CEGU

A CENTURY ON
55TH STREET



AUTUMN 2023

EXPO SITIONS

NO.05

Cover photo by **Al Henderson**.
Courtesy of Hanna Holborn Gray Special Collections Research Center,
University of Chicago Library

Expositions Magazine

Special Issue: A Century on 55th Street

Issue 5 | Autumn 2023

CEGU
Committee on Environment,
Geography and Urbanization

Division of Social Sciences

The University of Chicago

In partnership with

Chicago Studies

College Office of Research
and Teaching Innovation

cegu.uchicago.edu

Contents

Places

Abigail Poag
pg.12 — **Frolic Theater**

Zach Ashby
pg.14 — **The Hidden Life of 5536 South Indiana Avenue**

Abigail Poag, Parker Otto
pg.21 — **East Hyde Park Apartment Hotels**

Hugh Shepard
pg.24 — **The Golden Lily and Racial Change in Hyde Park**

André Tse
pg.26 — **The Toasters of Hyde Park A**

Connor Bentley
pg.29 — **Lutheran School of Theology**

Sam Shelffo-McGrath
pg.32 — **Jimmy's Endures**

People

Lena Birkholz
pg.36 — **55th Street Businessmen's Association**

Elyas Boyan
pg.38 — **Japanese American Displacement in the First Half of the 20th Century**

Hugh Shepard
pg.40 — **The Heyday of the Washington Park Club Scene**

Lena Birkholz
pg.43 — **Elegy for the Lake Park Bohemians**

Processes

Zach Ashby
pg.48 — **Washington Park After the Projects**

Caroline Hugh
pg.52 — **Constructing a "Compatible Community": A Drama of University-Led Urban Renewal, in Five Acts**

Our Team

Editorial

Caroline Hugh*
Zach Ashby
Jonathan Garcia
Tatiana Jackson-Saitz
William Kimani
Harrison Knight
Brandon Shin
Christina Zhang

Faculty Advisor

Professor Evan Carver

Co55th Advisor

Chris Skrable

Staff Advisor

Carlo Diaz

Production

Shant Armenian*
Zach Ashby
Leja Ejury
Defne Ergoz
Harrison Knight
Joachim Laurent
Brandon Shin
Alexander Stern

Graphics

Jonathan Garcia*
Stella Bennett
Elyas Boyan
Avery Fischer
Noah Lee

***Executive Board**

Co55th Contributors

Zach Ashby
Connor Bentley
Lena Birkholz
Elyas Boyan
Caroline Hugh
Parker Otto
Abigail Poag
Adrian Rucker
Sam Shelffo-Mcgrath
Hugh Shepard
André Tse

Editors' Letter

We open on East 55th Street. It's the late 19th century, and the township of Hyde Park is flourishing. Cable cars rumble past the horse drawn carts that are bouncing down the dusty street, past an eclectic mix of rustic wood and ornate brick storefronts. Founded in 1853 due to its proximity to the Illinois Central Railroad (today's Metra tracks), Hyde Park originally included all of the land from State Street east to Lake Michigan and from 39th Street south to today's city limits. On the east side, wealthy Chicagoans settled near the Illinois Central tracks, with easy access to downtown, while on the west side, closer to State Street, German and Irish immigrants arrived to work on the Chicago, Rock Island & Pacific Railroad or to be close to meatpacking plants like the Union Stock Yards. In the early 1870s, the creation of Washington Park, Jackson Park, and the Midway Plaisance granted the area additional attention from middle class Chicagoans looking to move out to a residential suburb. This same decade also saw the establishment of the famous Chicago Boulevard system, which included East Garfield Boulevard, the name for 55th Street as it continues west of Washington Park. After being annexed by the City of Chicago in 1889 and experiencing a housing boom in anticipation of the 1893 Columbian Exposition, the new neighborhoods of Hyde Park and Washington Park were primed to enter the 1900s. The stage is set for the dynamic century that is to come.

Welcome to a Century on 55th Street. Expositions Magazine is proud to present this special issue in concert with Chicago Studies. Over the past three academic quarters, a cohort of 22 student researchers made a deep dive into the history of 55th Street, from the Dan Ryan Expressway to Lake Michigan, finding and cataloging everything from building materials to business owners through the entirety of the 20th century.

However, it is impossible to fully illuminate this history. With a street that experienced as much change as 55th Street did, there is no way to give the thousands of people and businesses that called this street home their time in the spotlight. In addition, much of the project area has historically been poorly documented, especially in the neighborhood of Washington Park. There are many gaps in this narrative, and many important players will remain in shadows, but we hope we have done justice to this extraordinary, and completely ordinary, Chicago street.

While this issue of Expositions ends at the close of the 20th century, much of what is discussed still influences our city today. As we walk back through the years, we ask you to think deeply about the places, people, and processes that shaped and still shape this street.

Curtains up on the new century. What's past is prologue. Welcome to 55th Street.

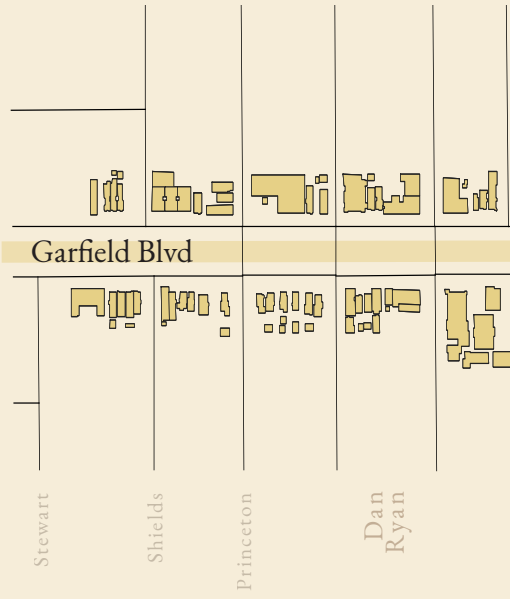
This map shows the transformations that occurred along East 55th Street in Washington Park and Hyde Park between 1920 and 2020. Footprints were manually traced from a variety of sources including Sanborn maps, aerial photography, and satellite imagery. Building colors show all new construction that occurred between highlighted decades.

LEGEND

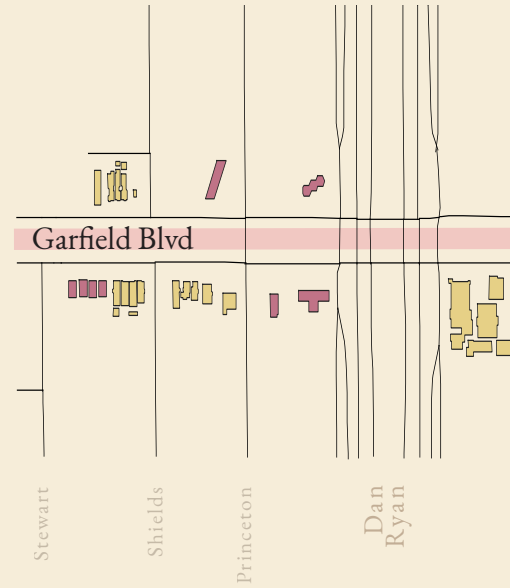
1. Frolic Theater
2. Silent Athletic Club
3. Golden Lily Cafe
4. Rhumboogie Club
5. Spencer Hotel
6. Hyde Park Co-Op
7. Chicago Buddhist Church
8. Windermere Hotel
9. Hotel Sisson
10. The Shoreland
11. Hyde Park A
12. South West Hyde Park Acquisition Area
13. University Park Condominiums
14. Initial Planned Site for the Lutheran School of Theology
15. Lutheran School of Theology
16. University Tap
17. Woodlawn Tap (Jimmy's)

PENNSYLVANIA SYSTEM RAILROAD

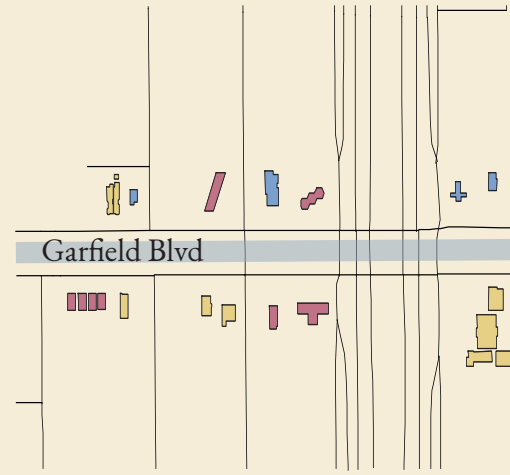
1920



1970



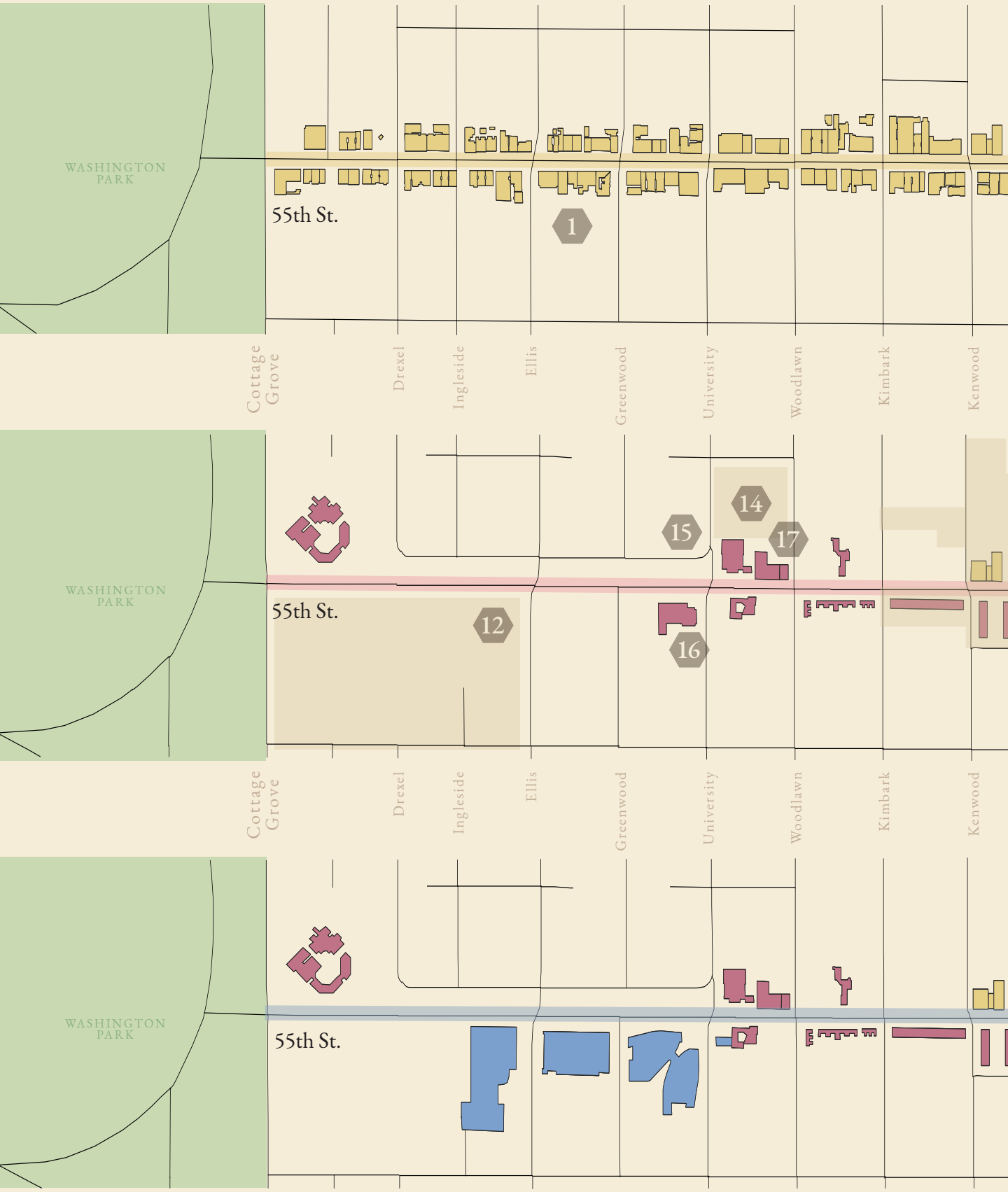
2020



WASHINGTON PARK
5
2
3
4
State
Wabash
Michigan
Indiana
Prairie
MLK Jr.

WASHINGTON PARK
State
Wabash
Michigan
Indiana
Prairie
MLK Jr.

WASHINGTON PARK


WASHINGTON PARK
55th St.
1
Cottage Grove
Drexel
Ingleside
Ellis
Greenwood
University
Woodlawn
Kimbark
Kenwood
WASHINGTON PARK
55th St.
12
14
15
16
17
Cottage Grove
Drexel
Ingleside
Ellis
Greenwood
University
Woodlawn
Kimbark
Kenwood
WASHINGTON PARK
55th St.

9
[out of frame]
N
W
E
S
LAKE MICHIGAN
7
6
10
8
Dorchester
Blackstone
Illinois Central Railroad
Cornell
Hyde Park
Shore
13
11
Dorchester
Blackstone
Metra Electric
Cornell
Hyde Park
Shore
1 block : 1/16 mi. : 330 ft



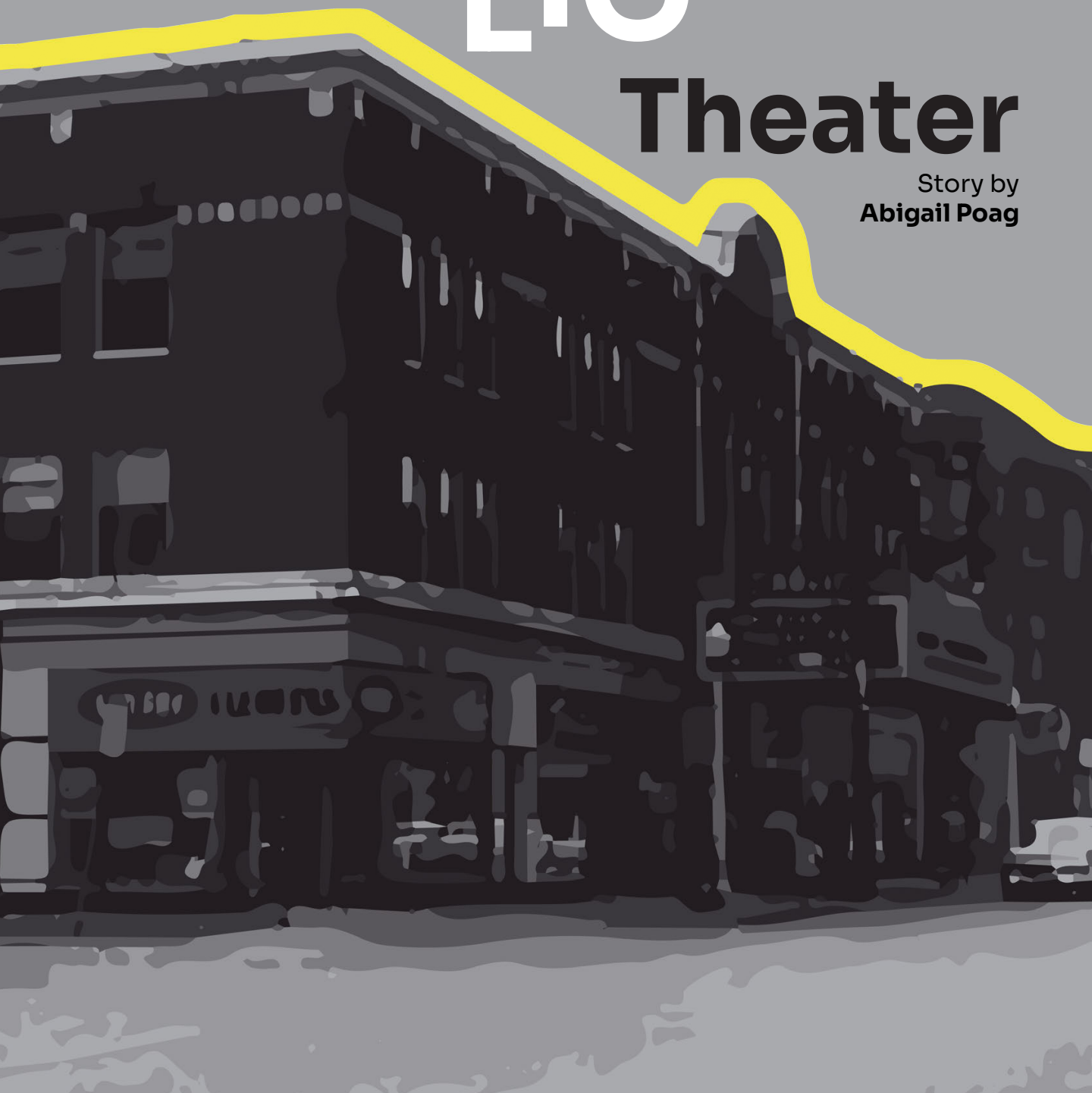
Places



E. 55th Street and S. Woodlawn Avenue.
Courtesy of Chicago Public Library. Special Collections & Preservation Divison.

The FROLIC Theater

Story by
Abigail Poag

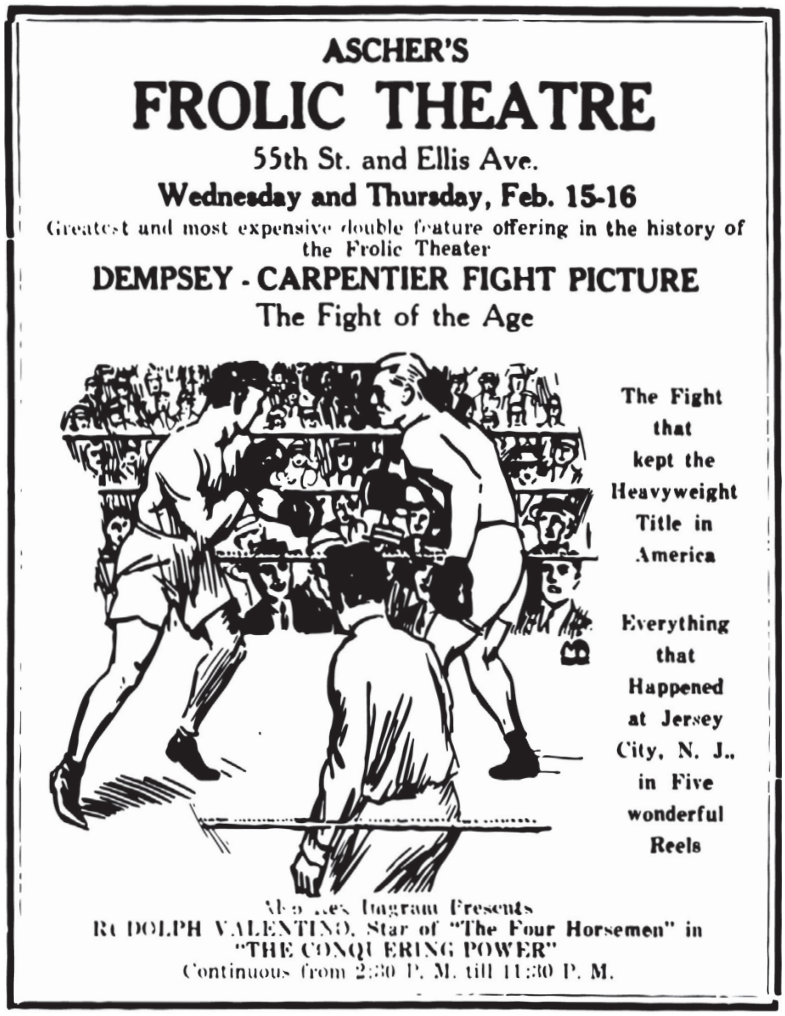


Every Saturday afternoon at the Frolic Theater, hundreds of children would settle into their leather seats as the opening reels of that week's matinee selection played on the movie screen. Located at 55th Street and Ellis (the current location of Stagg Field), the Frolic Moving Picture Theater once hosted a weekly "Kiddies Matinee," where Hyde Park's youngest moviegoers could catch the latest Charlie Chaplin film or comedy feature, set to live music provided by the Frolic's house orchestra.[1] The theater was a member of the thirteen-house Ascher Brothers Chicago Circuit, "one of the largest, most modern and costly chain of moving picture theaters in America," according to a 1917 edition of *The Moving Picture World*.[2]

Distinguished by its backwards floor plan—patrons faced the audience, not the screen, as they entered the theater—the one thousand seat Frolic featured a grand lobby decorated with Italian vein marble and mosaic work.[3] Throughout its nearly fifty-year existence, the theater frequently served as a venue for community events, ranging from a Ray Elementary School PTA benefit to a model submarine contest and a local synagogue's "Yiddish Theater Night."[4] The Frolic was also a popular destination for University of Chicago students, garnering regular advertisements in the *Daily Maroon* through the 1950s.[5]

One former University Avenue resident remembers visiting the Frolic while he was growing up in the 1940s and '50s. "Many of us experienced our first movies there as children," David Wylie wrote in a 2005 *Hyde Park Herald* article. "Admission for children was 20 cents, while popcorn was 10 cents—or, if buttered, 25 cents."[6]

In a 2009 blog post, then-UChicago undergraduate Luke Fiedler (`10) reflected on Hyde Park's changing landscape and the neighborhood's stories that often go unrecognized by younger residents. "Who knew that the intersection where Ratner Athletics Center now stands used to be the site of the Frolic Theater?" he wrote.[7]



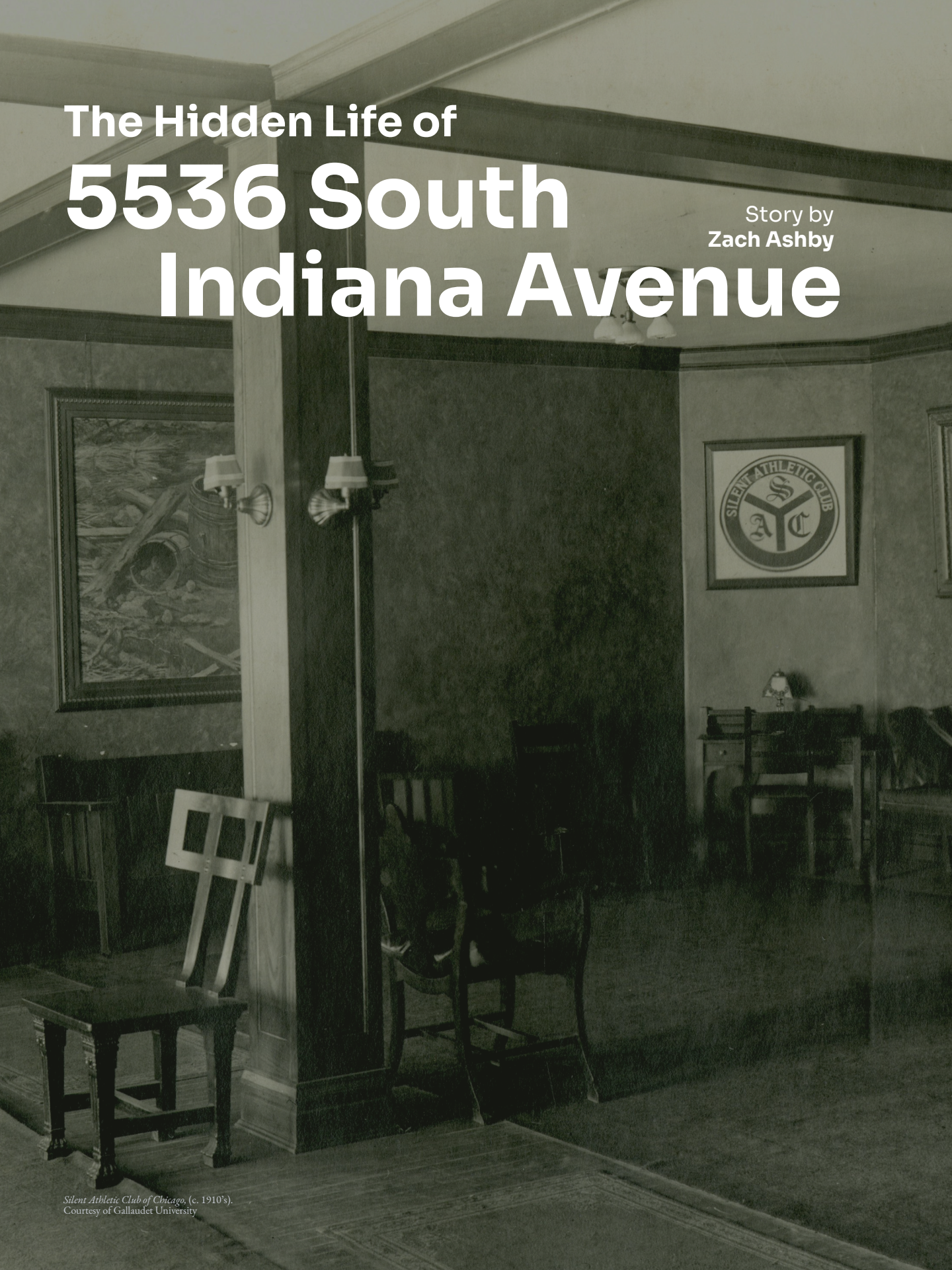
The Daily Maroon. Wednesday, February 15, (1922). Courtesy of the University of Chicago Library



Abigail Poag is a third-year majoring in Comparative Literature and Russian and East European Studies. She is interested in the relationship between literature and place and loves mining the archive for a good story.

