Penn's Great Expansion: Postwar Urban Renewal and the Alliance between Private Universities and the Public Sector

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STROLLING ALONG THE STATELY LAWNS and cobbled walks of the historic core of the University of Pennsylvania campus, it is hard to imagine the tangle of city streets, trolley lines, and concrete sidewalks ensnaring the Ivy League campus in 1948. The diagonal of Woodland Avenue, part of the state highway system and a laceration in the center of the West Philadelphia campus, daily carried scores of trolleys and hundreds of automobiles past the green serpentine stone edifices of Logan and College Halls. John Boyles's iconic statue of Benjamin Franklin presided over the noisy thoroughfare, which was a perpetual source of disruption for the campus's lecture halls. Locust Street crossed 36th Street just a short distance north of Woodland, contributing to a congested gaggle of people, stoplights, and machines. A foot-traffic analysis of these intersections from November 1946 shows about twenty-seven thousand pedestrian crossings over a three-day period.[1] Student-oriented small businesses, many of them of low quality and shady appearance, stood cheek-by-jowl with deteriorating campus buildings along Woodland Avenue and 36th and 37th Streets. The celebrated

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[1] G. W. Armstrong, office manager, to William H. DuBarry, executive vice president, Dec. 3, 1946, box 29, folder "Development Program (Committee on Physical Development)—II 1945–1950," Office of the President Records (UPA 4), University of Pennsylvania Archives and Records Center (hereafter UARC), Philadelphia, PA.

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urban planner Martin Meyerson, the university's president from 1970 to 1981, recalled that when he arrived at Penn in 1952 as an associate professor in the Department of City and Regional Planning, the streets threading the campus "were choked with traffic and crowded with noisily distracting commercial uses," and buildings "had drifted into obsolescence and even decay."[2] These were not the hallmarks of the great modern research university the Penn trustees envisaged in the 1948 master development plan, the university's first since 1913.

With the adoption of the 1948 plan, Penn embarked on the largest expansion in its history. The Great Expansion—a term we use to distinguish this extended period of prodigious institutional growth and improvement from Penn's first expansion in West Philadelphia at the turn of the twentieth century—was the beneficiary of urban renewal politics and policies in the 1950s and 1960s. Philadelphia's reformist, pro-growth Democratic leaders and city planners enthusiastically supported Penn's expansion in West Philadelphia, hailing it as a bulwark against blight and an engine of economic and technological development at a time when Philadelphia's manufacturing industries had begun a precipitous decline. Philadelphia, like New York and Chicago, looked to its universities to play key roles in the city's urban renewal plans, and these universities—Penn, Drexel, and Temple—enlisted the city's help to achieve their expansionist goals. By 1970, the redevelopment properties owned or controlled by Penn made up the lion's share of land targeted by the Redevelopment Authority of Philadelphia (RDA) for urban renewal in an eighty-block area of West Philadelphia. Penn was by far the dominant urban renewal university in Philadelphia. In fact, it was the nation's bellwether for this approach; no other higher education institution in the era of federally funded urban renewal (1949–74) made more use of urban renewal instruments or achieved a greater expansion in this period than Penn.

While previous scholarship on the American city has noted the intimate involvement of universities in national processes of urban redevelopment, no study has shown how urban universities and cities, to their mutual advantage, jointly shared their planning expertise and organizational innovations to counteract the "graying" of their respective localities. In addition to filling in this gap in the published record, this account of

[2] Martin Meyerson, *The University of Pennsylvania in Its Twenty-Fourth Decade, 1970–1980* (Philadelphia, 1981).

Penn's Great Expansion illustrates how universities and their cities built formidable partnerships for urban renewal that led to Section 112 of the 1959 Federal Housing Act, which gave them extraordinary powers to redevelop blighted urban neighborhoods in close proximity to campuses.

The Penn case further reveals how several major urban universities, acting through surrogates—nonprofit corporations or multi-institution commissions that were dominated by the universities—carved out spheres of influence to control the redevelopment of blight-threatened neighborhoods located beyond the official zone of campus expansion. In Penn's case, the West Philadelphia Corporation (WPC), a coalition of local higher education and medical institutions organized in 1959 by Penn president Gaylord P. Harnwell and his leadership team, acted as the university's surrogate in neighborhoods where it had no legal warrant for urban renewal. Whereas the families and merchants displaced in Penn's federally funded redevelopment zone—RDA Units 1, 2, and 4—were predominately white, in Unit 3, the displaced population was primarily black. The Unit 3 story line shifts the article's focus from publicly funded private institutional growth, abetted by the interlocking directorate of Penn and the Philadelphia City Planning Commission (PCPC), to race and the university's fractious relationship with West Philadelphia's African American community.

Penn's Postwar Ascendancy

Penn officialdom was motivated by more than the physical disarray of its aging campus in the decades after World War II. In the 1950s and 1960s, the institution entered a fierce, unprecedented competition for wealth, power, and prestige among the nation's research universities. From the mid-1950s to 1970, US research universities spent furiously and haphazardly on buildings, graduate programs, faculty salaries, and expanded administrative staffs to support their burgeoning research edifices. Bigness was deemed a blessing and a virtue; it was also a point of pride. Universities spent profligately on the strength of a buoyant national economy and the federal government's Cold War commitment to basic and applied research. Flush with federal research dollars, Penn was no exception. The university was a prime beneficiary of the vastly accelerated flow of federal R&D grants following the Soviet launch of the Sputnik I communications satellite in 1957. The federal budget for basic research on the

nation's campuses tripled during this period of unprecedented federal largesse—a period that historian Roger Geiger calls "the golden age of academic science"—with federal support rising from 43 to 79 percent of university research expenditures by 1964.[3] Of particular importance to Penn, whose main strength was biomedical research, was the sponsorship of the National Institutes of Health (NIH), which provided both research dollars and infrastructural support for research facilities and PhD training after 1958.[4]

The charter plan of the Great Expansion was the Educational Survey (1954–59), which provided the academic rationale for Penn's facilities planning after 1962.[5] To fulfill the vision of the Educational Survey, Penn needed land. This was not "a general demand for space" but rather a demand for "specific adjacent and adjoining areas."[6] Baby-boom cohorts fueled the Great Expansion. The salient demographics were these: 76.4 million babies, accounting for approximately two-fifths of the total US population, were born between 1946 and 1964, with the college-age group constituting 24.7 million in 1960.[7] Between 1950 and 1970, the number of students in institutions of higher education more than tripled from 2.66 to 7.14 million. Driven by the GI Bill, the percentage of college students in the total population increased from 1.19 in 1946 to 1.76 in 1950; then it leveled off until the baby boomers started to come of age. Between 1960 and 1970, the decade with the greatest concentration of college-age boomers, the number of higher education matriculates as a percentage of the total population surged from 1.79 to 3.51.[8] Underpinning this leap

[3] Roger L. Geiger, *Research and Relevant Knowledge: American Research Universities since World War II* (New York, 1993), 163–66; quote 173–74,

[4] Ibid., 179–85, 210; John Terino, "In the Shadow of the Spreading Ivy: Science, Culture, and the Cold War at the University of Pennsylvania, 1950–1970" (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 2001), 227–28.

[5] University of Pennsylvania, *The Educational Survey*, 5 vols. (Philadelphia, 1959), in University of Pennsylvania Educational Survey Final Report and President's Summation Records, 1953–1960 (UPB 35.4), UARC.

[6] Julian H. Levi, "Ground Space for the University," in *The University, the City, and Urban Renewal*, ed. Charles G. Dobbins (Washington, DC, 1964), 9–10.

[7] James T. Patterson, *Grand Expectations: The United States, 1945–1974* (New York, 1996), 77–81, 621.

[8] US Bureau of the Census, *Statistical Abstract of the United States: 1950* (Washington, DC, 1950), 105; *Statistical Abstract of the United States: 1960* (Washington, DC, 1960), 212; *Statistical Abstract of the United States: 1972* (Washington, DC, 1972), 105. The GI Bill was not a driver of Penn's Great Expansion. The university reached its high-water mark of veteran enrollments in 1949, when the campus reported a total of 10,379 full-time students; that number diminished each year

was a flush national economy, parents' increasing recognition of the strong link between a college degree and social mobility, and the competitive growth of higher education institutions after midcentury. Keenly aware of the baby-boom phenomenon, Penn planners projected 41 percent growth in cumulative undergraduate student enrollments for the 1960s and a 65 percent increase for the two decades spanning 1960 to 1980. The university's Integrated Development Plan of 1962 called for, among numerous other building projects, the construction of new dormitories to house the majority of the 7,800 full-time students in the undergraduate colleges and 5,730 graduate and professional students expected by 1970.[9]

Phase I: Building the Pedestrian Enclave

Phase I (1948–62) of Penn's project to address its prospective postwar physical needs was marked by the alignment of Philadelphia's urban renewal plan with the university's 1948 campus master plan for the development of a pedestrian-oriented campus. Philadelphia's Democratic reformers and the city's renowned modernist planners (among them Edmund Bacon and G. Holmes Perkins) envisaged Penn as an anchor of Philadelphia's postwar revitalization. Actions taken by the city and the commonwealth in Phase I supported key elements of Penn's 1948 master plan. By 1962, Penn was well positioned to take full advantage of Section 112 of the 1959 Federal Housing Act, a codicil that Penn helped shape and whose terms redounded to the city's financial benefit.

* * *

After joining the Philadelphia City Planning Commission (PCPC) in 1946 as a senior land planner, Edmund Bacon teamed with the architects Oskar Stonorov and Louis Kahn and the commission's director, Robert Mitchell, to design the 1947 Better Philadelphia Exhibition, which was displayed publicly and with great fanfare on two floors of Gimbels' depart-

through 1952, with 8,491 full-time students; part-time enrollments followed the same downward trajectory. See "Report of the President" (unpublished report) (UPI 25.1), box 1, Reports of the University and its Branches (UPI), UARC.

[9] James L. Malone to David R. Goddard, encl., Jan. 27, 1965, box 3, folder 17; and *Integrated Development Plan* (Philadelphia, 1962), box 60, folder 21, both Office of the Provost General Files, 1924–1994 (UPA 6.4), UARC.

ment store in Center City.[10] The centerpiece was an elaborate model envisioning the dramatic redevelopment of Center City Philadelphia. "Standing in front of the exhibition," wrote the economist Kirk Petshek, "many a businessman began to think more concretely about what his city could become. . . . To their surprise, Philadelphians realized that their city could be exciting."[11] The display persuaded the Penn trustees that "if we can do it in Center City, we can do it throughout Philadelphia, and obviously West Philadelphia is just across the [Schuylkill] river, and in effect part of Center City or just an extension of it."[12]

The Better Philadelphia Exhibition was the first salvo in a decade of tremendous optimism and urban renewal activity orchestrated by the PCPC, in concert with the Greater Philadelphia Movement (GPM): a coalition of reform-minded business and professional elites that had been cofounded by Robert T. McCracken, an attorney and Penn trustee.[13] Philadelphia's new leaders shared in the postwar national climate of optimism that America's cities could be reformed and rebuilt.[14] In 1951, the GPM campaigned successfully for a new home rule charter, which "created a strong Mayoral office, overhauled City Council, proposed a strong

[10] Joseph S. Clark Jr., and Dennis J. Clark, "Rally and Relapse, 1946–1968," in *Philadelphia: A 300-Year History*, ed. Russell F. Weigley (New York, 1982), 650, 694–96.

[11] Kirk R. Petshek, *The Challenge of Urban Reform: Policies and Programs in Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1973), 23. Also see Christopher Klemek, *The Transatlantic Collapse of Urban Renewal: Postwar Urbanism from New York to Berlin* (Chicago, 2011), 68–77; Gregory L. Heller, "Salesman of Ideas: The Life Experiences That Shaped Edmund Bacon," in *Imagining Philadelphia: Edmund Bacon and the Future of the City*, ed. Scott Gabriel Knowles (Philadelphia, 2010), 328–31.

[12] Harold Taubin (former Penn planning director), interview by Lydia Messmer, Dec. 2, 1988, transcript, box 4, folder 9, Multimedia and Educational Technology Services Records (UPB 1.9 MM), UARC; also see and cf. Scott Cohen, "Urban Renewal in West Philadelphia: An Examination of the University of Pennsylvania's Planning, Expansion, and Community Role from the Mid-1940s to the Mid-1970s" (senior history honors thesis, University of Pennsylvania, 1998), 6, in UARC.

[13] Heller, "Salesman of Ideas," 154n55. Also see Petshek, *Challenge of Urban Reform*, 28–30; Jeanne R. Lowe, *Cities in a Race with Time: Progress and Poverty in America's Renewing Cities* (New York, 1967), 324–25.

