# YORKTOWN

## AN HISTORIC PHILADELPHIA NEIGHBORHOOD







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The Comprehensive Survey of Yorktown Neighborhood is available online at www.PreservationAlliance.com/publications. For more information or assistance call 215.546.1146 ext 6.

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## Yorktown

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## Yorktown

## AN HISTORIC PHILADELPHIA NEIGHBORHOOD

### INTRODUCTION

The Yorktown neighborhood in North Philadelphia—located between Girard Avenue and Cecil B. Moore Avenue, Broad Street and N. 11th Street—was developed between 1959 and 1969 as a new middle-income African American community. It was the city's first urban renewal project to be completed by a private developer and represented what were then considered to be innovative planning principles for residential neighborhoods. Today, Yorktown still retains its original character and its identity as a middle-income African American community.

In order to increase recognition of Yorktown's historic significance and to prepare a nomination for Yorktown to be included in the National Register of Historic Places, the Preservation Alliance for Greater Philadelphia, with the encouragement and support of the Yorktown Community Organization and the Yorktown Community Development Corporation, undertook a survey of the 552 residences in the neighborhood in 2011.

The Yorktown survey was prepared by the Preservation Development Partnership LLC, Dominique Hawkins, principal, and Emily T. Cooperman, PhD.

This summary describes the history of the development of Yorktown, its historic significance and present character, and provides an illustration of the information contained in the survey. The full 1100-page survey can be viewed on the Preservation Alliance's website at www.preservationalliance.com/publications/Yorktownsurvey.

The survey was made possible by a grant from the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission funded by a federal Preserve America Grant from the National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior.

## I. PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT OF YORKTOWN

#### **Planning Context**

Although the City Charter had created a City Planning Commission in 1919, no members were appointed until 1923 and no professional staff hired until 1942. At that time, the Planning Commission began to examine the physical improvement needs of the city after many years of little public investment during the Great Depression and the Second World War. While initial attention focused on issues of infrastructure, the passage of the federal Housing Acts of 1945 and 1949, which created programs to provide federal funds to assist urban redevelopment, encouraged the Planning Commission and political leaders to develop more ambitious plans for the revitalization of Philadelphia.

The Planning Commission focused its attention simultaneously on the potential for new development in Northeast Philadelphia, a section of the city that remained predominantly farmland, and the revitalization of Center City and inner city neighborhoods. The Northeast presented a unique opportunity to encourage private residential development that could attract new residents. Under the direction of Edmund N. Bacon, executive director of the City Planning Commission, concepts were developed that encouraged new residential subdivisions based on new planning principles rather than a continuation of the typical street grid of the city. Bacon's initial scheme suggested clusters of row houses along curved streets with community open space in between. (Illustration 1 and 2.) These new concepts required that garages be located in the front of the houses in contrast to the early 20th century practice in Philadelphia of locating garages in the rear. (Illustration 3.)

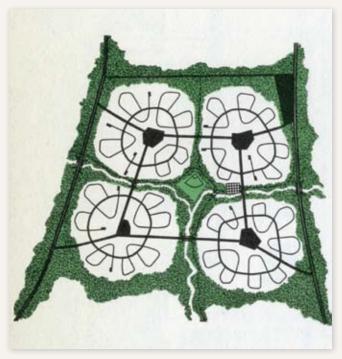
**ILLUSTRATION 4** 

Norman Denny



The first developer to respond to this new, front garages concept was Norman Denny (Illustration 4). Denny began his development career as a vice president of Levitt & Sons, developers of the famous Bucks County Levittown. By the mid-1950s, he had established his own company and had purchased a tract of land in the Northeast on which he developed the Robindale subdivision, following the City Planning Commission's new ideas.

While the Planning Commission was developing plans for the Northeast, it was also looking at sections of Philadelphia that had experienced decline and would be suitable areas for redevelopment with the support of anticipated state and federal funding. The City's goal was to "rejuvenate" what were seen as "blighted" areas. Among these was the Southwest Temple area in North Philadelphia bounded by Columbia Avenue (now Cecil B. Moore Avenue), the Reading Railroad (now SEPTA line—approximately at 9th Street), Girard Avenue, and Broad Street, encompassing about 25 city blocks. Southwest Temple was part of the larger Temple area certified as a redevelopment area in 1948 as Philadelphia's first such endeavor.<sup>1</sup>