The Hidden Life of 5536 South Indiana Avenue

Story by
Zach Ashby



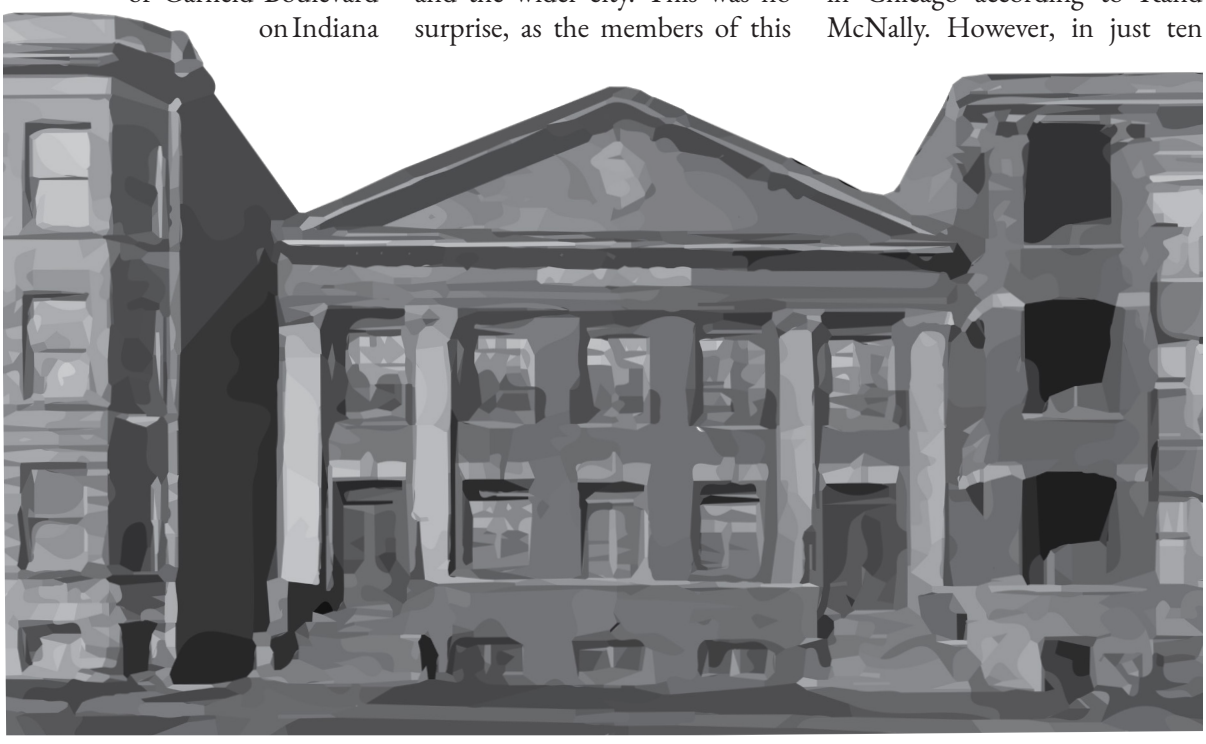
Silent Athletic Club of Chicago, (c. 1910's).
Courtesy of Gallaudet University

A single Washington Park never really existed. It has never been more than a space in between, a grey area that stands just outside the boundaries of other communities, histories, and cultural contexts. Washington Park has never truly been defined or understood, both by its neighbors, but also by itself. Its history is one of rapid and tumultuous conflict, change, and resolution, processes that have not yet found their stopping point. Washington Park was and continues to be a liminal space, a safe haven, and a home, and it has produced some of the most triumphant and faintly recognized stories that have taken place in Chicago. This history can begin to be understood through the neighborhood's most unassuming locations, like the small grassy field that lies just a few steps south of Garfield Boulevard on Indiana Avenue. The familiar red brick, the ornate Doric columns, the wide front staircase, the small-yet-practical stage, the stone inscription of "The Ridgeway Club": these features are all that remain of the building that once stood at 5536 S Indiana Avenue.

"The Ladies Auxiliary of the Ridgeway Club Adopts Fantastic Costume and Burnt Cork in Performance—Catchy Songs Applauded."[1]

The Ridgeway Club, whose exact origins are unknown, was a social club for elites of the South Side founded in 1910. The clubhouse, an ornate building squeezed between two brick six-flat buildings, was a stand-out space for the neighborhood. The club itself hosted balls, concerts, parties, bowling tournaments, and other social events that attracted elites from around the South Side and the wider city. This was no surprise, as the members of this mysterious club were, at the time, important figures in Chicago.

Frank H. Graham was a prominent Chicago lawyer and municipal court judge. Fredrick N. Matthews was a respected businessman and fur trader. Frank E. Lukens was the former clerk of Peoria, secretary of the Milwaukee wholesale coal dealers association, and secretary of the Retail Dealers' Association of Illinois and Wisconsin. Many of these men and their families were originally from other areas of Chicago and the Midwest and convened around Garfield Boulevard in the beginning of the 20th century as the area quickly grew due to investment following the World's Fair of 1893. As wealthy and powerful individuals began to congregate in the space, the Ridgeway Club grew to be one of the most prominent clubs in Chicago according to Rand McNally. However, in just ten



The Silent Athletic Club in The Silent Worker vol. 31 no. 8 (digitally altered). Courtesy of Gallaudet University

years, this club was disbanded, and all news and information of its happenings disappeared like dust. The club left with haste and sold the building—which was valued at around $50,000—for the mere price of $25,000.[2]

At around the same time, a community of an entirely different character was taking shape along Garfield Boulevard. It was a hamlet of the Deaf, a growing group of intellectuals, leaders, and socialites fighting for expanded representation and support for their community. This started through sporting clubs like baseball and basketball teams. These "Silent Athletic Clubs" would hold matches against other teams in their respective cities. As a group that was typically associated with homelessness, begging, and mental incapacity, these athletic clubs were a public display of the Deaf community's true identity. As this community expanded, the Silent Athletic Club of Chicago decided to further display the true extent of Deaf organizing power and strength by purchasing the beautiful Ridgeway Club, a building which had already gained prominence on the South Side, by using only Deaf funds.

The athletic club undertook the responsibilities of a social club, acting as a site where the Deaf of Chicago could recreate, socialize, and hold events. This new clubhouse was described by *The Silent Worker* as "The Most Superb Silent Clubhouse" and the place "Where Dreams Come True." The clubhouse's glamor became a symbol that the Deaf were a far more sophisticated community than the world believed it to be. The space was adorned with pool tables, bowling alleys, dressing rooms, luxurious leather chairs, desks, bookcases, reading and writing



tables, and a parlor furnished in baronial oak. Featuring high ceilings and excellent ventilation, the main ballroom served as the community's stage for dancing and theatrical performances.

The clubhouse became a central location for Southsiders both deaf and hearing. The Silent Athletic Club continually hosted their own balls while also renting out the space to other South Side organizations. Weddings, political meetings, and gatherings of widows all occurred at the SAC's clubhouse. Just a few years after the Ridgeway Club left, the Deaf became the center of society in this little pocket of the South Side. However, like the Ridgeway Club before it, the Silent Athletic Club's stay at the clubhouse was all too short: it lasted only until 1930, when the club decided to move to the North Side, citing Garfield Boulevard's growing disrepute as a consequence of the expanding the Black Belt.[3] Also like the Ridgeway Club, this group almost entirely vanished from the public eye after leaving 5536 S Indiana Ave, leaving only the clubhouse as a memory of their past prominence.

The clubhouse was promptly inhabited by an entirely different group shortly after the SAC's departure from the neighborhood. The space, with its stage, waxed ballroom floor, and high ceilings, seemed too important to go to waste. The building was eventually renamed Igoe Hall, though the reason for this change is unknown. The operations of the clubhouse remained very similar to that of the Ridgeway and Silent Athletic Club, once again hosting a community searching for a space of their own.

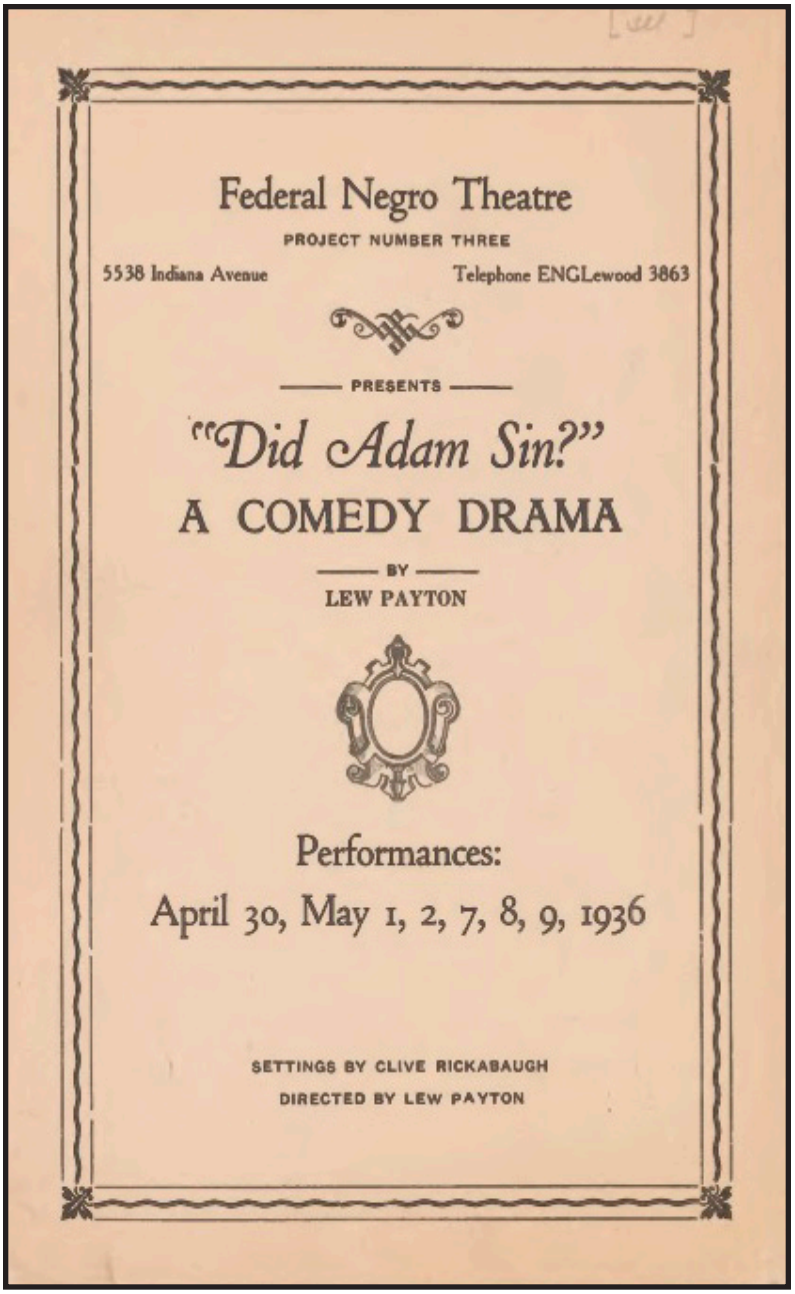
For the first time, the clubhouse was inhabited primarily by Black social groups and clubs, reflecting the expansion of Chicago's growing Black community on the South Side. The clubhouse hosted groups of all kinds, from the Fifth Ward Women's organization[4] to the American Legion[5], from Howard University Alumni[6] to local bowling leagues.[7] Esteemed sociology professor Louis Wirth of the University of Chicago even hosted a seminar in the clubhouse for students and neighborhood members titled "Illusions of Racial Supremacy." No matter what people or activities it hosted, the clubhouse continued to serve as a connection point for the community. However, like the tenants that preceded it, Igoe Hall fell victim to the changing nature of Washington Park. Its tenure in the clubhouse only lasted around five years, once again leaving the door open for the next community.

The next community to inhabit the clubhouse would lean on the space as a shelter for its artform: Theatre, a particularly vulnerable art during the Great



Silent Athletic Club Annual Picnic at National Park Riverside, Illinois, (1917). Courtesy of Gallaudet University

Depression. The art form's prominence had quickly plummeted during the Great Depression, which not only weakened this important cultural activity, but also left artists, writers, directors, and theater workers out of jobs. The Works Progress Administration created the Federal Theatre Project (FTP) in response to this issue, establishing a federation of regional theaters around the country that were to create relevant art. These spaces would allow artists to experiment and encourage the American public to experience live theater. One of these regional theatres became home to Chicago's Negro Division of the FTP. The group had previously staged performances in parks, hospitals, and schools but eventually found a permanent home at 5536 S Indiana Ave, a relatively modest performance venue, yet ample space for the division's purposes. One of the company's first presentations was titled *Romey and Julie*, an adaptation of Shakespeare's tragedy *Romeo and Juliet*. Set in Harlem, the play dramatized the tragic love story of Romey, an African American, and Julie, an Afro-Caribbean immigrant. Their second production titled *Did Adam Sin?* dramatized the story of a Black family in Harlem trying to survive the Great Depression.[8]



Did Adam Sin? Playbill. Courtesy of the Library of Congress

Once a clubhouse for the South Side elite, within the span of 30 years the old Ridgeway Club had become a center of innovation and stage for Black arts and culture. This clubhouse and the neighborhood around it changed at unprecedented speed and in the most unexpected ways. On the very same stage where the Ridgeway Club's women's auxiliary presented racist comedy in blackface, the FTP's Negro Division presented the realistic experience of a Black person in America during the Depression. Under the FTP's ownership, the space was renamed the Palais Des Gardes, and along with theatrical productions, the space continued to host events for the many clubs and societies of Chicago's South Side. By the 1940s, the FTP needed a larger and more central location in Chicago, and decided to move out of the neighborhood to the Princess Theatre downtown.[9]

By the 1960s, Washington Park had been transformed by disinvestment, segregation, and an aging housing stock that destroyed the neighborhood's built environment. At this time, 85% of the housing in the neighborhood had been built before 1940, and almost half of the structures were deemed to be in "substandard condition."[10] Population levels had dipped below what they were in 1930, and the neighborhood had become 99% Black.[11] Physically, the environment was becoming more barren as apartment fires, defective plumbing, broken plaster, faulty wiring, and overcrowding forced tenants to abandon their homes. The neighborhood, which had already been vulnerable to turnover, was losing its very structure. Its main thoroughfare, Garfield Boulevard, and spaces like 5536 S Indiana Ave had historically served as places where vulnerability could, even if it was just for a short time, become stability. However, as the neighborhood's built environment slowly crumbled, so did the feasibility of spaces for cultural incubation. For a neighborhood that had rebuilt itself multiple times within just a few decades, spaces like 5536 S Indiana Ave had become necessary for the cultivation of community and shared identity.

"Child by Child we build our nation" is not an inscription from a historic site, but the motto of more than 5,000 Southsiders who since 1945 have learned how to play and pray together in the old red brick building at 5536 South Indiana Ave.

The building's final tenant was an organization built in response to Washington Park's deteriorating conditions, and one that was able to enrich the community despite adverse circumstances. In Led by local religious and civic leader Bishop Marzella Hall, the space was converted into a community center and church. The community center, officially called the Marzella Hall Community Youth Center, was an organization that worked to embolden the lives of young children through meaningful and enriching activities. Bishop Hall, a leader with an incredible passion for the nation's youth, along with volunteers from the neighborhood, administered programming after school hours and worked to educate children in music, arts, and civic engagement. The students presented musicals for the community and performed as a choir in the Bud Billiken Parade. "Child by Child we build our nation" was the program's motto.

Apart from the programming of Marzella Hall's youth center, Bishop Hall also served as the minister of a congregation based out of 5536 S Indiana Ave called the Holiness Community Temple, one of the most prominent religious organizations on the South Side. At a time when government and private investments in Washington Park were the lowest they had been in many years, these churches worked as the primary administrators of public-facing activities and civic engagement. The church allowed mayoral and aldermanic candidates to workshop their campaigns with local residents, organized protests against racial discrimination in the workforce, and ran food drives for neighbors in need of reliable food options. Beyond civic engagement, the Holiness Community Temple also served as an incubator for the arts, culture, and neighborhood pride. An annual Mother's Day concert became a starting point for some of Chicago's emerging artists, the most notable being Sam Cooke, whose career is rumored to have launched at the Mother's Day concert that took place during his senior year of high school. Holiness Community Temple also hosted birthday parties for the church's leadership, and even for Chicago's first Black mayor, Harold Washington, who blew out the candles for his 62nd birthday at the church.

After the death of Marzella Hall, the church leadership was handed over to former assistant pastor Reverend Zepheree Barnes and veteran South Side activist and politician Reverend Earle Sardon. Anything short of a book-length study is insufficient to fully articulate the achievements of these two community leaders, who both had immense influence. Rev. Barnes was one of the earliest major figures to support Mayor Harold Washington's first mayoral bid in 1977. Rev. Sardon was the leader of the Negro Labor Relations League, an activist group aimed at protesting segregationist hiring practices in Chicago, as well as the Crusaders of Justice, a mutual support group with offices on Garfield Boulevard. Sardon was a colleague

of Martin Luther King Jr.'s and one of the most important figures in Chicago's civil rights movement. The leadership of the Holiness Community Temple was a telling indicator of the congregation's position in the Washington Park community. The church was so much more than a place of prayer. In the truest sense, it was a *Community Temple*.

After Reverend Barnes' death in 1988, Reverend Earle Sardon became the sole leader of the congregation. However, with Sardon's old age and a neighborhood population decrease of over 50% through the 1980s, the prominence of the Holiness Community Temple was almost entirely lost, with only small remnants of the congregation's once large following left behind. Even the congregation's largest asset, the clubhouse, was eventually abandoned as the congregation moved to a smaller space on 61st Street. After the clubhouse's final tenants left the building, it lay uninhabited for several years. In 1998, the building was demolished for good.

The long and varied history of the area we now call Washington Park was manifested on the stage of this red brick building. The performers, speakers, preachers, musicians, and common people who took this stage represent Washington Park's everchanging character. The building itself never really had a name and never really built an identity, as evidenced by the many fleeting communities who have called the space home. The building, which is now simply a grassy field, has almost completely been lost in history, along with the stories that echoed through its walls. A single Washington Park never really existed. And neither did a singular Ridgeway Club, or whatever you might choose to call the red brick building that once stood at 5536 S Indiana Ave.

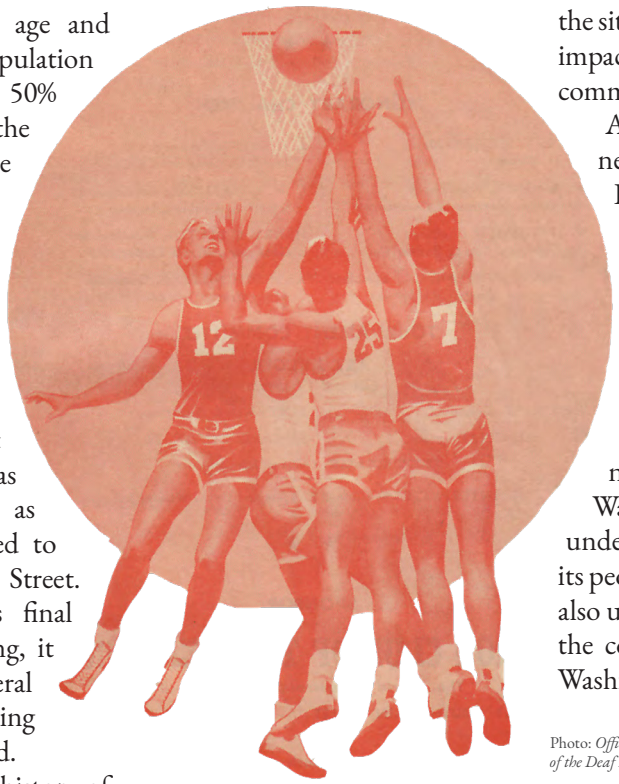


Photo: *Official Program for the 1945 National Clubs of the Deaf Basketball Tournament (digitally altered)*

Both the neighborhood and the clubhouse were liminal spaces that were written over by the chapters of Chicago's history. It was a place that people were both pushed into and out of, yet it was always a space that embraced and emboldened its inhabitants.

Now a grassy field, 5536 S Indiana Ave is a poorly written elegy to the many exuberant and diverse Washington Parks that once existed. The destruction of the building was not only an erasure of the site's history, but also a loss of an important meeting space for the members of Washington Park, whoever they may have been or might be. Though the building would have been a valuable resource for the current Washington Park, or the next Washington Park to come, the least we can do is remember the site's history and its everlasting impact across many histories communities, and identities.

A single Washington Park never really existed. But the Ridgeway Club did, and so did the Silent Athletic Club, and so did the Holiness Community Temple; these institutions are the cornerstones and the very identity of this odd space between neighborhoods we now call Washington Park. To truly understand Garfield Boulevard, its people, and its history, we must also understand the crucial role of the communities who have kept Washington Park together.

Zach Ashby is a third-year urban studies major from Charlottesville, Virginia. Along with serving on the production team of *Expositions*, he also served as a member of the Century on 55th Street cohort in the Winter and Spring of 2023.



The Windermere Hotel, (1938). Courtesy of the Chicago History Museum.

East Hyde Park Apartment Hotels

Story by **Abigail Poag and Parker Otto**

During the summer of 1923, writer Edna Ferber—frustrated, silk-clad, and sweltering in the 96-degree Chicago heat—sat at her typewriter agonizing over a draft of her novel, *So Big*. Her locale was the Windermere, a neoclassical building whose curved front "made a sounding board that recorded and exaggerated every toot, rumble, roar and clatter" of the 56th Street traffic outside.[1]

Having been forced out of her rented apartment in New York the day before, Ferber had hastily moved into the Windermere, which offered accommodations at a moment's notice.[2] The birthplace of Ferber's eventual Pulitzer Prize winning novel was a distinct residence known as an apartment hotel, one of several that rose in East Hyde Park between the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. These high-rises were hybrids, combining the amenities of a hotel with suites and apartment-style units suitable for long-term residents.[3] For instance, the Windermere featured a "home-like" environment, complete with formal dining rooms, a billiard room, weekly entertainment programs, and a column-studded lobby.[4] The nearby Shoreland apartment hotel boasted housekeeping suites with vacuum cleaning and laundry services included.[5]

For the diverse clientele of Hyde Park's apartment hotels, the location of the residences—near the "city core" but within "exclusive" residential districts—also proved appealing.[6] Specifically, the Hyde Park apartment hotel district provided easy access to downtown Chicago via the Illinois Central Railroad, a particular draw for businessmen. Other common clientele included "well-heeled bachelors," wealthy transients, and families seeking seasonal accommodations.[7] Moreover, for those who could afford it, the public nature of apartment hotel life granted an "instant social position"; new residents could "immediately...begin to observe (and be observed by) the local elite."[8] Indeed, heightened social capital was perhaps the most valuable offering of the more luxurious apartment hotels. Sociologist Louis Wirth provides one example of this phenomenon in his 1928 book, *The Ghetto*. He argues that apartment hotels served as agents of social mobility for some Jewish individuals, whose movement into higher-status accommodations presented an avenue by which to "break into gentile society."[9] As one ad touting Hyde Park's residential

hotels puts it, "You can say with pride that you live in one of these hotels."[10]

However, apartment-style living had not always garnered respect. Chicagoans "had associated respectability with control of vertical space" up until the 1880s and 1890s, when the Great Chicago Fire necessitated the rebuilding of much of the city's housing.[11] Across the country, some Progressive Era reformers even denounced apartment hotels as "caldrons of social and cultural evil."[12] Such critics often viewed apartment hotels—with their prefurnished and decorated units, public dining, and proximity to individuals of different classes and sexes—as threats to familial and gender norms.[13] Many advertisements from this era ostensibly seek to counteract these objections. For example, a 1934 article about Hyde Park's Madison Park apartment hotel repeatedly emphasizes the refinement of the residence, citing its "home atmosphere" and "perfect courtesy."[14] In light of critics' claims that apartment hotels were inferior (and even corrupt) alternatives to single family homes, such advertisements stress the innate decency and virtue of apartment hotels, suggesting that domestic propriety and prestige need not be confined to more traditional residences.