[14] The city's decline would ultimately confound such optimism. World War II set the stage for a second great migration of black southerners to Philadelphia and other major cities outside the South. Between 1940 and 1950, Philadelphia's black population grew by 50 percent, from 250,000 to 375,000. The economic boom was short-lived, as tens of thousands of factory jobs disappeared after the war. The closing of Cramp's Shipyard; heavy layoffs at Baldwin Locomotive, Midvale Steel, Sun Ship, and the Franklin Arsenal; and, starting in the early 1950s, the movement of the city's textile jobs to nonunion southern cities, signaled the decline of Philadelphia manufacturing, with dire ramifications for blacks and working-class whites with insufficient means to leave their ethnic enclaves. The southern black influx continued into the 1950s, in-migration and natural population growth occurring against the backdrop of the city's diminished industrial base and the metropolitan area's transition to a service economy. By 1960, Philadelphia's African American population totaled more

merit system for city jobs, and created a number of appointed boards as well as reorganized several service departments in a rational format."[15] Elite Democratic reformers led by the patrician lawyer Joseph ("Gentleman Joe") Sill Clark Jr., the newly elected mayor, and Clark's fellow aristocrat Richardson Dilworth, the new district attorney, ousted the Republican Party machine. Clark, who served as mayor until 1955, when he ran successfully for the US Senate, was succeeded by Dilworth, who held the office until his resignation in 1962 to run (unsuccessfully) for governor.[16] Throughout the Clark-Dilworth era, redevelopment—and 45 percent of the city's urban renewal dollars by 1963—was "concentrated on the downtown area," apropos of recommendations from the RDA's Central Urban Renewal Area (CURA) study of 1956.[17] After 1959, Penn's expansion and the development of University City would be focal points of urban renewal activity outside Center City.[18]

The first step in the extended process that led to federally assisted university expansion in West Philadelphia was the PCPC's 1948 certification of a planning unit designated as the University Redevelopment Area, "an irregularly shaped section of West Philadelphia totaling about eighty blocks," bordered by Market Street on the north, South Street/Spruce Street and Woodland Avenue on the south and southwest, Schuylkill

than 529,000, a 41 percent increase since 1950, with blacks holding a 26.4 percent share of the city total. In the 1950s, white out-migration to the suburbs accounted for a loss of 69,000, or 3 percent, in the general population, a reduction that has not since been recouped. Discriminatory hiring practices at the new suburban plants combined with segregation in suburban housing markets to ghettoize blacks in Philadelphia, where they were excluded from the city's dwindling industrial base. See James Wolfinger, *Philadelphia Divided: Race and Politics in the City of Brotherly Love* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2007), 11–35, 111–73, 179–80, 191–203; Matthew J. Countryman, *Up South: Civil Rights and Black Power in Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 2005), 48–58; Carolyn Adams et al., *Philadelphia: Neighborhoods, Division and Conflict in a Postindustrial City* (Philadelphia, 1999), 17 (table 1.3), 31; US Bureau of the Census, Philadelphia County, PA, 1940–70, accessed from http://www.socialexplorer.com; Guian A. McKee, *The Problem of Jobs: Liberalism, Race, and Deindustrialization in Philadelphia* (Chicago, 2008), 41–82, 115–16, 132.

[15] Dennis Clark, *The Urban Ordeal: Reform and Policy in Philadelphia, 1947–1967* (Philadelphia, 1982), 3.

[16] For more on Clark and Dilworth, see John Morrison McLarnon III and G. Terry Madonna, "Damon and Pythias Reconsidered," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 136 (2012): 171–205.

[17] David W. Bartelt, "Renewing Center City Philadelphia: Whose City? Which Public's Interests?" in *Unequal Partnerships: The Political Economy of Urban Redevelopment in Postwar America*, ed. Gregory D. Squires (New Brunswick, NJ, 1989), 86–88; Petshek, *Challenge of Urban Reform*, chap. 6.

[18] Cf. Philadelphia (Pa.) Redevelopment Authority (hereafter RDA), *Annual Report* (Philadelphia, 1947–83), 1959–65 reports.

Avenue on the east, and 42nd Street on the west.[19] Here the planners delineated the boundaries of Penn's future growth, which, with a few notable exceptions to the north, would be directed westward from the historic core. Edward Hopkinson Jr., the PCPC's chairman from 1943 to 1956, no doubt influenced this certification. A senior partner of the investment firm Drexel and Company and a "very, very distinguished" and "powerful" figure in city affairs, Hopkinson also was a Penn trustee and a devoted alumnus (class of 1907).[20] The Penn trustees' campus development plan of October 1948 was an unsurprising response to the planning commission's proposal for the area's growth.[21] As early as 1945, the PCPC initiated negotiations with Penn to reroute trolleys and cars in the campus area. The starting point and enabling catalyst for the resulting joint PCPC-University of Pennsylvania transit plan was the city's decision to complete its long-delayed project to run the trains of the Market Street elevated railway through a subway tunnel from Center City to 46th Street in West Philadelphia. The connector tunnel carrying subway-surface trolleys under the university finally opened in November 1955. The "rumble and clatter of the Elevated" ended in 1956, with the demolition of the eyesore structure. The city demolished the fourteen-block section of the El above the new West Philadelphia tunnel in a six-month period.[22]

[19] Philadelphia City Planning Commission (hereafter PCPC), "University Redevelopment Area Plan" (tentative draft, Jan. 1950), box 30, Office of the President Records; Edmund Bacon, interview by Jeannette Nichols, May 1, 1975, Roy and Jeannette Nichols Project, box 1, folder "Bacon," History of the University Project Records, 1925–1977 (UPP 1), UARC.

[20] Edmund Bacon to F. Leonard, memorandum, Nov. 29, 1947, box 14 A2914, folder "Redevelopment—University 1946–1950," Philadelphia City Planning Commission Files (145.2) (hereafter PCPC Files), Philadelphia City Archives; Gaylord P. Harnwell and Marion Pond, interview by Jeannette Nichols, June 27, 1975, box 1, folder "Harnwell and Pond," History of the University Project Records. For Hopkinson's extraordinary influence with city agencies to relocate the Woodland Avenue trolleys underground, see John C. Hetherston, interview by Jeannette Nichols, Nov. 12, 1975, box 2, folder "Hetherston," ibid.

[21] Minutes, Oct. 25, 1948, *Minutes of the Trustees of the University of Pennsylvania*, 43 vols. (Philadelphia, 1749–1990), 25:92, 97a–97g, in Trustees of the University of Pennsylvania Minutes, 1974–Present (UPA 1.1), UARC.

[22] "Subway Extension in Full Use, El Is Ready for Demolition," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, Nov. 7, 1955; "Boon Is Predicted for W. Phila. Area with El's Removal," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, May 11, 1953; "El Expected to be Torn Down in 6 Months as 100 Workers Prepare Wrecking Jobs," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, Nov. 8, 1955. The repository for the *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin* articles is George D. McDowell Philadelphia Evening Bulletin Collection, Special Collections Research Center, Temple University Libraries, Philadelphia.

Construction of the subway-surface extension tunnel and two stations at Penn began in 1952, when Harold Stassen was president of the university. Stassen, who later would gain notoriety as a perennial candidate for the US presidency, is properly credited with building a new home for the Wharton School on the 3600 block of Locust Street and the Thomas Sovereign Gates Memorial Pavilion of the university hospital as well as for laying the foundation of a new laboratory building for physics, mathematics, and astronomy.[23] Two notable people associated with Stassen's presidency contributed significantly to the university's postwar expansion. The first is the aforementioned PCPC chair Edward Hopkinson Jr., who spearheaded the construction of the West Philadelphia subway extension tube under the campus.[24] The second is the modernist architect G. Holmes Perkins, who arrived at Penn in 1951 to serve as dean of the School of Fine Arts, having previously chaired Harvard's Department of Planning. In his remarkable twenty-year tenure as dean, Perkins restructured the formerly Beaux Arts–oriented school as the Graduate School of Fine Arts, built world-class programs in architecture and urban planning, and established what he called a "triumvirate" of architecture, landscape architecture, and city and regional planning. Perkins also had protean civic interests, and he became an enthusiastic proponent of urban renewal.[25] Perkins followed Hopkins as chair of the PCPC from 1958 to 1968—a position he wielded to advance the university's expansion plans.

[23] See Harold E. Stassen, "Four Years at Pennsylvania," *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Mar. 1953, 8–17; "Biographical Sketch," Guide to the Harold Stassen, 1907–2001, Papers, 1940–1957 (UPT 50 2775), UARC; Roy F. Nichols, *A Historian's Progress* (New York, 1968), 203; William H. DuBarry, "The Development Program of the University of Pennsylvania," speech to the West Philadelphia Realty Board, Apr. 5, 1954, box 14, A2914, folder "Redevelopment—University 1952–56," PCPC Files; "Penn Reveals New Plan for Expansion," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, Nov. 7, 1948. In Philadelphia even numbers, for example, 3600, denote the south side of east-west streets; odd-numbers, for example, 3601, denote the north side. Odd numbers mark the east side of north-south streets, even numbers the west side. The east-west streets radiating from the Center City grid are named streets; the north-south streets are numbered streets, with the numbers increasing to the west.

[24] The Penn planner John C. Hetherston said, "You can give Hopkinson the credit, more than any other single individual." Hetherston, interview by Nichols.

[25] G. Holmes Perkins, interview by Lydia Messmer, [1987], box 3, folder 39, Multimedia and Educational Technology Services Records; Ann L. Strong and George E. Thomas, *The Book of the School. 100 Years: The Graduate School of Fine Arts of the University of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1990); "G. Holmes Perkins, Dean & Architect" (obituary), *Almanac* 50, no. 2 (Sept. 7, 2004): 4; Klemek, *Transatlantic Collapse of Urban Renewal*, 95–97; Ethan Schrum, "Administering American Modernity: The Instrumental University in the Postwar United States" (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 2009), 98–103.

* * *

The RDA was established in 1946 as "a body corporate and politic established pursuant to the [Commonwealth of Pennsylvania] Urban Redevelopment Law of May 24, 1945 . . . and Resolution of the Council of the City of Philadelphia approved 21 May 1945 for the purpose of acquiring, replanning and redeveloping blighted areas within the City of Philadelphia."[26] Subject to approval by the Court of Common Pleas, the RDA could exercise eminent domain when the price offered for a property could not be settled with the owner; in this case it would confiscate the property and pay the owner an amount set by the court.[27] The 1945 legislation obligated the RDA to make "adequate provisions . . . to rehouse displaced families, if any, without undue hardship."[28] The redevelopment law authorized the RDA to sell the acquired properties to a developer—in Penn's case, the university trustees—who would provide "a guaranty of completion within specified time limits."[29]

The PCPC's general plan for the University Redevelopment Area left the RDA to plan the specific projects, subject to City Council's final approval.[30] In the early 1950s, the RDA acquired and razed properties on Penn's behalf for the new Wharton School and the David Rittenhouse Laboratories; in the absence of federal funding, Penn, the RDA's designated redeveloper, reimbursed the authority in full. Federal funds would not be available for a university project until the late 1950s.

In January 1955, the Penn trustees proposed to be the redeveloper for the blocks bounded by Walnut, 32nd, Chestnut, and 34th Streets.[31] Over

[26] "In the Matter of the Redevelopment Authority of the City of Philadelphia, University Redevelopment Area 'A' Proposal No. 2 (Physics Unit, 27th Ward)," Court of Common Pleas No. 7, June term, 1951, no. 235, box 14 A2914, folder "Redevelopment—University 1951," PCPC Files. G. Holmes Perkins drafted the 1945 Urban Redevelopment Law; Klemek, *Transatlantic Collapse of Urban Renewal*, 75–76.

[27] "In the Matter of the Redevelopment Authority."

[28] Edward Hopkinson Jr. to City Council, Mar. 19, 1951, box 14 A2914, folder "Redevelopment—University 1951," PCPC Files.

[29] J. H. Churchman (Drinker, Biddle, and Reath Law Offices) to Philip C. Pendleton, Esq., May 9, 1949, box 29, folder "Development Program (Committee on Physical Development—III)," Office of the President Records.

[30] Philadelphia City Council resolution, May 16, 1951, box 14 A2914, folder "Redevelopment—University 1951," PCPC Files.

[31] Francis J. Meyers (chairman, RDA) to Gaylord P. Harnwell, Dec. 7, 1954, box 47, folder "Development Program (Physical Plan—Redevelopment Authority-II, 1950–1953," Office of the President Records; Trustees of University of Pennsylvania to Francis J. Meyers, Jan. 19, 1955, and

the next two years, Gaylord Harnwell, Penn's president since 1953, ingratiated himself with Mayor Richardson Dilworth and members of the city's reform movement. Dilworth told him, "Never has a city administration had more wholehearted cooperation from, or a more pleasant relationship with the University than has this administration, and this due entirely to your efforts."[32] The appointment of Dean G. Holmes Perkins as chairman of the PCPC in 1958—"Mayor Dilworth's personal choice"—further sealed the alliance. Perkins had a close relationship with Edmund Bacon, executive director of the planning commission from 1949 to 1970, who taught a class on "Histories and Theories of Civic Design" in Perkins's school.[33] Harnwell called it "an unmixed blessing that several members of the Commission, including its Chairman, are closely identified with the University and neighboring institutions."[34]

By the spring of 1957, Penn had the city's writ to redevelop the Walnut-Chestnut blocks for women's housing, student activities, and off-street parking.[35] The plan was technically consistent with the "residential" intent of the PCPC's 1950 University Redevelopment Area plan and the "predominantly residential" requirement of the 1949 Housing Act, which authorized federal funding for urban renewal, "although the residences would be owned by an institution and the technical use would be institutional."[36] Designated by the RDA as Project A, Units 1 and 2, this working-class quadrant of 9.8 acres housed sundry low-end residential buildings

"Resolution #965: University Redevelopment Area—Selection of University of Pennsylvania as Redeveloper," [Jan. 21, 1955], box 14 A2914, folder "Redevelopment—University 1952–1956," PCPC Files. Also see Lillian Burns, interview by Jeannette Nichols, Oct. 2, 1975, box 1, folder "Burns," History of the University Project Records.

[32] Richardson Dilworth to Gaylord P. Harnwell, Sept. 26, 1956, box 99, folder "Philadelphia, City of (General)—I, 1955–1960," Office of the President Records. Dilworth and Joseph Clark had not had a cordial relationship with Harold Stassen, especially after Stassen, on the presidential campaign trail in 1949, called them "fellow travelers." Also see "Penn Closely Interlocked with Working of City," *Daily Pennsylvanian*, Jan. 15, 1954, in UARC.

[33] "Perkins Heads City Planners," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, Jan. 22, 1958; Edmund N. Bacon, interview by Lydia Messmer, May 25, 1988, transcript, box 2 folder 13, Multimedia and Educational Technology Service Records; Gregory L. Heller, *Ed Bacon: Planning, Politics, and the Building of Modern Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 2013), 207.

[34] Gaylord P. Harnwell, speech presented to the American Association of Urban Universities, Cincinnati, Nov. 6, 1960, edited typescript, box 10, folder 18, Gaylord P. Harnwell Papers (T50 H289), UARC.

[35] "City to Help University Acquire Needed Lands, Mayor Dilworth States," *Daily Pennsylvanian*, May 3, 1957.