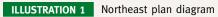


ILLUSTRATION 3 Illustrative cul-de-sac plan

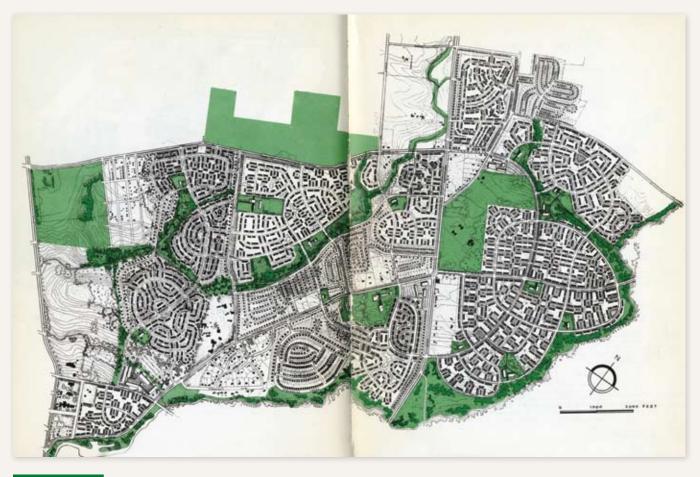


ILLUSTRATION 3 Northeast Subdivision plan

The plans for the Southwest Temple area, of which Yorktown is a part, evolved over a period of around twelve years beginning in 1949. At the time planning for the area began, the Planning Commission noted that the area was "fully occupied before World War II," that the area was more than 90% "non-white" in population, and that it was primarily residential, although "every block . . . presents a mixed land use pattern." The total area was estimated to have over 17,000 inhabitants.

#### The 1950 Plan

The first plan for Southwest Temple, published in 1950 (Illustration 5.), made it clear that redevelopment was to be conducted on Modernist planning principles: the reorganization of the dense, complex urban fabric into a "rational" system of high-rise housing units organized in super blocks, some new lower rise housing rows, and the relocation of commercial development to the edges of the area along Girard Avenue, Cecil B. Moore Avenue, and Broad Street. The plan proposed both rehabilitation of existing housing and new construction, reducing the number of inhabitants to fewer than 13,000.<sup>2</sup> The displacement of residents inherent in this redevelopment was not addressed nor was the fate of local churches.

It appears that development of the portion of the Southwest Temple east of 11th Street proceeded first. Plans for that area were prepared under the direction of architect Louis I. Kahn with the assistance of landscape architect Christopher Tunnard (illustrations 6 and 7.). Kahn had worked with Edmund Bacon and Oscar Stonorov on the influential "Better Philadelphia" exhibit of 1947. He and Stonorov were responsible for many of the exhibit's illustrations of new neighborhood planning concepts. Since Kahn is known to have served as a consultant for the eastern portion of the Southwest Temple area, it is likely that he was involved in developing the initial plans for the area that would eventually become Yorktown.

#### The 1952-53 Plan

The plan to build high-rises and apartment buildings developed by Kahn and Tunnard was shifted significantly in 1952. The city's Redevelopment Authority (RDA) announced in May of that year that it instead it would build "desirable and attractive row houses . . . that will be within the income of middle-income families in Philadelphia."<sup>3</sup>

For this initial venture, the RDA developed a general plan to be put out to bid in association with the Home Builders' Association of Philadelphia and Suburbs. A number of the features of this plan resonate with the ultimate form of the Yorktown development: the plan called for 63 "two-story row homes in the latest sub-division design," with "full basements and off-street parking." Another aspect of contemporary suburban development's influence on this urban redevelopment was its planned use of "cul-de-sac streets, which dead-end and permit turn-around exit only," a concept clearly derived from the City Planning Commission's work in the Northeast.<sup>4</sup>