Chicagoans gradually grew to accept apartment hotels due to accelerating urbanization, the tradition of elegant western European hotels, and the increasing cost of hiring servants, which bolstered demand for alternative sources of services.[15] The endurance of Hyde Park's apartment hotels into the mid-20th century and beyond serves as a testament to these contentious residences' lasting appeal and the continuing desire for "home comforts without home cares."[16]

Edna Ferber would move out of the Windermere shortly after submitting her draft to her publisher, but the storied residence had served its purpose: she had at last finished her manuscript. As Ferber so elegantly puts it, "I had followed the writer's instinct to seek out a familiar place in which to give birth to a novel."[17]



Shoreland Hotel, East 55th Street near Lake Michigan. Courtesy of the University of Illinois at Chicago.

Hotel Windermere

Today's Windermere House, formerly known as Hotel Windermere East, came to be in 1924 as an extension of Hotel Windermere West apartment hotel which was constructed for the Columbian Exposition.[18] Following the original's demolition, the C-shaped building became a continuation of World's Fair splendor across the street from one of the fair's only permanent structures, now known as the Museum of Science and Industry. Similarly to how the Columbian Exposition displayed some of the first widely used electric lighting, the original Windermere West was a pioneer in wiring each room with a telephone, a legacy the Windermere East honored by installing radios in every room.[19] Unfortunately, these glory days waned quickly with the Hotel Windermere entering into foreclosure during the Great Depression before being bought up decades later by the University of Chicago and MAC Properties.[20]

Hotel Sisson/ Sherry

Rising from the washes of Hyde Park's founder Paul Cornell's Hyde Park House, Hotel Sisson (later renamed Hotel Sherry) became the South Side's first high-rise. However, beneath its beautiful façade, controversy arose in the mid-1920s at the height of Hyde Park's apartment hotel-era when its proprietor, Harry Sisson, was linked to the Ku Klux Klan.[22] The hotel became a hotspot for Klansmen due to boycotts by the Jewish and Catholic communities.[22] This period eventually turned around decades later with the ballroom hosting Duke Ellington and many Jewish weddings.[23] The Hotel Sisson eventually became the home for Congressman and first Black mayor of Chicago, Harold Washington.

The Shoreland

The storied history of the Shoreland Hotel ranged from Jimmy Hoffa's children choking the hotel manager in the lobby to a massive banquet featuring Amelia Earhart as the star guest to celebrate her famed transatlantic flight.[24] In the early 20th century, the hotel was the epicenter of opulence and power within the Hyde Park area, but this fortune would not last forever. With the golden age of apartment hotels well behind them, the East Hyde Park apartment hotels in the 1970s would have their futures determined by the University of Chicago, and the Shoreland was no exception. Gone were the days of Al Capone, Elvis Presley, and Amelia Earhart; instead, University of Chicago students would walk the Shoreland's storied halls. All was not well, though, as lack of upkeep left the building a mere shadow of its former self, with the Sun Times and Maroon alleging that the building was "falling apart" due to lack of maintenance.[25] No words could better describe the deteriorating state of Hyde Park's apartment hotels near the turn of the century.



Shoreland Hotel. Courtesy of the Chicago History Museum

Abigail Poag is a third-year majoring in Comparative Literature and Russian and East European Studies. She is interested in the relationship between literature and place and loves mining the archive for a good story.

Parker Otto is a fourth-year majoring in Urban Studies and minoring in GIS. His studies over the last four years have led to the exploration of historical trends in urban development and the built environment, emerging from his work at the Urbanism Lab and Chicago Studies Department.

The Golden Lily and Racial Change in Washington Park

Although 309 East Garfield Boulevard is currently an empty lot next to the Green Line on Garfield Boulevard, one hundred years ago it was a popular spot for business luncheons, dinner parties, and dances.

Story by
Hugh Shepard



A view of the Spencer Hotel in 1954, looking west on Garfield Boulevard from the 300 E Block.
Courtesy of the Chicago History Museum Collection

Located steps away from the 55th Street elevated train depot, the Chinese-owned Golden Lily Cafe opened around 1920.[1] The 1920 Census lists 309 E Garfield Boulevard as the residence of three Chinese men in their 40s and 50s, one who owned the restaurant and two others who worked there as cooks.[2] The fact that these Cafe employees were all male and middle-aged is no coincidence. US immigration laws first restricted the immigration of Chinese women and later the immigration of Chinese male laborers with exceptions for merchants, thus ensuring that the Chinese population in the United States during this era was disproportionately male and middle-aged, and that Chinese immigrants ran a large number of small businesses like laundries and restaurants. Rather than serving lattes, the Golden Lily Cafe featured two orchestras and nightly dancing from 7 to 2.[3] As a business situated in a racially segregated city, it was reported to have a strict whites-only policy for most of the 1920s.[4] But this whites-only policy became bad for business as the neighborhood surrounding it became predominantly black and many white patrons sought entertainment elsewhere.[5] In October 1929, the Golden Lily decided to adapt to this by catering to a black rather than white clientele.[6] It replaced its white orchestra with a black one and declared its doors open to all—regardless of race.[7][8][9] Two weeks later, the Golden Lily was bombed.[10] Glass windows shattered, and although the offender was never caught, racial animosity was the widely suspected motive,[11][12][13] The bombing luckily did not injure anyone, and the Golden Lily was so popular that it reopened for business the very same evening.[14] [15] With black musicians and a mostly black clientele, the Golden Lily became a place where up-and-coming jazz stars like Arnold Wiley and Tiny Parham performed, as well as a full-time source of employment for the musicians in Francois Mosely's band.[16] [17] [18] [19] It wouldn't be long, however, until disaster struck the Golden Lily again. In 1932, the Golden Lily Cafe was destroyed by a fire.[20] This time the destruction was more severe. Musical instruments were destroyed and plates were blackened with ash, altogether totalling about $10,000 in damage (equivalent to more than $200,000 today). [21] The cafe had to close for more than a month for repairs.[22] [23] However, it reopened yet again, and stayed open for at least one more year.[24] [25] [26] Although the Golden Lily Cafe did not survive the end of the prohibition era, the legacy of the nightclub lived on as it became the first of a series of nightclubs on this block of Garfield Boulevard that employed up-and-coming jazz musicians. Although nightclubs like the Golden Lily Cafe on the south side of Chicago were short-lived, they would launch the careers of a generation of great musicians who got their start on the southside of Chicago.



A view of the Golden Lily in 1928, looking southeast on 55th St. Courtesy of the Chicago History Museum Archival Collection



A 1926 ad for the Golden Lily. Courtesy of the *Chicago Tribune*

Hugh Shepard is a third-year at the University of Chicago majoring in History with a minor in data science. His fascination with the history of the South Side of Chicago made him an enthusiastic participant in the Century on 55th Street project.

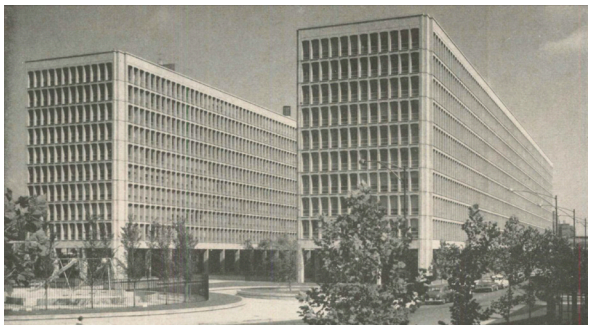
The Toasters of Hyde Park A

Story by **André Tse**



University Park Condominiums, (2023). Courtesy of Brandon Shin.

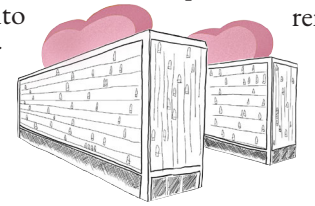
If you walk down East 55th Street towards the lakefront, you'll face a choice after passing Kenwood Avenue. Here, 55th Street splits into two one-way streets, curving around an apartment complex called the University Park Condominiums. Pick one side, and you won't be able to reach the other for almost three blocks. As someone new to North American grid cities, I actually find comfort in city blocks that are not merely straight lines. It is, however, pretty annoying when I bike north or south and need to circle around the condos to get across 55th Street.



University Apartments, (1962). Courtesy of Architectural Record.

A pair of almost rectangular slabs of concrete run parallel to 55th Street and make up the two wings of the condos, giving the complex an interesting geometric presence. Much like the Ancient Greeks' mythological names for constellations, University of Chicago students creatively call this "the toaster building" because of the parallel blocks. The funny name, however, gives us no indication of why the complex stands as such an intriguing obstacle.

The toaster building was not always an inconvenience. Its original conception was surprisingly aware of the need for accessible public space. Between the two wings of the condo is a garden that runs east-to-west along the original 55th Street. While this courtyard is no longer publicly accessible, that didn't use to be the case. Originally, the renowned architect I.M. Pei designed the toaster building such that the garden in the middle would be a public walkway, almost a pedestrian continuation of 55th Street.[1] The two wings of the complex are suspended over columns, leaving space on the ground floor to see into and walk through, so that the toaster building appears continuous with its environment. In 1978, the University Apartments became a condo, and owners quickly had security concerns that made them fence up the entire complex.[2] At the same time, a private bathhouse and pool replaced the children's playground on the west end of the public walkway.[3] The idea of an open walkway on 55th Street was buried after two decades. Rather than a creative reclamation of public space, the toaster building became a barrier to circumvent.



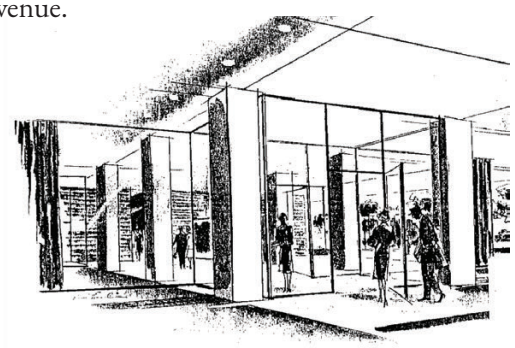
Before the toaster building's time and all its ensuing changes, 55th Street was like any other neighborhood main street throughout the first half of the 20th century. Families went for groceries before dinner, and people enjoyed bars and restaurants after work. Along the street, they could walk directly eastwards towards Lake Park Avenue without surprising turns. However, Hyde Park residents would soon hear about new plans for their community called "urban renewal."

The University of Chicago was the primary force behind this push to redevelop parts of Hyde Park to counter apparent "urban deterioration." Notably, Black immigration to the South Side of Chicago continued to increase in the 1940s and '50s, starting to diffuse into the edges of Hyde Park. This uncontrolled movement threatened the University's vision of a stable, middle-class neighborhood for its faculty and students. On multiple fronts, the University set out to shape Hyde Park into a "compatible environment" for its self-interest as an academic institution (See Page 52).[4]

The toaster building was born as this story unfolded over the 1950s. It was conceived as part of "Hyde Park A," one of the first in a series of renewal projects in the neighborhood. This decades-long pilgrimage towards a "renewed" Hyde Park is sometimes seen as a socially conscious turn in 20th-century urban developments since it presented its goal as "a stable, integrated neighborhood as an example for all."[5] This liberal façade helped Hyde Park distinguish itself from other South Side projects that almost exclusively displaced Black populations.[6]

In reality, institutional interests realized that the presence of Black residents was inevitable, so urban renewal's "integration" was more focused on retaining white, upper-class Hyde Parkers than further inviting Black residents in. To prevent them from

following the white flight towards the suburbs, Hyde Park A targeted an area around the intersection of 55th Street and Lake Park Avenue, notably creating a somewhat suburban enclave. As part of this broader project, the birth of the toaster building bulldozed 55th Street from Ridgewood Court to Harper Avenue. Quintessential to urban life, the demolished mixed-use buildings had a variety of stores nestled underneath residential units. Through urban renewal, they were replaced with bland residential complexes. The two sides of 55th Street opposite the toaster building became rows of identical townhomes. The remains of former commercial vibrancy was relegated to a suburban-esque strip mall at the intersection of 55th Street and Lake Park Avenue.



Rendering of Lobby. Courtesy of National Parks Service.

In a 1990s article, Ruth Knack, editor of the urban magazine *Planning*, praised Hyde Park's urban renewal project for making the neighborhood more affluent while retaining racial diversity.[7] Today, it stands as a signature middle class and racially-integrated neighborhood on the South Side. However, numbers reveal a more nuanced story. Even though the general Black population persistently hung above 30% of Hyde Parkers, the number of lower-income Black residents plummeted by 40% after redevelopment.[8] In the relocation process, 46.1% of white families found accommodation within the neighborhood while only 16.8% of Black families could.[9]

The Hyde Park-Kenwood Community Conference, formed by local residents, functioned to shore up public support for the University's schemes to control their neighborhood, but their acquiescence came back to bite them.[10] Hyde Parkers were convinced by sensationalized crimes and fears of the area's "deteriorating condition" in reference to Black immigration.[11] They opted to be the quiet, residential backyard of a university instead of the vibrant community that once thrived. From mid-century urban renewal alone, 50 bars were uprooted from Hyde Park.[12] The condo-ification of the University Apartments, though occurring a few decades after the brunt of urban renewal, traces a continuous lineage from the University's attempts to create a pacified, secure upper middle class community. Every time I maneuver around the fenced up garden in the middle of 55th Street, it reminds me of the forces that compelled Hyde Park to conserve itself against the idea of an external invasion.[13]

Sometimes, the toaster building gets in the way between me and the 55 bus. When I have to watch the bus leave through the fences of the residential complex, I blame Hyde Parkers from the 1950s. And don't get me started on all the bars and clubs that vanished under urban renewal. However, the University's control of its environment is not simply a history. From the original Harper Court being replaced by a Hyatt development on 53rd Street to the Obama Presidential Center in Jackson Park refusing a community benefits agreement, the University's policies of top-down redevelopment continue today. As this powerful institution continues to eat up Hyde Park and its surroundings, will this generation of Hyde Parkers—our generation—stay complicit?

The Hyde Park-Kenwood Community Conference

was founded in 1949 by a group of residents whose goal was to "create an interracial community of high standards." Through neighborhood block groups, the HPKCC had a close connection with the middle class residents of Hyde Park and Kenwood. However, as urban renewal plans progressed, the HPKCC became functionally subordinate to the South East Chicago Commission and the University of Chicago. The HPKCC still exists today, based out of an office on 53rd Street.

André Tse is a second-year majoring in Public Policy and Fundamentals. Coming from Hong Kong, they're most interested in the political and social implications of urban processes. During a normal day, you'll probably find them taking the CTA to random places.



Lutheran School exterior facade, 1968.
Courtesy of *Architectural Record.*

Lutheran School of Theology

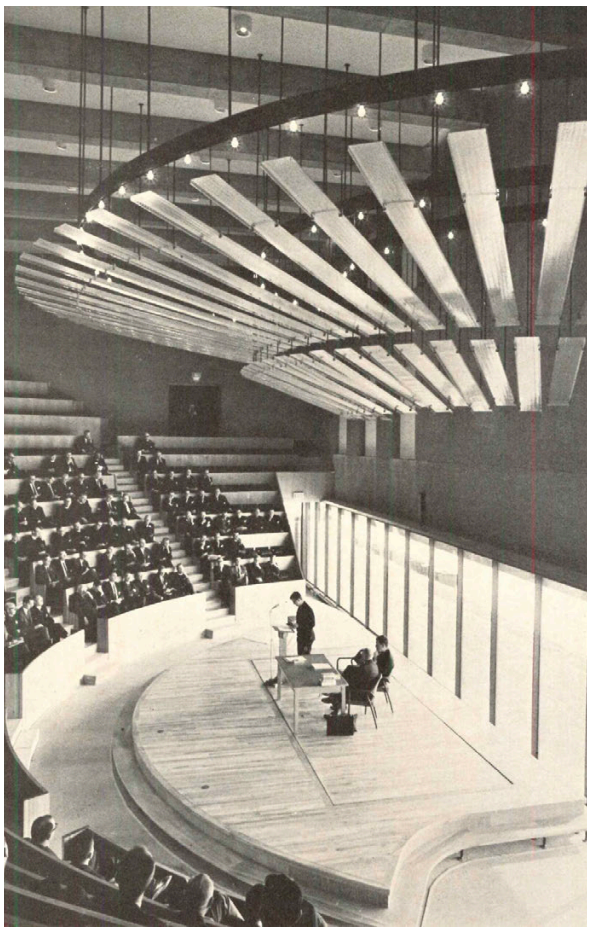
Story by **Connor Bentley**

The Lutheran School of Theology at Chicago first opened its doors to students in 1967 after nearly four years of controversy, protest, and opposition by local residents. Coming on the tail end of urban renewal in Hyde Park, this new institution, formed by a merger of two seminaries in Rock Island and Maywood, was able to relocate to the city through collaboration with another local institution[º]: the University of Chicago.

The Lutheran Church turned its sights to Chicago, and Hyde Park in particular, because they were seeking an urban environment to train their future ministers.[1] This particular urban environment also came with the added benefit of various partner institutions. In a letter to Irving M. Gerick, president of the Hyde Park-Kenwood Community Conference, Reverend Robert J. Marshall of the Illinois Synod of the Lutheran Church, explained that the Hyde Park site was chosen because of the presence of other religious and educational institutions, including the Divinity School, Chicago Theological Seminary, and Rockefeller Chapel.[2] It was the church's desire that the new seminary be located as close as possible to 58th and University, which resulted in the initial selection of a site located on the 5400 block between University and Woodlawn Avenues.

When the news broke that the Lutheran Church was acquiring land for a seminary, residents of the 5400 block organized a block club in opposition to the site. The block club, in collaboration with other neighborhood organizations such as the Northwest Hyde Park Area Association and the Kozminski PTA, protested the site on the grounds that it would have required the demolition of at least 197 housing units, displacing anywhere from 500-600 residents, including 35 Black families from one of Hyde Park's few racially integrated blocks.[3] The 5400 University-Woodlawn block club also maintained that the University of Chicago was instrumental in the move, and that the institution persuaded church officials to choose Hyde Park for the seminary. The 54th and University site had been chosen as early as 1958, while the official announcement of the seminaries consolidation and move wasn't made until May of 1963.[4] By that time, the University owned many of the buildings on the block, which it had slowly bought without any formal announcements. These acquisitions marked the continuation of a trend of University expansion, driven by federal urban renewal funding and a need for student housing.[5] Because of this, residents assumed that the acquisitions would be preserved as housing, until all of the University's holdings on the block were sold to the seminary.[6]

By the end of 1964, the Lutheran School of Theology had changed its course of action due to the block club's pressure. The residents published press releases[7] and newsletters[8] [9] [10] that urged neighbors to get involved, and organized meetings with the HPKCC and the seminary to voice their concerns over the site.[11] The seminary, facing the fact that it couldn't acquire the full 5400 block, set its sights on the adjacent 5450 block south of 54th Place between Greenwood and University. This was made possible once again by the sale of buildings owned by the University of Chicago, and by the fact that the area had been partially cleared in 1963 through



Chapel-auditorium at the Lutheren School, (1986). Courtesy of *Architechtural Record.*



Interior courtyard at the Lutheren School, (1968). Courtesy of *Architechtural Record.*

urban renewal programs.[12] Of the eight remaining buildings on the block, seven were bought by the seminary, three of which were previously owned by the University. The site move meant that housing on the 5400 block would be preserved, although for institutional use, and residents were no longer at immediate risk of displacement.[13]

The 5450 block, however, was not free from the threat of institutional expansion. Residents organized as the 5450 Greenwood-University block club, and once again expressed their concern over the new site, since it called for the demolition of 149 housing units, and targeted a mixed-income, racially integrated block, which would further segregate Northwest Hyde Park and the Kozminski school.[14] Unlike the 5400 block, however, the 5450 block club was unsuccessful in preventing the construction of the seminary, and by the time the residents had organized the seminary had acquired enough land to begin planning for the new school. There was, however, a lone hold out on the block that refused to sell, a housing co-op located at 5472 South University.[15] Rather than wait for the co-op to sell, the seminary had building designs drawn that encircled the co-op, resulting in a unique u-shaped building.[16] But before construction could begin, the co-op sold and the building design was rotated 90 degrees to the north. Demolitions began in 1965, and the school officially broke ground on construction on October 6, 1965.[17] The new school was fully operational by the fall of 1967, only four years after the first property was acquired by the Lutheran School in Hyde Park.

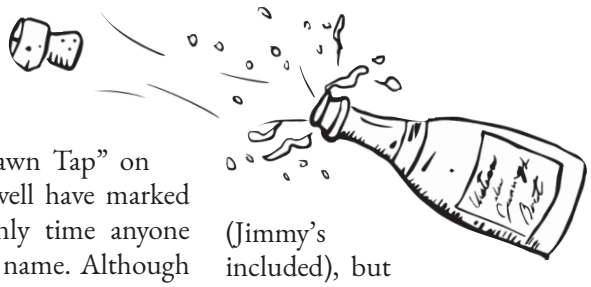
Today, the building that once housed the Lutheran School of Theology sits empty after it was bought by the University of Chicago, bringing the story of institutional expansion full circle.[18] Walking through the former seminary today, the interior appears vacant, but signs of its influence on the neighborhood can still be seen in the apartment buildings surrounding the campus, which are still marked as property of the Lutheran School. This recent sale once again raises questions over the role that institutions play in Hyde Park, and highlights the recurring issues of their expansion and collaboration. Although the future of the site is unclear right now, important lessons can be learned from the work done by community members who initially organized to protest against the site.

Connor Bentley is a fourth-year majoring in Environmental and Urban Studies with minors in architechture and biology. His work with the history of the South Side of Chicago made him an enthusiastic participant in the Century on 55th Street project.



Jimmy's Endures

Story by **Sam Shelffo-McGrath**
Illustration (left) by **Noah Lee**

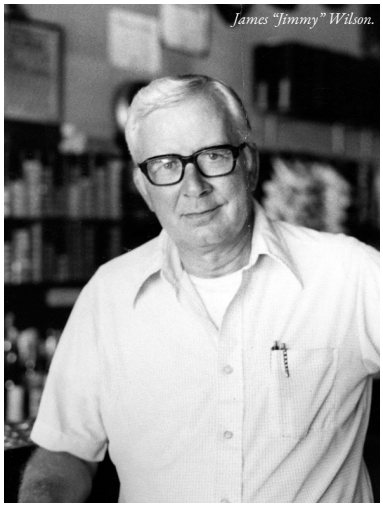


In December of 1964, 5th Ward Alderman Leon Despres shared his predictions for the new year in the Hyde Park Herald. First among his predictions was this: "Jimmy's Tavern will still be on 55th Street at the end of 1965."[1]

And indeed it was. Jimmy's survived urban renewal, even survived Jimmy himself, and throughout its tenure has proven itself practically immovable. Jimmy's first opened its doors in 1948, after James "Jimmy" Wilson (the bar's namesake) decided he wanted to own his own bar after some time as a bartender at University Tap (located where Campus North Residential Commons is now).[2]

When Jimmy took over the space at 1172 E 55th Street, there was minimal renovation to be done—it was already set up as a bar, since the previous tenant had been the tavern Little Tom's Place (named after its owner, Thomas Wallwin). Despite its convenience, however, the building had an ill-omened history: in 1944, Little Tom's Place was the site of a murder-suicide involving the owner and bartender.[3] Little Tom's place would, understandably, sit empty for the next four years, until Jimmy came to open up Woodlawn Tap. The day the bar put up "Woodlawn Tap" on its façade may well have marked the first and only time anyone called it by that name. Although Jimmy was always adamant he wanted his bar to be Woodlawn Tap, his patrons were equally adamant about calling it Jimmy's. It was part of the magic of the place: there were countless bars lining pre-urban renewal 55th Street, but you went to Jimmy's for the man himself.

What may have ultimately saved Jimmy's from the otherwise nearly complete reinvention of 55th Street during the 1960s was its next-door neighbor: the Lutheran Theological Seminary. The Seminary had originally intended to build its main campus on the 5400 University-Woodlawn block, which it had acquired (Jimmy's included), but stiff opposition by the block club caused them to build it on Greenwood-University instead – meaning there was no real reason to get rid of Jimmy's, and really no benefit to the Seminary to do so.[4][5]



James "Jimmy" Wilson.