[36] Francis J. Lammer (RDA) to Edmund N. Bacon (PCPC), Feb. 4, 1955, box 14 A2914, folder "Redevelopment—University 1952–1956," PCPC Files.

and commercial operations—the area was "very disreputable," a former Penn planner recalled.[37] The project displaced a total of 553 people, 97 percent of whom were white.[38] Their initial "storm of protest" notwithstanding, most of the owners were placated by the "fair market" amount the RDA paid for their properties.[39]

By the late autumn of 1958, the RDA "wrecking ball" had converted the entire area into "a rubble-strewn wasteland"; the interior streets, including Woodland Avenue from 32nd to 34th Street, were closed by city ordinances in 1960.[40] In the fall of 1960, the first campus building, "constructed expressly as a women's dormitory," opened in Unit 2, flanking Walnut Street.[41] Across 33rd Street in Unit 1, however, Penn was stymied. James Creese, president of the Drexel Institute since 1945, demanded a piece of the redevelopment pie for Drexel on the Chestnut Street side. The problem had started with a draft of City Ordinance 1102, which awarded Unit 1 to Penn. The ordinance stalled in City Council in May 1957 after Creese wrote Council President James H. J. Tate urging him to postpone the final vote on the bill until Drexel could work out an agreement with Penn on Unit 1.[42] Under pressure from Tate, Penn negotiated with Drexel, and the two parties finally agreed to split the unit. Penn received the Walnut Street side of the block (Unit 1A), where it built the Laboratory for Research on the Structure of Matter in 1962; on the Chestnut side (Unit 1B), Drexel built the James Creese Student

[37] Burns, interview by Nichols. Acreage counts can be found in West Philadelphia Corporation, *Fifth Annual Report* (Philadelphia, 1965), sec. 3, box 152, folder "Community Relations—West Philadelphia Corporation Annual Reports 1960–1965," Office of the President Records.

[38] RDA fact sheet, [Dec. 1956], box 14 A2914, folder "Redevelopment—University 1952–1956," PCPC Files.

[39] "150 Neighbors Fight Building Plan of Penn," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, Feb. 27, 1957; "Penn Residents Ask Fair Price," ibid., Mar. 19, 1957; "U of P Neighbors Decide to Fight Evictions After All," ibid., Apr. 2, 1957; "Last 3 Families Bitter Amid the Rubble," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, Aug. 31, 1958. Adam Klarfeld, who examined the deeds for these properties, notes the paucity of litigation in the wake of the title transfers. "Private Taking, Public Good? Penn's Expansion in West Philadelphia from 1945 to 1975 (history honors thesis, University of Pennsylvania, 1999), 31–32, UARC.

[40] "2 End Battle of Sansom Street," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, Nov. 28, 1958, UARC. Minutes, May 13, 1960, in *Minutes of Trustees*, 27:305, UARC; UARC, *Mapping Penn: Land Acquisitions, 1870–2007*, http://venus.cml.upenn.edu/MappingPenn; "Woodland Closing Approved by City," *Daily Pennsylvanian*, May 16, 1960, UARC. This structure, designed by Eero Saarinen, was later named Hill Hall. It is now called Hill College House.

[41] "The Harnwell Administration: Physical Facilities" (typescript with penciled edits, [1963]), box 10, folder 16, Harnwell Papers.

[42] "Council Acts on Drexel Plea," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, May 23, 1957.

Zeta Psi fraternity house in the foreground, with the new Women's Residence Hall behind it (above), 1961. Collections of the University Archives and Records Center.

Contemporary perspective: Hill College House and Women's Walk through Hill Square (formerly Hill Field), with the edge of McNeil Center for Early American Studies at the left of the Walk. James R. Mann, Facilities and Real Estate Services, University of Pennsylvania.

Center.[43] This project was Penn's first involvement in a federally funded project. RDA records show that the net cost of Project A (Unit 1A and 1B, Unit 2) was $2.9 million (about $23 million in 2013 dollars), of which the federal government paid two-thirds and the city and state one-third, commensurate with the terms of the 1949 Housing Act.[44] Forty years would pass before Penn built again on Hill Field, the huge swath of vacant land fanning out from Hill House where two generations of Penn and Drexel students frolicked.

* * *

Established by the state legislature in 1949, the multipurpose Pennsylvania General State Authority (GSA) originally included only land-grant colleges in its higher education category; in 1956, however, the General State Authority Act was amended to include "universities receiving State aid," a qualification that Penn met by virtue of its School of Veterinary Medicine, which received commonwealth funds. Henceforth, Penn was eligible to receive GSA funds for capital improvements.[45]

By February 1958, the GSA had agreed to pay $4 million of the estimated $4.5 million required to build a new undergraduate library at Penn (the final cost of the project would be $5 million—about $39 million in 2013 dollars).[46] Fortuitously for Penn, the sublease agreement entailed "the nominal rental of one dollar per year," an arrangement that would hold for all new GSA buildings until 1963.[47] The new Van Pelt Library was targeted for a trapezoidal block opposite College Hall that Penn had owned since the 1920s. In the 1950s, aged brick and brownstone buildings on the site housed, incongruously, a shoe-repair shop, a commercial

[43] Alfred H. Williams (chair of trustees, Drexel Institute of Technology) to Charles J. Biddle, Esq., June 12, 1957, Drexel trustees executive committee, minutes (attachment), June 13, 1957, Drexel University Archives and Special Collections, Philadelphia, PA; Burns, interview by Nichols; "James Creese Student Center," May 18, 1973, box 9, folder 18, Harnwell Papers. For a map of the units, see RDA, *Annual Report* (1961), 20–21.

[44] RDA, *Annual Report* (1960), 26, table 2.

[45] "Information on General State Authority Prepared by University's General Counsel," June 4, 1956, box 99, folder "Pennsylvania, Commonwealth of (General State Authority)—II, 1955–1960," Office of the President Records. See in same box, GSA, *Annual Report* (Harrisburg, PA, 1958).

[46] George H. Turner, director of Physical Plant Planning, to E. Craig Sweeten, director of Development Fund, Feb. 7, 1958, box 99, folder "Pennsylvania, Commonwealth of (General State Authority)—VII, 1955–1960," Office of the President Records.

[47] "Memorandum: General State Authority Legislation," Aug. 27, 1968, box 1, folder "Campus Expansion," ibid.

View of College Hall and the Woodland Avenue trolley-car tracks, probably early 1950s. This photograph shows John Boyles's iconic statue of Benjamin Franklin, which the University acquired in 1939. The trolley cars were replaced by a subway-surface tunnel, 1952–55; Woodland Avenue was closed in 1957–58. Collections of the University Archives and Records Center.

laundry, a bustling chain cafeteria, a bookstore, several university departments and administrative offices, and at least six fraternity houses. Demolition of the 3400 block of Walnut Street and the razing of buildings in the 3401 block of Woodland were under way in March 1957.[48]

Simultaneously, Penn acted to remove "the rude thrust of Woodland Avenue" in the middle of the campus.[49] By this time, Penn owned or controlled all of the Woodland properties between 34th and 37th Streets.

[48] "Buildings to be Torn Down in Woodland, Walnut Block," *Daily Pennsylvanian*, Oct. 9, 1956; "Site of New Library Will Be Grassed Area Instead of Parking Lot," ibid., Feb. 7, 1957; "Razing Progresses on Walnut Street," ibid., Mar. 6, 1957; "Demolition Begins on Woodland Ave.; Redevelopment Continues," ibid., Mar. 25, 1957.

[49] Harold E. Stassen, "Four Years at Pennsylvania, September 17, 1948–January 19, 1953: A Report to the Trustees of the University of Pennsylvania," Jan. 19, 1953, 44, in "Report of the President" (unpublished report), box 2, Reports of the University and Its Branches.

Two government actions enabled the removal of Woodland Avenue. In the spring of 1956, the Pennsylvania General Assembly struck Woodland Avenue between 34th and 37th Streets from the state highway system. It remained for the City of Philadelphia to make the final disposition of the roadbed. The deal for Woodland was consummated in the summer of 1957, when the city conveyed title to the university; in January 1958, workers began laying sod on the former street surface in the shadow of College Hall.[50]

Fronting the former avenue's footprint—the future Woodland Walk—the Charles Patterson Van Pelt Library, the university's central research repository, opened in 1962.[51] Five years later, after demolishing the remaining brownstones on the northwest side of the Woodland trapezoid adjacent to the Van Pelt Library, Penn built the Dietrich graduate wing of the university libraries with GSA funds. From 1962 to 1970, the GSA funded nineteen new buildings on the Penn campus, many of them constructed on properties previously owned by the university.[52]

Penn built a large part of its new West Central Campus with GSA funds. In 1956, the university requested that the GSA fund a social science center comprising four buildings. That proposal was approved in 1958.[53] In 1961 and 1962, the Redevelopment Authority acquired properties fronting Walnut Street for the Graduate School of Education, one of the new buildings to be funded by the GSA that would enclose the Social Science Plaza. Prosaically labeled "Social Science I," the project, part of RDA Unit 4 (more below), was to be built in the eastern half of the block bounded by Walnut, Locust, 37th, and 38th Streets. In addition to the Graduate School of Education, the center included the Department of Political Science (Stiteler Hall), the School of Social Work (Castor Hall), and the Department of Psychology.[54] The full block,

[50] "Gov. Leader Signs Bill Closing Woodland Ave. from 36th to 39th Sts.," *Daily Pennsylvanian*, May 14, 1956; quote from "Section of Woodland Ave. Transferred to University," ibid., Sept. 25, 1957. "Woodland Ave. Surface to be Torn up Today for Landscaping Work," ibid., Jan. 13, 1958.

[51] George E. Thomas, *University of Pennsylvania: An Architectural Tour* (New York, 2002), 43–44.

[52] Untitled table, box 26, folder "General State Authority 70–71," Vice President for Coordinated Planning Correspondence Records, 1962–1974 (UPB 101.4), UARC.

[53] "Proposals to the General State Authority for the 1959–61 Biennium," [April 1958?], and "Presentation to The General State Authority from the University of Pennsylvania for the Construction of Educational Facilities," May 1958, box 99, folder "Pennsylvania, Commonwealth of (General State Authority)—VII, 1955–1960," Office of the President Records.

[54] *Mapping Penn.*

Looking northeast on Woodland Avenue from 36th and Locust Street toward 34th and Walnut Streets, ca. 1955. Collections of the University Archives and Records Center.

Contemporary view: Van Pelt Library on Woodland Walk at the left, with Meyerson Hall of the School of Design on the right. Michael M. Koehler, photographer. Collections of the University Archives and Records Center.

home to apartment rentals and low-end eateries, among other densely packed structures, was overwhelmingly white prior to urban renewal.[55] The four GSA-funded social science buildings were completed in 1965 and 1966. In 1966, the RDA claimed the other half of the block for Penn. The "Social Science II" project consisted of a new home for the departments of sociology and economics (both controlled by the Wharton School) sited on properties Penn had acquired between 1931 and 1961 in the block bounded by Spruce, Locust, 37th, and 38th Streets; this project came to fruition in 1970 as the five-story McNeil Building.[56]

The Social Science I quadrangle stood adjacent to the new Annenberg School for Communication, established in 1958 with a donation of $3 million from publishing magnate and Wharton School alumnus Walter Annenberg. In 1960, the RDA, at Penn's expense (this was a non–federally funded project), began acquiring and leveling 2.24 total acres in the quadrant of blocks from 36th to 37th Streets between Walnut and Locust. This was Penn's second expansion project west of the historic core; the first had been the Wharton School's Dietrich Hall. The RDA demolitions spared several Victorian houses and several fraternities in the 3601 block of Locust Street. The Annenberg School, a limestone and glass structure, opened in 1962 with a line of sight south toward Dietrich Hall, its brick entranceway from Locust Street covering the footprint of tiny South McAlpin Street.[57] In 1971, the Annenberg Center theater complex, a brown-brick mastiff that presents a windowless flank to Walnut Street, arose above a plaza shared with the School for Communication.[58] Like other Harnwell-era buildings that abutted Walnut—the Graduate School of Education, the Faculty Club, and the Van Pelt-Dietrich Libraries—the Annenberg Center turned away from the street toward the

[55] US Bureau of the Census, *US Census of Housing, 1960. City Blocks: Philadelphia, Pa.* (Washington, DC, 1961) (hereafter *City Blocks* and year); "Units #4 and #5: Information from Census per block in Units #4 and #5," [1962–63], box 11, folder "#Unit 4 1962–63," West Philadelphia Corporation Records (Record Group 350, 701), Special Collections Research Center, Temple University Libraries (hereafter WPC Records).

[56] *Mapping Penn.*

[57] This same year the streets department closed Locust Street between 36th and 37th Streets. "The Good Citizen," *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Mar./Apr. 2003, http://www.upenn.edu/gazette/0303/giresi.html; RDA, *Information for Owners and Residents: University Area* (Philadelphia, [1960]), http://www.archives.upenn.edu/primdocs/upf/upf8_5/upf8_5b25f12annenbergsch_redevlpmt.pdf; *Mapping Penn*; Klarfeld, "Private Taking, Public Good," 33–34.

[58] George E. Thomas and David B. Brownlee, *Building America's First University: An Historical and Architectural Guide to the University of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 2000), 186–87.

pedestrian core of the new campus in an attempt to create a semblance of a contemplative venue removed from noise and bustle of the street.

By the end of Phase I (1962), the RDA and the GSA had expanded the university's holdings almost to 38th Street. In Phase II, the RDA, working in the largest urban renewal unit in West Philadelphia, acquired new groupings of blocks for the university's expansion. In the early 1960s, the RDA staked out three new urban renewal units in the University Redevelopment Area. Unit 4, at Penn, charted the development of the West Central Campus, the creation of the West Campus beyond 38th Street, and Penn-controlled commercial redevelopment along Walnut Street. Unit 5 accommodated an expansion of the Drexel Institute. Unit 3, established in the area of Market Street, designated the core of urban renewal blocks that would ultimately compose the University City Science Center, the brainchild of the West Philadelphia Corporation (WPC), a consortium of University City "higher eds and meds" that was dominated by Penn and that functioned in no small way to serve Penn's interests. By 1970 and the end of the Harnwell era, the size of the public-sector largesse—city, state, and federal—expended upon Penn, a private institution, would be enormous.