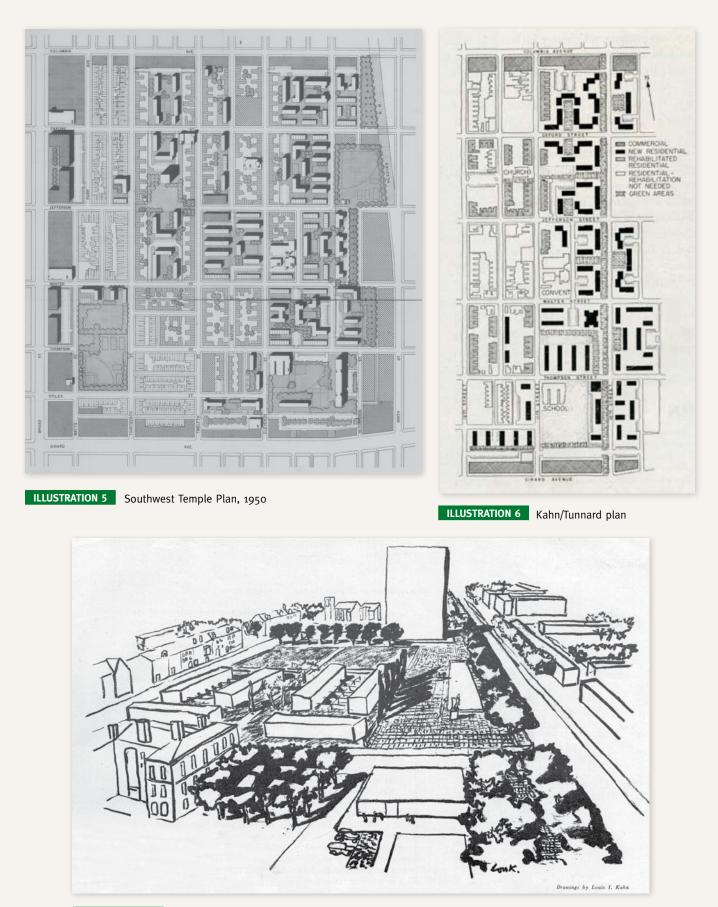


ILLUSTRATION 7 Kahn Southwest Temple Proposal

While the 1950 Southwest Temple Plan was not very articulate about the ethnic and racial demographics of the area, a 1954 "Housing Market Survey Report" makes these aspects clearer. The report described this area as "typically blighted" and "characterized by overcrowding, dilapidated row houses occupied almost exclusively by Negroes."<sup>5</sup>

Beginning in 1954, the city cleared and redeveloped some portions of the Southwest Temple "Project A" area; multiple units of two-story, low-rise, state-subsidized rental housing were constructed between Thompson and Cecil B. Moore Avenue, North 11th Street, and the rail line that formed the eastern boundary of Southwest Temple.<sup>6</sup> In 1956, the Redevelopment Authority issued a notice of land for sale for development adjacent and to the west of these tracts, where Yorktown was later to be created. In an invitation for proposals for portions of the block bounded by Master Street on the south, Jefferson Street on the north, and 11th and 12th streets, the RDA sought developers for a state-subsidized apartment building to be located on Jefferson Street near 12th Street, a shopping center proposed for the southwest corner of 11th and Jefferson streets, and the rehabilitation of 34, three-story row houses on 11th and 12th streets.<sup>7</sup>

#### The 1957 Plan

For unknown reasons, the land advertised for sale in 1956 was not redeveloped according to the plan, and by May 1957 the plan for this portion of Southwest Temple had changed again. When the Redevelopment Authority presented a proposal for the redevelopment and relocation of residents for "Project 'A', Unit #10" to Philadelphia City Council the proposal called for the acquisition of 23 acres of land for residential as well as "semi-public and commercial uses."8 The proposal stated that "in residential areas, only "single family dwelling structures limited to 35 feet in height," with "maximum building coverage" of "50 per cent of the lot area." Further, each lot was to have a minimum of 1440 square feet and 16-foot width, a front yard of at least 8 feet in depth with a rear yard minimum of 9 feet. "All dwellings" were to "have off-street parking provided at a ratio of not less than one parking space for each dwelling unit." The proposal also stipulated that "no rear alleys" were to "be permitted."9 How and why this change occurred is not known. Former Congressman William H. Gray III attributes the idea of a community of single-family homes to developer Norman Denny, who then elicited the support of his father, the Reverend William Gray Jr. Rev. Gray had succeed his father in 1950 as pastor of the Bright Hope Baptist Church located at 12th and Oxford streets, a building that would be demolished to make way for the Yorktown development. Under his leadership, Bright Hope Baptist Church expanded and by 1957 had over 1,500 members. (In 1963, Bright Hope Baptist Church completed a new building at 1601 N. 12th Street on land provided by the RDA where it remains today.<sup>10</sup>)

Whatever the reasons for the change, the RDA's proposal was ultimately approved by City Council in February, 1958, and a year later it resulted in a City Ordinance that established the basis for the development of Yorktown as we know it today.