Courtesy of the University of Chicago Photo Archive.

Jimmy's was (and is) enough of a neighborhood institution that it beat the Liquor Control Commission on two occasions: first in 1952, the bar's liquor license was revoked for serving alcohol to a minor. There was so much public outcry that Mayor Kennelly himself ended up reversing the decision.[6] When Jimmy died in 1999, his sons found out their application to renew the bar's liquor license had been denied because of Jimmy's proximity to St. Thomas the Apostle Catholic Church.[7] Even this couldn't keep it down. The decision was reversed in March of 2000; Jimmy's was open again in May.[8][9]

Sam Shelffo-McGrath is a third-year majoring in Environmental and Urban Studies. Her interest in relationships of power, positionality, and place have led her to an enthusiasm for intensely examining the old photos on the walls of dive bars and restaurants.



Site improvement. Children engaged in a game on the 55th Street mall. Built by the Department of Urban Renewal.
Courtesy of Chicago Public Library. Special Collections & Preservation Divison.



People

55th Street Businessmen's Association



Story by **Lena Birkholz**

In June of 1956, representatives of businesses in the Hyde Park area traveled to Washington, DC to discuss their issues with urban renewal efforts in the neighborhood with the United States House of Representatives.[1] The hearing was the culmination of months of effort from the Hyde Park Business and Professional Association to advocate for a plan for displaced merchants in the wake of urban renewal, a fight that resulted in the creation of Kimbark Plaza.[2] These businessmen hadn't meant to become crusaders against urban renewal; in fact, most of them supported it. But when the Chicago Land Clearance Commission made clear that there wouldn't be any guaranteed place for displaced merchants in the new shopping centers, the Association took action.

The Hyde Park Business and Professional Association, originally the 55th Street Businessmen's Association and the 53rd Street Businessmen's Association, formed in 1956 in reaction to imminent displacement of most of the 55th Street businesses, which had previously far outnumbered those on 53rd.[3] When the 55th Street Businessmen's Association was founded in the mid 1910s, it was one of many such organizations that existed along practically every commercial street in Chicago.[4] By the time of urban renewal, however, it was one of the oldest and most respected associations of its kind in the city. Along with their yearly "Fish Dinner" and contest for the best decorated holiday windows, the organization supported community beautification efforts, sponsored banquets for the UChicago Football team, and organized other civic-minded activities.[5]

By the 1950s, however, the reality of urban renewal began to hit home. Many longtime merchants were forced to move or anxiously await demolition without any guarantee of new locations for their stores, many of which had cultivated a Hyde Park clientele for decades. In a widely reported act of protest, Ted Anderson, the owner of a 55th Street hardware store (and onetime president of the association), borrowed carts from the Hyde Park Co-Op to or-

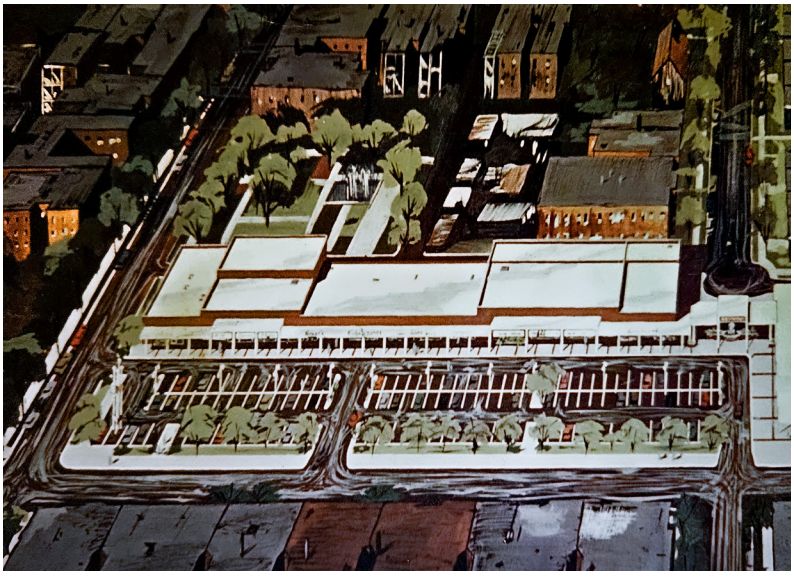
A "parade of shopping carts" on Anderson's last moving day.
Courtesy of a September 1963 issue of *Hardware Age.*

Ted Anderson's 2nd Store in Hyde Park. Courtesy of the Hyde Park Historical Society



ganize a parade moving his inventory.[6] In response to the threat of displacement, the Businessmen's Association created a new Redevelopment Subcommittee, wrote letters to the Hyde Park Herald, and, eventually, appeared before the United States Congress.[7] The merchants didn't want to reverse urban renewal, which they hoped would replace their dilapidated buildings[8]—supporting urban renewal fulfilled the same civic obligations as window competitions or streetlights. However, the merchants advocated to amend the plans for the new Hyde Park Shopping Center. According to existing laws, the developers of the shopping center would be able to sell the spots to whoever they wanted to, meaning chains could potentially outcompete displaced neighborhood businesses. Despite their efforts, the developers found enough popular support following the placement of the Hyde Park Co-Op that the shopping center stayed open to chains.[9]

Despite mixed success changing the 55th Street Shopping Center, a number of business people decided to take matters into their own hands. Newspaperman Edward Ramsay gathered several displaced business owners—most of them from the former 55th Street Businessmen's Association. Together, they collected cash and a small business loan to buy the land for the eventual Kimbark Plaza. Kimbark Plaza was cooperatively owned by its occupants and intended to host only independent small businesses, ideally those that previously existed in Hyde Park before urban renewal. Besides Anderson's and Mitzie's Flowers, founding stores included Breslauer's Department Store, Mr. G's Grocery[10], and, later on, longtime institutions like Kimbark Beverage Shoppe. This cooperative shopping center model was the first of its kind in the country. Only much later did chain stores like CVS begin to encroach, with the University of Chicago eventually becoming the largest owner.[11]



A rendering of the 53rd Street Shopping Plaza and the site of Anderson's 3rd store. Courtesy of the Hyde Park Historical Society

As for the Hyde Park Business and Professional Association, it went through another name change in 1986, becoming the Hyde Park Chamber of Commerce.[12] In this role, it continues today to promote street planters and cleaners, and provide advertisements and support for local businesses. Somehow, they've lasted, simultaneously fighting and supporting urban renewal and gentrification.

Lena Birkholz is a third-year in the College studying English and Urban Studies. Over the last three years, she's been particularly interested in cultural production related to the city, especially in Chicago. She's excited to help unearth the golden age of Hyde Park.

1950 Sanborn Map of Buddhist Church. Courtesy of Chicago Public Library



"If we could have stayed, we would have"

Japanese American Displacement in the First Half of the 20th Century



Ruby Tsuji at the Buddhist Temple. Taken by Elyas Boyan

Story by **Elyas Boyan**

I catch the bus from 55th Street and Dorchester to the Garfield Red Line, and head uptown to Wilson. West one block, north one block. "Buddist Temple of Chicago," reads the sign outside my destination. I hesitate a bit at the doorstep but am warmly welcomed in for a traditional Sunday service, tea, and cookies of the same kind that has been happening for 79 years, albeit not always in this location.

"I guess the Reverend was able to get out of camp, and he started it in '44, yeah, something like that," Ruby Tsuji (née Doi) tells me, referring to the temple. She celebrated her 90th birthday in February and stands at no more than five feet, but easily captures my attention with her gestural cane waving and quiet, but commanding voice.

Tsuji's story begins in southern California. During World War II, her family was detained in the Tule Lake camp, one of the many internment camps built for Japanese Americans accused of being spies. After the war, those who survived were sent eastward with the instruction to assimilate into white society.[1] Around 20,000 Japanese Americans were relocated from internment camps to Chicago.[2] Many, including Ruby's older brother, went to Hyde Park. "He lived on Dorchester. It was about 5400 Dorchester. We were right behind the Buddhist Church."

Bill, Vice President of Buddhist Religious Affairs at the temple, calls my attention. He leads me into the six-sided chapel, modeled after a famous hexagonal temple

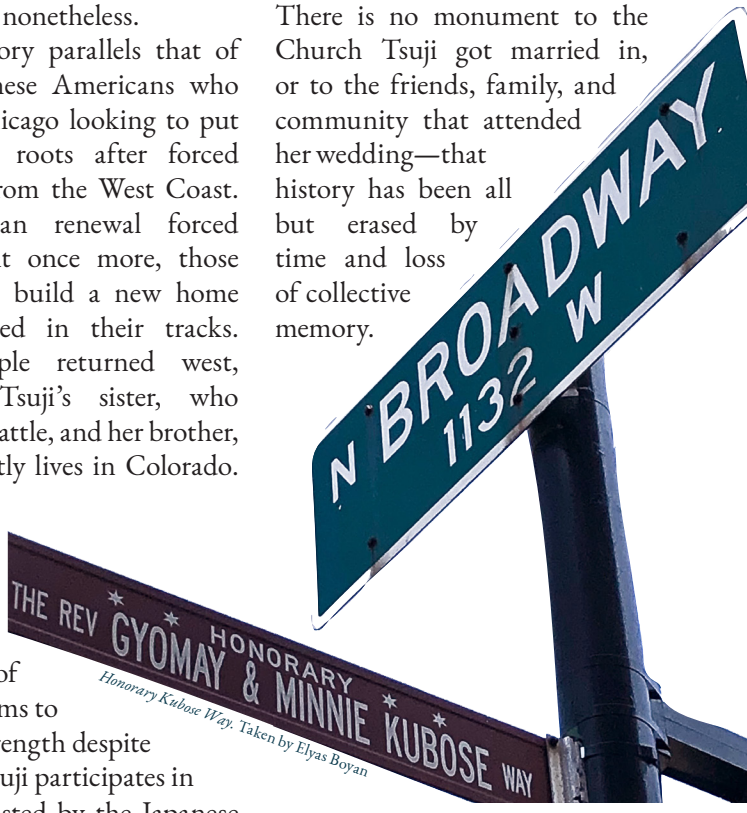
in Kyoto[3], and then into a small back room. "That," he says, pointing to an altar, "was the original altar used at the Church on the South Side. It was built in Heart Mountain Internment camp, and brought here by the Reverend Kubose." His finger leads my eyes upward. "And there is the original sign that was above the Church door." The gold letters spell out "Chicago Buddhist Church." It is the same sign I have encountered in archives of historical photos.

The Church was the center of Tsuji's community and her connection to Hyde Park, but it wasn't the only place that catered to Japanese Americans. "There was a store, on 55th Street, called Franklin Foods or something. And they had some Japanese stuff that we could buy," she recounts. "[But] then when, you know, 55th Street changed, then ... then we just didn't go."

Caught between a building known colloquially as "Misery Mansion" (5463–5481 S. Dorchester)[4] and the 55th Street commercial district condemned by "composite blight factors,"[5] the Buddhist Church was directly in the path of Hyde Park "A," the first wave of urban renewal. Demolitions began nearby in 1956. Negotiations with the Land Clearance Committee proved unsuccessful.[6] "We had no say," Tsuji tells me. "Not once that building [University Park Condominiums] was built. We couldn't be upset!" Resentment is implicit, despite her diplomatic tone. Reverend Kubose was able to get a higher price for the Church[7], but the move was forced nonetheless. Despite a hesitance to voice them out loud, however, Tsuji acknowledges the reasons behind urban renewal. "The neighborhood was changing, too, so. I don't think they felt so sorry about the South Side. ... But I don't know how, or, you know, who was moving in. I don't know. It was still okay. [If they could have stayed], I'm sure they would've." A feeling of helplessness in the face of institutional power, yet an understanding of their motivations nonetheless.

Tsuji's story parallels that of many Japanese Americans who came to Chicago looking to put down new roots after forced expulsion from the West Coast. When urban renewal forced displacement once more, those attempts to build a new home were stopped in their tracks. Many people returned west, including Tsuji's sister, who moved to Seattle, and her brother, who currently lives in Colorado. However, the Japanese community on the North Side of Chicago seems to maintain strength despite the odds. Tsuji participates in activities hosted by the Japanese American Service Committee, formed to help people create community in Chicago post-war[8], and many of Tsuji's friends are through the JASC or the temple.

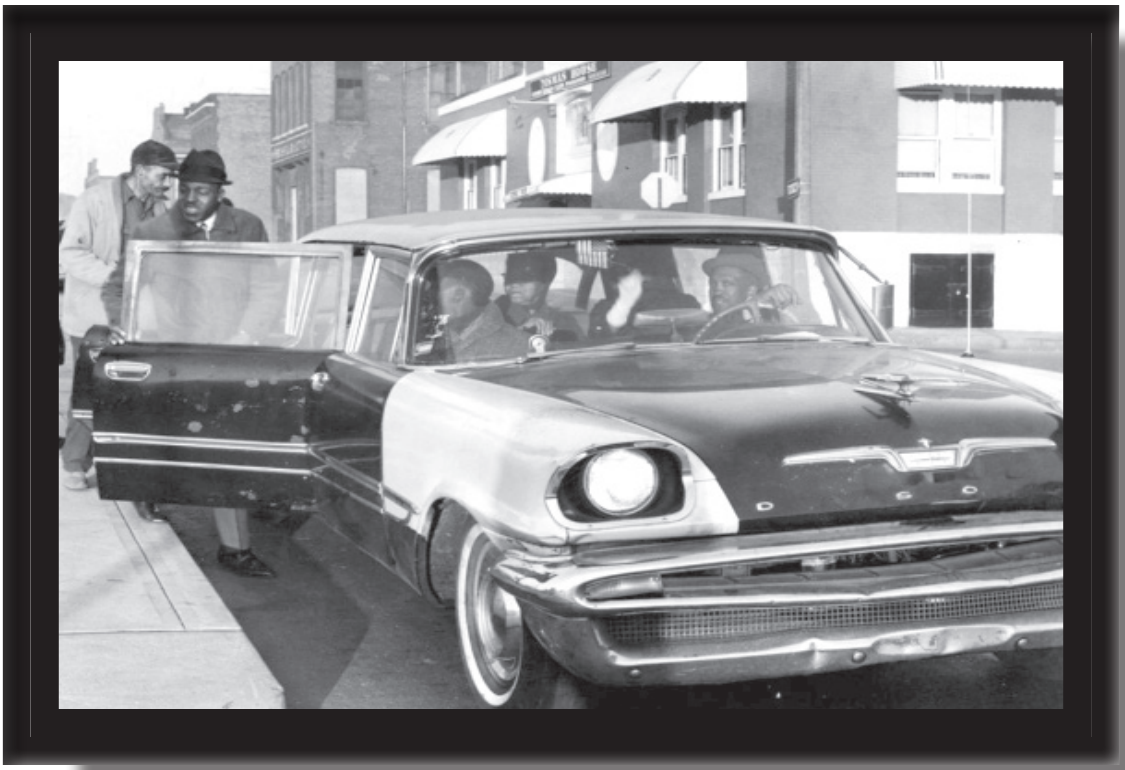
Even despite her resilience, as she recounts her story, I can't help but think of the rubble underneath the pavement I had been standing on that morning as I waited for the bus. Of the old Church, of the home she had tried to create after leaving California. Now, the evidence that there was ever a Japanese American community on the South Side is scant. From the bus stop on the corner of 55th Street and Dorchester, the only buildings in my line of vision are the gated University Park Condominiums and backwards-facing modernist townhomes. There is no monument to the Church Tsuji got married in, or to the friends, family, and community that attended her wedding—that history has been all but erased by time and loss of collective memory.



Honorary Kubose Way. Taken by Elyas Boyan

Elyas Boyan is a second-year studying linguistics and minoring in architecture and music. They are extremely interested in the way religion connects to culture, ethnicity, and sense of place. In their free time, they enjoy going on exploratory bike rides and bending miniature wire sculptures.

The Heyday of the Washington Park CLUB SCENE*



Story by Hugh Shepard

***Singers, dancers, chorus girls, comedians, vaudeville acts, and even acrobats**

Street Scene at 300 E Garfield Blvd (1954).
Courtesy of the Chicago History Museum.

Ronald Lynch, a lifelong South Side resident, remembers a time when "we couldn't go west of Wentworth, east of Cottage Grove, or south of 63rd Street". A history of racial violence and institutionalized discrimination meant that most white neighborhoods were considered off-limits to Black Chicagoans in the 1930s and '40s. But it is not the limitations of this segregated environment that linger in Ronald Lynch's memory as he reflects on those days, recalling, "we didn't think much of it" growing up. The Black Belt of Chicago, which in the 1940s consisted of a strip between Wentworth and Cottage Grove stretching from 26th Street down to 63rd Street, was like "a city unto itself where you could get anything that you needed. We rarely, if ever, had to go downtown." Born in 1941 and spending the first decade of his life living along 47th Street, Ronald Lynch remembers growing up in the center of it all. The South Center Department Store on 47th Street was one of the nation's largest of its kind serving a primarily Black clientele, while the Regal Theater right next door was where the top musicians of the day, including Duke Ellington and Louis Armstrong, came to perform when they were in Chicago. On major commercial strips like 47th Street, 55th Street/Garfield Boulevard, and 63rd Street, you could stroll down the street and frequent multiple nightclubs without walking more than ten minutes—passing countless barbecue joints, laundries, drug stores, grocers, barber shops, and all other sorts of small businesses along the way. Factory workers and janitors lived alongside prominent musicians, lawyers, doctors, businessmen, and politicians. The Black Belt even had its own transportation system. Black-owned jitney cabs traveled up and down South Parkway—what is now MLK Drive—between 31st and 65th Streets, charging dime fares and picking up and dropping off customers at bus stops.[1]



Saxophone. Illustration by Noah Lee and Elyas Boyan.

During the 1930s and '40s, Garfield Boulevard had sidewalk traffic at all hours, as many of the lounges, clubs, and restaurants stayed open until just before daybreak.[2] On hot summer nights, the grassy median of Garfield Boulevard was covered with blankets where people escaping crowded apartments slept.[3][4] At the western edge of the Black Belt was the Club DeLisa on State Street, a longstanding establishment open 24 hours a day, known for having no cover charge and featuring singers, dancers, chorus girls, comedians, vaudeville acts, and even acrobats alongside a house band led by the famous drummer Red Saunders.[5][6] It only took ten minutes to walk along Garfield Boulevard from the Club DeLisa on the western edge of the Black Belt to the famous Rhumboogie Club, formerly known as Dave's Cafe, on the eastern side. Along the way, you would pass the imposing five-story Schulze Baking Plant, the 1,400-seat Michigan Theater, and a handful of smaller clubs and cocktail lounges before passing under the elevated train station and reaching the Rhumboogie by Washington Park. Music was so vibrant in this area that even the smaller clubs had their own bands, creating a hub for musicians and entertainers of all stripes.[5] On just the single city block of Garfield Boulevard that stretches from Washington Park to the elevated train station, there were twenty-three musicians who performed regularly at the Rhumboogie Club, Ciro's Lounge, and White's Emporium.[7]

This part of 55th Street was where elements of the Chicago underworld mixed with Black celebrities, all amidst the sounds of both established and up-and-coming Black musicians. Coleman Hawkins, known for popularizing the tenor saxophone as a jazz solo instrument, used to lead a band at

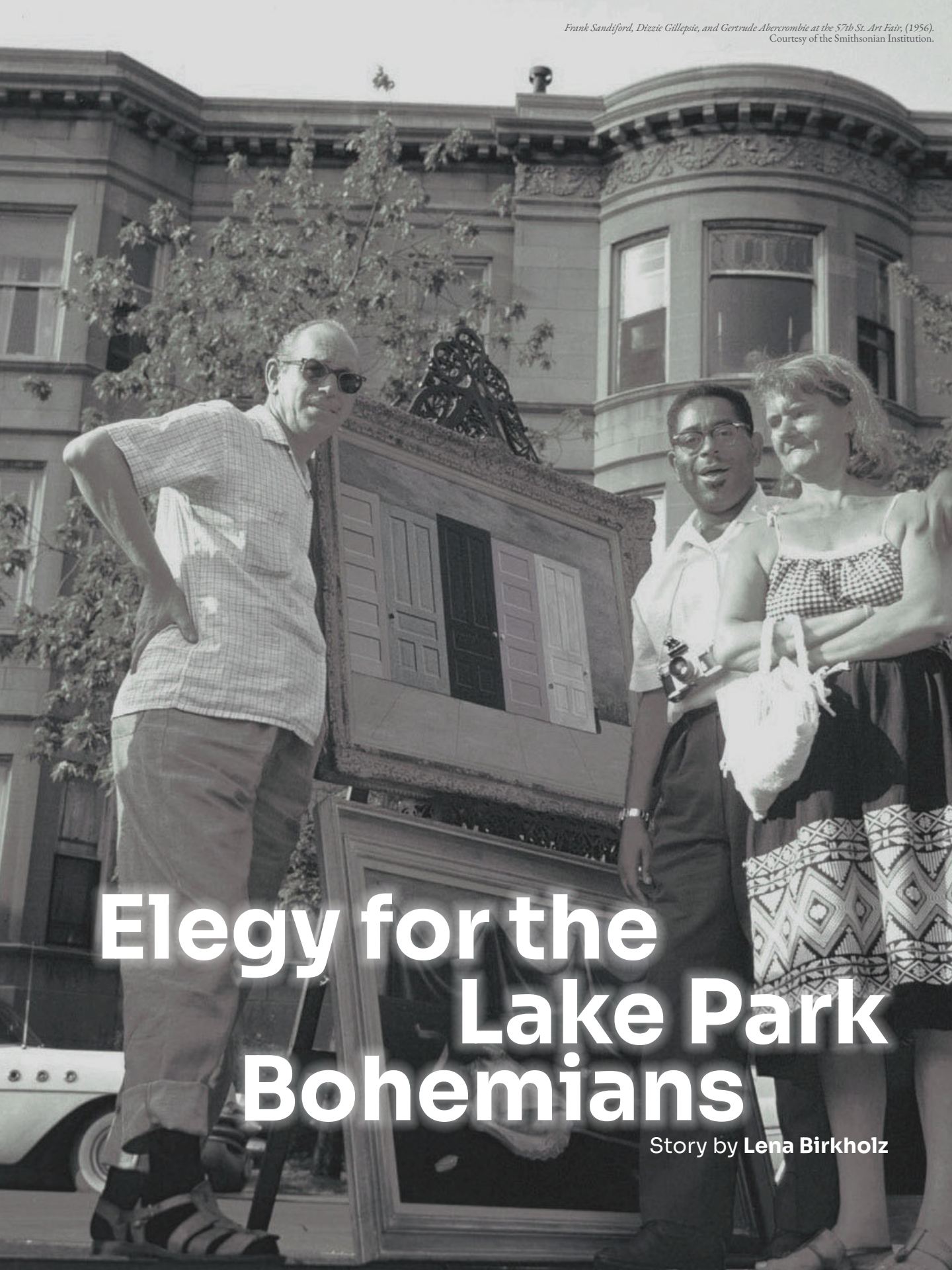
the White's Emporium. Directly across the street, a prostitution ring operated out of the Spencer Hotel. Only a few steps away on the other side of the rumbling elevated trains, a nursing home for old white men stood across the street from Dave's Cafe, where the famous mobster Sam "Golf Bag" Hunt, a former enforcer for Al Capone, openly ran a gambling operation in the front room of the building.[8] Dave's Cafe itself moved to Garfield Boulevard in 1934 because its original location at 51st and Michigan was burned down by the mob.[9] Behind the gambling room, the nationally renowned Oklahoma-born mixed-race tap dancer, producer, choreographer, songwriter, and comedian Leonard Reed produced a show that ran for several years starting in 1934.[10] [11] By 1942, after the club was renamed the Rhumboogie, you could find Joe Louis, a famous Black heavyweight champion boxer, cracking jokes and leading the show when he was in town.[12] [13] Louis was rumored to own shares in the club, which he later purchased.[14] His fame helped to attract many of the top musicians of the day, such as the great swing band leader Tiny Bradshaw[15] and the early blues musician T-Bone Walker, who recorded an album at the club.[16] The Rhumboogie also provided performance opportunities for up-and-coming musicians like blues singer Dinah Washington, who sang at the Rhumboogie at age twenty-two, a few years before making it big in the national R&B scene.[17] [18]

Although the Rhumboogie Club's top musicians, dancers, and songwriters drew large crowds, the club was short-lived, closing in 1947—just 5 years after it opened.[19] The site continued to serve as a venue for music and dance performances for several decades, but it never regained the popularity it enjoyed when it was the Rhumboogie Club. The Club DeLisa lasted a little longer, closing only in 1958.[20] In the 1960s and '70s, the South Side's tradition of music and nightlife continued as newer clubs opened in formerly all-white neighborhoods that became majority-black to the south, east, and west of the original Black Belt. Ronald Lynch, who moved into a series of previously all-white neighborhoods throughout the 1950s and '60s, recalls that by the time he was old enough to go to clubs, "63rd Street had more clubs than 55th Street. All up and down that street were clubs." Ronald Lynch's first night out in 1958 was at the Pershing Hotel on Cottage Grove just south of 63rd Street, which was just across the street from the famous Tivoli Theater and the Grand Ballroom. Another great spot in the area was "Herman Roberts's Motel on King Drive, which had a neat room and club space." It was there that Lynch remembers seeing Dinah Washington, who "used to entertain there all the time." In the '70s, after moving to South Shore, Lynch recalls Tiger Lounge on 79th Street being one of the top clubs. Lynch even owned his own club for a few years near the Tiger Lounge called Ronnie's Lounge, where his clientele was mainly government workers and included a lot of regulars.