Phase II: Campus Expansion in RDA Unit 4

In the fall of 1959, the university appointed Harold Taubin, an experienced planner who had studied at the Harvard Graduate School of Design when G. Holmes Perkins was that school's dean, to direct the first University Planning Office, which Harnwell established close on the heels of the report of the Educational Survey. "Our original mandate," Taubin recalled, "was to work on the physical plan for the University. . . . We were to be acquainted with the educational policies and objectives of the educational survey during the 1950s and translate . . . those conceptions and objectives, etc. into physical plant proposals for consideration by the authoritative bodies to be established by the President."[59] Establishment of the Planning Office also coincided neatly with the passage of Section 112 of the US Housing Act of 1959, which gave the City of Philadelphia and the Unviersity of Pennsylvania the power and the means to cut a wide swath in West Philadelphia.

[59] Harold Taubin, interview by Jeannette Nichols, Dec. 19, 1975, box 4, folder "Taubin," History of the University Project Records.

Penn and two other urban universities played instrumental roles in creating the pivotal 1959 legislation. According to Lillian Burns, a former Penn planner:

> The University of Pennsylvania, with John Moore as the front man, and the University of Chicago, with Julian Levi, who was president of the South East Chicago Commission, closely related with the University of Chicago, [and] the president of New York University . . . our three institutions worked very hard to develop a strategy for . . . introducing into the national legislation a section that would be . . . helpful to university expansion and, after discussing and looking at it, we came up with a proposal for Section 112, which provided for compatible neighborhoods for universities.[60]

Moore, Penn's business vice president, joined Levi and NYU vice president George Bauman in speaking for the amendment in hearings held by the House Committee on Banking and Currency in the winter of 1959. "Like many other urban universities," Moore told the committee, "the University of Pennsylvania . . . cannot expand unless it is given some instrument to assist it in its endeavors"; Penn required sixty-three acres to remedy its "deficiency in land."[61] At the same hearings, Harnwell's ally Richardson Dilworth testified that Philadelphia required $156 million to complete its urban renewal program—at least $10 million of which, he claimed, was needed to counter blight in University City.[62]

The draft of Section 112 of the 1959 Housing Act, which amended Title I of the 1949 Housing Act, first appeared as a document accompanying Levi's oral testimony before the Senate Committee on Banking and Currency. The amendment had the backing of the American Association of Universities (AAU), under whose auspices the AAU's urban institutions conducted a survey of "their environmental problems."[63] Levi told the committee, "The story over the entire country is that it is virtually

[60] Burns, interview by Nichols.

[61] House Committee on Banking and Currency, *Housing Act of 1959: Hearings before the Subcommittee on Housing*, 86th Cong., 1st sess., Jan. 28, 29, 30, 31, Feb. 2, 3, 1959, quote from p. 248.

[62] Ibid., 601–14, esp. 602–3.

[63] Senate Committee on Banking and Currency, *Housing Act of 1959: Hearings before the Subcommittee on Various Bills to Amend the Federal Housing Laws*, 86th Cong., 1st sess., Jan. 22, 23, 26, 27, 28, 1959, pp. 501–2. Lillian Burns recalled, "We had a lot of meetings and we met with representatives of institutions from around the country, developing this and trying to get it organized"; Burns, interview by Nichols.

impossible for such institutions to assemble usable construction sites through the acquisition of needed land by negotiation." He sketched "an even grimmer" scenario: "environments of slum and blight or near blight" were undermining "the community of scholars" by driving them into the suburbs.[64] John Moore filed a written statement with the senate committee and also presented oral testimony. The omnibus housing bill with Section 112 easily passed both houses, which were controlled by Democratic majorities. Another Harnwell ally, the Philadelphia reformer Joseph Clark, a member of the Senate Banking and Currency Committee, stood squarely behind the bill, which, after some jousting with President Eisenhower, was signed into law on September 23, 1959.[65]

Section 112 provided a strong incentive for cities to initiate collaboration with universities in urban renewal projects: the cost of such projects would be credited to the city's one-third share of funding wherever the city chose to spend it.[66] Prior to Section 112, wrote Mark Winkeller:

> the direct benefit to the city was not always clear since the land was often removed from the tax rolls after local and federal authorities had paid to acquire and clear the land as well as to relocate the former occupants. It appeared that the immediate benefits to the city from selling cleared land to the university might not necessarily outweigh the direct costs required by the federal government under the terms of its matching federal/local grant system under urban renewal. Levi's Section 112 was designed to remove that possibility.[67]

The city was eligible to benefit directly from campus urban renewal in the form of federal credits that could be applied as part or all of the city's contribution to a federally funded urban renewal project—credits that could include properties acquired by a university before 1959. Accordingly, Penn's Planning Office "certified [the properties the University acquired

[64] Senate Committee on Banking and Currency, *Housing Act of 1959*, 503. Elsewhere, Levi would famously describe urban universities as "collections of scholarly commuters rather than communities of scholars." Levi cited in Kermit C. Parsons, "Universities and Cities: The Terms between Them," *Journal of Higher Education* 34 (1963): 205–16.

[65] "Eisenhower Signs 3d Housing Bill; F.H.A. Rates Rise," *New York Times*, Sept. 24, 1959; "Mason Acclaims New Housing Act," ibid., Sept. 25, 1959.

[66] Kenneth Ashworth, "Urban Renewal and the University: A Tool for Campus Expansion and Neighborhood Improvement," *Journal of Higher Education* 35 (1964): 493–96.

[67] Mark Joel Winkeller, "University Expansion in Urban Neighborhoods: An Exploratory Analysis" (PhD diss., Brandeis University, 1972), 37.

from July 1952 to February 1961] to the City so that they could use that amount of money as part of the City's matching funds to the federal funds for Urban Renewal projects in the city of Philadelphia, not just in Unit 3 or Unit 4."[68]

In the 1950s and 1960s, many other urban universities confronted the specter of declining neighborhoods on their doorsteps, and, like Penn, they required land in their boundary areas for campus expansion and private development commensurate with their institutional needs. According to a knowledgeable observer at the time:

> By mid-1962, 34 separate renewal projects involving Section 112 credits from 38 institutions of higher education or from hospitals were in project development. Another 51 projects were being planned or discussed. Section 112 credits for institutional land purchases and relocation expenses were estimated at $32,000,000 for the approved projects and $112,000 for the projects in some stage of planning or discussion, a total of $144,000.[69]

* * *

In the spring of 1959, Gaylord Harnwell responded to a letter from the RDA's executive director, Francis J. Lammer, which recommended "a rather large scale acquisition by the University of Pennsylvania in order to accomplish the redevelopment of a much larger area—'University City.'" Harnwell laid out plans for a cluster of blocks roughly bounded by Spruce and Chestnut Streets on the north and south and 36th and 40th Streets on the east and west; his priorities for these blocks included undergraduate and graduate dormitories, academic buildings, and local retail and restaurant development. Of particular note were plans to construct dormitories in blocks from Walnut to Spruce between 38th and 40th Streets, which would move the campus deeper into West Philadelphia, and to redevelop the blocks from Walnut to Sansom between 34th and 36th Streets for university offices and high-end, campus-related retail busi-

[68] Burns, interview by Nichols.

[69] Kermit C. Parsons, "Universities and Cities: The Terms of the Truce between Them," *Journal of Higher Education* 34 (1963): 207; also see William L. Slayton (commissioner, Urban Renewal Administration, Housing and Home Finance Agency), "Universities: Their Role in Urban Renewal" (presentation to WPC, Philadelphia, Sept. 20, 1962), box 152, folder "Community Relations—West Phila. Corporation General 1960–1965 IV," Office of the President Records.

nesses.[70] A year later, Harold Taubin's Planning Office produced the first Campus Development Plan, "a general guide for the University's physical development," which was approved by the PCPC; the Penn trustees agreed that the 1961 plan would be continuously updated to reflect new needs and opportunities.[71]

In May 1962, the trustees approved the Integrated Development Plan. Drawing from the 1954–59 Educational Survey and subsequent developments, this document specified the university's educational and research goals and embedded them in a set of capital proposals, many of which came to fruition as Unit 4 projects, notably undergraduate and graduate housing.[72] Such was the importance of the 1962 Integrated Development Plan, which incorporated the capital projects of the 1961 Campus Development Plan, that the trustees established a new vice presidency for coordinated planning. To raise the money that would fund the plan, the trustees launched a $93-million development campaign for 1965–70. This highly successful push, which raised $100,103,000 by May 1969, helped underwrite the capital projects in the Integrated Development Plan.[73]

Also in 1962, City Council authorized the RDA's establishment of Unit 4 (Penn) and Unit 5 (Drexel).[74] The plan for Unit 4, a 49.3-acre agglomeration that included four groupings of blocks tortuously configured from 34th to 40th Streets between Chestnut and Spruce, was aligned with the University Area Development Plan of 1950 and periodic updates that incorporated Penn's continuous-planning process.[75] Authorization by the Housing and Home Finance Administration (HHFA) and the award

[70] Francis J. Lammer to Gaylord P. Harnwell, Apr. 23, 1959; Harnwell to Lammer, May 11, 1959, box 2, folder "Redevelopment Authority 1962–63," VP for Coordinated Planning Correspondence Records; Minutes, May 8, 1959, *Minutes of the Trustees*, 27:124, 127–28, Trustees of the University of Pennsylvania Minutes.

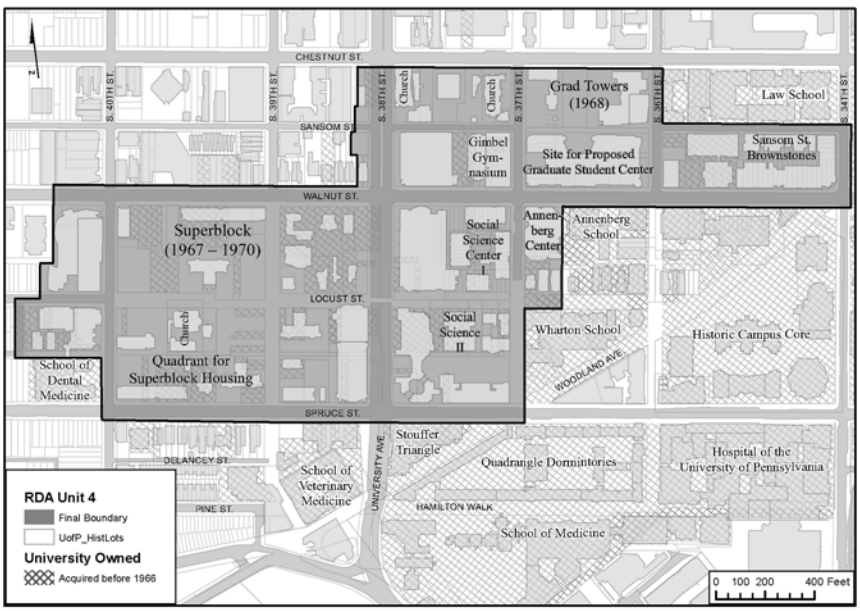
[71] University Planning Office, "University of Pennsylvania Development Plan" (report to the president, Mar. 1961), 22, box 126, Office of the President Records; "Penn Campus Planning History Project," prologue 1AA, folder "Facilities Planning A10," Office of the University Architect Harold Taubin Planning History Files (UPJ 9.4), UARC.

[72] University of Pennsylvania, *Integrated Development Plan* (Philadelphia, 1962), box 126, Office of the President Records.

[73] Hetherston, interview by Nichols; "The Best Years are Just Ahead," *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Jan. 1965, 6–13; "$100,000 Smile," ibid., May 1969, 8–9.

[74] RDA, *Annual Report* (1962), 31.

[75] RDA, "Urban Renewal Area Data," Nov. 1961, document in *Survey and Planning Application: University City—Unit No. 4 Urban Renewal Area* (Philadelphia, Mar. 1962), Fisher Fine Arts Library, University of Pennsylvania.



RDA Unit 4. GIS map by J. M. Duffin. Collections of the University Archives and Records Center.

of federal urban renewal funds to the RDA as a two-to-one match gave the Redevelopment Authority its writ to execute the plan.[76] The Survey and Planning Application for Unit 4, completed in January 1962, listed 1,065 families living in the unit, 966 (90.7 percent) of which were white, and 99 (9.3 percent) black; also listed were 85 individuals and 99 "business concerns."[77] To accomplish the goals of the 1962 Integrated Development Plan and its periodic updates, the university required "a single zoning designation" for Unit 4. Without an "institutional development zone" (IDZ), the university would be entangled in "10 different zoning designations" and "niggling variance requirements," having to appeal to the Zoning Board of Adjustments each time it needed a variance in any of the categories. City Council approved the IDZ in 1965.[78]

[76] Philadelphia Redevelopment Authority Public Information Office, *How Urban Renewal Works in Philadelphia: A Step-by-Step Description of the City's Urban Renewal Procedure* (Philadelphia, 1967), 1–7; Harold Taubin, "The University Environment," in Dobbin, *University, the City, and Urban Renewal,* 27n1.

[77] RDA, *Survey and Planning Application: University City—Unit No. 4.*

[78] "City Council Rezones Penn Campus, Clearing Way for Fine Arts Building," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, Dec. 10, 1965; quote from editorial "What Zoning for Penn?" ibid., Nov. 16, 1965;

* * *

Thirty-Eighth Street, a one-way, north-south street that figured prominently in Unit 4, presented a formidable problem for Penn, as the city planned to widen the street into a "major boulevard" to accommodate the heavy traffic unleashed by the elimination of Woodland Avenue to its east. Indeed, as early as 1946, city planners had anticipated the congestive effects of removing the Woodland diagonal from the campus between 38th and Market Streets.[79] By the late sixties, the dangers posed by widening 38th Street in the absence of a pedestrian bridge were abundantly evident; foot traffic through the intersections of 38th Street and Spruce, Locust, and Walnut Streets was heavy, consisting of some twenty thousand daily crossings.[80] The pedestrian bridge was essential to Harnwell's project of establishing a contiguous campus between 32nd and 40th Streets; the bridge would join the newly planned residential West Campus, the jewel of Unit 4 planning, with the West Central Campus. Penn's Unit 4 planning priorities also included closing Locust Street west of 37th Street to 40th Street, extending redevelopment on the Social Science Center I block to 38th Street, and expanding the Wharton School.