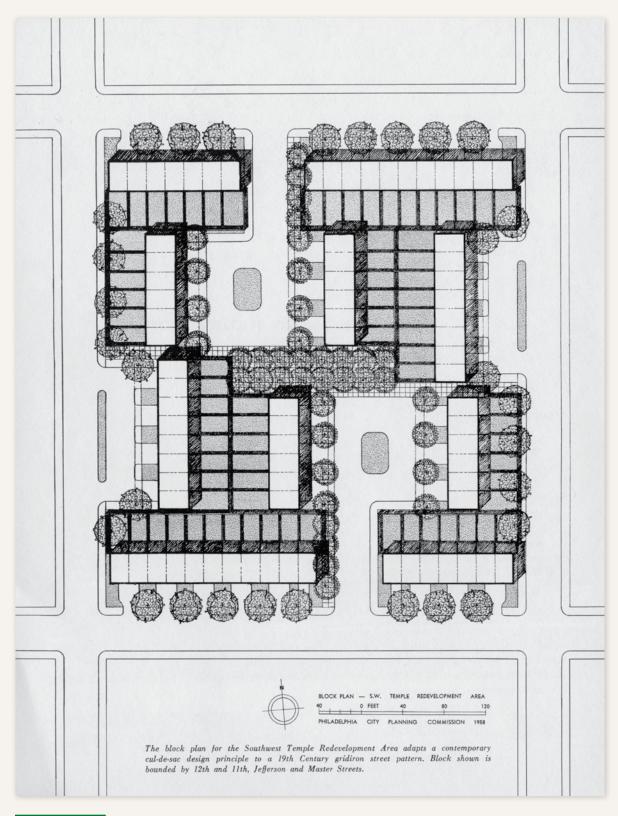


ILLUSTRATION 8 Yorktown Block Plan

#### Selection of the Developer

The implementation of the Yorktown redevelopment began in May 1959, when the Redevelopment Authority signed an agreement with the Denny Development Corporation for Project A, Unit No. 10.<sup>11</sup> The agreement included a draft plan for the project drawn by Philadelphia architects Hassinger and Schwam that illustrated the overall layout of units in the blocks that were to be developed and included a more developed plan for the block bordered by 11th, 12th, Master, and Jefferson streets, the first to be constructed.<sup>12</sup> (Illustration 8.). The plan for the block incorporates the cul-de-sac and front garage features previously illustrated in the Planning Commission's plans for the Northeast and incorporated by Denny in his Robindale subdivision.

#### Yorktown Begins

In September 1959, the RDA deeded the block bounded by 11th, 12th, Master, and Thompson streets to the Denny Development Corporation (DDC). The start of the project was marked by groundbreaking ceremonies attended by Philadelphia mayor Richardson Dilworth, who wielded a ceremonial shovel to turn the "first spade of earth." Newspaper coverage of the event records several important facts relating to the project, the most important of which was that to distinguish it from previous subsidized housing construction the Denny development was to have its own identity and name: Yorktown.

Construction proceeded at a steady pace: by May 1961 the 70 houses in this first block were sufficiently complete for grand opening festivities.<sup>13</sup> The new houses were offered for sale at \$11,990 with Federal Housing Administration-insured financing.

The construction materials in this new urban/suburban development were promoted as modern and "maintenance-free." Similarly, the developer noted that "the garden level design has full-length sliding doors leading from the ground-level recreation area to a rear patio and garden," and that a "stone wall, 5 feet high and 18 inches thick provides privacy and keeps young children from wandering into adjacent streets or plazas." The interior features included, at ground level, "a powder room and a utility room separated from the garage by a sliding bamboo curtain door"; on the first floor, a "living room, dining room and a kitchen with a disposer, eye-level oven and a counter-top range"; on the second floor, "bedrooms and a ceramic tile bath that may be any one of six color combinations" and "room-width closets in each bedroom." By September 1961, the properties in this first Yorktown block had all been sold.<sup>14</sup>

Press accounts contemporary with the first wave of construction never mention that this was growing as a largely African-American neighborhood, but slightly later articles reveal that Yorktown properties were being purchased virtually exclusively by middle-class African-American families, in no small part because of the efforts of Rev. Gray (Illustration 9.). In 1963, Rev. Gray worked with Norman Denny, who by then had founded and was president





ILLUSTRATION 9 Rev. Gray, Jr. (right) with Yorktown Neighbors

ILLUSTRATION 10 Clearance Area



ILLUSTRATION 11 Yorktown First Phase Development

of Lincoln National Bank, to create a mortgage program that made it easier for middleincome African Americans to purchase homes in Yorktown with limited down payments. Yorktown was thus a neighborhood of professionals and relatively well-to-do African-American Philadelphians from its inception.<sup>15</sup>

By March 1963, all of the area that was the subject of the initial redevelopment agreement was either in construction or had been fully developed and the entire redevelopment area had been cleared to make way for new construction (illustrations 10 and 11.).