Walking down the relatively empty sidewalks of Garfield Boulevard today, it is difficult to imagine the 24-hour bustle that could be found there decades ago. The buildings that once housed the Rhumboogie Club, the White's Emporium, and the Club DeLisa have all been torn down, replaced by lots that sit empty. The apartment buildings, corner stores, bars, fast-food restaurants, and gas stations there today are but a remnant of the vibrant commercial activity and residential life that characterized the neighborhood's past. While Ronald Lynch says he is proud to have integrated several previously all-white neighborhoods, he laments how these changes brought about the decline of large Black-owned entertainment and nightlife businesses that brought people together and ensured that "money stayed within the [Black] community."



Hugh Shepard is a third-year student at the University of Chicago majoring in History with a minor in data science. His fascination with the history of the South Side of Chicago made him an enthusiastic participant in the Century on 55th Street project.



Frank Sandiford, Dizzie Gillepsie, and Gertrude Abercrombie at the 57th St. Art Fair, (1956). Courtesy of the Smithsonian Institution.

Elegy for the Lake Park Bohemians

Story by **Lena Birkholz**

Once upon a time, Chicago's artists and bohemians flocked to Hyde Park. Photographers moved into empty concession stands from the 1893 World's Fair between the Metra and Stony Island Avenue. Little by little, the area became an artists' colony, with used bookstores, restaurants, studios, a guitar shop, a coffee shop and more. The cheap rent and lack of amenities[1] allowed any number of artists to live and work, from sculptors to watercolorists to writers to blues musicians, attracting Chicago's greatest artistic minds like Sherwood Anderson, Carl Sandburg and Saul Bellow. Even several professors from the University of Chicago, enacting new theories from the Chicago School of Urban Sociology that emphasized interacting with the city, joined the literary and intellectual community at the end of 57th street. According to bookseller Reid Michener, people were "full of ideas, full of theories, full of vigor and curiosity."[2]

The colony leaked its artsiness across the neighborhood, especially along 57th Street. Many more artists lived in the Choudich Castle and in "cable court" on 57th Street and Harper.[3] This area contained studios, including that of modernist Emil Armin, and businesses like the Clark bookstore. The area around Cable Court benefited from nearby saloons, the Beehive jazz club, the original location of the Medici Gallery and Coffee Shop, and the Compass Players, the improv troupe that became the Second City. Cable court also saw an early location of the Hyde Park Co-Op.[5] The Co-Op, one of the world's first cooperative grocery stores, was founded in 1932 in response to the Great Depression and expanded rapidly. By the time it became one of the first tenants of the Hyde Park Shopping Center, it offered a nursery, a credit union, a home economics specialist, a library and a weekly newsletter. Locals say, however, that this move precipitated the decline that led to its failure due to mismanagement in the early 2000s.[5]



Mary Louise Womer at the 57th St. Art Fair, (1965). Courtesy of the Chicago History Museum.

Further west, 57th Street hosted still more artists and writers. On Dorchester, enigmatic surrealist painter and "Queen of the Bohemians" Gertrude Abercrombie lived with her allegedly-cat-burglar husband, Frank Sandiford.[6] At 57th and Kenwood, literary Hyde Parkers could find yet another bookstore in a collection of "reddish buildings" called the Goff House that housed artists, studios, a theater troupe and a restaurant called the Tropical Hut. It also contained Mary Louise Womer's gallery, the "Potte Shop," which sold art from University students and neighborhood residents. Womer realized that her gallery couldn't accommodate everyone, so she founded the 57th Street Art Fair in 1948, where artists could make money without competition from corporations. Artists at the fair included arts colony residents, students at UChicago or SAIC, and artisans from the community. Of the first fifty artists, only seventeen were professionals, and the fair itself was organized by volunteers.[7] Just like the fair, the nearby Hyde Park Art Center, which helped sponsor the first festival, reflected the existing community within Hyde Park by exhibiting local artists and offering classes. Both institutions



Customers at the 57th St. Art Fair, (1965). Courtesy of the Chicago History Museum.



Super Mart at Harper Court, Hyde Park, (1966).
Courtesy of the Housing and Urban Development National Archives.

offered a certain irreverence compared to the University: for example, one artist tried to sell a canoe with which he had paddled up the Mississippi, while exhibition afterparties invariably featured "Art Center Punch."[8]

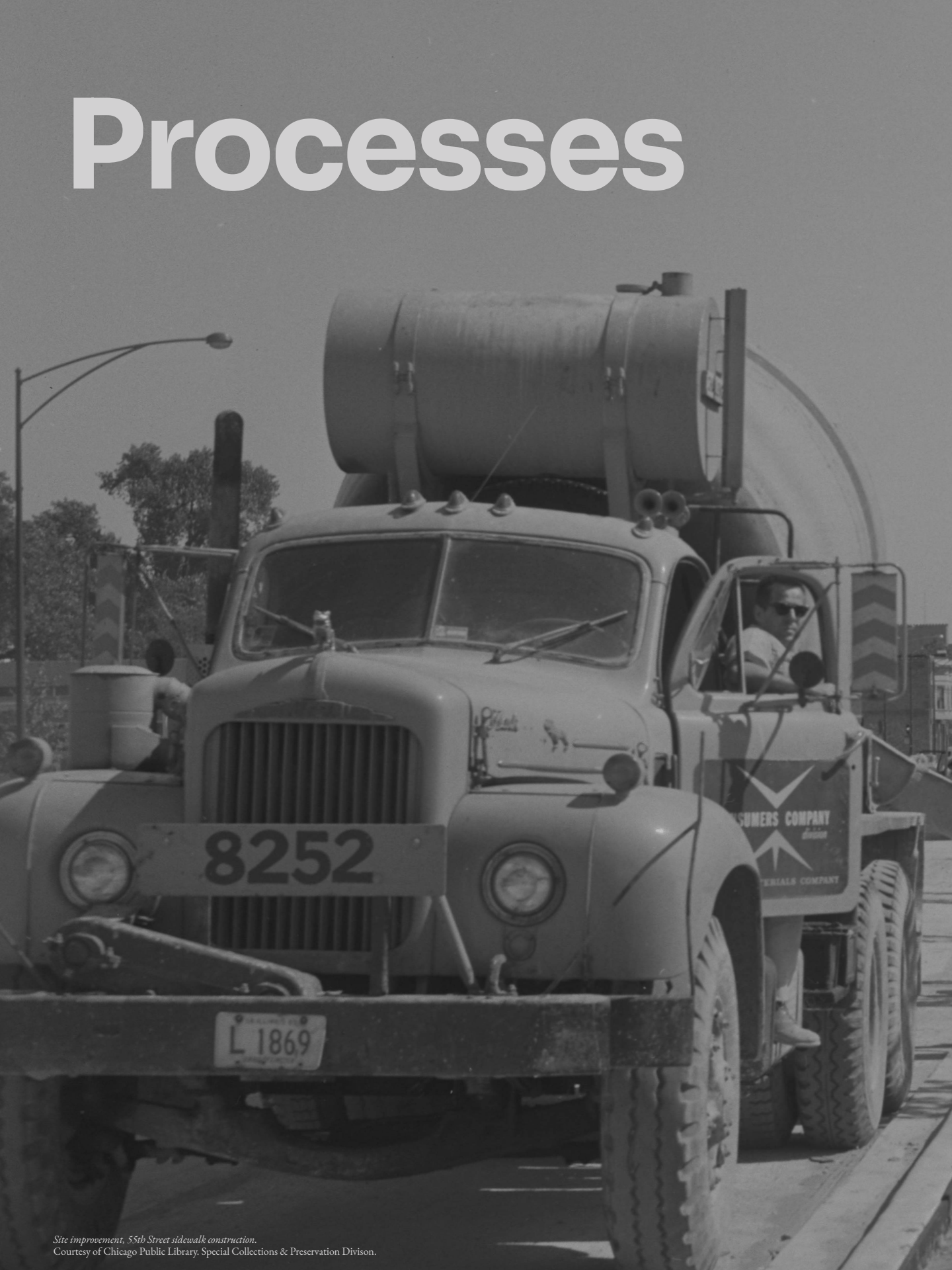
Much of this bohemian vibe began to falter with the introduction of urban renewal. As Womer would explain, urban renewal eliminated all "marginal commercial space in Hyde Park."[9] Because of the buildings' dilapidated condition, the art colony had served as a low rental area that could take in those who couldn't afford rent otherwise. The very "blight" and presence of saloons on 55th Street that made the area a target of urban renewal allowed the bohemians of Hyde Park A to thrive. Those institutions that still exist (the Art Center and Arts Festival, for example) now often lack the bohemian atmosphere that had aided their formation. As writer Betty Hechtman explained, urban renewal made the neighborhood safer, but more "antiseptic."[10]

As a consolation prize for the Art Colony, Hyde Parkers led by Muriel Beadle pushed for a shopping center to rehabilitate the artistic community. To that end, the Urban Renewal commission and Small Business Administration helped create a shopping center at Harper and 53rd Street to house artists, artisans and small businesses like bookstores, cafes and music shops.[11] Though the artists colony couldn't be preserved intact, Harper Court nonetheless included a bicycle shop, restaurants, clothing shops, a record store, the Fret Shop (where folk music superstar Joan Baez supposedly anonymously hung out)[12] and much else. Nearby, an independent playhouse, the iconic "House of Tiki," and the YMCA made Harper Court the neighborhood's town square.[13] Longtime Hyde Parker Nina Helstein describes playing music in Harper Court with her friend Paul Butterfield (a famous blues musician), as old men played chess. Its eventual closure in the early 2000s, she said, was "like something torn from your heart."[14] To Nina and many others, the new primarily-university-owned shopping center of the same name is no replacement.

Nowadays, Hyde Park's bohemians exist mainly at its fringes. Neighboring Woodlawn contains the Experimental Station, which hosts several studios, Blackstone Bicycle Works, Build Coffee, the offices of the Hyde Park Herald, and the ever-popular 61st Street Farmers Market.[15] To many, the Experimental Station is a quintessential Hyde Park institution, despite its actual location in Woodlawn. Even the Hyde Park Art Center, which continues its programming undiminished, occupies neighboring Kenwood. Washington Park and South Shore reflect the work of artist and The University of Chicago professor Theaster Gates and the University's Arts and Public Life initiative, like the Arts Block by the Garfield Green Line.[16] Ironically, while the University extends its artistic reach outside of the neighborhood, several student-run fixtures like WHPK, Doc Films and the UChicago Folk Festival have begun losing funding.[17] Despite a few outliers, like the 57th Street Art Fair, Hyde Park Jazz Festival, and Connect Gallery on 53rd Street, the non-university bohemian community of Hyde Park has been pushed to the fringes of the neighborhood or displaced entirely. Will they all live happily ever after? That's for the next generation of Hyde Parkers to decide.

Lena Birkholz is a third year in the College studying English and Urban Studies. She's particularly interested in cultural production related to the city, especially in Chicago. She's excited to help unearth the Golden Age of Hyde Park.

Processes



Site improvement, 55th Street sidewalk construction.
Courtesy of Chicago Public Library. Special Collections & Preservation Divison.



Washington Park After the Projects

Story by **Zach Ashby**



Robert Taylor Homes, (1988).
Courtesy of The University of Illinois, Chicago

Twenty-eight buildings, each sixteen stories tall, housing 27,000 people at its peak, the Robert Taylor Homes once cast a long, gray shadow across the South Side of Chicago. From a distance, the horseshoe shaped complexes were merely concrete monoliths, faceless buildings towering over the nearby expressway and expansive fields of pavement stretching across Chicago's grid. However, when afforded a closer observation, the housing project appeared far different; complexes filled with thousands of people, and with it, thousands of individual lives, each with compelling pasts, presents, and futures. The Robert Taylor Homes cannot be simplified to the planning disaster and decrepit buildings they were, because in reality, they were so much more than just their physical form: after all, they were homes. It was decided that the Robert Taylor Homes were to be destroyed in 1993, a decision that would lead to a diaspora of residents across the South Side of Chicago in the decade that followed. Weeks before the final tower was destroyed, former Columbia University student Sudhir Venkatesh decided to spend time getting to know some of the housing project's residents and follow their lives as they began the process of relocating. The following stories were a product of that project.

Chuck Shepherd lived in the Robert Taylor Homes for 24 years.

Twenty-nine years old, with mental and physical disabilities, his apartment was a tough place to live. A bucket under his sink collected water that gushed out of a crack in the pipe. Bugs scurried around his walls and behind his refrigerator. A faulty meter made Chuck's electric bill skyrocket to completely unaffordable heights, yet Chuck was continually hassled for rent by his landlords. However, no matter the price of the utility bill, no matter how much the sink leaked, or how much the cockroaches bugged him at night, Chuck never wanted to leave. His family worried about him, as his epilepsy often caused him to have seizures, leaving him at danger if he was ever left alone for a long period of time. They wanted him to leave the housing project for a place where he could be under regular supervision, but the potential for finding a place like that for a good price was low. His neighbors at the Robert Taylor Homes were familiar with his condition and were able to keep an eye on his health and respond if anything went awry. They were an informal support system that kept him safe and allowed him a certain level of independence.

When the Chicago Housing Authority (CHA) decided to demolish the building that housed the community he so strongly depended on, Chuck didn't know what to do. He had missed the meeting with the CHA on the day they handed out vouchers—forms that allowed displaced residents to pay discounted rent for a privately-owned apartment in the city—because he was stranded downtown, unable to find a taxi willing to drive to the Robert Taylor Homes. The CHA eventually moved Chuck to the Dearborn Homes, another public housing project just a few blocks North of the Robert Taylor Homes. To Chuck, living in a new housing project put him in danger; he didn't know anyone, he would be living alone, and he couldn't rely on his neighbors to help take care of him. The destruction of the Robert Taylor Homes signified a destruction of Chuck's support system, and the end to his precious network of neighbors.

Lee-Lee Henderson lived in an apartment with her mother, Dawn, and her two children.

Lee-Lee grew up in public housing and always considered the projects her safe haven. No matter how rough or unsafe they were made out to be in the news or by word-of-mouth, Lee-Lee felt secure in the Robert Taylor Homes. Upon being forced out of the Robert Taylor Homes, Lee-Lee's greatest priority was finding a safe place for her kids to live; a place where they could freely walk on the streets and enjoy time outdoors. After receiving her Section 8 voucher, she found an apartment where she could pay only sixteen dollars a month, and although the location was less ideal than she had hoped, it was the best option available. Her stay in that apartment lasted a short



Robert Taylor Homes, (1963).
Courtesy of Chicago History Museum

while, and throughout that year, Lee-Lee was continually pushed around the South Side of Chicago looking for housing options. She had been a chronic victim of landlord neglect, often living for just short periods of time in different housing arrangements before being forced to move out. After this experience, her old apartment in the Robert Taylor Homes had become far more appealing than her new arrangement. It was in that apartment that she had stability, she had her mother in the house taking care of her kids for her, and she had the community that she loved around her. For better or for worse, the Robert Taylor Homes was the best living situation Lee-Lee ever had. Affordable housing options available to her and her family while receiving no income were hard to find, and the promise of finding an arrangement that would last was bleak.

Dawn never had a lease in the Robert Taylor Homes.

She wasn't a squatter, she was just like any other resident of the housing project, just not on any lease. Instead of living as a legal resident in the Homes, Dawn floated between apartments to help her daughter and other young mothers. She babysat children, helped out with routine chores, and cooked meals for families. She was among many people who lived in the Robert Taylor Homes informally. Although when the time came to relocate, she wasn't as lucky as the lease holders. Her family was unable to accommodate her in their new home, and she couldn't find any apartments for an affordable rate without a Section 8 voucher, a privilege only granted to lease holders in public housing. Legally, Dawn's only choice was to join a three-year long waitlist to live in a studio apartment with subsidized rent due to her physical disability. This was not a viable option, and Dawn was forced to once again live illegally off the lease in her family's house, hoping not to get caught. Her friends urged her to

move to the suburbs, or to North Carolina where she had extended family, but Dawn was intent on staying home, in Chicago.

These stories were recorded by Venkatesh and published in his documentary *Dislocation*. They revealed the Robert Taylor Homes for what they truly were: homes. These were not merely horseshoe shaped boxes; they were filled with lives, experiences, vibrancy, community, and mutual love. The dull concrete façade and monotonous pavement parking lots were an unfortunate mask to the Robert Taylor Homes' true beauty.

Despite this beauty, however, we must also reconcile with the reality of the situation. These homes were the culmination of decades of disinvestment, segregation, and exclusion that had run the South Side of Chicago into a state of disrepair. It was a faint-hearted solution to a problem that didn't have to exist, and one that would forever change the South Side. However, the absurdity of the situation lies not solely in the construction of the Homes, but also in their abrupt destruction, a failure that ended up adding an entirely new dimension to the trends of racialized disinvestment seen throughout the 20th century. Just as this community, which had already felt the pains of a community destroyed, had finally rebuilt and morphed their relationships around these buildings, the CHA suddenly destroyed them.

The Robert Taylor Homes were a failure; an agent of disarray that left a scar on the city's most vulnerable populations. But the beauty that persisted despite these circumstances shouldn't be glossed over. In the pavement lots that surrounded the homes, in the hallways lined with chain-link fences, in the apartments with dripping sinks and scampering bugs, a beauty persisted. It was the beauty of friendship and communal understanding. Among the violence and disparagement existed endless examples of love and care.

Following the destruction of its final tower, the relationships bound together by the Robert Taylor Homes were dispersed around the South Side, throughout the Midwest, and across the United States. The Robert Taylor Homes may be gone, but the many people who once called those towers home remain.

Zach Ashby is a third-year urban studies major from Charlottesville, Virginia. Along with serving on the production team of *Expositions*, he also served as a member of the Century on 55th Street cohort in the Winter and Spring of 2023.



Robert Taylor Demolition, (2006). Courtesy of Kenneth Smith

“IT IS HOPED THAT WITHIN A YEAR NO ONE WILL RECOGNIZE FIFTY-FIFTH STREET”

Constructing a “Compatible Community”:

A Drama of University-Led Urban Renewal, in Five Acts

Story by **Caroline Hugh**

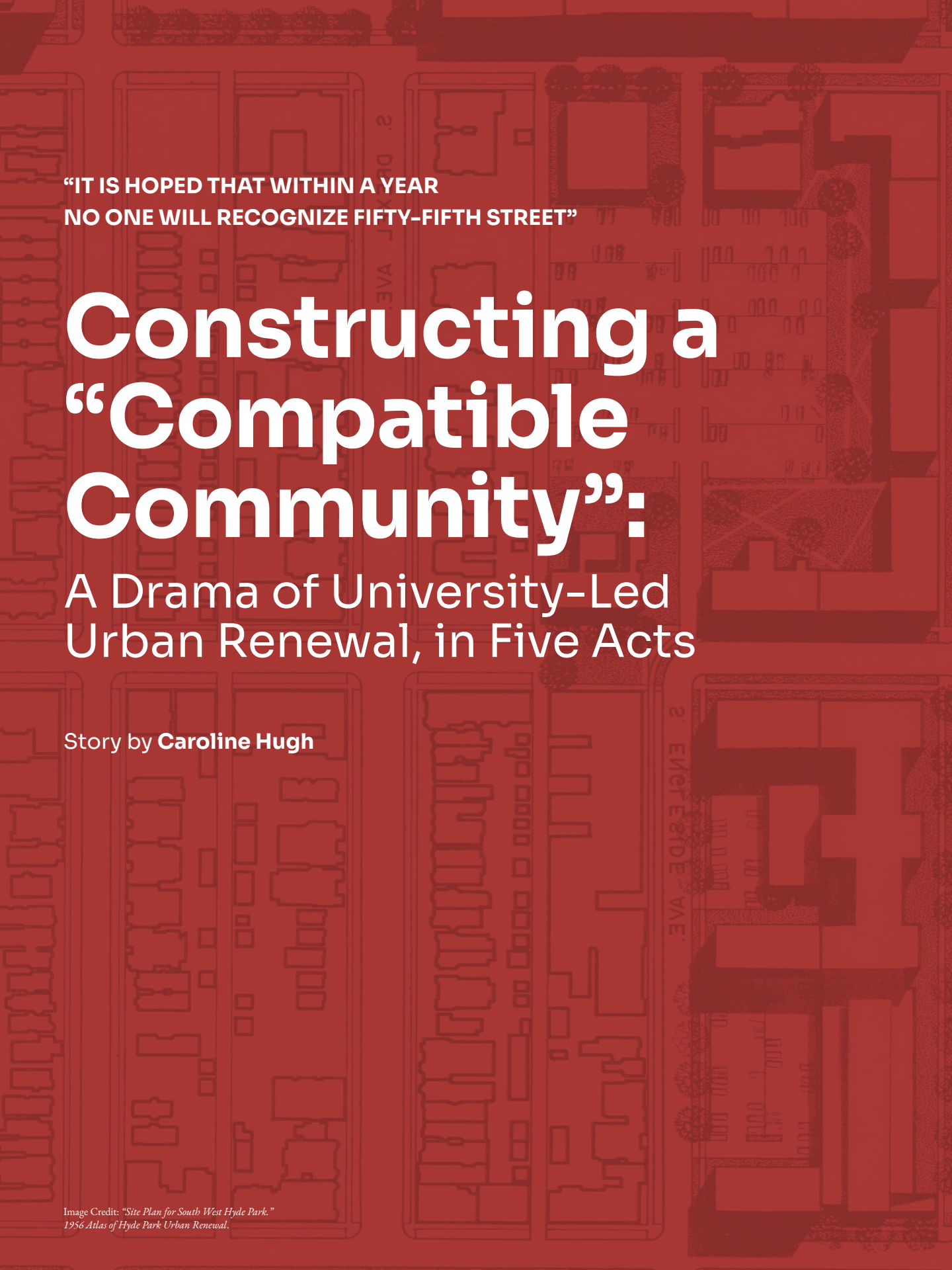


Image Credit: *“Site Plan for South West Hyde Park.” 1956 Atlas of Hyde Park Urban Renewal.*

DRAMATIS PERSONAE

Julian H. **LEVI**.....	**Director of the SECC; coordinated urban renewal; lobbied for state and federal legislation**
Lawrence **KIMPTON**.....	**Chancellor of the University of Chicago from 1951 to 1960; worked closely with Levi to coordinate urban renewal**
Harley **PERLOFF**.....	**Professor of architecture & urban planning at the University from 1947 to 1955; Chairman of the Committee on Planning**
Al **SVOBODA**.....	**Assistant Treasurer of the University throughout the 1950s; directed studies that enabled urban renewal in Hyde Park**
Jack **MELTZER**.....	**First director of the new University Planning Unit, part of the SECC**
Robert Maynard **HUTCHINS**.....	**President of the University from 1929 to 1945, Chancellor from 1945 to 1951; in charge during the era of University-backed racially restrictive covenants**
HPKCC: (Hyde Park-Kenwood Community Conference).....	**Group of concerned HPK residents organized in 1949; separate from University interests, but functioned as community liaison for the SECC/the University**
SECC: (South East Chicago Commission).....	**Functioned as the urban renewal arm of the University; initially organized in 1952 to address crime**
"THE CORPORATION" South West Hyde Park Redevelopment Corporation.....	**Private corporation composed of University officials who redeveloped the blocks near 55th St and Cottage Grove**

Prologue

KIMPTON **It is hoped that within a year no one will recognize Fifty-fifth Street.**[1]

Scene. Curtains up on East Fifty-fifth Street in the twenty-first century. Toyotas race past Stagg Field on wide boulevards. Kids on training wheels bike in parking lots and beside one-story homes. A woman skirts around University Park Condominiums to get to Trader Joe's, crossing the triangular spit of grass that fronts modernist townhomes and the dead end of S Harper Ave.