Two sets of redevelopment projects completed Penn's expansion to 38th Street. Part of the Wharton School's expansion in Unit 4 came at the expense of the eighteen-unit Victoria Apartments at the southeast corner of 38th and Locust, property Penn acquired in 1926.[81] The RDA leveled the aging Victoria and cleared the rubble for a parking lot that covered the site until 1986, when the university built the Steinberg Conference Center/Aresty Institute for Executive Education. One block to the east, in the area of 37th and Spruce Streets, the RDA bulldozed a commercial district for Vance Hall, the Wharton School's brick-and-glass graduate building, which opened in 1973, its entrance facing the former roadbed of Irving Street. In 1966, the RDA condemned the properties

also see University of Pennsylvania, *Campus Development Plan* (Philadelphia, Apr. 1966), box 21, folder "Campus Design Study 68–69," VP for Coordinated Planning Correspondence Records.

[79] Raymond F. Leonard (PCPC), to Edmund N. Bacon, memorandum, Sept. 6, 1946, and Bacon to Leonard, memorandum, Nov. 29, 1947, box 14 A2914, folder "Redevelopment—University 1946–1950," PCPC Files.

[80] Arthur R. Freedman (Office of Planning and Design) to Victor Rebor (Southeastern Pennsylvania Transit Authority [SEPTA]), Nov. 18, 1969, box 24, folder "38th Street 1969–70," VP for Coordinated Planning Correspondence Records.

[81] See 1942 and 1962 Land Use Maps, Map Collection, Free Library of Philadelphia, at http://libwww.freelibrary.org/maps/mosaic/. These maps can also be viewed at the *Greater Philadelphia GeoHistory Network* website at http://www.philageohistory.org/tiles/viewer.

between Social Science Center I and the east side of 38th Street for clearance and transfer to Penn.[82] Here the university erected cheaply built, single-story structures intended to be temporary quarters for the university bookstore and for retail merchants displaced by projects in Unit 4. These unfortunate buildings endured until the late 1990s, when the Wharton School finally bulldozed the block for construction of the massive, $140-million Huntsman Hall, which opened in 2002.

The Class of 1949 pedestrian bridge was the last Unit 4 project in the West Central Campus. In order to meet the city's clearance standard of 16.6 feet, construction of a gradually sloping, reinforced-concrete pedestrian ramp over 38th Street required lowering the street eight feet below its present elevation. The accompanying street-widening project was under way in 1970, though not before undergraduates had already settled into new dormitories in the Superblock, the moniker given to the modernist residential enclave west of the thoroughfare.[83] Finally completed in 1973, "the bridge," declared Harold Taubin, "has enabled the University to create a continuous pedestrian-oriented enclave."[84]

A "tripartite agreement" between the RDA, the Pennsylvania Higher Education Facilities Authority (HEFA), and the university governed redevelopment of the undergraduate Superblock as well as the block bounded by Chestnut, 36th, Samson, and 37th Streets, which was redeveloped for two high-rise graduate dormitories. The RDA conveyed the properties to the HEFA, which built and then leased the dormitories to Penn for forty years. The university's obligation was a semiannual rent to amortize the loan; after forty years Penn would own the buildings.[85]

Before redevelopment, the Superblock comprised four crowded residential blocks that included remnants of West Philadelphia's "streetcar suburb," among them several fine Victorian houses and stately turn-of-the-century mansions built by Philadelphia's Drexel, Fels, Eisenlohr, and Potts families; St. Mary's Episcopal Church, which dated to 1873; and a

[82] *Mapping Penn.*

[83] "38th and Locust Street Pedestrian Plaza and Bridge Program" (typescript draft, [1968?]), box 20, folder "38th Street 67–68," VP for Coordinated Planning Correspondence Records; RDA, *Annual Report* (1968), 31.

[84] Harold Taubin, *A Brief History and Compilation of Trustee Actions Concerned with the Planning and Development of the West Philadelphia Campus* (Philadelphia, Sept. 1976), box 55, folder 19, Taubin Planning History Files.

[85] Pennsylvania Higher Education Facilities Authority (hereafter HEFA), "Official Statement in Regard to $56,600.00, University of Pennsylvania Revenue Bonds of 1968" (preliminary draft, Aug. 1968), box 21, folder "Higher Education 1968–69," ibid.

branch of the Philadelphia Free Library at the corner of 40th and Walnut Streets. The overwhelming majority of the blocks' 1,220 residents were white.[86] Students lived in boardinghouses and fraternities, the latter contributing a nighttime racket to the neighborhood.[87] Most of the mansions and Victorians were spared the wrecking ball, as were the church and the library. The other structures, including thirteen fraternities, were leveled in 1968 and 1969, leaving a wasteland on which the new dormitories would rise.[88] The streets department closed four thoroughfares in the Superblock: Locust, Chancellor, and Irving in 1968 and 1969 and 39th Street in 1971 and 1975.[89]

The Unit 4 plan called for three T-shaped, concrete-and-steel dormitories of twenty-five stories patterned on the model of Le Corbusier's "tall towers," each to house approximately one thousand students. Three low-rise dormitories—four-story walk-ups to accommodate 550 students—were also planned, as well as a dining commons building and a parking garage.[90] The RDA acquired the properties in 1966 and conveyed them to the HEFA in 1969. G. Holmes Perkins spearheaded development of the modernist Superblock complex and wielded his authority heavy-handedly as chair of the PCPC to forestall an objection by the RDA that the plan "seemed to have a lot of open space and the land wasn't used as densely as it had been before." Perkins's architectural firm was a consultant to the project, a genuine conflict of interest. "In this case we were supporting the interests of the city," Perkins unabashedly told the *Evening Bulletin*, "I think the city was being extraordinarily well served."[91] In any event, the six Superblock residence halls opened between 1970 and 1972.[92]

[86] *City Blocks*, 1960. Displacement data for these blocks are not available for this study.

[87] Fran Scott, interview by John Puckett, Sept. 27, 2008.

[88] Unit 4 urban renewal compelled the relocation of seventeen fraternities, some of them to the Victorian 3901 block of Spruce Street. "Fraternity Relocation" (handwritten chart, [1968–69]), box 21, folder "Fraternities 68–69"; Lillian G. Burns to Henry M. Chance III, memorandum, Oct. 27, 1967, box 19, folder "Fraternities 1967–68"; Agreement between Trustees of the University of Pennsylvania and the Delancy Street Residents Association, Jan. 17, 1967, folder "Fraternities 1969–70," all in VP for Coordinated Planning Correspondence Records.

[89] Active Property Files 57, 389, 405, 410, University Real Estate Title Papers, Office of the Treasurer, (UPH 500), UARC.

[90] HEFA, "Official Statement."

[91] "Redevelopment Staff Acts on Orders, Reverses Opposition to Penn Housing," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, Jan. 28, 1968. A photograph in Strong and Thomas, *Book of the School*, 50, shows Perkins-Romañach as associate architects for the Superblock. In February 1968, Mayor James Tate refused to renew Perkins's appointment as planning commission chair.

[92] Late in his life, Perkins told a reporter that the decision "to go up in the air" was not driven by his commitment to modernism: "It wasn't a philosophical idea at all. It wasn't saying this was how

Construction of high- and low-rise dormitories in the Super Block area of Unit 4, 1970 (looking east from 40th Street, with St. Mary's Episcopal Church at center). Collections of the University Archives and Records Center.

By the early 1960s, Penn could boast three buildings designed by world-famous international modernists: Hill Hall, by Eero Saarinen, and the Richards Biology Building and Goddard Laboratories, both by Louis Kahn. Yet as the Great Expansion rolled out, the university relied on architects of lesser distinction—garden-variety modernists approved by the General State Authority—to design, among other structures, the Van Pelt/Dietrich library complex and the buildings in the two social science centers, in a palette of brown brick with concrete trim. Today, Penn's eclectic campus retains a strong modernist component from the Harnwell era—the GSA buildings, the Le Corbusier–style undergraduate Superblock, and the concrete-and-steel Graduate Towers on the 3600 block of Chestnut Street, also in Unit 4, completed in 1970.

you ought to live, or this was a better way to live. But the fact was that if you were going to put 3,500 students on that block, that was the only way you could do it." Yochi Dreazen, "The Man behind the Superblock," *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Sept./Oct.1999, 12–13. On Perkins in the broader context of American modernism, see Jill Pearlman, *Inventing American Modernism: Joseph Hudnut, Walter Gropius, and the Bauhaus Legacy at Harvard* (Charlottesville, VA, 2007), 13 and passim.

* * *

In Unit 4, Section 112 allowed Penn to replace marginal businesses on the boundary streets of the central campus—Walnut on the north, Spruce on the south—with academic buildings, administrative offices, and upscale retail operations. In 1967, the General State Authority completed the university's Franklin Building, for administration and general services, at the center of the 3401 block of Walnut Street. Its next-door neighbor, the art deco West Philadelphia Title and Trust Company at the corner of 36th and Walnut Streets, would be the only pre–urban renewal building left standing after the Walnut clearances; later renamed the Mellon Bank Building, it now houses a women's clothing chain.[93] In 1966, two blocks to the west, the GSA-funded Bernard F. Gimbel Gymnasium (today's David S. Pottruck Health and Fitness Center) arose on the northwest corner of 37th and Walnut Streets, a site previously occupied by Kelly and Cohen, a popular campus eatery displaced by Unit 4 redevelopment and relocated on 38th Street.[94]

Penn planned two large-scale projects for the Walnut Street commercial corridor between 34th and 37th Streets: a university graduate center and computer center, and an eleven-story building for university offices and upscale retail and chain restaurant operations.[95] The plan also called for the renovation and commercial development of mid-nineteenth-century brownstones on Sansom Street between 34th and 36th Streets. The goal was to "bring to the University the same liveliness that is provided by Harvard Square."[96] As early as 1963, Walnut Street property owners prepared to mount a legal challenge to urban renewal in Unit 4. University planners worried that Louis Weisenthal, an alleged slum lord and speculator who owned at least twenty-eight rental properties in Unit 4, including ten in the 3401 block of Walnut, would tie up the university in litigation while he jockeyed to raise the value of his buildings.[97] According to the *Daily Pennsylvanian*,

[93] *Mapping Penn*; Thomas and Brownlee, *Building America's First University*, 268–71.

[94] Thomas, *Architectural Tour*, 138; "University Ousts Local Merchants," *Daily Pennsylvanian*, Feb. 25, 1965.

[95] "University Square: The Plan for 3401 Walnut Street," *Almanac*, Nov. 23, 1971, 7, clipping, box 26, folder "Commercial 1971–72," VP for Coordinated Planning Correspondence Records.

[96] Executive Planning Committee on the Physical Plant, minutes, Oct. 6, 1969, box 26, folder "Commercial 1971–72," ibid.

[97] Lillian G. Burns to John C. Hetherston, memorandum, June 21, 1963, box 2, folder "Redevelopment Unit #4 1962–63," and stenographic transcript of meeting held on Wednesday, Feb.

Weisenthal's commercial properties were in a state of disrepair: "The ceiling literally fell on Jos. A Banks [a clothing store] a month ago, crashing to the floor with three large fluorescent light fixtures in tow, and totally smashing a heavy wooden armchair, besides slicing a three-inch piece out of a wooden clothes rack . . . . Merchants have complained of hundreds of leaks in the buildings, causing linoleum to break and crack."[98]

At issue in the 3601 block of Walnut were properties owned by the restaurateur Charles Pagano and his family, which occupied "the major portion of the site allocated for the construction of the computer center."[99] Pagano joined Weisenthal and another litigant in filing a preliminary objection with the RDA, challenging the city's claim that Unit 4 was blighted.[100] "Well, as far as I can see, it's firmly blighted," remarked Edmund Bacon.[101] To avoid protracted litigation, even though Pagano's case was flimsy, the RDA arranged a deal that designated him as the redeveloper of two commercial corners at 38th and Chestnut Streets. Penn's attorneys and the RDA also cut a deal with Weisenthal whereby he agreed to withdraw his preliminary objection and foreswear further legal action. In the late spring of 1968, the RDA designated Weisenthal as the redeveloper for three areas, one being the lucrative southwest corner of 36th and Chestnut, where retail storefronts were planned for the first floor of the proposed Graduate Towers. Sweetening the pot, the Penn trustees designated Weisenthal as the rental agent for the planned commercial district in the 3401 block of Walnut, adding $106,000 ($713,000 in 2013 dollars) to seal the deal.[102]

1, 1967 at the RDA, box 18, folder "Redevelopment Unit #4 1966–67," VP for Coordinated Planning Correspondence Records; Also see "Lou Weisenthal's Properties" (unpublished list, Feb. 13, 1967), box 11, folder "Units 4 and 5 Litigation 1967–68," WPC Records.

[98] "Weisenthal Says Properties Not Blighted," *Daily Pennsylvanian*, May 1, 1968.

[99] "Impact of Objections by Weisenthal, Pagano, and Raymond on Implementation of the Campus Development Plan" (typescript draft, Feb. 2, 1967), box 18, folder "Redevelopment Unit #4 1966–67," VP for Coordinated Planning Correspondence Records.

[100] RDA, "Status Report of Preliminary Objections to Declaration of Taking," [1967], box 18, folder "Redevelopment Authority 1966–67," ibid.

[101] "Meeting held on Wednesday, Feb. 1, 1967, at the offices of The Redevelopment Authority of the City of Philadelphia" (stenographic transcript), ibid.

[102] See agreements dated May and June 1968, ibid.

