

Works Cited

Primary Sources

An American City: Four Years Progress; St. Louis 1949-1953. N.p.: n.p., n.d. *University of Missouri Digital Library*. Web. 14 Jan. 2012. This book explains what Mayor Darst did in office between 1949 and 1953. I found it useful because it explains the goals of Civic Progress, among many other things.

“Big Housing Plan a Flop in St. Louis.” *Milwaukee Journal* 2 Nov. 1970: n. pag. Print. This article is an important primary source that states some of the reasons that Pruitt-Igoe deteriorated so quickly and reveals some of the conditions there. An interesting fact it mentions is that even with an acute housing shortage at the time, Pruitt-Igoe still lost population.

Bloom, Nicholas Dagen. *Public Housing That Worked*. Philadelphia: U of Pennsylvania P, 1969. Print. This book showed that not all public housing fails and showed some of the reasons that Pruitt-Igoe and similar housing projects failed. It mentioned that the maintenance was horrible, and that, in some projects, repairmen even sabotaged their own work so that they would get called again to fix it.

“Cities: To the Brink and Back.” *TIME*. TIME Inc., 27 July 1964. Web. 16 Oct. 2011. This article, written in 1964, shows how St. Louis had decayed and recovered between WWI and the time that this article was written. It mentions Civic Progress and urban renewal. It also showed how large St. Louis was before World War I.

“Demolition Derby.” *Columbian Missourian* 4 June 1971: 4. Print. This article about the demolition of Pruitt-Igoe has some great quotes on both the condition of Pruitt-Igoe and

on blaming the tenants and the architecture. I created a link to a digital copy of it on my “blaming the tenants” page.

Discuss low-cost housing problems. 1937. Lib. of Congress. *Library of Congress.* Web. 15 Jan.

2012. This picture shows John H. Fahey, Chairman of the Federal Home Loan Bank Board, and Harold Ickes, Secretary of Interior, discussing the Housing Act of 1937. I used this photograph on my page about the Housing Act of 1937.

“Elevator Men Demand Guards in Housing Work.” *The Columbian Missourian* 30 Aug. 1969: n. pag. *Missouri Digital Heritage.* Web. 26 Dec. 2011. This article says that the elevator repairmen for public housing elevators were refusing to fix elevators without guards there to protect them. It was a great source because it shows one of the many reasons that the maintenance was so bad- the crime. It also showed what condition Pruitt-Igoe was in, stating that 28 of the 34 elevators in the project were out of order.

“Environment: The Tragedy of Pruitt-Igoe.” *TIME* 27 Dec. 1971: n. pag. Print. This article has great quotes related to blaming the tenants, and shows how the budget cuts for the architecture helped Pruitt-Igoe’s deterioration. I used some of those quotes on my website.

“Environment: Housing without Fear.” *TIME Magazine* 27 Nov. 1972: 69-70. Print. This article has great quotes related to blaming the tenants, and shows how the budget cuts for the architecture helped Pruitt-Igoe’s deterioration. I used some of those quotes on my website.

Guggenheim, Charles, prod. *A Bicentennial Tribute: St. Louis 1764-1964.* KETC, St. Louis, MO. 6 Nov. 2010. Web. This video has several great pictures of St. Louis. It also has a clip of urban renewal, part of which I used on my web site.

Hartnett, Ken. "Pruitt-Igoe Is a Symbol of Crisis in Public Housing." *The Robesonian* 27 Apr.

1970: 12. Print. The article exposes the horrible conditions in Pruitt-Igoe and mentions that, at the time, Pruitt-Igoe was about to get an "emergency operation" to try to save the project. The article also had several great quotes. I put a link to this article on my "deteriorating conditions" page.

Housing Act Peps Building. 1935. *Internet Archive*. Web. 14 Jan. 2012. <U.S. Federal Housing Administration>. This 1935 news flash shows how building construction dwindled before and during the Great Depression, how a building boom helped create jobs, and how a national housing act helped people to buy homes. I used part of this video on my "Public Housing Acts" page.