The University of Chicago choreographed the first example of federally-recognized urban renewal in America. By coordinating this experimental process so adroitly, they provided a blueprint for other institutions to remake their respective urban centers. Urban renewal, as an untested process relying on brand-new legislation, was a massive gamble for the University, and ended up costing millions upon millions of dollars. However, in terms of the institution's goals, and by their shrewd navigation, it was ultimately a successful endeavor, growing the University's land holdings and creating a "compatible community" in the process. For all the unprecedented rapidity of the Hyde Park-Kenwood project, there were competing motivations at every step along the way, and neither the institution nor the local community was a monolith when it came to the goals of urban renewal.

Act I: Safety & Sensationalism

Scene. Late 1940s, in the midst of the Great Migration of African Americans from the south to Chicago. Upon arrival, racially restrictive covenants and redlining force the majority into a small and overcrowded area on the Near South Side, running from roughly 12th Street (now Roosevelt Rd) to 31st Street, between Wentworth and Wabash.

In the late 1940s, when the South Side Planning Board—composed of the Illinois Institute of Technology, Michael Reese Hospital, New York Life Insurance Company, and Mercy Hospital—began massive clearance projects for campus expansion and the Lake Meadows and Prairie Shores complexes, thousands of lower class Black residents were displaced southward, putting pressure on the historic racial boundary that was Cottage Grove Avenue.[2] When Shelley v. Kraemer struck down racially restrictive covenants in 1948, Black Chicagoans started moving into western Hyde Park in much greater numbers.[3] At around this same time, the University of Chicago was experiencing unprecedented financial and enrollment woes. "By the autumn of 1953, enrollment in the College had sunk to less than 1,350 students. The entering class in that year—275 first-year and 39 transfer students—was less than half of what it had been 20 years earlier."[4]

While Chancellor Lawrence Kimpton was overhauling the College's curriculum, he also looked at the surrounding neighborhood as one source of the University's troubles. Capitalizing on the panic generated after an attempted assault against a graduate student on March 16, 1952, a community meeting to address

neighborhood safety was organized in Mandel Hall. It is debatable whether this was a natural gathering of concerned residents, or if it was orchestrated by the University. Later accounts from Kimpton and Julian H. Levi[5]—soon to be appointed head of the South East Chicago Commission (SECC)—indicate their ignorance:

LEVI **I paid no attention to what was going on in Hyde Park. It's true we were living there, but I was in Europe most of the time. Curiously, Marjorie [my wife] dragged me by the ear one night to the initial meeting in Mandel Hall where the SECC was first organized. I didn't have the slightest idea what in the world they were talking about.**[6]

KIMPTON **There was a big mass meeting called for tonight that Marcia [my wife] and I plan to attend. It is concerned with the deterioration of this community and the community's determination to do something about it, particularly in the field of law enforcement. I am not at all clear what can be done, but I am clear that something has to be done and that the University has to participate actively.**[7]

However, reports made to the Hyde Park-Kenwood Community Conference, a separate organized group of HPK residents who would come to help and hinder the University's plans for urban renewal, suggested that the University "engineered" the March community meeting in order to set up a new organization—eventually, the SECC.[8] At this March meeting, a Committee of Five was established to draw up the game plan as to what change needed to occur in HPK. Notably, this Committee of Five was chaired by University Chancellor Lawrence Kimpton.[9] The Committee's planning occurred over a period of two months, from March to May 1952, when another attempted assault, this time against a faculty member's wife, was used to assemble another mass meeting and announce the South East Chicago Commission, the main organizational force behind the coming remaking of Hyde Park-Kenwood.

KIMPTON **We used a rather sensational kidnapping and rape case to bring the community together and announce a plan for the organization of the South East Chicago Commission.**

From the beginning, the relationship between the SECC and the University of Chicago was nigh untangleable. After directing the Committee of Five and establishing the SECC in May 1952, Kimpton quickly called on Levi to chair the new Commission.[10] Harvey Perloff, the University's head planner from 1952 to 1955, wrote that the University helped organize the SECC and supported it by buying up target structures around the neighborhood and, as will be discussed, leveraged its prestige against the government.[11] The institution also provided a significant proportion of the SECC's funding for the first few years of its existence.[12]

Pointing to apparently rising crime rates, the University established the SECC with a few specific goals in mind, namely pushing for more aggressive police pro-



5 Julian H. Levi, as arguably the lynchpin behind urban renewal, deserves a slightly longer introduction. Successful private lawyer and head of the family sign-printing business, he was tapped by Kimpton to become director of the SECC on September 1, 1952, a position he would hold until 1980. Levi was known for his negotiating skills, and he has been described as "aggressive," "admired," "passionately feared," and "utterly ruthless" (Hirsch 151, Boyer 119). Not to be confused with his brother Edward Levi, future President of the University of Chicago and United States Attorney General.

tection.[13] It should be noted that like the motivations behind the Mandel Hall community meetings, Hyde Park crime rates are also contested: the crime maps themselves were made by sociologist Don Blakiston—who had been brought on by Levi—because the police department didn't have them at the time.[14] In addition, the Hyde Park-Kenwood Community Conference received reports that the crime rates actually decreased in the early 1950s.[15] Nevertheless, the University moved ahead with the data they had on hand. As Levi recounts, one of the first activities he was engaged in was petitioning the municipal government to establish a police academy in Hyde Park.[16] While this failed, it inspired the SECC to take matters into their own hands and direct the future course of Hyde Park.

Hyde Park-Kenwood represents the first major example of urban renewal in the United States, but there were certainly instances of land clearance and construction predating the project, so what makes the Hyde Park-Kenwood plan notable? It was unprecedented in its focus on revitalizing older communities that had not yet deteriorated into "slum" conditions, in order "to start a continuing process of rebuilding and modernization, which would remove the need for wholesale tearing-down and building-up."[17] This shift from slum clearance to community conservation is reflected in the legislation that was passed at the behest of the University and subsequently utilized by its newfound planning department.

LEVI **Prior to this time, that agency had acted only in areas which were completely slum and blight. The proposal now urged was that slum-clearance powers be used in support of an existing community and its institutions.[18]**

Act II: Lawyers & Planners

One of the University's main tools in its quest to make Hyde Park a suitable community for students and faculty was to employ legal measures it had lobbied for itself, a process which was carefully orchestrated from the beginning. In June 1952, very soon after the founding of the SECC, the University underwrote part of the costs of a study that was to be conducted by the Metropolitan Housing and Planning Council. This study would determine what caused community disintegration and develop new legislative and financial means to support community conservation. Most notably, this study was directed by Al Svoboda, Assistant Treasurer of the University.[19] The results of this study would go on to enable urban renewal and legitimize the actions of the University, so it's important to recognize the University's control of affairs from the beginning. The legislative recommendations made by the Council were introduced to the Illinois General Assembly in January 1953, which included the Illinois Urban Conservation Act and amendments to the 1941 Neighborhood Redevelopment Act. The former approved a wide swath of urban renewal tactics such as acquiring properties by eminent domain, relocating the former residents, demolishing the structures, and selling the cleared land to a developer, while the latter made it easier for private corporations to exercise powers of eminent domain.[20] The very same month that these Acts were approved, the

University, the SECC, and the HPKCC requested that a study be carried out in the east of Hyde Park—Kimbark Ave to S Lake Park, E 53rd Street to 57th Street—that would determine its eligibility for slum clearance measures.[21]

The rapidity and seamlessness of the University's actions during this early period is strong evidence that they were the primary architects of urban renewal. Levi's account of his actions cements this:

LEVI **I came forward with the idea of revitalizing the Neighborhood Redevelopment Corporation Act to provide for a private right of evident *[sic]* domain...We had to somehow get the initiative into the University's hands. We had to get the initiative to the point where we actually could exercise the power of eminent domain if we had to.**[22]

The implementation of this legal strategy occurred at the same time as the creation of the University of Chicago's planning department. After a grant from the Field Foundation, Jack Meltzer was employed by the University as Director of the new Planning Unit; in its grant, the Field Foundation was explicit about the nascent planning department becoming a model for the rest of America.[23] Meltzer had previously served as director of planning for Michael Reese Hospital, one of the initiators of the massive land clearance project north of Hyde Park.[24] Within sixty days, Meltzer filed a detailed proposal for redeveloping the area that had been surveyed around S Lake Park Avenue. This area would come to be known as Hyde Park "A".

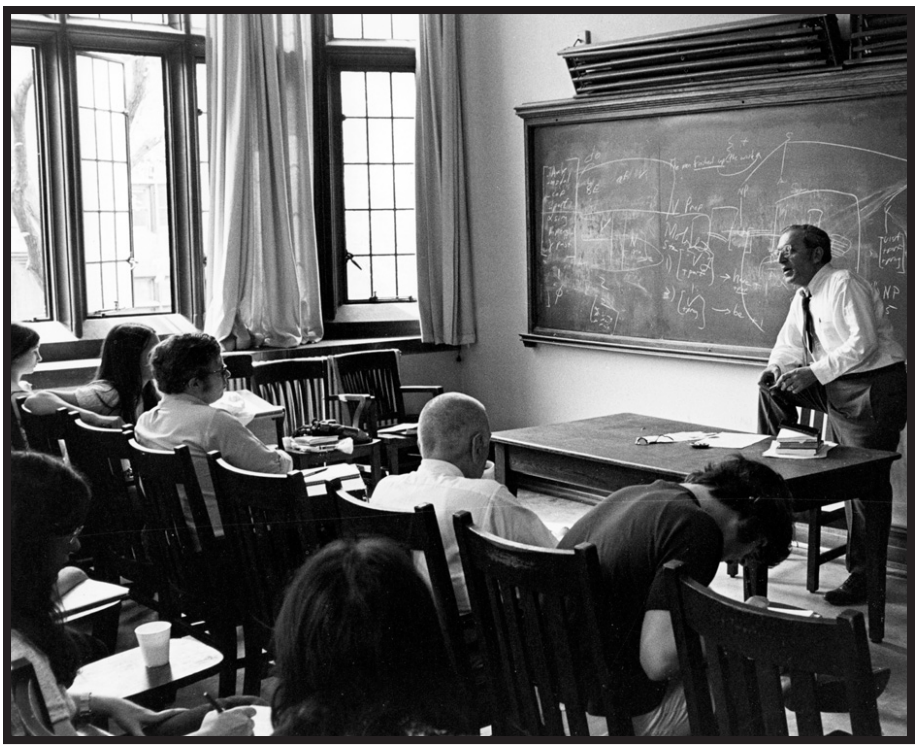


Figure 1:
Jack Meltzer, 1971. Courtesy of the UChicago Photo Archive.



It was unprecedented for an institution like the University of Chicago to pour so much money and effort into such an experimental project. The school supplied $29 million to, in Chancellor Kimpton's words, "buy, control, and rebuild our neighborhood."[25] In the years leading up to the creation of the SECC and planning unit, the University had actually been rather reluctant to get heavily involved in the neighborhood: a community planning unit had been advocated for in 1948, and sociologist Louis Wirth had urged land purchasing all the way back in the 1930s, to no avail.[26]

LEVI **Undertaking of the Urban Renewal planning was a major enterprise. Total expenditures by the University substantially exceeded its reimbursement under the contract.**[27]



Figure 2:
Chicago mayor Richard J. Daley (left) and University of Chicago chancellor Lawrence A. Kimpton (right) at the 4th annual meeting of the South East Chicago Commission (SECC) held on campus in Mandel Hall, 1956. Courtesy of the UChicago Photo Archive

What motivated an inward-looking academic institution to start organizing block meetings, petitioning the municipal, state, and federal governments, and contracting famous architects to suburbanize Hyde Park? The dire straits of the college's coffers and enrollment numbers, combined with a legacy of secret real estate acquisition as fund-raising strategy and boundary delimiter, must be only part of the answer.[28] Why would the institution feel such pressure to roll out the framework of urban renewal so expeditiously, especially beginning in the late 1940s? The intense demographic change that occurred in Hyde Park after the end of racially restrictive covenants (Figure 3) finally pushed the University into actively creating the type of physical and social ecosystem that it thought it would best thrive in. As will be explored in the next act, the University had a long history of attempting to control the Hyde Park and Woodlawn area, but it was only in the late 1940s and '50s that they took a public role in shaping the built environment, even crafting a legal basis for its actions. This illusory vision was called the "compatible community."

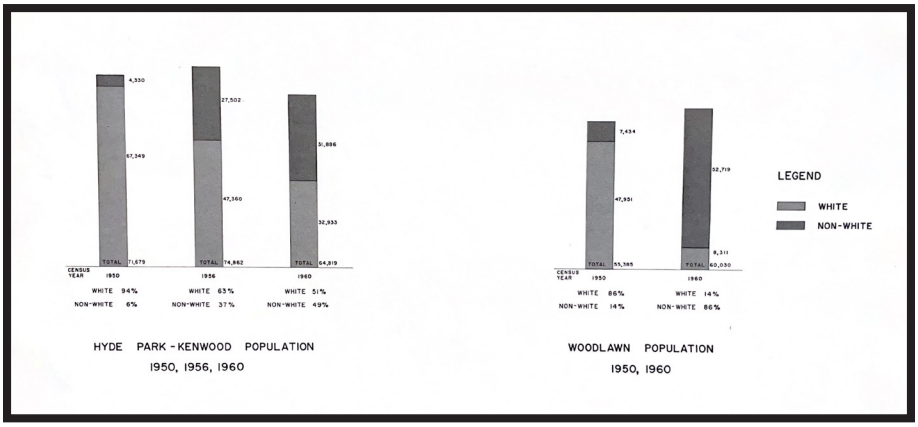


Figure 3:
A graph of racial change published in Julian Levi and Al Svoboda's book "The Neighborhood Program of the University of Chicago," comprised of statements the two men made to the Board of Trustees in 1961.

Act III: "Compatibility" & Conflict

LEVI & SVBODA

The purposes of the Neighborhood Program of the University of Chicago are the two aims recognized by the Congress and the President of the United States in the enactment of Section 112 of the Housing Act of 1959:[29]

A. The need for campus expansion.

B. The necessity of 'a cohesive neighborhood environment compatible with the functions and needs of such an educational institution.'[30]

The concept of a "cohesive neighborhood" encapsulates the complicated motivations underlying the University's involvement in urban renewal. To the public, a compatible community was presented as a utopian, middle-class, interracial community, a city on a hill that could provide an example to the rest of the tumultuous city.

PERLOFF

Fully recognizing the urgent need for housing of lower-income Negro families, it can be forcefully argued that, given the existing racial tensions in our urban centers, it is even more important to develop relatively stable bi-racial communities which can set a pattern for healthy inter-racial living and which can provide leaders who know how to communicate and work with members of other races.[31]

For instance, the Hyde Park-Kenwood Community Conference, which came to function as the University's and the SECC's connection to Hyde Park residents, had a strong emphasis on creating an interracial community of high standards, which the University of Chicago ostensibly signed onto.[32] [33] Outside of the direct glare of the public eye, however, university officials were more candid about their motivations, which unequivocally prioritized the University's interests. In a 1994 oral history with Julian Levi, he recounts:

29 Section 112 was the legislative amendment to the Housing Act of 1959 that provided federal legitimacy and funding to urban renewal projects. It was lobbied for by Julian Levi. See Act V for further discussion.



LEVI

There's no reason under any circumstance that the University ought to be doing any of this unless its academic mission is involved. We're not a public improvement organization. We're not supposed to be a developer. We're not interested as a good government association. The only standard you ought to apply to this is whether the University of Chicago as an academic entity requires a compatible community. Second of all, you'd better understand what "compatible community" means, unpleasant as it is.

Not even Levi could comprehensively explain what a "compatible community" meant to the University because it encompassed myriad priorities. The University had a long history of shaping its surroundings, stretching basically back to its founding. After the economic depression following the 1893 World's Fair, the University turned to real estate as a safe form of fund-raising. Usually, this meant quickly razing existing tenements on newly acquired land (often gifts from donors) and erecting new buildings, which enhanced the value of adjacent properties that the University owned.[34]

In an era where the in-migration of Black residents meant declining property values, the University's need to maintain its real estate investments led it to sponsor racially restrictive covenants throughout the 1930s and '40s, with total contributions amounting to nearly $84k from 1933 to 1947.[35] However, its tendency to keep its land holdings secret by holding titles in the name of individuals meant their involvement in these covenants was often obscured.[36]

Once the University could no longer legally bar Black residents from moving into Hyde Park,[37] they instead turned to tailoring the neighborhood to well-educated,



Figure 4:
Kimpton (left) and Levi (on steps) on a neighborhood bus tour (1953). After an earlier bus tour for Trustees "through typical colored neighborhoods" in 1944, a $500,000 revolving fund was established for "area protection" (Hirsch 147). Courtesy of UChicago Photo Archive.

upper-middle class residents: the prime demographic the University was trying to attract. To create this "compatible community"—a community that could reverse the downward trend of the University and harness its post-atomic energy prestige to grow it into the future[38]—the University had to solve a number of pressing problems, including dwindling enrollment from the elite high schools in the region, an atmosphere of danger that deterred female students, and limited property for expansion.[39] The University envisioned a chain reaction: by building family-oriented, suburban-style housing, they could encourage a certain economic class of residents (mainly white) to stay in Hyde Park, which would support safe, quality neighborhood schools, in turn providing a strong stock of students for the College. And at the same time, this renewal process would allow the University to maneuver land dealings and acquire property.

LEVI **We're confronted with one other thing. There's no way in the world that we can look at this thing on the basis of racial exclusion. We're going to have to look at it on the basis of an economic screen. We've worked with Perloff and with Hauser on this. You can develop what they think is a successfully integrated program provided that you have the proper economic and social compatibility. But, again, that's going to be awkward because it means, among other things, that there's no room for public housing except on a very limited basis.**[40]

In short, the University had to generate the kind of neighborhood that faculty would voluntarily choose to live in, with their priority being the preservation of Hyde Park-Kenwood's middle class character. However, in the 1950s, creating a neighborhood for the middle class meant excluding most Black residents. This was emphasized by the SECC's commitment to enforcing building code violations. Overcrowded tenements and converted buildings were mainly occupied by Black residents who had recently left the Black Belt or immigrated from the South; by focusing on the seemingly clear-cut issue of policing housing violations and improving building conditions, the SECC and the University were able to largely sidestep accusations of racial exclusion, even if that was the actual (and intended) end result.[41]

PERLOFF **There are many signs to suggest that these residents would like to keep the community predominantly middle class in composition and therefore—because of the existing income patterns—necessarily predominantly white although biracial.**[42]



PERLOFF **A large increase in the unskilled, barely literate element would appear to make conditions less tolerable for the institutions and the professional groups which generally reject the idea of living in or close to slums.**[43]

All of the subsequent effects of University-led urban renewal in Hyde Park stemmed from this desire for a compatible community, from suburbanizing roads and housing types, to collaborating with other institutions, to securing room for expansion. The difficulty in discussing urban renewal, starting with Hyde Park-Kenwood, lies in its conflicting but coexisting legacies. To various people, the Hyde Park-Kenwood project *was* a virtuous attempt at an integrated utopia, *and a* shadowy institutional power grab, *and* a class- and race-exclusionary experiment in neighborhood suburbanization. All of these motivations existed simultaneously and were expressed, to differing levels, in the rhetoric used at the time.

Act IV: Moving & Shaking

Scene. May 10, 1955: the first building in the Hyde Park A project is demolished.

Hyde Park A, the area between 53rd and 57th Street along S Lake Park Ave—along with its smaller companion Hyde Park B, centered on 54th Street—was studied in 1953, planned in 1954, and federally funded by 1955. Because this area had been deemed "blighted" by the Metropolitan Housing and Planning Council survey, it could be developed by a private developer and did not require broad community approval.[44] Despite apparently distancing itself from the redevelopment of Hyde Park A & B—for instance, the plan for the area does not show up in the University Planning Unit's urban renewal map—in actuality the University had a clear hand in directly shaping the area. According to historian Arnold Hirsch, "the corporation's plans [South West Hyde Park Redevelopment Corporation], as well as those originally devised for the Hyde Park A and B projects, were, in fact, produced by the SECC's Planning Unit".[45]



LEVI **We deliberately picked out the heart of the area to begin with because we knew that was the strongest area, but we've got to get a developer that we're totally satisfied with.**[46]

Furthermore, in July 1954, Kimpton and a group of trustees traveled to Washington D.C. to meet with President Eisenhower and the administrator of the Housing and Home Finance Agency. Approval followed roughly seven months later.

The first goal prioritized was family-oriented faculty housing, marking the beginning of the suburbanization of Hyde Park-Kenwood.[47] In accordance with this, the construction of "low buildings; buildings tied closely to the land; [and] small individual neighborhoods" were emphasized, such as the Harry Weese-designed modernist townhouses located along E 55th Street.[48] Streets were made into cul-de-sacs or dead ends to further enhance the suburban neighborhood atmosphere (Figure 5).[49] The type of families meant to inhabit these new homes was made readily apparent: 46.1% of the white families uprooted by the Hyde Park A & B projects were relocated to in Hyde Park-Kenwood, while only 16.6% of the Black families were.[50]

And then the University's legal stratagems truly began to pay off. The 1953 amendments to the 1941 Neighborhood Redevelopment Act that Levi authored made it

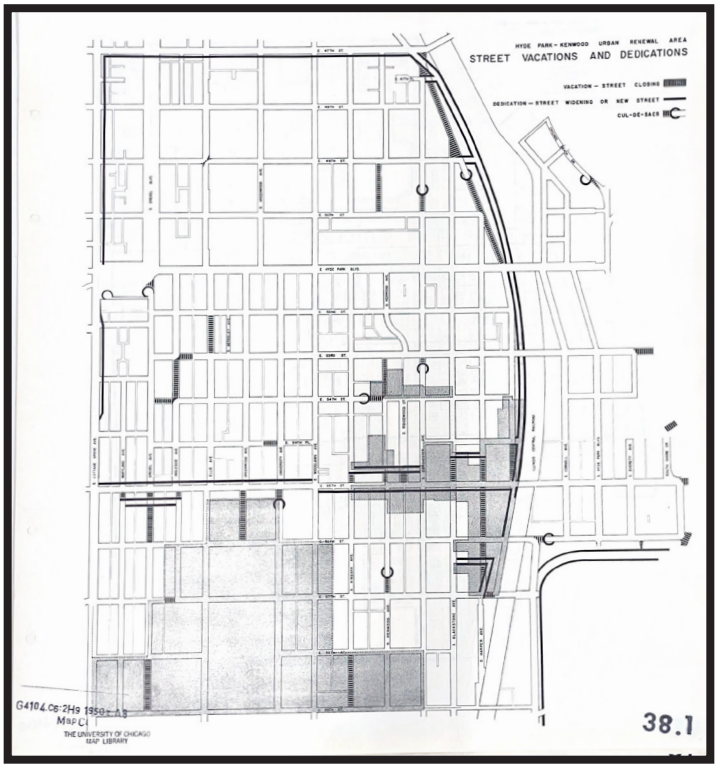


Figure 5:
"Street Vacations and Dedications," 1956. *Atlas of Hyde Park Urban Renewal*. Courtesy of the University of Chicago Map Collection.

easier for private corporations to claim eminent domain, which is what happened in South West Hyde Park, the area between 55th and 59th Street, from Cottage Grove to Woodlawn Ave. In the early months of 1956, a group of "private" individuals formed the South West Hyde Park Development Corporation, including William B. Harrell (Vice President of the University) and two University Trustees, as well as Al Svoboda and Julian Levi.[51] All of the Corporation's stock was owned by the University of Chicago.[52] The Corporation filed a plan in June of 1956, which had been drawn up by the University's Planning Unit and proposed clearing and selling the land to the University to construct married student housing.[53] Outside of the obvious (campus expansion), all of the University's layered motivations can be seen in the case of SW Hyde Park: much of the housing stock was dated and there was the need for physical upkeep; the area had experienced one of the highest rates of in-migration of nonwhite residents throughout the 1940s and '50s, and the residents of the seized land were nearly 80% Black; and modernist, suburban design principles were given top priority, with more than four-fifths of the site planned as open land for parking.[54]

The University's need for campus expansion coincided nicely with their desire to create borders between the University community and the rest of the city. The minutes of the Board of Trustees "indicate that land acquisitions in Hyde Park often had less to do with the need for added space than with the desire to create carefully delimited boundaries around the campus."[55] The case of SW Hyde Park is the perfect example of this: despite administrative clamors for more graduate housing, in the end, nothing was built besides the new Stagg Field.