* * *

The planners failed to realize their extravagant plans to build a graduate center and a computer center on the 3601 block of Walnut Street. Unable to muster any significant contribution from the General State Authority, the university decided in 1972 that the graduate center was too expensive to complete, and it also quashed the plan for the computer center.[103] In 1976 the RDA finally demolished all the buildings on this block, including the House of Pagano ("Pizzeria, Restaurant, Cocktails"), Ye Olde Tobacconist, and the William Penn Bowling Center.[104] It allowed Penn to use the empty full block as a parking lot, which blighted the main thoroughfare of campus for twenty years. In the late 1990s, Penn, under President Judith Rodin, orchestrated a massive redevelopment of the block as a lavish hotel, restaurant, and retail complex.

The university's redevelopment problems in the 3401 block of Walnut were compounded by the resistance mounted by the tenants on the adjoining block, 3400 Sansom Street, which the RDA had condemned in 1966.[105] In April 1970, the savvy and feisty residents of this bohemian block, among them faculty members and alumni of the Graduate School of Fine Arts, organized the Sansom Street Committee Inc. "primarily to offer an alternative to the existing means and results of urban renewal." The organizers included, among others, Penn architecture student Elliot Cook, owner of La Terrasse Restaurant; Cook's restaurant manager, Judy Wicks, the future proprietor of the famous White Dog Café; and Robert Engman, a sculptor and professor in the Graduate School of Fine Arts. The Sansom Committee campaigned to preserve the block's unique character, embodied in its signature physical structures: a half-block of storied Victorian brownstones dating back to 1870–71. They aimed to recruit owner-managed restaurants and shops of local origin and bohemian character to the ground floors of the block, leaving the second and third floors as single-family residences. They campaigned to protect their homes and other vested interests in the block—in Cook and Wick's case, La

[103] Walnut Street photographs, box 36, folder 13, University Photograph Collection, 1870–1990, UARC; John C. Hetherston to Phillip Rief (professor of sociology), Mar. 1 1972, box 28, folder "Graduate Center 1971–72," VP for Coordinated Planning Correspondence Records.

[104] "Redevelopment Authority Sets April as Date for Walnut St. Demolition," *Daily Pennsylvanian*, Feb. 10, 1976.

[105] Titus D. Hewryk to Roosevelt Dicks (OPD), memorandum, Nov. 11, 1971, box 28, folder "Commercial 1971–72," VP for Coordinated Planning Correspondence Records. Also see Thomas and Brownlee, *Building America's First University*, 265–66.

Looking east along the 3601 block of Walnut Street, with narrow entrance to McAlpin Street at left, 1964. Collections of the University Archives and Records Center.

Terrasse.[106] La Terrasse stood apart from the "basic grunge" places of Walnut Street, the downscale eateries and smoke-filled hangouts where students routinely congregated: "places like Smokey Joe's, Pagano's, Kelly and Cohen, Grand's, and the Penn Luncheonette, better known as the Dirty Drug." In contrast, La Terrasse was "like a Left Bank place," specializing in regional French cuisine. "It was an escape from time and place," one former habitué recalled. "Once you were in there it felt very European—certainly not West Philadelphia."[107]

The Sansom organizers also fought to block the RDA's demolition of historic red brick buildings in the adjacent 3401 block of Walnut Street.[108] Waging a protracted legal battle in the name of housing conservation, environmental protection, and artful redevelopment—a fight they funded themselves—they stymied Penn's plans for a multistory mall and office complex in this section of Unit 4 for another fifteen years. A grudging agreement was finally reached in 1984 to allow Penn to build the present commercial and office building at 3401 Walnut and to give the Sansom Street litigants control of their block.

[106] Judy Wicks, interview by John Puckett, Nov. 23, 2009.
[107] Jon Caroulis, "Of Dirty Drugs and White Dogs," *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Apr. 1997, 27–32.
[108] Wicks, interview by Puckett.

Contemporary view: East along the same 3601 block of Walnut Street, showing the University Square commercial complex, with the Inn at Penn, high-end shops, and the University Bookstore. Michael M. Koehler, photographer. Collections of the University Archives and Records Center.

Penn's "Shadow Expansion": The Unit 3 Imbroglio

In Unit 4, Penn staked a legal claim to the properties on which it built its modern campus and established a university-compatible commercial zone. The university lacked such a warrant for redevelopment in a predominately black neighborhood north of the campus that Penn and city officials regarded as blighted and detrimental to the university's long-term interests. Here the city established RDA Unit 3.

The RDA's annual report of 1960 announced the creation of Unit 3, which ran approximately from Powelton and Lancaster Avenues south to Chestnut Street, between 34th and 39th Streets. Unit 3 properties would be redeveloped in conjunction with the West Philadelphia Corporation, an institutional coalition that included Penn, the Drexel Institute, the Philadelphia College of Pharmacy and Science, and the Presbyterian Hospital and Osteopathic Medical School in West Philadelphia. The RDA heralded Unit 3 as "a major step toward the concept of a great university city extending from the Schuylkill River to 44th Street."[109] The

[109] RDA, *Annual Report* (1960).

orchestration of Unit 3—the RDA demolitions, the construction of the much ballyhooed University City Science Center, and the permanent removal of the unit's predominantly black population—undermined Penn's community relations for decades after the clearances, with aftershocks that are still felt today.

* * *

The proximate cause for establishing the West Philadelphia Corporation was a single, violent incident. On the rainy night of April 25, 1958, In-Ho Oh, a twenty-six-year-old South Korean graduate student at the University of Pennsylvania, was set upon by black youths and brutally murdered in Powelton Village.[110] The motive for the killing, which sent shock waves across the city, was never conclusively determined, though speculation was rife that the youths were on the prowl for ticket money to a dance at a nearby church that evening. Media reports on the crime and its perpetrators, though accurate as to some of the details of the murder, were sensationalist and prejudicial toward African Americans. The language contained in these reports, which referred to the crime as "a barbarous killing executed with jungle-like ferocity," and an "outburst of savagery," and which characterized the perpetrators as "uncivilized, and bound to be a menace to society" speaks for itself.[111] Describing the youthful suspects as "cowardly savages," a *Philadelphia Inquirer* editorial declaimed: "University of Pennsylvania and Drexel Institute of Technology authorities are understandably concerned because of the continuing wave of hold-ups and attacks in the area near the schools and student residences."[112] The founding of the West Philadelphia Corporation followed the In-Ho Oh tragedy in short order.

The initial recommendation for such a corporation had come from the urban planner and future Penn president Martin Meyerson in 1956, when he was a professor in the School of Fine Arts. Drawing on his experience with the South East Chicago Commission, an entity of the University of Chicago working to stabilize and upgrade the university's boundary com-

[110] "Gang Murders Korean Student in West Philadelphia," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, Apr. 26, 1958.

[111] "Killing Called 'Jungle-Like,' 11 Denied Bail," ibid., Apr. 30, 1958; "Gang Murders Korean Student," ibid., Apr. 26, 1958; "The Price Borum Must Pay" (editorial), ibid., Oct. 10, 1958.

[112] "Wipe out Street Gangs" (editorial), *Philadelphia Inquirer*, Apr. 29, 1958; "Nine Indicted in Oh Killing," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, May 17, 1958.

munity of Hyde Park, Myerson warned that Penn, like Chicago, could "create a desirable neighborhood, or . . . stand by and see develop a 'sea of residential slums with commercial and institutional islands.'" He called for a "West Philadelphia planning and development corporation led by U.P. [and other local higher education institutions and hospitals]." Meyerson believed that Penn could not create a "community of scholars" without the prerequisite of an attractive neighborhood that included "decent housing, open space, good schools, shopping, safe streets, [and] absence of blight." Citing Columbia University's Morningside Heights Inc. and the South East Chicago Commission as precedents, he prefigured the West Philadelphia Corporation's adoption of an area-wide strategy.[113]

The South East Chicago Commission (SECC) provided a model for the WPC. Created in 1952, the SECC was the mediating structure for the University of Chicago's "overwhelming presence" in Hyde Park urban renewal. Nominally a coalition of six area-wide agencies, the SECC was in fact "a university creation," one that was "generally regarded as an appendage" to the university. The accelerating in-migration from Chicago's South Side "Black Belt" in no small way motivated the creation of the SECC and the University of Chicago's urban renewal plan for Hyde Park-Kenwood, the goal of which, writes the historian Arnold Hirsch, was "a predominately white and economically upgraded community."[114] An occasionally ruthless pragmatist, Julian Levi, head of the SECC, bluntly expressed a sentiment that would inspire the West Philadelphia Corporation, though without such frank public language:

> If we are really serious about the needs of our institution, then our problem is not one of compromise; it is rather the establishment of priorities. If we are really serious about the next generation of teachers and scholars, lawyers and doctors, physicists and chemists, then we have got to worry about the adequate housing of the graduate student; about the clearing of land for a new laboratory; about the closing of streets to divert traffic from campuses; about the development of a "compatible environment" includ-

[113] Martin Meyerson, "The Future of the University of Pennsylvania Neighborhood" (draft of possible points to be made to administration and trustees, June 30, 1957), box 5, folder "Campus Expansion," History of the University Project Records. Meyerson does not provide any attribution for his quote.

[114] Arnold R. Hirsch, *Making the Second Ghetto: Race and Housing in Chicago, 1940–1960* (Chicago, 1998), chap. 5, "A Neighborhood on a Hill: Hyde Park and the University of Chicago," 135–70, quotes 144, 152, 157.

> ing substantial slum clearance. . . . We cannot have it both ways. We are either going to have graduate students, who produce leadership for the next generation . . . or we are not going to achieve these results because we are unwilling to disturb existing owners and populations.[115]

The University of Chicago/SECC tandem accomplished its goal of a "compatible environment."[116] The university's own physical expansion played only a minor role in the Hyde Park-Kenwood project and was surpassed in magnitude by Penn's campus-core expansion in RDA Units 1B, 2, and 4; surrogate campus expansion in Unit 3 via the University City Science Center brought even more acreage into Penn's orbit.

Planning for the WPC proceeded throughout the summer and fall of 1958 and involved consultation with Julian Levi and Jack Meltzer of the South East Chicago Commission. John Moore, Penn's business vice president, underscored the commission's contribution: "The [bylaws] committee met with Jack Meltzer for two days and these by-laws and the statement of purposes included in them were drafted with his advice. We have followed very closely the framework of the South East Chicago Commission." Indeed, at this point the institutional planners called their corporate entity the West Philadelphia Commission.[117] The West Philadelphia Corporation was publicly announced on April 22, 1959, and hailed by Mayor Richardson Dilworth as "a splendid step toward improving and rehabilitating a key area of our City," a bulwark "against the inroads of deterioration." On July 10, 1959, the Court of Common Pleas approved the articles of incorporation of the WPC.[118]

Penn was the senior partner in the WPC. The general plan appeared in Martin Meyerson's memorandum at the Graduate School of Fine Arts in 1956. John Moore organized the meetings that planned the WPC,

[115] Julian Levi, speech delivered at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, July 10, 1959, quoted in Hirsch, *Second Ghetto*, 154. Privately, Levi confided that the target was "slum and blight which will attract lower class Whites and Negroes"; memorandum cited in LaDale C. Winling, "Building the Ivory Tower: Campus Planning, University Development, and the Politics of Urban Space" (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 2010), 163.

[116] John Hall Fish, *Black Power/White Control: The Struggle of the Woodlawn Organization in Chicago* (Princeton, NJ, 1973), 77.

[117] John L. Moore, typescript copy of statement, Dec. 1958 (penciled date), box 73, folder "The West Philadelphia Corporation Community Relations 1955–1960 II," Office of the President Records. Gaylord Harnwell told Senator John F. Kennedy, "We believe that we can do as distinguished a job as Chicago has in its pioneering work in this field"; Harnwell to Kennedy, Sept. 24, 1959, ibid.

[118] Lillian G. Burns to Gaylord P. Harnwell, Sept. 2, 1959, ibid.

and, in deference to Penn's dominant stature, Harnwell was appointed president and director of the executive board, primus inter pares; Harnwell served as board chair of the corporation until 1977.[119] Penn's annual financing of the WPC was more than the total amount paid by the other four institutions.[120]

The WPC established the boundaries of a district that the city and the "higher eds and meds" in the City Planning Commission's University Area advertised as "University City." The borders of University City were Powelton Avenue on the north, 44th Street on the west, and the Schuylkill River and the Media line of the Pennsylvania Railroad on the east and south.[121] The WPC aimed to develop "a community which holds and attracts institutional cultural facilities, compatible industrial and commercial uses, standard and marketable residential areas served by adequate schools, parks, churches and shopping, thus providing a supply and range of housing which will appeal to large numbers of the population not now attracted to the area."[122] The *Philadelphia Inquirer* rhapsodized:

> University City will transform this area, sprinkled now with dilapidated commercial structures and substandard housing, into a park-like panorama of college campuses, educational and medical buildings, research centers—plus appropriately designed and attractively landscaped business and residential communities. . . . It is a new kind of approach to urban redevelopment whereby the established institutions of higher learning seek to fulfill important roles of good citizenship and civic duty.[123]

[119] Taubin, interview by Nichols; Gaylord P. Harnwell, "An Environment for Learning," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 115 (1971): 170–86; Leo Molinaro to Board of Directors, memorandum, "The Annual Report of the West Philadelphia Corporation" (unpublished report, Oct. 11, 1960), box 152, folder "Community Relations—West Phila. Corp. Annual Reports 1960–65," Office of the President Records.

[120] Gaylord P. Harnwell to Harry A. Batten, W. M. Armistead Foundation Inc., May 16, 1961, box 154, folder "Community Relations–West Phila. Corp. (Financial Campaign for 1960–1961) 1960–1965," Office of the President Records. At $26.4 million, Penn's total payroll was more than six times that of Drexel, the second-largest institutional partner.

[121] Marketers Research Service Inc., "A Profile of Basic Market Factors in the West Philadelphia Corporation Area" (prepared for the West Philadelphia Corporation, Apr. 1960), box 73, folder "Community Relations West Philadelphia Corporation 1955–1960 I," and Walker & Murray Associates, map of West Philadelphia Corporation area and University City, [1961–62], box 156, folder "West Phila. Corp. General 61–62," ibid.; also see "Harnwell Urges Plan for 'University City,'" *Daily Pennsylvanian*, Oct. 12, 1960.