"Illustrations." *Defensible Space*. N.p., 22 Jan. 2009. Web. 16 Oct. 2011. This website contained many of the extraordinary pictures that were in the book *Defensible Space*. These pictures helped me understand the conditions in Pruitt-Igoe and compare what the architects had planned to what really happened. I put several of these pictures on my website.

Jackson, Davis S, and Ellie McGrath. "St. Louis Sings the Blues." *TIME* 4 May 1981: n. pag. Print. This article shows St. Louis's economic deterioration and has a nice quote on the "Great Divorce." It gives percentages on population change, unemployment rate, and other data that could possibly affect the economy. Additionally, the article places St. Louis in historical context.

KMOX. St. Louis, MO, 1968. Television. This news report showed the dreadful conditions in Pruitt-Igoe. It was a useful primary source, part of which I used on my deteriorating conditions page.

Ladner, Joyce A. *Tomorrow's Tomorrow: The Black Woman*. N.p.: n.p., 1971. Print. This book contained tons of interviews with Pruitt-Igoe residents and people in the surrounding area. It gives the tenants of Pruitt-Igoe a voice and shows just what it was like to live in Pruitt-Igoe.

LIFE Magazine 5 May 1972: 6-7. Print. This rather short article (the majority of it is pictures) has some great quotes on the demolition of Pruitt-Igoe.

Moving Day. N.d. *pruitt-igoe.com*. Web. 16 Jan. 2012. This picture shows a family dressed up, ready to move into the newly-opened Pruitt-Igoe. I put it on my "Reasons for Failure" page.

New York City Housing Authority. *Eliminate Crime In Slums Through Public Housing*.

Advertisement. This poster supports the modernist theory and advertises public housing. I used it as a picture in my timeline.

New York City Housing Authority. *Planned Housing Fights Disease*. 1936. Advertisement. This poster advocates public housing and reflects part of the nation's attitude towards public housing. Even though the advertisement was created before Pruitt-Igoe, I still found this source useful.

"Plan Approved to Raze Pruitt-Igoe." *Columbia Missourian* 25 Aug. 1973: 2. Print. This article, announcing that Pruitt-Igoe will be demolished, gives some reasons on why the housing project failed. It also shows just how much Pruitt-Igoe had been draining money from St. Louis. It has several great quotes of Pruitt-Igoe's demise.

President Truman Signing the Housing Act of 1949. 1949. *Norfolk Redevelopment & Housing Authority*. Web. 19 Feb. 2012. This is an excellent photograph of President Truman signing the Housing Act of 1949. I used it on my Housing Acts page.

Rainwater, Lee. *Behind Ghetto Walls*. Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1970. Print. This book, a study headed by Lee Rainwater, contains interviews with Pruitt-Igoe tenants conducted while they were living in the housing project. It gives the tenants a voice and shows their opinions of Pruitt-Igoe.

“Rent Strike Faces ‘Watts’ of St. Louis.” *Tuscaloosa News* 15 Feb. 1967: 30. Print. This small but useful article about the rent strike shows that the Housing Authority could not fulfill the maintenance requirements for Pruitt-Igoe and other housing projects because it did not have enough money. It also explains that the maintenance money had to come from the tenant’s rents.

Riis, Jacob. *Dens of Death*. N.d. *American Studies at the University of Virginia*. Web. 18 Feb. 2012. This photograph shows the horrible living conditions of people residing in tenements and slums. This photograph demonstrates the need for decent, affordable housing.

“Slum Surgery in St. Louis.” *Architectural Forum* 94.4 (1951): 128-136. Print. This article, written before Pruitt-Igoe even opened, praises the project’s design, and explains that Pruitt-Igoe was already affecting the way that other housing projects were to be built. It helped me understand how Pruitt-Igoe was not only a failure, but also a revolution, in public housing.

Stowers, Julius. "Julius Stowers Oral History." Interview by Jeremy Kaplan-Lyman. American Culture Studies Program. Web. 16 Jan. 2012. This interview had several great quotes. I used some of them on my web site.

Truman, Harry S. Statement by the President Upon Signing the Housing Act of 1949. 15 July 1949. *Harry S. Truman Library and Museum*. Web. 21 Sept. 2011. This statement gave

me a better idea of what the Public Housing Act of 1949 was supposed to do. It also gave me more background information.