Edmund N. Bacon, executive director of the City Planning Commission commented on Yorktown's progress in a report to Mayor Tate. "Denny has finally put landscaping and play equipment in three of the central squares. These are really remarkable and exciting. I have the feeling that this is a unique project and that nothing of its kind has ever been built. I think it is an achievement worthy of some attention."<sup>16</sup>

In 1964, as development progressed, Mayor James Tate officiated at the dedication of a commemorative plaque on April 23rd marking the opening of the "second subdivision of the project" and honoring the project "as a cooperative venture between private business, represented by the Denny Development Corp., and the city's Redevelopment Authority and the Federal Housing Administration."<sup>17</sup> In its coverage of the project in 1964, the press noted that the DDC was offering a series of models all with similarly "patriotic" names like that of the development itself (and the new streets in it such as "Betsy Ross Place"), including the Lexington, the Concord, the Lafayette, and the Adams.<sup>18</sup> By the beginning of June, 300 new Yorktown houses had been occupied, by the end of the year, an eighth block was about to be opened, and 480 houses had been sold.<sup>19</sup>

By the end of January 1965, the total number of occupied units reached 400, and it was predicted that, when fully occupied, the total number of residents would reach some 1,200 persons.<sup>20</sup> Construction continued steadily in subsequent years and the last Yorktown houses were completed in 1969.<sup>21</sup>

Yorktown was a major accomplishment of Philadelphia's urban renewal program, but it was not without negative side effects. Early urban renewal programs included no provision for residents who were dislocated by redevelopment. As was noted by a leader of the Ludlow community to the east of 9th Street, many people crowded into Ludlow creating new problems in that community. Others had the perception that Yorktown residents were snobs who were not fulfilling their responsibility to help lift up all of their African American neighbors in the area.<sup>22</sup> Despite these tensions, Yorktown has continued to thrive as a stable, cohesive neighborhood for decades, only recently encountering the effects of changing demographics and pressures from the expansion of Temple University on its north.<sup>23</sup>



ILLUSTRATION 12 Yorktown and Surrounding Area

## II. HISTORIC SIGNIFICANCE

The National Register of Historic Places establishes criteria by which to evaluate the historic significance of a neighborhood for listing on the National Register. Yorktown is significant under two of the criteria, Ethnic Heritage and Community Planning.

**Ethnic Heritage:** Yorktown was Philadelphia's first development to acquire—from its inception—and consciously retain its identity as a predominantly African-American, middleclass, home ownership neighborhood within the city, particularly in contrast to the public housing and subsidized rental units that otherwise generally characterized post-World War II redevelopment projects in Philadelphia. Yorktown is thus associated with, and is an embodiment of, the tempered victories in the period's struggle for Civil Rights. The often noted "suburban" character of Yorktown's design, coupled with the richly allusive names of the development itself and its components (which refer not only to the heroes of the federal era but also Revolutionary and Union Army Civil War victory) permitted unprecedented access for its residents to the American ideal of living in a new, suburban-style home, even if, ironically, it was within a segregated, urban community.

**Community Planning:** Yorktown is significant for its plan as a new, low-density, single-family suburban-style neighborhood within the dense urban fabric of Philadelphia. Contrary to the prevailing vision of post-war redevelopment housing projects as high-rise public and subsidized rental housing set in superblocks, Yorktown demonstrates the relationship between contemporary, suburban planning models carried out by "design-build" developers, and urban redevelopment conducted by licensed, trained architects and planners. As noted in contemporary documents, Yorktown marked a shift from the convention of high- and mid-rise development specifically as a response to the potential middle-class homeowner market found in the area.

The Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission has found Yorktown eligible for listing on the National Register of Historic Places based on these criteria.

### III. YORKTOWN TODAY

Yorktown today (Illustration 12.) is an entirely residential neighborhood that retains historic integrity in its original plan as represented by its distinctive street pattern, clusters of row houses, and individual row house design.