[122] Quote from Gaylord P. Harnwell, "Environment for Learning," 173. Also see "Outline of Remarks by Leo Molinaro" (presentation to UPA board of trustees, Oct. 4, 1960), box 4, folder "Mr. Molinaro 1959–61," WPC Records.

[123] "University City: Dream to Reality," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, Oct. 16, 1960.

Put differently, the goal of "Brainsville" (the press moniker for University City) was "to attract as many campus-type families back to the area as possible."[124] The historian Margaret Pugh O'Mara interpreted the WPC's approach skeptically as a self-conscious effort to build a "new city of knowledge"—populated by a "white, professional community of scholars"—and "to replace the disorderly urban landscape with an idealized community of scientific production."[125] The fact that these scholars would be overwhelmingly white, simply by virtue of the racial demographics of higher education and the learned professions of the 1960s, would not have eluded the WPC planners.

The planners proposed an R&D center for Unit 3, projecting it as the catalyst for an economic, cultural, and scholarly efflorescence in University City. The PCPC hailed the University City Science Center project as "a substantial research development" involving "a concentration of government- and industry-sponsored basic research that benefits by being able to take advantage of the staff and facilities at the University of Pennsylvania and Drexel Institute of Technology."[126] The Science Center "was to be a place where scientific innovation literally existed next door to the commercial application of technology."[127] In the late fall of 1963, the Court of Common Pleas approved articles of incorporation for the University City Science Center (UCSC) and the University City Science Institute (UCSI).[128] The UCSC was the RDA's designated real estate developer for the Science Center complex.[129] The purpose of the Science Institute, the corporation's "wholly owned non-profit subsidiary" was to recruit scientists, industrial research teams, and technicians; link profes-

[124] Hugh Scott, "Brainsville on the March," *Philadelphia Inquirer Magazine*, July 19, 1964, 4–5.

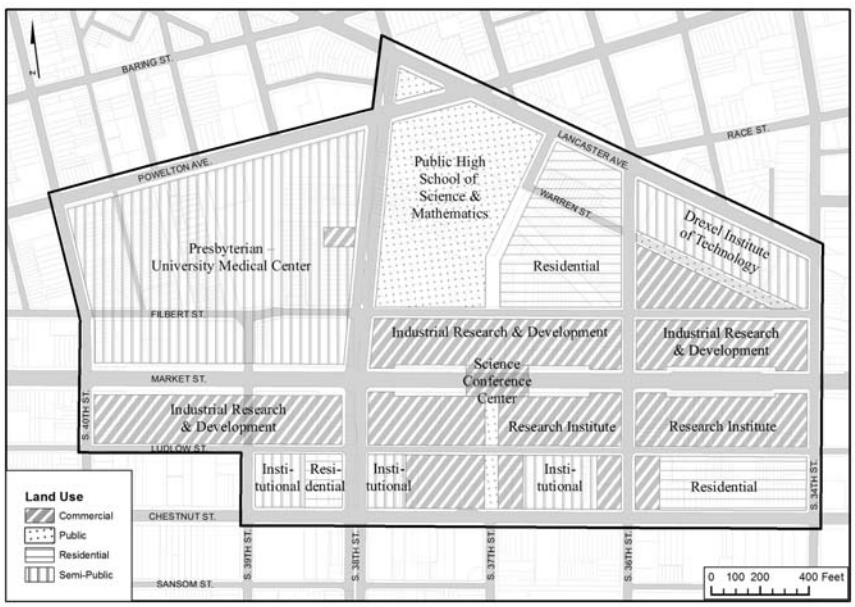
[125] Margaret Pugh O'Mara, *Cities of Knowledge: Cold War Science and the Search for the New Silicon Valley* (Princeton, NJ, 2005), 158. A WPC report listed five "signs of deterioration," one of which was "the accelerated in-migration of non-academic lower-income families settling in concentrated groups [i.e., working-poor blacks]." "University City—Proposed Land Use: A Report to the West Philadelphia Corporation" (unpublished report, [1959–60?]), box 73, folder "The West Philadelphia Corporation Community Relations 1955–1960 II," Office of the President Records.

[126] PCPC, *University City—3: Redevelopment Area Plan* (Philadelphia, 1962), box 156, folder "West Phila. Corp. Ex. Com. May 22, 1962," Office of the President Records.

[127] O'Mara, *Cities of Knowledge*, 168.

[128] "Papers Are Filed for New Science Center and Institute in West Philadelphia," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, Oct. 29, 1963, clipping, box 153, folder "Community Relations—West Phila. Corp. Exec. Com. Agenda, Minutes, etc. 1960–65 X," Office of the President Records.

[129] John C. Hetherston, "University City Science Center" (typescript draft, Mar. 20, 1964), box 173, folder "University City Science Center Corporation 1963–1964," ibid.



Unit 3 plan for University City Science Center and its affiliated high school; the latter opened as University City High School in 1972, with no attachment to UCSC. GIS map by J. M. Duffin. Collections of the University Archives and Records Center.

sionals and academics; and publish research results and market patented research products.[130]

The Penn trustees made the university's participation in the Science Center contingent on their holding "no less than 51 percent of the stock of the corporation." Penn not only controlled 51 percent of the total stock but also held a vastly disproportionate share of stock vis-à-vis any of the other shareholders, including Drexel; by the spring of 1967, Penn held two thousand shares of common stock versus one hundred shares for each of eighteen other Delaware Valley "higher eds and meds" in the Science Center.[131] The center's president was the Penn trustee Paul J. Cupp. Of the nine officers of the corporation, Penn members held four of the

[130] Harnwell, "University City Science Institute" (typescript draft, Mar. 1, 1964), box 173, folder untitled, ibid.; Mackenzie S. Carlson, *A History of the University City Science Center* (Philadelphia, 1999), accessed Sept. 9, 2004, http://www.archives.upenn.edu/histy/features/upwphil/ucsc.html; "A History of the University City Science Center," box 173, folder untitled, Office of the President Records.

[131] "History of the University City Science Center," appendix 1.

appointments, and Leo Molinaro, the WPC's chief and Harnwell's confidante, served as a vice president of the UCSC and a watchdog for Penn's interests. Exemplifying the interlocking directorate that advanced Penn's interests in West Philadelphia, Gustave Amsterdam, chairman of the RDA, and a future Penn trustee, told his fellow Penn trustee Cupp, "The Redevelopment Authority is very anxious to see the University City Science Center become a physical reality."[132]

* * *

A WPC memorandum from 1963 describes Unit 3 as an 82.3-acre site, with a total population of 3,432 people and 1,203 dwelling units, of which only 241 were owner-occupied; 987 families, of which 444 were white and 543 nonwhite; and 122 businesses. The planning for Unit 3 unleashed a groundswell of protest from African American residents and their allies, who fulminated that the planners were uprooting a neighborly community. Leo Molinaro vigorously denied this charge:

> This area has never had any "neighborhood" identification, or organization. It was from the beginning, marginal in use and occupancy. All of the land from which protests have come (34th to 38th Streets; Market Street to Lancaster Avenue) is currently zoned for industrial and commercial uses. None of it is zoned for residential use. In other words, this is not a fine neighborhood which has been neglected and can now be restored.[133]

The civil rights activist and youth educator Walter Palmer, who grew up in this neighborhood from around 1941 to 1955—and who since the 1970s has been its leading apologist—sharply disputed Molinaro's claim that the area was not an organic community. Palmer described the neighborhood he recalled as "the Black Bottom" as a place where doors and windows were left open, and "anybody could walk in any time they wanted. . . . You could walk on the street [at] 2 o'clock, 3 o'clock in the morning." Palmer, whose extended family of twelve children and two adults lived in two rented rooms in the back of a beauty shop at 3645 Market Street, recalled a "spirit" that bound the residents of the neighborhood commu-

[132] Gustave G. Amsterdam to Paul J. Cupp, June 23, 1964, box 173, folder "University City Science Center General 1963–1964," Office of the President Records.

[133] Leo Molinaro to WPC Board of Directors, memorandum, May 20, 1963, box 156, folder "West Phila. Corp. General 1962–63," ibid.

Community meeting held by the RDA on Unit 3 redevelopment at the Drew School, Warren and DeKalb Streets. *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, undated photo, ca. 1965-66. Special Collections Research Center, Temple University Libraries.

nally, especially in the blocks from Market to Lancaster between 34th and 40th Streets. Simultaneously, however, Palmer suggested that he was raised in a community governed, in part at least, by fear and violence:

> This was a culture—the gangs . . . protected you when you went to school. Nobody messed with anybody from the Black Bottom. You went to any school in West Philadelphia you wanted to, and [if] they knew you came from the Black Bottom, you were protected, you were safe. Nobody messed with you if you went to prison [or] jail, juvenile or adult, if they knew you were from the Black Bottom. That's how notorious this history was, how strong the history was, how strongly connected they were.[134]

This notoriety dominated outsiders' perceptions of the neighborhood.

[134] Walter Palmer, interviews by John Puckett, Sept. 26, 2008, Apr. 4, 2010.

Palmer did not contest that some form of blight existed in the neighborhood. Photographs of dilapidated houses, junk dealerships, and service loading zones on arterial streets in Unit 3 are also revealing.[135] According to 1960 census block data, 44 percent of the area's housing stock was "deteriorating" or "dilapidated"; only 55 percent was reported "sound."[136] And according to the RDA's 1964 application for a federal loan and grant, "of a total of 807 structures in the Clearance Section, 378 or 47% are structurally substandard to a point warranting clearance and 181 or 22% warrant clearance to remove . . . blighting influences."[137] Ironically, one of these blighting influences was the construction of the Market Street subway tunnel, which rattled houses and threw up debris from 1948 to 1955. Said Palmer, "You can imagine what that would do to houses and to properties, great big holes in the middle of the street . . . tons of brick and mortar all over the place."[138]

Palmer and other members of the Black Bottom Association, a cross-generational group he helped found in 1976, were embittered by the Unit 3 planners' assumption that "this neighborhood never had any identification" and by Penn's motives in Unit 3; the continuing hue and cry for reparations—admissions and scholarships for the grandchildren and great-grandchildren of the displaced residents—has always been directed at Penn, not Drexel or any other Science Center partner from the 1960s. Michael Zuckerman, a Penn history professor for forty-five years, calls Penn's role in Unit 3 "the invincible rallying point":

> That is what really sticks in the craw; that is the thing that's usable as a weapon against Penn forever. And no matter how much it recedes into ancient history, it is what stokes the fire of skepticism about Penn and its intentions, certainty that Penn looks after Penn and anything else is window dressing at best. I think that there is an inevitably wary relationship between Penn and the neighborhood.[139]

[135] PCPC, *University City—3.*

[136] *City Blocks*, 1970.

[137] RDA, *University City Unit No. 3, Urban Renewal Area, Penna. R-128, Final Project Report Part I, Application for Loan and Grant* (Philadelphia, Nov. 30, 1964), box 4, Neighborhoods and Urban Renewal Collection (Acc. 980/781), Special Collections Research Center, Temple University Libraries.

[138] Palmer, interviews by Puckett.

[139] Michael Zuckerman, interview by Mark Lloyd and John Puckett, Feb. 1, 2010.

In 1974, Palmer organized the first Black Bottom reunion. Two years later, a Black Bottom picnic was held in Fairmount Park in 1976; since then, it has been an annual event.[140] Glowing recollections in sensationalist newspaper accounts, not to mention the halo-effect dialogue of an oral history play produced on the Black Bottom of the 1940s and 1950s, give the impression of highly selective memories that mute the harsher aspects of that world.[141] The painful memory of displacement and the bitterness these former residents harbor is no doubt part, and perhaps the primary component, of their identification with the community they recall as the Black Bottom. Among the intangible losses experienced by older displaced residents was their status as neighborhood leaders. Mike Roepel, a retired city planner, said, "I can remember where some older folks deteriorated quicker because that's what kept them alive . . . because they were *it*, as you say—they were *the shit*."[142]

Such were the markers of an authentic communal life that planners such as Molinaro and his colleagues failed to understand. From the planners' perspective, there was nothing salvageable about such businesses as the Club Zelmar, Walker's Billiards, or the Bucket of Blood Tavern on Market Street or the tenements Palmer describes. It was "rock bottom in many ways," Molinaro recounted. Palmer never denied that the neighborhood was "rough and tough," or that an underground economy—a numbers racket and speakeasies, for example—thrived on the blocks; indeed, these were points of pride for him. Palmer himself was a gang leader; he told Matthew Countryman, the author of *Up South*, that "his first arrest came at the age of twelve for burglary of a University of Pennsylvania dormitory. During frequent run-ins with rival gangs as well as the police, Palmer survived a couple of stabbings, one gunshot wound, and repeated arrests."[143]

[140] Palmer, interviews by Puckett.

[141] For example, see "For Some the Bottom Was Tops: Memories of Old W. Phila. Neighborhood Pulls Them Back," *Philadelphia Daily News*, Nov. 18, 1988. According to these sources, the annual picnic draws up to two thousand people.

[142] Mike Roepel, interview by John Puckett, June 11, 2009. On the psychological traumas associated with urban renewal, see Mindy Thompson Fulliove, *Root Shock: How Tearing up City Neighborhoods Hurts America, and What We Can Do About It* (New York, 2004).

[143] Palmer, interviews by Puckett; Leo Molinaro, interviews by Mark Lloyd and John Puckett, Jul. 5, 2007, Aug. 26, 2008; Countryman, *Up South*, 191.