Western Historical Manuscript Collection. Western Historical Manuscript Collection, n.d. Web. 20 Sept. 2011. This database had breathtaking pictures of Pruitt-Igoe, many of which I used on my website. The pictures included ones of Moving Day, the “playground”, inside the apartments, and one of what Pruitt-Igoe was planned to look like.

“Who Killed Pruitt-Igoe?” *The Columbian Missourian* 9 Oct. 1969: n. pag. Print. This article was a great primary resource that showed just how bad Pruitt-Igoe was by 1969. It also had some great quotes. I used it on my “Deteriorating Conditions” page.

Wilson, Andrew B. “Demolition Marks Ultimate Failure of Pruitt-Igoe Project.” *The Washington Post* 27 Aug. 1973: A2+. Print. This article, written when permission was received to tear down Pruitt-Igoe, explained some of the reasons of Pruitt-Igoe’s failure. On my website, I used some of the quotes from the article that explained the faults in the design, along with one on the first demolition.

Secondary Sources

Allen, Michael R. “Cochran Gardens Replacement Complete.” *Preservation Research Office*. Preservation Research Office, 11 Sept. 2009. Web. 2 Apr. 2012. This website gives some information on Cochran Gardens, a public housing project built in St. Louis two years before Pruitt-Igoe. It has a great picture of Cochran Gardens, the first St. Louis public housing project built under the Housing Act of 1949.

Bristol, Katharine G. “Beyond the Pruitt-Igoe Myth: The Development of American High-Rise Public Housing, 1850-1970.” Diss. University of California, Berkeley, 1991. Print. This

dissertation helped me to get a much better understanding of the Pruitt-Igoe "myth," and how the architecture was blamed for the failure. It also was one of the main sources that helped me focus on the reaction part of Pruitt-Igoe.

Bristol, Katharine G. "The Pruitt-Igoe Myth." *Journal of Architectural Education* 44.3: n. pag. *JSTOR*. Web. 24 Oct. 2011. This article showed that Pruitt-Igoe's failure was caused by much more than just the architecture. Maintenance, failed attempts at integration, budget cuts, and other limitations helped doom the project. The article also shows that the designers didn't want to build Pruitt-Igoe the way they did; they were severely limited by costs.

The City of St. Louis, Missouri. City of St. Louis, n.d. Web. 31 Mar. 2012. This website had some detailed information on the "Great Divorce," urban renewal, interstate highways, St. Louis during WWII, and other topic that help place Pruitt-Igoe in its historical context. The website was written by the city of St. Louis.

Comerio, Mary C. "Pruitt-Igoe and Other Stories." *Journal of Architectural Education* 34: n. pag. *JSTOR*. Web. 16 Jan. 2012. This journal article gives a history of Pruitt-Igoe and suggests some reasons for its failure. It has some great quotes, several of which I used on my web site.

Crowley, Walt. "Yamasaki, Minoru (1912-1986), Seattle-born Architect of New York's World Trade Center." *HistoryLink*. N.p., 3 Mar. 2003. Web. 31 Mar. 2012. This article gives some information about Minoru Yamasaki, Pruitt-Igoe's leading architect. It shows that many of Yamasaki's buildings were successful, and helps take blame off of the architects. It also has a great picture of Yamasaki.

Fishman, Robert. "Rethinking Public Housing." *Places* (2004): 26-33. *Design Observer*. Web. 3 Apr. 2012. This article mentions that the housing crisis around the time of Pruitt-Igoe was an income crisis, not a housing crisis. It shows how policy flaws made it hard for some housing authorities to maintain the project, and had a few great quotes.

Fishman, Robert L. Telephone interview. 26 Mar. 2012. This interview with Professor Fishman gave me some valuable information on urban renewal, St. Louis transportation in the 1950s and 1960s, and Pruitt-Igoe itself. From my interview, I learned that the Welfare restriction about able-bodied men living in the house applied to everybody who was on Welfare, not just residents of Pruitt-Igoe. Professor Fishman is a professor of architecture and urban planning, and teaches urban design, architecture, and urban planning at Taubman College of Architecture.