**Streets:** The major street pattern in Yorktown is a continuation of Philadelphia's street grid, with North 11th, 12th and 13th streets running continuously in a north-south direction and West Oxford, Jefferson, and Master streets, and to an extent Thompson Street, in an east-west direction. The common street grid is broken by Yorktown's secondary streets. Unlike most of Philadelphia where the secondary streets are alleys marking the rear of properties or the location of smaller homes, the secondary streets of Yorktown are suburban-style



**ILLUSTRATION 13** 

Typical cul-de-sac



**ILLUSTRATION 14** 

Curtis Place



ILLUSTRATION 15 North-South Treets Facades cul-de-sacs, (Illustration 13.) without through-traffic, generally oriented in a north-south direction, with the exception of Custis Place, which runs east-west. (Illustration 14.) The cul-de-sacs intentionally establish clusters of row houses in a "neighborhood" layout. Pedestrian walkways link the two north-south orientated cul-de-sacs within each block and six civic plazas are located throughout the development.

This neighborhood's distinctive street layout enables most of the residences to be oriented towards the quieter secondary streets, turning their backs on the north-south thoroughfares. (Illustration 15.) Those homes oriented towards North 11<sup>th</sup>, 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> streets are set back from the roadways by curbed islands, creating pull-off areas that allow for private parking for residences. (Illustration 16.)

**Row House Clusters:** Each cluster of row houses is comprised of mirrored pairs with a unique corner unit. Within some of the rows, there are minor setbacks (i.e., changes in plane) at the front and/or rear elevations. (Illustration 17.) The rear yards facing public streets were historically enclosed with a brick or stone wall approximately 4 feet in height along the sidewalk, the vast majority of which remain intact. Similar walls are located at the ends of rows of properties with facing rear yards, separating the yards from the public right-of-way. The majority of these walls are a single width of brick with intermittent piers. (Illustration 15.) The stone walls—located at properties in the southern end of the Yorktown neighborhood—are more substantial and include a peaked top. At the end unit of each row, the side elevation is constructed of brick at the upper floors, with concrete, often painted, at the lower level. (Illustration 13.)

**Individual Properties:** Each individual property consists of a 2- or 3-story, Colonial Revival style brick row house with a driveway and small yard at the front of the property, and a private rear yard. Most of the properties retain their basic original characteristics although there have been changes and modifications over the years to doors, windows and other features.

The 2-story row houses (Illustration 18.) generally each have a small front yard next to the driveway. A recessed area at the first floor contains the front entrance and a single, wide window opening; the second floor has two window openings. At the rear elevation, there is a double-width door opening leading to a concrete patio at grade, adjacent to a single window opening at the first floor and two window openings at the second floor.

There appear to be three variations of the 2-story row houses. The first has an asphaltshingled eave/pent roof running the full width of the building at the cornice line of both the front and rear elevations, with an additional pent roof on the front elevation running the full width of the building between the first and second floors. The second type has an asphaltshingled eave/pent roof running the full width of the building at the upper edge of the front elevation, with an asphalt-shingled mansard roof comprising the second floor of the rear











**ILLUSTRATION 18** 

Typical Two Story Rowhouses

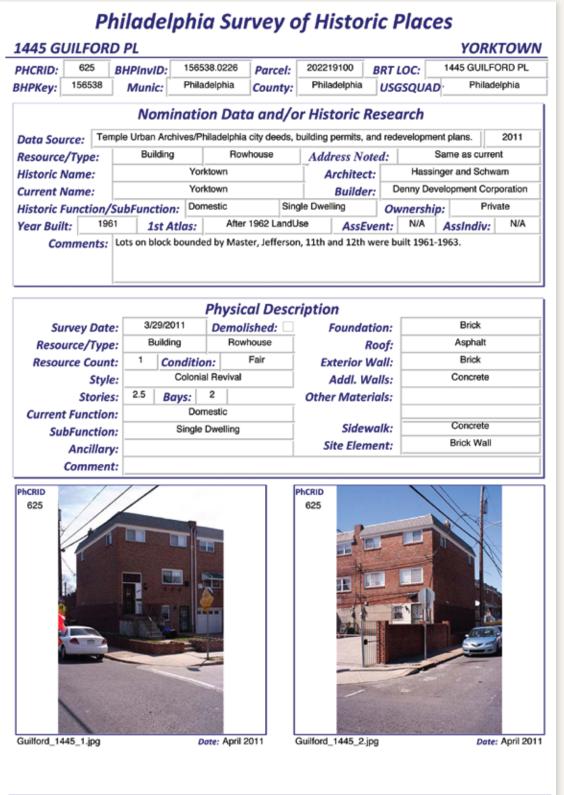
elevation. The third type has an asphalt-shingled mansard roof comprising the second floor of both the front and rear elevations.