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In June 1962, the RDA reported that its property acquisitions in Unit 3 would displace an estimated 574 families, of whom 107 were white and 467 "nonwhite"; of the nonwhite families, 76 percent were tenants. Seventy percent of these families were eligible for federally subsidized public housing, suggesting a high rate of poverty.[144] In 1967, the WPC announced that all the city and federal authorizations had finally been obtained to complete urban renewal in Units 3, 4, and 5.[145] Unit 3 was parceled out to a total of seven developers, of which the major ones were the Science Center; the School District of Philadelphia, which built University City High School (originally planned as a Penn/Science Center-assisted school) on a block adjacent to the Science Center; and the Penn Presbyterian Medical Center. The RDA completed the demolitions by the fall of 1968. Citing data confirmed by the Science Center and the RDA, Karen Gaines of the Penn News Bureau reported that 2,653 people were "known to have been displaced" in Unit 3. Of this number, roughly 2,070 were black—here the calculation is imprecise, as "the exact breakdown by race" of 580 single people was not available. Gaines reported a conservative estimate of 290 single African Americans.[146]

Details are meager on the final disposition of the Unit 3 residents. Some Unit 3 African American families and individuals moved to Southwest Philadelphia; others moved farther west into Wynnfield, formerly a Jewish neighborhood.[147] A 1968 survey of about 15 percent of the displaced people conducted by the Volunteer Community Resources Council (VCRC), an affiliate of the Tabernacle Church in Unit 3, reported that fourteen of the sample families had moved to Mantua, a high-poverty neighborhood north of Spring Garden Street, where they reportedly experienced higher rents and gang violence.[148] Census block data show

[144] "Estimated Housing Requirements and Resources for Displaced Families," University City Unit 3 (project no. R-128), June 1962, data attachment to RDA, *The Urban Renewal Plan for University City Unit No. 3 Urban Renewal Area* (Philadelphia, Apr. 1965), in authors' possession. The RDA and the West Philadelphia Reality Board provided a relocation service in Unit 3.

[145] Petshek, *Challenge of Urban Reform*, 254.

[146] Karen Gaines to "all concerned," memorandum, Oct. 30, 1968, box 214, folder "SDS versus University City Science Center–Student Affairs 1965–1970," Office of the President Records.

[147] Pearl B. Simpson, *Black Bottom Picnic: A Collection of Essays, Poems, and Other Musings* (Philadelphia, 2005), 41–42.

[148] "Report of the Senate Advisory Committee on the February 1969 'Sit-In,' University of Pennsylvania," 13–14, box 322, folder 9, Office of the President Records; Roepel, interview by

that Unit 3 lost 3,934 people in the 1960s; the population fell from 4,603 in 1960 to 654 in 1970. Eight of the ten remaining owner-occupied buildings in Unit 3 in 1970 were "Negro-owned, and all of the ten were on a single block, from Warren to Lancaster between 36th and 37th streets, across from the rising fortress of University City High School."[149] Renewal Housing Inc., a black nonprofit redeveloper in Unit 3, rehabilitated the Warren Street houses.[150]

In January 1965, the UCSC purchased a headquarters building for the Science Center, formerly the home of the Stephen Greene Company, a printing firm, at 3401 Market Street. Acquisitions and clearances for the rest of the Science Center and University City High School proceeded in 1967, and the redevelopment of Market Street between 34th and 36th Streets was underway in 1968.[151] Having opened its first new building in November 1969, the Science Center recruited the Monell Chemical Senses Center, whose own building was completed in April 1971 and continues to operate. Yet the corporation was unable to match its R&D coup with Monell elsewhere on Market Street. For example, the federal Food and Drug Administration announced with fanfare, and then withdrew, its plans for a laboratory building. The General Services Administration put up a fifteen-story office building on the corner of 36th and Market Streets to house regional units of four federal agencies—Housing and Urban Development; Health, Education, and Welfare; Labor; and the Office of Economic Opportunity—a purpose that had nothing to do with research. The plan for a hotel and conference

Puckett; also see "Massive Craters Replace Homes of 3,000 in Area [*sic*] III," *Daily Pennsylvanian*, Oct. 30, 1968. Rev. Edward Sims claimed that 5,200 were displaced, a figure entirely at odds with the 1960 Census of Housing; Sims, quoted in "Two Community Leaders Look at Their College," *College Management*, June 1969, 30.

[149] *City Blocks*, 1960, 1970.

[150] Young Great Society Architecture and Planning Center, *The Unit 3 Planning Charette: A Report to the University of Pennsylvania on University-Community Development* (Philadelphia, Oct. 13, 1969), box 24, folder "Quadripartite Commission 1969–70," VP for Coordinated Planning Correspondence Records.

[151] "Research and Development," *University City* 3, no. 4 (Feb. 1965), box 152, folder "Community Relations–West Phila. Corp. University City Bulletin 1960–65," Office of the President Records; "Urban Renewal Land Acquisition Begins in Redevelopment Units 3 & 4," *University City* 5, no. 3 (Mar. 1967): 1, 6; Carlson, *History of the University City Science Center*; WPC, news release, [Apr. 1967], WPC Records; RDA, re: Units 3, 4, 5, "Statement of Facts and Recommendations," Oct. 16, 1967, box 18, folder "Redevelopment Unit #4 1966-67," VP for Coordinated Planning Correspondence Records; RDA, *Annual Report* (1968), quote from p. 32; WPC, *Ninth Annual Report* (Philadelphia, 1969), box 188, folder "Annual Reports (Community Relations–West Philadelphia Corp.) 1965–1970," Office of the President Records.

Demolition on the south side of the 3400 block of Market Street, west of the intersection of Market and 34th Streets, 1967. In the background is the University City Science Center's first building, at 3401 Market Street. In January 1965 the Science Center purchased the 3401 Market Street building from the Stephen Greene Company, a printing firm. Collections of the University Archives and Records Center.

complex was never implemented, though it remained on the drawing board as late as 1985.[152]

The "gauntlet of research and research-serving facilities along Market Street" envisioned by Harnwell and Molinaro never materialized.[153] The Science Center was an aesthetic flop, a visual failure of modernist urban renewal, described by one journalist at the turn of the millennium as "a combination of cold, sterile-looking laboratory buildings and vast stretches of parking lots, which give the area a desolate industrial steppe feeling."[154]

[152] On these developments, see Carlson, *History of the University City Science Center*, part 4, "Building the University Science Center (1969–present)." Also see Mary Ann Meyers to Paul F. Miller, memorandum re: "Financing for the University City Science Center's World Forum," Apr. 2, 1985, box 476, folder 18, Office of the President Records.

[153] Quote from Gaylord P. Harnwell, "The World's Problems Have Become the University's Problems," *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Dec. 1966, 24.

[154] Samuel Hughes, "The West Philadelphia Story," ibid., Nov. 1997, http://www.upenn.edu/gazette/1197/philly.html. For a contemporary perspective, see and cf. John Marchese, "Is West Philly

Contemporary view of the 3400 block of Market Street: Looking southeast from the intersection of 36th and Market Streets, with University City Science Center buildings at center. Michael M. Koehler, photographer. Collections of the University Archives and Records Center.

R&D having been long abandoned as a criterion for rental space, multiple tenants leased space in the Science Center for diverse purposes; for example, in the 1990s, 3440 Market Street provided "swing-space" for Penn departments undergoing renovations on the main campus, a home for Penn's College of General Studies, and classrooms for a for-profit medical training institute. Philadelphia's "tax and regulatory environment," which included a significant wage tax and other financial disincentives for corporations—on top of the deteriorating condition of the area's public schools and accelerating incidents of violent crime—militated against the Science Center.[155] It was "an opportunity lost," says a longtime observer of the Science Center,

the Next Center City?" *Philadelphia Magazine*, Jan. 2011, http://www.phillymag.com/articles/feature-is-west-philly-the-next-center-city/.

[155] O'Mara, *Cities of Knowledge*, 179–80; WPC, "18th Police District Crime Prevention Project" (unpublished typescript, [1971–72]), box 256, folder "Community Relations, West Philadelphia Corporation, 1970–1975, II," Office of the President Records. The much-hyped University City High School evolved into a failed comprehensive high school.

> that in the generation of high-tech explosion with Silicon Valley and Route 128 and Long Island, and the Washington corridor and all of those places, this was Philadelphia's, and what a fizzle! This was the best we could do—and obviously it's not the best we could do: what happened out King of Prussia way and the 202 corridor and all the rest is a success story. But I think this was the one that was touted, this is the one that got public resources from the city and state, this is the one that had the university pushing hard and this was never what it was cracked up to be.[156]

Conclusion

Joined by students from other Delaware Valley colleges and universities, Penn student-activists staged a weeklong sit-in in February 1969 to protest Penn's role in the University City Science Center.[157] The College Hall sit-in of 1969 remains an iconic event in the university's postwar history, often invoked by liberals as the signal expression of this conservative university's better self, one of the "good" skeletons in Penn's closet for administrators to rattle publicly from time to time. In the long term, the compromise that came from the demonstration obligated the university, in perpetuity, to render transparent what had formerly been opaque, to repudiate the kind of unilateral, hierarchical decision making that made institutional expansion in Unit 3 a fait accompli before homeowners, renters, and merchants were brought into the process. The agreement reached with the Penn trustees guaranteed that any future expansion plans would follow deliberative consultation with West Philadelphia community leaders and residents who lived in the zone of the proposed expansion.

The completion of Units 3 and 4 marked the end of the University of Pennsylvania's Great Expansion.[158] Alienation and drift characterized Penn's community relations in the 1970s. Harnwell's successor, Martin Meyerson, had his hands full keeping the university on an even keel in the face of severe budget deficits; strained racial, gender, and labor relations; a national zeitgeist of political apathy on college campuses; and an urban

[156] Zuckerman, interview by Lloyd and Puckett.

[157] Judith Ann Fowler, "Six Days in College Hall: 'A Strange War in Which Both Sides Won,'" *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Mar. 1969.

[158] The federal urban renewal program, which demolished some four hundred thousand residential units, was formally terminated in 1974, following a decade of urban disorders; Marc A. Weiss, "The Origins and Legacy of Urban Renewal," in *Federal Housing Policy and Programs: Past and Present*, ed. J. Paul Mitchell (New Brunswick, NJ, 1985), 253–76.

crisis that evoked great fear on the campus.[159] Starting with Sheldon Hackney's administration and accelerating rapidly after Judith Rodin's arrival at Penn in 1994, the university committed significant financial and human capital to West Philadelphia projects. Realizing that a crescendo of violent crime, abandoned housing, rampant drug dealing, failing schools, and intolerable litter jeopardized the university's future, Rodin launched a multipronged strategy, the West Philadelphia Initiatives, to address these problems. Her spectacularly successful project to transform the Walnut Street commercial corridor and the 40th Street business district took to heart some hard lessons from Penn's debacle in Unit 3 about the ethical and practical necessities of transparency and community consultation.[160] On the heels of the West Philadelphia Initiatives and flush with the success of President Amy Gutmann's $3.5-billion capital campaign (2007–12), Penn has quietly expanded eastward from 32nd Street to develop a spectacular park and athletic center, Penn Park, on vacant land purchased from the US Postal Service. In 2010, the university purchased an industrial wasteland in Grays Ferry, on the south bank of the Schuylkill River, with plans to build a technology-transfer incubator for Penn researchers—ironically, the West Philadelphia Corporation's original purpose for building the University City Science Center.

In the 1950s and '60s, Penn and the city recognized that their futures were inextricably intertwined, and enlightened self-interest dictated the terms of their mutually beneficial urban renewal partnership. In the era of federally funded urban renewal, no university achieved a larger expansion or made a greater use of urban renewal tools than Penn. It was the quintessential urban renewal university, greater in this respect than Chicago, Columbia, or New York University.[161] The University of Pennsylvania

[159] John L. Puckett and Mark Frazier Lloyd, "Martin Meyerson's Dream of 'One University': The Penn Presidency 1970–1981, and Beyond," *Journal of Planning History* 10 (2011): 193–218. Not insignificantly, Meyerson is properly credited with the splendid landscaping of College Green and Woodland Walk in the historic core.

[160] Judith Rodin, *The University and Urban Renewal: Out of the Ivory Tower and into the Streets* (Philadelphia, 2007).

[161] Properties acquired for campus expansion through federal-city urban renewal processes totaled approximately 41 acres for the University of Chicago (UC) and 22.5 acres for New York University (NYU), compared to 49.3 acres in Unit 4 for Penn (only a few acres of which were not dedicated to Penn; the comparative total rises when approximately 7.3 acres in Units 2 and 1B are added). Unlike Penn, Columbia University, notoriously associated with urban renewal because of its 1968 imbroglio with Harlem residents over a proposed gym in Morningside Park, did not expand its campus through a federally or city-funded urban renewal process; Columbia's expansion was, in effect, a private affair, based on the university's private purchases of SROs (single-room-occupancy

and the City of Philadelphia worked hand-in-glove to build a great American research university, though not without collateral damage and aesthetic missteps. The partnership continues today, symbolized by plans for a pedestrian bridge that would rise out of the Penn Park and cross the Schuylkill to join Penn and Center City, creating, for the first time, a truly contiguous "campus in the city."

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hotels) in the neighborhood of the compact main campus. We categorize the University of Illinois at Chicago (UIC) as a de novo university, one that was built whole cloth on a 55-acre urban renewal clearance site, Harrison-Halsted, on the Near West Side; unlike Penn and the other urban renewal universities in our analysis, UIC was not an expanded institution. On UC, see Winling, "Building the Ivory Tower," 152–225; on Columbia, see Michael H. Carriere, "Between Being and Becoming: On Architecture, Student Protest, and the Aesthetics of Liberalism in Postwar America" (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 2010), 182–211; Hilary Ballon, "Morningside-Manhattanville Title I," in *Robert Moses and the Modern City: The Transformation of New York*, ed. Hilary Ballon and Kenneth T. Jackson (New York, 2007), 260–63; on NYU, see Thomas J. Frusciano and Marilyn H. Petitt, *New York University and the City: An Illustrated History* (New Brunswick, NJ, 1997), 208–16; Hilary Ballon, "Washington Square South Title I, Washington Square Southeast Title 1," in Ballon and Jackson, *Robert Moses and the Modern City*, 344–49; on UIC, see Amanda I. Seligman, *Block by Block: Neighborhoods and Public Policy on Chicago's West Side* (Chicago, 2005), chap. 4.