Next in importance is a large common living room, traditionally called the “junior common room,” suitable for conversation, weekly social events, informal meetings, and general-purpose study and relaxation. A small library and study room is also important, as is an office suite near the entrance for the academic head of the college.

Finally, suitable residential spaces should be available not just for students, but also for two or three faculty members—the “master” or “president” of the college who oversees the whole community, and the “dean” who has special responsibility for student life. The individual student rooms should be designed in such a way as to encourage undergraduates to remain in residence during their whole course of study (three or four years in a typical degree program). One of the best ways to accomplish this is to have rooms that differ in size and quality, and to allow students to select their own rooms on the basis of seniority. All students will then come to understand that during the first year their room may not be the best, but if they remain they will have an opportunity—the same opportunity as everyone else—to advance to a better room of their choice.

3. The Second Collegiate Revival in America and Around the World

Where are these ideas being put into place today? As noted above, there is a genuine revival of the British collegiate model now underway, and the organizational principles and architectural elements just described are being implemented, in many different styles and to varying degrees of completeness, on a wide variety of American university campuses. In some cases existing residential college systems are being expanded; in other cases wholly new systems of residential colleges are being established; and in still other cases partial systems are being established that may be expanded in the future. For example:

- At Princeton University in New Jersey, where Woodrow Wilson first proposed a system of residential colleges more than 100 years ago, an existing partial system of residential colleges is now being expanded so that in coming years every Princeton undergraduate will belong to a small college within the university, just as at Oxford and Cambridge, and Harvard and Yale. The most ambitious of these newly completed structures, Whitman College, was designed in a traditional Gothic style by Demetri Porphyrios, who recently won the Driehaus Prize for his architectural work.
- At Rice University in Texas the long-established and successful residential college system, founded in the 1950s, has recently been expanded with the addition of Duncan College and McMurtry College. Residential colleges must remain small if they are to be effective, and so an expanding university like Rice must multiply the number of colleges it contains in order to preserve their individual size and quality.
- At Yale University in Connecticut plans have been drawn up by

Robert A.M. Stern Architects for two new residential colleges that may be added in the near future to the existing twelve.

Complete systems of residential colleges designed to accommodate the entire undergraduate population, like those created at Harvard and Yale in the 1930s, have been established in the last twenty years at several American universities:

- Murray State University in Kentucky, a mid-level public university, established a system of eight residential colleges conceived directly on the British model. The Murray State example demonstrates, contrary to popular opinion, that residential college systems can thrive at public universities just as well as they can at wealthy private universities. The success of the model doesn't depend upon wealth, but rather upon the intelligent arrangement of the available social and architectural components.
- Truman State University in Missouri, another mid-level public university, has established a system of five residential colleges for its undergraduate population.
- The University of Pennsylvania, a large urban university, has ambitiously organized its whole undergraduate body into a system of eleven collegiate houses, most of them assembled out of existing residential buildings. Residential college systems can benefit from wholly new construction, of course, but in many cases renovation of existing buildings is all that is needed.

Partial residential college systems, or initial plans for complete systems, are also being developed on many campuses:

- Vanderbilt University in Tennessee has completed the initial phase of a comprehensive redesign of its central campus to support the development of a future residential college system.
- The University of Mississippi has just built and opened two new residential colleges—the first to be established in that state—and it intends to build more as funds become available.
- Baylor University in Texas has recently opened its first residential college, Brooks College, beautifully designed in a traditional style by the architectural firm of Hanbury Evans Wright Vlattas.
- Cornell University in New York has recently completed a redesign of its West Campus to establish a system of five collegiate “houses,” demonstrating how the British collegiate model can indeed be introduced into a classic large Germanic state university.

The collegiate model has again become so highly regarded that half of the top twenty-five universities in the United States, as ranked by the popular *U.S. News* magazine, now either have, or are planning, complete or partial residential college systems. And this residential college movement is by no means confined to the United States:

- Residential college systems exist and have long flourished in Canada, Australia, and New Zealand, all established on the British model. Among many developments in the last two decades we

can particularly mention the establishment of Green College and St. John's College at the University of British Columbia in Canada, and the establishment of Abbey College at the University of Otago in New Zealand, all of them residential colleges that specifically cater to graduate students rather than undergraduates.

- In Britain itself new residential colleges have been established in the last few years at the universities of Durham, Kent, and Roehampton. Although the collegiate model originated in Britain, it was long confined to the two old universities of Oxford and Cambridge. Now many other British universities have some form of residential college system as well.

- In Germany, the newly-established Jacobs University, a private liberal arts university serving an international student population, has been designed from the beginning on a collegiate plan, with four residential colleges already in place and more expected in the future.

And of special interest to educators and architects in Asia, the residential college model is now being energetically pursued at the National University of Singapore, the University of Macau, and the Chinese University of Hong Kong. In the last five years at CUHK, five new residential colleges have been added to four already in place. These new residential colleges are intended, the university says, "to foster an intimate community where students and academic staff learn, share and grow intellectually; to provide an environment for congenial college life and learning for students; to provide pastoral care, whole-person education, and general education; and to broaden students' perspectives through formal and non-formal education."

4. The Collegiate Way of Living

The first institution of higher education in America was established in Massachusetts in 1636, in a small frontier settlement that was barely six years old. One observer thought that perhaps a few scholars could be hired to deliver lectures there, but given the poverty of the times it certainly wouldn't be wise to try to establish a genuine residential college like those that existed in the great British universities on the other side of the Atlantic. But the leaders of the Massachusetts colony, the early writer Cotton Mather tells us, thought it was essential that their students be "brought up in a more Collegiate Way of living." Book-learning alone, they knew, could be gotten from a library—and in our day it can be gotten from a library and the Internet. But book-learning alone does not make for a comprehensive education. It is only by living together in a small, permanent, home-like, academically diverse community that students can gain the full benefits of a university education, and can learn how best to contribute their own talents to the world around them.

Recommended Readings on Residential Colleges and Campus Architecture

Brooke, Christopher, & Roger Highfield. 1988. *Oxford and Cambridge*. Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press. (A beautifully illustrated volume on the history, buildings, and grounds of the two great collegiate universities of Britain.)

The Campus Guide series. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton Architectural Press. (The many volumes in this excellent series describe and illustrate the architecture of a wide range of American campuses. The ones on Yale [1999], Harvard [2001], and Rice [2001] universities are especially valuable for their descriptions of the residential colleges.)

O'Hara, Robert J. 2000 to date. *The Collegiate Way: Residential Colleges and the Renewal of University Life* (collegiateway.org). (My comprehensive website is the international clearinghouse for residential college ideas, news, and information, both social and architectural.)

O'Hara, Robert J. 2001. How to build a residential college. *Planning for Higher Education*, 32(2): 52–57. (A brief outline of the social structure of a residential college community and how it can be assembled within a large university.)

Rudolph, Frederick. 1990. *The American College and University: A History*. Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia Press. (A comprehensive and beautifully written history of higher education in the United States, covering both the British collegiate and the Germanic university traditions.)

Ryan, Mark B. 2001. *A Collegiate Way of Living: Residential Colleges and a Yale Education*. New Haven, Connecticut: Jonathan Edwards College, Yale University. (The best collection of essays available on residential college life, written by a long-time residential college dean at Yale.)

Taylor, Kevin. 1994. *Central Cambridge: A Guide to the University and Colleges*. Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press. (A good brief guide to the architecture and history of the residential colleges of Cambridge University.)

Veysey, Laurence R. 1965. *The Emergence of the American University*. Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago Press. (An excellent scholarly account of the rise of the Germanic university model in the United States.)