Friedman, Lawrence M. "Public Housing and the Poor." Print. Rpt. in *Housing Urban America*. Ed. Jon Pynoos. Hawthorne: Aldine, 1980. 473-84. Print. This article had great background information on the Housing Act of 1937 and public housing. It also had many great quotes, some of which I added to my website.

Gordon, Colin. "White Flight." Map. *Mapping Decline*. University of Iowa. Web. 1 Apr. 2012. This map shows white flight and black influx over time. Viewing it helped me understand how white flight could affect St. Louis in such a drastic way. I made a slideshow out of it and put it on my "St. Louis" page.

Heathcott, Joseph. "The City Quietly Remade: National Programs and Local Agendas in the Movement to Clear the Slums, 1942-1952." *Journal of Urban History*: n. pag. *Journal of Urban History*. Web. 30 Dec. 2011. This article detailed the public housing efforts in St. Louis before Pruitt-Igoe and their effect on St. Louis. It describes the efforts to clear the

slums, as well as the opposition. It clearly showed that public housing was only a small part of the urban renewal plan for St. Louis. It had lots of great quotes, several of which I used on my web site.

- - -. E-mail interview. 25 Feb. 2012. In my e-mail interview with Professor Heathcott, I asked him several questions regarding the labor unions in St. Louis, specifics on factors that led to Pruitt-Igoe's demise, the effects on public housing caused by the implosion of Pruitt-Igoe, and more. This interview was extremely important because it gave me loads of information that I have not yet found anywhere else. I used many quotes from this interview on my web site.

Heathcott, Joseph, and Malre Agnes Murphy. "Corridors of Flight, Zones of Renewal: Industry, Planning, and Policy in the Making of Metropolitan St. Louis, 1940-1980." *Journal of Urban History* 31: n. pag. *Journal of Urban History*. Web. 30 Dec. 2011. This article explains civic progress, the influence of different mayors, and how the city used the funds from the Housing Act of 1949. It also has some great quotes and charts.

Ihnen, Alex. "The Pruitt-Igoe Myth: An Urban History." *Next STL*. N.p., 19 Jan. 2011. Web. 16 Jan. 2012. This online news article had several awesome pictures of Pruitt-Igoe, including one of the architects and one of Pruitt-Igoe under construction. I used both of those pictures on my website.

Lovell, Cheryl. E-mail interview. 30 Mar. 2012. From my interview with Ms. Lovell, I learned a lot about what the St. Louis Housing Authority is like now. I learned about how the operation of the SLHA has improved and changed since the time of Pruitt-Igoe. Ms. Lovell is the executive director of the SLHA, and has been involved in public housing for about 17 years.

McCarrol, Thomas, and Susan Tifft. "Walls That Tumbled Down." *TIME* 13 Feb. 1984: n. pag. Print. This newspaper article has a couple of great quotes on Pruitt-Igoe and gives the condition of other housing projects. It shows that maintenance was a problem not only in Pruitt-Igoe, but also in other places. It explains that housing projects around the nation are deteriorating and gives a few reasons why.

Meehan, Eugene. *The Quality of Federal Policymaking*. Columbia: UP of Missouri, 1979. Print. This book explains how federal, state, and local policy affected Pruitt-Igoe and other St. Louis public housing projects. It had several great quotes on Pruitt-Igoe, the rent strike, federal policy, and other topics. It helped me better understand how the factors that led to Pruitt-Igoe's deterioration were intertwined, making them harder to solve.

Meehan, Eugene J. *Public Housing Policy: Convention Versus Reality*. New Brunswick: Center for Urban Policy Research, 1975. Print. This book had information on federal policy and St. Louis Housing Authority. It included data on the labor unions, construction costs, rental income, and occupancy rates. I used several quotes and a table from it on my web site.

Mendelson, Robert E., and Michael A. Quinn. "Residential Patterns in a Midwestern City: The St. Louis Experience." *Metropolitan Midwest: Policy Problems and Prospects for Change*. Comp. Barry Checkoway and Carl V. Patton. Print. This book went into detail on the population loss, economy decline, and real estate value drop in St. Louis. It mentioned that segregation and racism had a major effect on St. Louis. It also shows that vandalism, crime, and decay were common throughout the city, not just in Pruitt-Igoe.