Act V: Effacing & Evangelizing

Importantly, all of this University maneuvering was done as quietly as possible. Chancellor Kimpton and SECC Director Levi—whom historian Arnold Hirsch describes as "the key determinants in defining both the goals and nature of the urban renewal process"—understood the difficult position that the University was in when it came to publicly championing integration and liberalism but privately muscling through advantageous legislation and development plans that systematically excluded nonwhite residents.[56] This tension spanned all the way back to the Hutchins' era of restrictive racial covenants in the 1930s and '40s, and, according to Levi, it was a tension Hutchins felt keenly:

HUTCHINS **You know, this neighborhood thing, as far as I was concerned was just a disaster. I was schizophrenic about it.**[57]

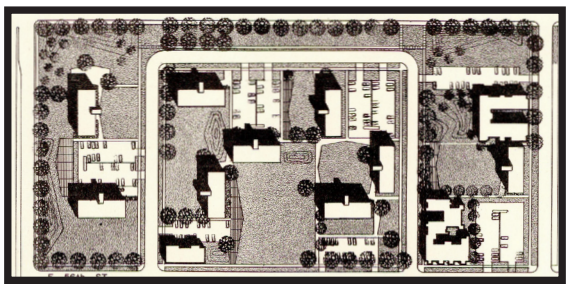


Figure 6:
Proposed plan for married student housing located on the four blocks closest to Cottage Grove Ave. *"Site Plan for South West Hyde Park," 1956 Atlas of Hyde Park Urban Renewal*.

The University's public relations strategy surrounding urban renewal is best summed up with the following letter from Levi to Kimpton regarding an early planning pamphlet produced by Harvey Perloff:

LEVI **This brochure will look to any outsider as an official University publication. And, of course, at that point, we get into all kinds of trouble. [He includes Perloff's list of likely effects of urban renewal]. All of these things are good and we probably will want to do all of them, BUT not with an introduction to the public as if this was a University of Chicago project at this time.**[58]

The University would do what it needed to do to achieve its goals of building a compatible community, but it would attempt to portray itself in as favorable a light as possible. This usually meant distancing itself from plans like SW Hyde Park that it directly benefited from, directing what amounted to puppet corporations, and trying to persuade the city that going along with its development projects was the only logical economic choice.[59] [60]

Another strategy employed by the University of Chicago, one that would truly cement the legacy of urban renewal, was lobbying for federal legislation alongside other top tier American universities. In February 1957, Chancellor Kimpton wrote

to the presidents of Harvard, Columbia, the University of Pennsylvania, Yale, and MIT pitching a cooperative program to further federal legislation.[61] These universities met in April and organized a detailed survey of sixteen major universities, which in turn "demonstrated conclusively that the lack of available land for expansion was one of the most acute problems facing each university surveyed."[62] With urban renewal now top of mind for major institutions, the University of Chicago sponsored the drafting of an amendment to the Housing Act of 1959 called Section 112.[63] Section 112 did away with planned land use restrictions for institutional projects and allowed institutional expenditures to be treated as local grants subject to federal matching, clearing the way for university-led urban planning across the country.[64] Circuitously, the University then used Section 112 to justify its own actions (see Act 3).

63 Support for university-led urban planning was strengthened by elite institutions' position as researchers defending the US during the Cold War. The threat to their urban campuses was elevated to a matter of national security. Winling, *Building the Ivory Tower: Politics and Culture in Modern America*, 104.

Elsewhere in this issue of Expositions you'll encounter stories of the people and places that were lost to University-led urban renewal. But on the macro level, the largest impact of the Hyde Park-Kenwood project is the active encouragement and exemplar it provided to institutions around the nation.

Epilogue

The 1950s remaking of 55th Street is not the end of urban renewal in the community surrounding the University of Chicago. Some of the bitterest battles would be fought in the early 1960s, when the University began making moves on Woodlawn. This next stage of renewal, which also features some of the most successful examples of organized community resistance, will be explored in greater detail this upcoming year, through Chicago Studies' *Century on 63rd* Street research project. The long, tortuous battle over Hyde Park began here though, on 55th Street. All of the legislative maneuvering, carefully-timed studies, and development plans themselves were rooted in the University's fundamental desire to create a "compatible community," which, as we've seen, was portrayed in glowingly idealistic or brutally pragmatic terms depending on the audience.



From the University's perspective, urban renewal was successful. After hitting record low undergraduate enrollment numbers in the Autumn of 1954—the same year the new University Planning Unit produced Hyde Park A—rates have only increased.[65] Hyde Park today is a stable interracial community of high standards, described as quiet and residential, with two-thirds of University faculty living in the neighborhood. The next time you walk down 55th Street, know that it was carefully calibrated that way.

Exodos. Night on East Fifty-fifth Street. The kids are asleep in the townhouses. A group of students leave out the backdoor of Jimmy's. A man is humming while sitting on a stump outside his tent in Nichols Park. All is quiet. Exeunt omnes.

Caroline Hugh is a third year at College interested in urban history, especially related to planning power, processes of displacement, and public history. When she's not editing for the magazine you're currently holding in your hands, she's either off biking around the city, or struggling to load her bike onto the front of a CTA bus.

Endnotes:

The Frolic Theater

1. Barrett, "Give the Children a Good Time," 1111.
2. "The Ascher Bros.' Chicago Circuit," 1572.
3. "The Ascher Bros.' Chicago Circuit," 1572.
4. "Ray School Gives Movie Benefit Soon," 3; "'Underwater Corrigan' Will Mix with Subs Again—Models," 4; Tipper, "Yiddish Theater," 31.
5. "The Ascher Bros.' Chicago Circuit," 1572.
6. Wylie, "Trollies, Theaters, Buggies: Recalling 55th Street," 6.
7. Fiedler, "A Hyde Park Time Capsule."

The Hidden Life of 5536 South Indiana Avenue

1. "Women Minstrels Score Hit in Show."
2. Meagher, "Where Dreams Come True."'Kelly Miller Was 'Tricked,' Says Howard Alumni Head"
3. "Chicago."
4. "Among the City Clubs."
5. "Installs Officers."
6. "Kelly Miller Was 'Tricked,' Says Howard Alumni Head."
7. "Bowling."
8. Vactor, "A History of The Chicago Federal Theatre Project Negro Unit: 1935-1939."
9. Vactor.
10. Kitagawa and Taeuber, Local Community Fact Book.
11. Kitagawa and Taeuber.

East Hyde Park Apartment Hotels

1. Ferber, *A Peculiar Treasure*, 278–279; Host and Portman, *Early Chicago Hotels*, 14; 114.
2. Ferber, *A Peculiar Treasure*, 278.
3. Rathbun and Kirchner, "Hyde Park Apartment Hotels."
4. "The Windermere."
5. "The Shoreland—The World's Finest Residential Hotel."
6. Rathbun and Kirchner, "Hyde Park Apartment Hotels."
7. Rathbun and Kirchner, "Hyde Park Apartment Hotels."
8. Groth, *Living Downtown: The History of Residential Hotels in the United States*, 28–30.
9. Wirth, *The Ghetto*, 258.
10. "Hyde Park: Chicago's Residential Hotel Center."
11. Harris, Chicago Apartments: A Century and Beyond of Lakefront Luxury, 1.
12. Groth, *Living Downtown*, 201.
13. Groth, *Living Downtown*, 201–233.
14. Bertha, "The Madison Park Apt. Hotel is 'The Hotel with a Home Atmosphere.'"
15. Rathbun and Kirchner, "Hyde Park Apartment Hotels."
16. "The Shoreland."
17. Ferber, *A Peculiar Treasure*, 279.
18. National Register of Historic Places Registration Form.
19. Chicago Apartments, 74.
20. Ibid.
21. Early Chicago Hotels, 118.
22. Ibid.
23. Ibid.
24. Shoreland Landmark Report Revised, 1.
25. https://chicagomaroon.com/8832/news/shoreland-residents-revel-in-dorms-rough-edges-as-closing-nears/

The Golden Lily and Racial Change in Washington Park

1. "Dishwasher" advertisement, 22.
2. US Census
3. "Featuring two Orchestras" advertisement, 27.
4. "Bomb Hits," 1.
5. "Bomb Hits," 1.
6. "Bomb Hits," 1.
7. "Bomb Hits," 1.
8. "Black and Tan," 5.
9. "Cafe and Garage," 4.
10. "Bomb Hits," 1.
11. "Black and Tan," 5.
12. "Cafe and Garage," 4.
13. "Bomb Hits," 1.
14. "Black and Tan," 5.
15. "Bomb Hits," 1.
16. "Trick Pianist," 7.
17. Hayes, "Here and There," 5.
18. "Francois Band," 18.
19. "Mysterious Fire," 1.
20. "Mysterious Fire," 1.
21. "Mysterious Fire," 1.
22. Hayes, "Returns and Tells," 5.

23. Hayes, “Returns and Tells,” 5.
24. “On the Air,” 3.
25. “McClain Duo,” 19.

Hyde Park A (Toaster Buildings)

1. Duggar, “National Register.”
2. Ibid, section 7 page 5.
3. Ibid.
4. Hirsch, “A neighborhood on a hill,” 137.
5. Ibid, 166.
6. Digital Scholarship Lab, “Renewing Inequality.”
7. Duggar, “National Register.”
8. Chaichian, “A Walled Academic Urban Fortress.”
9. Hirsch, “A neighborhood on a hill,” 169.
10. Ibid, 138.
11. Ibid, 143 and 145.
12. Greenfield, “The Night the Lamps Went Out in Hyde Park.”
13. Hirsch, “A neighborhood on a hill,” 136.

Lutheran School of Theology

1. “After 3 Year Controversy Lutheran School to Open in the Fall.”
2. Marshall, “Correspondence from the Illinois Synod of the Lutheran Church to the Hyde Park-Kenwood Community Conference,” July 8, 1963.
3. Towns, “An Open Letter to the People of Hyde Park and Kenwood, Subject: Institutional Expansion.”
4. Para, “5400 Woodlawn-University Block Club Newsletter.”
5. “Hyde Park Housing.”
6. Para, “Are You Planning Your Future in Hyde Park? You Live Here Today - but Will You Live Here Tomorrow?”}
7. Para, “Press Release.”
8. “Draft Report of the Meeting with the Lutherans on November 5, 1963.”
9. Heitel and O’Connor, “City of Chicago 80 Acre Sheets, E 1/2 S.W. 1/4 Sec. 11-38-14.”
10. “Build New Lutheran Seminary Campus on Greenwood and 55th.”
11. Huston, “Correspondence from the 5450 University-Greenwood Block Club to the Hyde Park-Kenwood Community Conference,” January 6, 1965.
12. “Hyde Park Demolition Is Main Issue.”
13. “Lutherans to Show Site Plan.”
14. “Slate Ground Breaking at Theology School Site.”
15. Gettinger, “U. of C. Plans to Buy LSTC, McCormick Campus.”

Jimmy’s Endures

1. Leon M. Despres, “A Look into the Crystal Ball,” *Hyde Park Herald*, December 10, 1964.
2. Diane Struzzi, “Jimmy Wilson; Owned Woodlawn Tap,” *Chicago Tribune*, February 24, 1999.
3. “DOUBLE KILLING BALKS JURORS SEEKING MOTIVE,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, December 19, 1944.
4. “Seminary Decides to Build on 5400 Woodlawn Site,” *Hyde Park Herald*, November 27, 1963.
5. “Build New Lutheran Seminary Campus on Greenwood and 55th,” *Hyde Park Herald*, December 16, 1964.
6. “PETERSON HITS BAN ON TAVERN; MAYOR BACKS UP,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, April 24, 1952.
7. “Jimmy’s Puts Faith in Neighbor,” *Hyde Park Herald*, August 18, 1999.
8. “Locals Cheer: Jimmy’s Wins Case,” *Hyde Park Herald*, March 29, 2000.
9. “Heeere’s Jimmy’s!,” *Hyde Park Herald*, May 17, 2000.

55th Street Businessmen’s Association

1. “Hearing Before Subcommittee No. 2 of the Select Committee on Small Business”
2. Hyde Park Historical Society, boxes 51 and 56
3. “HP Business Ass’n Elects Leaders”
4. “President’s Cabinet Congress,” “The Daily News Almanac and Yearbook”
5. “At B & P Assoc. Annual Dinner,” “55th Street Business Men’s Annual Fish Dinner,” “Thousands Jam Light Up Ceremony,”“UC Settlement to Enjoy Merry X-Mas Spirit,” “Business Men Set Up Hyde Park Dollar Day”
6. “Bulldozers and Businessmen,” Hyde Park Historical Society boxes 51, 56
7. “Hearing Before Subcommittee No. 2 of the Select Committee on Small Business”
8. Hyde Park Historical Society, Box 72
9. Hyde Park Historical Society Hyde Park Co-op Records, Box 1
10. Hyde Park Historical Society, Box 51, 56, Pharo, “Kimbark Beverage Shoppe”
11. Aliaga, “Kimbark Plaza”
12. Hyde Park Historical Society Box 33, Folders 6-11

Japanese-American Displacement in the First Half of the 20th Century

1. Robinson, “War Relocation Authority,” Densho Encyclopedia. Last updated May 6, 2015.
2. Matsunaga, “Japanese Americans on Chicago’s South Side,” Discover Nikkei. Published December 1, 2015.
3. “About Us,” The Buddhist Temple of Chicago. Last updated January 15, 2023.
4. “Buys Misery Mansion,” The Hyde Park Herald. Published October 5, 1956.
5. Hirsch, “Making the Second Ghetto: Race and Housing in Chicago, 1940-1960.” 153.

6. "People and Bulldozers: The Story of HP's 'Forgotten Church'," The Hyde Park Herald. Published April 4, 1956.
7. Ibid.
8. "About Us," Japanese American Service Committee.

The Heyday of the Washington Park Club Scene

1. Travis, *An Autobiography*, 112
2. Travis, *An Autobiography*, 113
3. Farr, "Eddie Johnson's," 21.
4. Travis, *An Autobiography*, 112
5. 14
6. 15
7. Farr, "Eddie Johnson's," 21.
8. Ibid.
9. Travis, *An Autobiography*, 113
10. "Bandits Burn."
11. Monroe, "Music and Song."
12. Jones, "Mae Johnson."
13. Nosey, "Everybody Goes."
14. "Joe Louis and Nation's Bigwigs."
15. "Joe Louis New Boss."
16. Monroe, "Music and Song."
17. "T-Bone."
18. "Music and Song."
19. "Rhumboogie Makes Good."
20. Monroe, "Cocktail Bars."
21. "Club DeLisa Up For Sale."

Elegy for the Lake Park Bohemians

1. Betty Hechtman Interview
2. Hyde Park Historical Society Collection, Box 51a, folder 1
3. Betty Hechtman Interview, Hyde Park Historical Society Collection Box 51, Folder 9, Mildred and Burt Clark Box 51a, Folder 1 (Reid Michener Interview) Folder 6, (Mary Louise Womer Interview)
4. Hyde Park Historical Society Hyde Park Coop Records, Box 1–the early location was a former ice house on Harper and 56th
5. Nina Helstein interview
6. Betty Hechtman Interview
7. Betty Hechtman Interview, Hyde Park Historical Society Collection Box 51a, folder 6 (Mary Louise Womer Interview)
8. Hyde Park Historical Society Collection, Box 32, Folders 14-17
9. Hyde Park Historical Society Collection Box 51a, folder 6 (Mary Louise Womer Interview)
10. Betty Hechtman Interview
11. Hyde Park Historical Society Collection, Box 32, Folders 7-9
12. "Hyde Park Classics" Facebook Group, Nina Helstein Interview
13. Christine Vollmer Interview
14. Nina Helstein Interview
15. Experimental Station Website
16. Arts Block Website

University-Led Urban Renewal: A Drama in Five Acts

1. Levi, "The Neighborhood Program of the University of Chicago," 18.
2. Hirsch, "Urban Renewal."
3. Hirsch, "Making the Second Ghetto: Race and Housing in Chicago, 1940-1960," 139.
4. Boyer, *"A Hell of a Job Getting It Squared Around," Three Presidents in Times of Fundamental Change: Ernest D. Burton, Lawrence A. Kimpton, and Edward H. Levi*, 74.
5. Julian H. Levi, as arguably the lynchpin behind urban renewal, deserves a slightly longer introduction. Successful private lawyer and head of the family sign-printing business, he was tapped by Kimpton to become director of the SECC on September 1, 1952, a position he would hold until 1980. Levi was known for his negotiating skills, and he has been described as "aggressive," "admired," "passionately feared," and "utterly ruthless" (Hirsch 151, Boyer 119). Not to be confused with his brother Edward Levi, future President of the University of Chicago and United States Attorney General.
6. Levi, "The Reminiscences of Julian H. Levi," 16.
7. Boyer, *"A Hell of a Job Getting It Squared Around," Three Presidents in Times of Fundamental Change: Ernest D. Burton, Lawrence A. Kimpton, and Edward H. Levi*, 117.
8. Hirsch, "Making the Second Ghetto: Race and Housing in Chicago, 1940-1960," 144.
9. Ibid.
10. Levi, "The Reminiscences of Julian H. Levi," 18.
11. Perloff, "Urban Renewal in a Chicago Neighborhood: An Appraisal of the Hyde Park-Kenwood Renewal Program." 5.
12. Levi, "The Neighborhood Program of the University of Chicago," 9.
13. Boyer, *"A Hell of a Job Getting It Squared Around," Three Presidents in Times of Fundamental Change: Ernest D. Burton, Lawrence A. Kimpton, and Edward H. Levi*, 118.
14. Levi, "The Reminiscences of Julian H. Levi," 23.
15. Hirsch, "Making the Second Ghetto: Race and Housing in Chicago, 1940-1960," 313.
16. Levi, "The Reminiscences of Julian H. Levi," 24.
17. Perloff, "Urban Renewal in a Chicago Neighborhood: An Appraisal of the Hyde Park-Kenwood Renewal Program," 1.
18. Levi, "The Neighborhood Program of the University of Chicago," 12.
19. Ibid.
20. Ibid, 10-12.
21. Ibid, 12.
22. Ibid, 25.

23. Ibid, 13.
24. Ibid, 14.
25. O'Brien et al., "Renewal and Revival - The University of Chicago Centennial Catalogues - The University of Chicago Library." Hirsch, "Making the Second Ghetto: Race and Housing in Chicago, 1940-1960," 147.
26. O'Brien et al., "Renewal and Revival - The University of Chicago Centennial Catalogues - The University of Chicago Library." Hirsch, "Making the Second Ghetto: Race and Housing in Chicago, 1940-1960," 147.
27. Levi, "The Neighborhood Program of the University of Chicago," 21.
28. Levi, "The Neighborhood Program of the University of Chicago," 21.
29. Section 112 was the legislative amendment to the Housing Act of 1959 that provided federal legitimacy and funding to urban renewal projects. It was lobbied for by Julian Levi. See Act V for further discussion.
30. Svoboda and Levi, "The Neighborhood Program of the University of Chicago," 1.
31. Svoboda and Levi, "The Neighborhood Program of the University of Chicago," 1.
32. Svoboda and Levi, "The Neighborhood Program of the University of Chicago," 1.
33. Rossi and Dentler, *The Politics of Urban Renewal: The Chicago Findings*, 68.
34. Rossi and Dentler, *The Politics of Urban Renewal: The Chicago Findings*, 68.
35. Rossi and Dentler, *The Politics of Urban Renewal: The Chicago Findings*, 68.
36. Rossi and Dentler, *The Politics of Urban Renewal: The Chicago Findings*, 68.
37. Racially restrictive housing covenants were declared illegal in *Shelley v. Kraemer*, 1948
38. Winling, *Building the Ivory Tower: Politics and Culture in Modern America*, 79.
39. Ibid, 88.
40. Levi, "The Reminiscences of Julian H. Levi," 34.
41. Winling, Building the Ivory Tower: Politics and Culture in Modern America, 86.
42. Perloff, "Urban Renewal in a Chicago Neighborhood: An Appraisal of the Hyde Park-Kenwood Renewal Program," 6.
43. Ibid, 8.
44. Hirsch, "Making the Second Ghetto: Race and Housing in Chicago, 1940-1960," 153.
45. Ibid.
46. Levi, "The Reminiscences of Julian H. Levi," 48.
47. Ibid, 50.
48. I. M. Pei & Associates, "Hyde Park A & B Redevelopment Plan." 2.
49. "New Traffic Plans Close Most Streets." 2.
50. "New Traffic Plans Close Most Streets." 2.
51. Rossi and Dentler, *The Politics of Urban Renewal: The Chicago Findings*. 157.
52. Levi, "The Neighborhood Program of the University of Chicago." 21.
53. Rossi and Dentler, *The Politics of Urban Renewal: The Chicago Findings*. 158-159.
54. Ibid, 157, 159.
55. Bachin, *Building the South Side: Urban Space and Civic Culture in Chicago, 1890-1919*, 61.
56. Hirsch, "Making the Second Ghetto: Race and Housing in Chicago, 1940-1960," 153.
57. Levi, "The Reminiscences of Julian H. Levi," 37.
58. Levi, "Julian H. Levi to Lawrence Kimpton," August 18, 1953.
59. Levi, "The Reminiscences of Julian H. Levi," 60, 63.
60. "Money, Money-Whose Is It?" 7.
61. Levi, "The Neighborhood Program of the University of Chicago," 24.
62. Levi, "The Neighborhood Program of the University of Chicago," 24.
63. Support for university-led urban planning was strengthened by elite institutions' position as researchers defending the US during the Cold War. The threat to their urban campuses was elevated to a matter of national security. Winling, *Building the Ivory Tower: Politics and Culture in Modern America*, 104.
64. Levi, "The Neighborhood Program of the University of Chicago," 29.
65. "Historical Enrollment | University Registrar."

Bibliography:

The Frolic Theater

Barrett, B.F. "Give the Children a Good Time." *Motography* 16, no. 15 (November 1916): 1111–12. Google Books.

Fiedler, Luke. "A Hyde Park Time Capsule." *University of Chicago Magazine*, August 6, 2009. http://uchiblogo.uchicago.edu/archives/2009/08/a_hyde_park_tim.html.

"Ray School Gives Movie Benefit Soon." *Hyde Park Herald*, May 25, 1939. NewsBank.

"The Ascher Bros.' Chicago Circuit." *The Moving Picture World* 31 (January–March 1917): 1572–74. Google Books.

Tipper, A. Ovrum. "Yiddish Theater." *The Sentinel*, May 17, 1951. The National Library of Israel.

"'Underwater Corrigan' Will Mix with Subs Again—Models." *Hyde Park Herald*, January 26, 1939. NewsBank

Wylie, David. "Trollies, Theaters, Buggies: Recalling 55th Street." *Hyde Park Herald*, May 11, 2005. NewsBank.

The Hidden Life of 5536 South Indiana Avenue

"Chicago" Vol. 59 No.48 (November 27, 1930). http://archive.org/details/gu_deafmutesjo19301127.

Kitagawa, Evelyn M., and Karl E. Taeuber. *Local Community Fact Book: Chicago Metropolitan Area, 1960*. Chicago, IL: Chicago Community Inventory, University of Chicago, 1963. https://catalog.lib.uchicago.edu/vufind/Record/81940.

Meagher, Frederick J. "Where Dreams Come True." *The Silent Worker*, Vol. 31 No. 8 edition. Accessed October 16, 2023. https://gaislandora.wrlc.org/islandora/object/gaislandora%3A4150#page/1/mode/1up.

The Chicago Defender (National Edition). "Among the City Clubs." March 30, 1935.

The Chicago Defender (National Edition). "Bowling." March 30, 1935.

The Chicago Defender (National Edition). "Installs Officers." October 22, 1932.

The Chicago Defender (National Edition). "Kelly Miller Was 'Tricked,' Says Howard Alumni Head." November 10, 1934.

The Inter Ocean. "Women Minstrels Score Hit in Show." n.d. https://www.newspapers.com/image/34590431/.

Vactor, Vanita marian. "A History of The Chicago Federal Theatre Project Negro Unit: 1935-1939," 1998.

East Hyde Park Apartment Hotels

Bertha, Madame. "The Madison Park Apt. Hotel is 'The Hotel with a Home Atmosphere.'" *The Sentinel*, March 29, 1934, National Library of Israel.

Ferber, Edna. *A Peculiar Treasure*. New York: Doubleday, Doran & Company, Inc., 1939.

Groth, Paul. *Living Downtown: The History of Residential Hotels in the United States. Berkeley*: University of California Press, 1994. California Digital Library.

Harris, Neil. Chicago Apartments: *A Century and Beyond of Lakefront Luxury*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2020.

Host, William R., and Brooke Ahn Portman. *Early Chicago Hotels*. Charleston: Arcadia Publishing, 2006.

"Hyde Park: Chicago's Residential Hotel Center." *Chicago Daily Tribune*, September 11, 1921. ProQuest.

Rathbun, Peter, and Charles Kirchner. "Hyde Park Apartment Hotels." National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1985.