The 3-story row houses (Illustration 14.) generally each have a concrete walkway adjacent to the driveway that is connected to the sidewalk by a set of concrete steps, adjacent to an atgrade or raised planter constructed of brick and concrete. The front entrance to each house is at the raised landing. There is a single window opening directly above the garage door and either a pair or single large window at the third floor. At the cornice line of the front elevation, there is an asphalt-shingled pent roof running nearly the full width of the building. The rear elevation is constructed of brick at the upper floors, with concrete at the lower level, in many cases painted. A double-width door opening leads to a concrete patio at grade. There are two window openings at each of the upper two stories. At the cornice line of the rear elevation, there is an asphalt-shingled pent roof running nearly the full width of each residence.

There are two variations of the 3-floor row houses. The front elevation of the first type has two short, wide window openings at the upper-floor level, with through-wall scuppers and downspouts located on the front elevation of the building. The front elevation of the second type has a single, wide window opening at the upper-floor level and an asphalt-shingled pent roof running nearly the full width of the building between the second and third-floor levels; the downspouts are located at the rear elevation of the building. (Plates 5 and 6) The rear elevations of both of these types are similar.

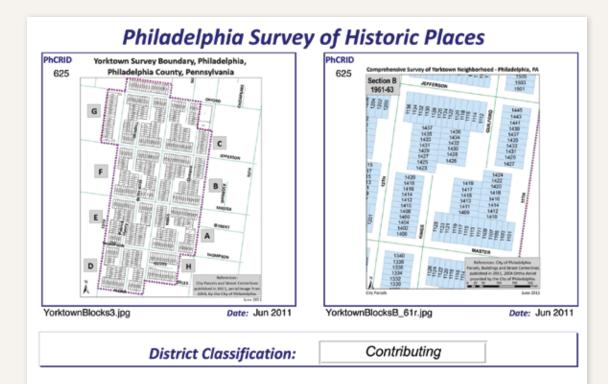
## IV. THE YORKTOWN SURVEY

The 2011 Yorktown Survey completed by the Preservation Design Partnership follows the guidelines of the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission for surveys to determine eligibility for the National Register of Historic Places. It includes an historical description of the development of Yorktown, on which this summary is based, as well as a description of the historic significance as related to the criteria for listing on the National Register. In addition, the survey contains an overall description of the neighborhood and the residential properties. Each residential property is documented in a Property Inventory Form like to one on the following page that contains basic historic information about the property as well as photographs of the property. The full 1100-page survey can be found at www. preserationalliance.com/publications/yorktownsurvey.



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#### Signficance Summary:

Yorktown is the first post-World War II redevelopment project awarded by the Redevelopment Authority of Philadelphia to a private developer. The Denny Corporation contracted Philadelphia architects Hassinger & Schwam to design Yorktown based on contemporary suburban subdivision models and standards. The development began in 1959 and was complete and fully occupied by 1968.

Yorktown is particularly notable as an African-American, middle-class, home ownership enclave in the context of the subsidized and public housing, the institutions, and the commercial areas that surround it in the Southwest Temple redevelopment area.

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### ENDNOTES

- <sup>1</sup> Philadelphia City Planning Commission (hereafter PCPC), "Southwest Temple Redevelopment Area Plan, September 1950" (1950), p. ii, available at http://sceti.library.upenn.edu/pages/index.cfm?so\_id=4331&pageposition=1&level=3, accessed 15 April 2011.
- <sup>2</sup> PCPC, "Southwest Temple Redevelopment Area Plan," pp. 5, 7.
- <sup>3</sup> "Authority Drops Apartment Plan," *Philadelphia Bulletin*, 17 May 1952.
- <sup>4</sup> "Cleared Land in Temple Area Offered to Private Builders," Philadelphia Bulletin 4 December 1953.
- <sup>5</sup> This demographic profile of this area of the city had existed since at least the Great Depression, as is documented by J. M. Brewer's 1934 map of the city, which classified the ethnic and economic level of the populations of its different regions for the real estate market. The Southwest Temple area's residents were identified as being occupied by the lowest economic classes of his system and predominantly "colored." The map is available at http://www.philageohistory.org/rdic-images/ view-image.cfm/JMB1934.Phila.oo2.SouthSection, accessed 17 April 2011.
- <sup>6</sup> "State Planning Board Department of Commerce Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, the Pennsylvania Housing and Redevelopment Program, Official Proposal Inviting Bids for Subsidized Housing, State-Subsidized Housing Project No. 36, Southwest Temple Redevelopment Area Project 'A' Unit No. 1-a," *Philadelphia Bulletin* 13 December 1953; "Authority Plans 229 Home Units, Asks City to Condemn 3 N. Phila. Blocks," Philadelphia Bulletin 5 August 1954.
- <sup>7</sup> RDA, "Land for Sale, Southwest Temple Redevelopment Area Project A," 1956.
- <sup>8</sup> Michael von Moschzisker cover letter, RDA, "Redevelopment Proposal: Southwest Temple Area Project 'A', Unit #10," May 1957.
- <sup>9</sup> RDA, "Redevelopment Proposal: Southwest Temple Area Project 'A', Unit #10," pp. 11-12.
- <sup>10</sup> Philadelphia Deed Book CAB 1941, p. 140 ff., 11 July 1962.
- <sup>11</sup> The developer of the subsidized housing in Project A, S. A. Berger of the Southwest Temple Corporation, accused the RDA of reneging on their agreement to give the for-sale portion given to Denny, see "Redevelopers Accused of Reneging on Contract," *Philadelphia Bulletin*, 29 January 1959.
- <sup>12</sup> The agreement is recorded in Philadelphia Deed Book CAB 1065, p. 55 ff. Denny paid a fee of \$10,000 for the project.
- <sup>13</sup> Re. the gas service, see DDC to United Gas Improvement Company, Philadelphia Deed Book CAB 1289, p. 199, 15 January 1960; "Homes in North Philadelphia to Open at Renewal Site" *Philadelphia Bulletin* 6 May 1961.
- <sup>14</sup> "69 Homes Already Sold in Redevelopment Area," Philadelphia Bulletin 16 September 1961.
- <sup>15</sup> Press coverage of Yorktown does not explicitly mention the African-American demographic of Yorktown until after development was completed, perhaps (ironically) in part because of the legal restriction imposed by the RDA agreements against racial and ethnic discrimination mandated by law and any stigma that might have been attached to reverse discrimination. The new community was characterized for the first time as "mostly black" in 1968 ("City's Rebuilding Shown in Dramatic Air Views," Philadelphia Bulletin 14 April 1968).
- <sup>16</sup> Confidential Report by Edmund Bacon to Mayor Tate, 8/15/1963, A-2918, City Planning Commission Files, Mr. Bacon's Correspondence, Philadelphia City Archives, courtesy Greg Heller.
- <sup>17</sup> "Tate to Officiate at Yorktown Homes," *Philadelphia Bulletin*, 23 April 1964.
- <sup>18</sup> James Smart, "Sample Homes within Sight of City Hall," *Philadelphia Bulletin*, 1 June 1964.
- <sup>19</sup> "Yorktown Development to Open 8<sup>th</sup> Section," *Philadelphia Bulletin*, 14 November1964.
- <sup>20</sup> "Eighth Section of Homes is Selling at Yorktown," Philadelphia Bulletin, 30 January 1965.
- <sup>21</sup> "Mortgages Secured for Yorktown," *Philadelphia Bulletin* 19 February 1967; Judson Brown, "Yorktown, City's Newest Community, Takes Root in N. Phila.," *Sunday Bulletin*, Section 1, p. 3, 14 December 1969.
- <sup>22</sup> Brown, "Yorktown, City's Newest Community."
- <sup>23</sup> See video available from the Yorktown Community Center, posted to http://yorktowncommunity.org/ YorktownisaPreciousPlace.htm, accessed 15 April 2011.

#### PHOTO CREDITS

Illustration 1-3, 5, 8: Philadelphia City Planning Commission

Illustration 4: Alexis Denny Kaufmann

Illustration 6-7: Louis I. Kahn Collection, The University of Pennsylvania and the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission

Illustration 9-11: Temple University Libraries, Urban Archives, Philadelphia PA

Illustration 12-17: Dominique Hawkins and John Evans, Presevation Design Partnership, LLC, Philadelphia, PA



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