"The Shoreland—The World's Finest Residential Hotel." *Chicago Daily Tribune*, April 18, 1926. ProQuest.

"The Windermere." *Chicago Daily Tribune*, September 25, 1921. ProQuest.

Wirth, Louis. *The Ghetto*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1956.

The Golden Lily and Racial Change in Washington Park

"Black and Tan Cafe Bombed." *Pittsburgh Courier*, October 26, 1929. https://www.newspapers.com.

"Bomb Hits S.S. Chop Suey Cafe." *Chicago Defender*, October 26, 1929. https://www.proquest.com.

"Cafe and Garage Bombed; County Score now is 104." *Chicago Tribune*, October 17, 1929. https://www.newspapers.com.

"Francois Band, Coming East with Reed's Show, Boasts Great Arranger." *Pittsburgh Courier*, October 6, 1934. https://www.newspapers.com.

Golden Lily Restaurant. "Dishwasher." advertisement. *Chicago Tribune*, June 19, 1920. https://www.newspapers.com.

Hayes, Bob. "Bob Hayes returns and tells of his journey." *Chicago Defender*, April 2, 1932. https://www.proquest.com.

Hayes, Bob. "Here and There." *Chicago Defender*, July 2, 1932. https://www.proquest.com.

"McClain Duo to Twirl at Club Zazu." *Pittsburgh Courier*, February 2, 1935. https://www.newspapers.com.

"Mysterious Fire Wrecks Golden Lily." *Chicago Defender*, February 13, 1932. https://www.proquest.com.

"On the Air and Otherwise." *Black Dispatch*, March 23, 1933. https://www.newspapers.com.

The Golden Lily. "Featuring Two Orchestras." advertisement. *Chicago Tribune*, November 27, 1926.https://www.newspapers.com.

"Trick Pianist," *Chicago Defender*, March 29, 1930. https://www.proquest.com.

U.S. Census Bureau. Fourteenth Census of United States: 1920 - Population. Prepared by Ancestry.https://www.ancestry.com.

Hyde Park A (Toaster Buildings)

Chaichian, Mohammad. "A Walled Academic Urban Fortress: Using Neoliberal Urban Policies to Redesign and Maintain Chicago's Hyde Park Neighborhood." *Spaces and Flows: An International Journal of Urban and Extra Urban Studies* 8, no. 4 (October 2017). https://doi.org/10.18848/2154-8676/CGP/v08i04/31-58.

Contreras, Luke. "The Lululemonification of Hyde Park." *The Chicago Maroon*, November 26, 2021. https://chicagomaroon.com/28747/viewpoints/column/lululemonification-hyde-park/.

Davis, Susan. "Lost Hyde Park: The Commercial Core." *Hyde Park Herald,* September 14, 2021. https://www.hpherald.com/news/local/lost-hyde-park-the-commercial-core/article_d282cc80-14ba-11ec-b846-f786cbbb9339.html.

Davis, Susan. "Lost Hyde Park: Land clearance." *Hyde Park Herald*, January 21, 2022. https://www.hpherald.com/news/local/lost-hyde-park-land-clearance/article_64703e2e-7240-11ec-b986-ebf650131a4d.html.

Digital Scholarship Lab, "Renewing Inequality." *American Panorama*, edited by Robert K. Nelson and Edward L. Ayers. Accessed September 24, 2023. https://dsl.richmond.edu/panorama/renewal/#view=0/0/1&viz=cartogram&city=chicagoIL&loc=14/41.8000/-87.5951&project=2466.

Duggar, Margaret. "National Register of Historic Places Registration Form: University Apartments," *National Park Service*, July 2004, https://web.archive.org/web/20131203044720/http://gis.hpa.state.il.us/pdfs/223397.pdf.

Farr Associates. "Harper Court." Farr Associates. Accessed August 21, 2023. https://www.farrside.com/harper-court.

Greenfield, John. "The Night the Lamps Went Out in Hyde Park." *Chicago Reader*, October 5, 2000. https://chicagoreader.com/news-politics/the-night-the-lamps-went-out-in-hyde-park/.

Hirsch, Arnold. "A neighborhood on a hill: Hyde Park and the University of Chicago." In *Making the Second Ghetto: Race and Housing in Chicago, 1940 – 1960*, 135–70. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983.

Kamin, Blair. "Remembering I.M. Pei: His spectacular buildings, his personal charm, and his Chicago slip-up." *Chicago Tribune*, May 18, 2019. https://www.chicagotribune.com/columns/blair-kamin/ct-biz-im-pei-appreciation-kamin-0520-story.html.

Lowen, Lenore. "A Lesson on How To Do Urban Renewal The Right Way." *Preservation of Community Assets*, January 15, 2014. http://historicpca.blogspot.com/2014/01/a-lesson-on-how-to-do-urban-renewal.html.

Napoles, Lisa. "Hyde Park A & B Urban Renewal Project." *Docomomo US*, December 16, 2013. https://docomomo-us.org/news/hyde-park-a-b-urban-renewal-project.

Lutheran School of Theology

Chicago Daily Defender (Daily Edition) (1960-1973). "Hyde Park Housing." March 8, 1965.

Chicago Tribune. "After 3 Year Controversy Lutheran School to Open in the Fall." July 23, 1967. https://www.newspapers.com/image/376624036.

Chicago Tribune. "Hyde Park Demolition Is Main Issue." January 17, 1965.

Chicago Tribune. "Slate Ground Breaking at Theology School Site." October 3, 1965.

"Draft Report of the Meeting with the Lutherans on November 5, 1963." Hyde Park-Kenwood Community Conference, November 19, 1963. Hyde Park-Kenwood Community Conference Records, Box 19, Folder 17. Hanna Holborn Gray Special Collections Research Center.

Gettinger, Aaron. "U. of C. Plans to Buy LSTC, McCormick Campus." Hyde Park Herald, May 18, 2022. https://www.hpherald.com/news/local/u-of-c-plans-to-buy-lstc-mccormick-campus/article_9f663ec2-d53f-11ec-b56b-1357cc6a0e75.html.

Heitel, A., and C.J. O'Connor. "City of Chicago 80 Acre Sheets, E 1/2 S.W. 1/4 Sec. 11-38-14." Chicago, Ill., United States, n.d. https://gisapps.chicago.gov/gisimages/80acres/pdfs/esw113814r.pdf.

Huston, Harold W. "Correspondence from the 5450 University-Greenwood Block Club to the Hyde Park-Kenwood Community Conference," January 6, 1965. Hyde Park-Kenwood Community Conference Records, Box 19, Folder 17. Hanna Holborn Gray Special Collections Research Center.

Hyde Park Herald. "Build New Lutheran Seminary Campus on Greenwood and 55th." December 16, 1964.

Hyde Park Herald. "Lutherans to Show Site Plan." February 10, 1965.

Marshall, Robert J. "Correspondence from the Illinois Synod of the Lutheran Church to the Hyde Park-Kenwood Community Conference," July 8, 1963. Hyde Park-Kenwood Community Conference Records, Box 19, Folder 17. Hanna Holborn Gray Special Collections Research Center.

Para, Arthur J. "5400 Woodlawn-University Block Club Newsletter," April 17, 1964. Hyde Park-Kenwood Community Conference Records, Box 19, Folder 17. Hanna Holborn Gray Special Collections Research Center.

———. "Are You Planning Your Future in Hyde Park? You Live Here Today - but Will You Live Here Tomorrow?" 5400 Woodlawn-University Block Club, n.d. Hyde Park-Kenwood Community Conference Records, Box 19, Folder 17. Hanna Holborn Gray Special Collections Research Center.

———. "Press Release." 5400 Woodlawn-University Block Club, July 12, 1963. Hyde Park-Kenwood Community Conference Records, Box 19, Folder 17. Hanna Holborn Gray Special Collections Research Center.

Towns, Victor D. "An Open Letter to the People of Hyde Park and Kenwood, Subject: Institutional Expansion." Northwest Hyde Park Area Council, July 5, 1963. Hyde Park-Kenwood Community Conference Records, Box 19, Folder 17. Hanna Holborn Gray Special Collections Research Center.

Jimmy's Endures

Despres, Leon M. "A Look into the Crystal Ball." *Hyde Park Herald*, December 10, 1964. https://hpherald.newsbank.com

"DEWEY WORRIED OVER CRISIS IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS." *Chicago Daily Tribune*, December 19, 1944.

"PETERSON HITS BAN ON TAVERN; MAYOR BACKS UP." *Chicago Daily Tribune*, April 24, 1952.

"Build New Lutheran Seminary Campus on Greenwood and 55th." *Hyde Park Herald*, December 16, 1964. https://hpherald.newsbank.com

"Heeere's Jimmy's!." *Hyde Park Herald*, May 17, 2000. https://hpherald.newsbank.com

"Jimmy's Puts Faith in Neighbor." *Hyde Park Herald*, August 18, 1999. https://hpherald.newsbank.com

"Locals Cheer: Jimmy's Wins Case." *Hyde Park Herald*, March 29, 2000. https://hpherald.newsbank.com

"Seminary Decides to Build on 5400 Woodlawn Site." *Hyde Park Herald*, November 27, 1963. https://hpherald.newsbank.com

Struzzi, Diane. "Jimmy Wilson; Owned Woodlawn Tap." *Chicago Tribune*, Feb 24, 1999.

55th Street Businessmen's Association

"55th Street Business Men's Annual Fish Dinner...South Side's Classic Civic Banquet is Huge Success." *Hyde Park Herald*, December 6, 1947, 1.

"55th Street Shops Seek Hyde Park Relocation Sites." **Daily Maroon**, October 18, 1963, 3. Available through UChicago Campus Publications.

"After 20 Years, Mitzie Moves–But not Far." *Hyde Park Herald*, October 23, 1957, 3.

Aliaga, Kenneth. "Kimbark Plaza to Welcome CVS as Early as March." *Chicago Maroon*, January 18, 2005.

"At B & P Assoc. Annual Dinner." *Hyde Park Herald*, July 3, 1957, 1.

"Bulldozers and Businessmen—Anderson faces Redevelopment." *Hyde Park Herald*, April 27, 1955, 3.

"Business Men Set Up Hyde Park Dollar Day." *Daily Maroon*, October 4, 1940, 3. Available through UChicago Campus Publications.

"Everybody's Business." *Hyde Park Herald*, November 22, 1955, 9.

"Famous Annual Fish Dinner of 55th St Business Ass'n Treat for Tired Tradesmen and Their 250 Happy Guests." *Hyde Park Herald*, December 6, 1945, 1.

"Grand Opening." *Hyde Park Herald*, April 8, 1953, 1.

"Hearing Before Subcommittee No. 2 of the Select Committee on Small Business House of Representatives, Eighty Fourth Congress, Second Session, Pursuant to H. Res. 114, A Resolution Creating a Select Committee to Conduct a Study and Investigation of the Problems of Small Business." (Washington: Select Committee on Small Business, 1956). Made available through Google Books.

"HP Business Ass'n Elects Leaders." *Hyde Park Herald*, February 22, 1956.

Hyde Park Historical Society Collection, Boxes 26, 33, 37, 51,51a, 56, 60, 62, 72, Hanna Holborn Grey Special Collections at the University of Chicago Regenstein Library, Accessed July 2023.

Hyde Park Historical Society Hyde Park Co-Op Records, Box 1, Hanna Holborn Grey Special Collections at the University of Chicago Regenstein Library, Accessed July 2023

"Hyde Park People, Places, Things: Do you Remember Anderson's Hardware Store?" *Hyde Park Herald*, July 8, 2009, 4.

"LCC Heads Inefficient, H. P. Businessmen Say." *Hyde Park Herald*, December 19, 1956.

Pharo, Zoe, "Kimbark Beverage Shoppe Sold Closes Temporarily." *Hyde Park Herald*, July 26, 2023.

"President's Cabinet Congress." *Chicago Commerce*, (Chicago: Chicago Association of Commerce, 1914). Made Available through Google Books.

"Segregation Argued." *Chicago Maroon*, January 19, 1962, 1-2. Available through UChicago Campus Publications.

"Thousands Jam Light Up Ceremony." *Hyde Park Herald*, September 24, 1953.

"UC Settlement to Enjoy Merry X-Mas Spirit." *Daily Maroon*, December 15, 1950, 3. Available through UChicago Campus Publications.

The Daily News Almanac and Yearbook, 1920. Langland, James, ed. (Chicago: Chicago Daily News, 1919). Made available through Google Books.

Japanese-American Displacement in the First Half of the 20th Century

"About Us." *The Buddhist Temple of Chicago*, January 15, 2023. https://buddhisttemplechicago.org/about-us/.

Hirsch, Arnold R. *Making the Second Ghetto: Race and Housing in Chicago, 1940-1960*. Chicago & London: The University of Chicago Press, 1983.

"Buys Misery Mansion." *The Hyde Park Herald*, October 5, 1956.

"People and Bulldozers: The Story of HP's 'Forgotten Church'." *The Hyde Park Herald*, April 4, 1956.

"About Us." *Japanese American Service Committee*, 2022-2023. https://jasc-chicago.org/about-us/.

Matsunaga, Erik. "Japanese Americans on Chicago's South Side - Oakland/Kenwood 1940s-1950s - Part 1." *Discover Nikkei*, December 1, 2015. https://discovernikkei.org/en/journal/2015/12/1/oakland-kenwood-1/.

Robinson, Greg. "War Relocation Authority." *Densho Encyclopedia*. Last updated May 6, 2015. https://encyclopedia.densho.org/War%20Relocation%20Authority.

The Heyday of the Washington Park Club Scene

"Bandits Burn and Rob Dave's Tavern." *Chicago Defender*, May 5, 1934. https://www.proquest.com.

"Cabarets." *Chicago Defender*, September 22, 1934. https://www.proquest.com.

"Club DeLisa Groovy." *Chicago Defender*, July 16, 1956. https://www.proquest.com.

"Club DeLisa Up For Sale; Rings Down Curtain Feb 16." *Chicago Defender*, January 28, 1958. https://www.proquest.com.

Farr, Jory. "Eddie Johnson's saxophone helps blow the blues away." *Chicago Tribune*, April 18, 1982. https://www.newspapers.com.

"Headliners at the Club DeLisa." *Chicago Defender*, January 1, 1944. https://www.proquest.com.

"Joe Louis and Nation's Bigwigs at Chicago Nightclub Opening." *Chicago Defender*, April 25, 1942. https://www.proquest.com.

"Joe Louis New Boss of Cafe Rhumboogie." *Chicago Defender*, December 7, 1946. https://www.proquest.com.

Jones, Billy. "Mae Johnson now starred at 'Kit Kat'." *Chicago Defender*, February 15, 1936. https://www.proquest.com.

Monroe, Al. "Cocktail Bars Replace Cabarets in Many Cities." *Chicago Defender*, October 25, 1947.https://www.proquest.com.

Monroe, Al. "Music and Speed Make Show at Rhumboogie Terrific." *Chicago Defender*, April 25, 1942.https://www.proquest.com.

"Music and Song on Rhumboogie Menu." *Chicago Defende*r, May 4, 1946. https://www.proquest.com.

Nosey, Ole. "Everybody Goes when the Wagon Comes." *Chicago Defender*, April 25, 1942. https://www.proquest.com.

"Rhumboogie Makes Good on Promise." *Chicago Defender*, April 13, 1946. https://www.proquest.com.

"Rhumboogie Swings Out with Tiny." *Chicago Defender*, May 22, 1943. https://www.proquest.com.

Travis, Dempsey J. *An Autobiography of Black Jazz. Chicago*: Urban Research Institute, 1983.

"T-Bone, Salt And Pepper Make 'Boogie Groovy." *Chicago Defender*, October 21, 1944. https://www.proquest.com.

Elegy for the Lake Park Bohemians

"57 Street Art Fair Founder, Mary Louise Womer, dead at 87," *Hyde Park Herald*, November 12, 1997, 6.

"Art Colony Plays Swan Song," *Hyde Park Herald*, May 9, 1962, 10.

Betty Hechtman, interview with author, August 24, 2023.

Christine Vollmer, interview with author, August 22, 2023.

Delgado, Gustavo. "Doc Films Fundraising for $60000 in Upgrades amid Budget Cuts," *Chicago Maroon*, April 9, 2023.

Edgar, Hannah. "Sounds Reborn: How the University of Chicago Folk Festival built its own Tradition," Spring 2023.

"Hyde Park Classics", various posts on Facebook group, Accessed July 2023.

Hyde Park Historical Society Collection, Boxes 30, 31, 32, 51, 51a, 60, 62, 72, 88. Hanna Holborn Grey Special Collections at the University of Chicago Regenstein Library, Accessed July 2023.

Hyde Park Historical Society Hyde Park Co-Op Records, Box 1, Hanna Holborn Grey Special Collections at the University of Chicago Regenstein Library, Accessed July 2023

Latiak, Dorothy S. "Literary Greats Added to Local Art Colony," *Hyde Park Herald*, December 26, 1990, 4.

Nelson, J. R. and Leor Galil. "WHPK Faces A Funding Crisis that Could Take it Off the Air," *Chicago Reader*, July 18, 2023.

Nina Helstein, interview with author, July 2023.

University-Led Urban Renewal: A Drama in Five Acts

Adams, N T, Richard Carmody, Margaret E Clark, and Randolph H Lanier. "The Private Use of Public Power: The Private University and the Power of Eminent Domain." *Vanderbilt Law Review* 27, no. 4 (May 1974): 135.

Bachin, Robin. *Building the South Side: Urban Space and Civic Culture in Chicago, 1890-1919*. Chicago & London: The University of Chicago Press, 2004.

Boyer, John. *"A Hell of a Job Getting It Squared Around," Three Presidents in Times of Fundamental Change: Ernest D. Burton, Lawrence A. Kimpton, and Edward H. Levi.* Occasional Papers on Higher Education, XXII. Chicago: The College of the University of Chicago, 2012.

Hirsch, Arnold. "Making the Second Ghetto: Race and Housing in Chicago, 1940-1960." In *Making the Second Ghetto: Race and Housing in Chicago, 1940-1960*, 400. Chicago & London: The University of Chicago Press, 1983.

———. "Urban Renewal." Encyclopedia of Chicago. Accessed July 26, 2023. http://www.encyclopedia.chicagohistory.org/pages/1295.html.

"Historical Enrollment | University Registrar." Accessed July 26, 2023. https://registrar.uchicago.edu/data-reporting/historical-enrollment/.

Hyde Park Herald. "Money, Money-Whose Is It?" December 21, 1960, Volume 79, Number 51 edition.

Hyde Park Herald. "New Traffic Plans Close Most Streets." August 22, 1956, 75th Year Number 34 edition.

I. M. Pei & Associates. "Hyde Park A & B Redevelopment Plan." Webb & Knapp, 1957.

Levi, Julian. "Julian H. Levi to Lawrence Kimpton," August 18, 1953. Box 230, Folder 5. Kimpton Papers.

———. "The Neighborhood Program of the University of Chicago." United States Office of Education, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, August 1961.

———. "The Reminiscences of Julian H. Levi." The University of Chicago Archives, September 21, 1992. Oral History Program.

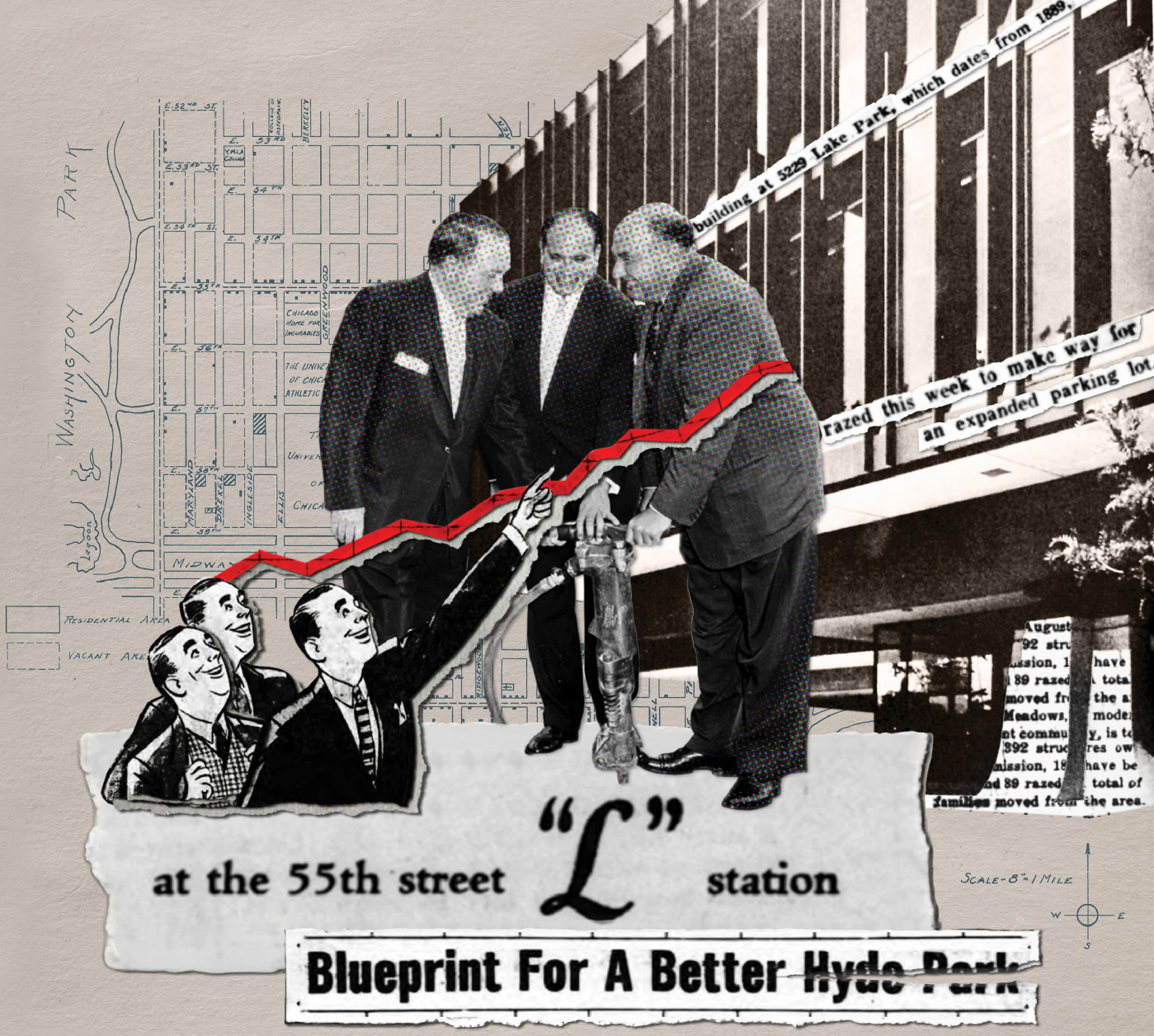
O'Brien, Jean, Maureen Harp, Ted Fishman, Richard Popp, and Daniel Meyer. "Renewal and Revival - The University of Chicago Centennial Catalogues - The University of Chicago Library." The University of Chicago Library, January 1, 1992. https://www.lib.uchicago.edu/collex/exhibits/university-chicago-centennial-catalogues/university-and-city-centennial-view-university-chicago/university-neighborhood/renewal-and-revival/.

Perloff, Harvey. "Urban Renewal in a Chicago Neighborhood: An Appraisal of the Hyde Park-Kenwood Renewal Program." Hyde Park Herald, Inc., August 1955.

Rossi, Peter, and Robert Dentler. *The Politics of Urban Renewal: The Chicago Findings.* New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, Inc., 1961.

Svoboda, Albert, and Julian Levi. "The Neighborhood Program of the University of Chicago." The University of Chicago, October 12, 1961.

Winling, LaDale. *Building the Ivory Tower: Politics and Culture in Modern America*, 2018.



Collage [above] by **Chandler Hart**

Find out more:

expositionsmagazine.org
facebook.com/expositionsmagazine
expositionsuchicago@gmail.com

Submit & join our team:

Email expositionsuchicago@gmail.com with submissions for our next issue. But if you don't feel confident enough in anything you have written so far, consider joining our team. We are looking for managing editors, content editors, and designers. Email us with your interest and we will follow up. No resume or formal cover letter required.

Colophon:

Issue 5 of Expositions was set in **EB Garamond** and **Sora**. The former, used for body text, was released in 2011 as a free and open source version of Claude Garamond's (a notable French type designer) typeface. The latter, used for headers and titles, was developed by Japanese technology company Soramitsu to serve as a clear and effective typeface at all sizes.

This publication was printed at **Graphic Arts** in Hyde Park, Chicago. It was printed on a digital press, and was perfect bound.