Montgomery, Roger. "Pruitt-Igoe: Policy Failure or Societal Symptom." Print. *The Metropolitan Midwest: Policy Problems and Prospects for Change*. By Barry Checkoway and Carl V.

Patton. Urbana: U. of Illinois, 1985. 229-43. This article showed how policy flaws and society effected Pruitt-Igoe. It also had a table on vacancy rates and a timeline, the latter of which I quoted from for my timeline.

O'Neil, Tim. "A Look Back: Pruitt and Igoe Started Strong, but in the End Failed." *STL today*.

STL today, 25 July 2010. Web. 18 Sept. 2011. This article looked back at Pruitt-Igoe and gave a summary of the housing project's history. It also had a great picture of the opening day of Pruitt-Igoe. I read the article to get a better understanding of Pruitt-Igoe.

"Pruitt-Igoe." *Flickrriver*. Flickrriver, n.d. Web. 5 Jan. 2012. This web page, published by the people who created "The Pruitt-Igoe Myth: an Urban History" (the documentary). The web page had many stunning pictures of Pruitt-Igoe, a few of which I used on my web site.

The Pruitt-Igoe Myth. Dir. Freidrichs Chad. Unicorn Stencil, 2011. DVD. The Pruitt-Igoe Myth was a moving documentary that showed that "people lived here" in Pruitt-Igoe, and that it wasn't just a building. The documentary also had amazing quotes and images. I managed to write down some of those great quotes. The documentary also gave me a better understanding of my topic.

The Pruitt-Igoe Myth: a Documentary. N.p., n.d. Web. 22 July 2011. This website promoted The Pruitt-Igoe Myth documentary, and had several great video clips of Pruitt-Igoe, including the movie trailer for the documentary. I used parts of the movie trailer on my website.

Pruitt-Igoe Sequence - "Trouble in Utopia." *YouTube*. N.p., n.d. Web. 3 Jan. 2012. This film had some great quotes on the "death of the Modern movement" and blaming the tenants for the failure of Pruitt-Igoe. It also had a great video of the demolition.

Roth, Eddie, comp. *The Ghosts of Pruitt-Igoe*. Slideshow. This source had tons of great pictures, many of which I used on my website. During the slideshow, HUD Secretary Shaun Donovan reflects on Pruitt-Igoe. The slideshow helped me understand Pruitt-Igoe better.

Ramist, Andrew. "Bartholomew's City Plan of 1947." *Architectural Ruminations*. N.p., n.d. Web. 14 Jan. 2012. This web page had several maps and plans of St. Louis by Harland Bartholomew. On my website, I uploaded one showing the obsolete and blighted areas of St. Louis.

"The Relationship Between People & Government." *The City of St. Louis Missouri*. City of St. Louis, n.d. Web. 2 Apr. 2012. <<http://stlouis-mo.gov/government/departments/planning/cultural-resources/preservation-plan/Part-I-People-and-Government.cfm>>. This web site contains some interesting information on the events leading up to the Great Divorce, and has a great quote on the Great Divorce. It also helped me place the Great Divorce in its historical context.

Rybczynski, Witold. "Bauhaus Blunders: Architecture and Public Housing." *The Washington Post*. The Washington Post, 28 Oct. 1993. Web. 16 Oct. 2011. This article, which is actually about Cabrini-Green, nevertheless gave me an idea on how Pruitt-Igoe and Cabrini-Green are similar and different. It also places public housing in a national perspective.

Saitti, Dean. "Has Pruitt-Igoe Been Demythologized?" *Intercultural Urbanism*. N.p., 15 Nov. 2011. Web. 14 Jan. 2012. This article had some interesting points and great quotes. It clarifies that people named the high-rise design as the only reason the Pruitt-Igoe failed. The article mentions that, even though the high-rise did have a negative effect on Pruitt-

Igoe, there were also many other factors that caused Pruitt-Igoe to fail, and that the high-rise WASN'T the fatal flaw.

Sorkin, Michael D. "Thomas P. Costello dies; tried to save, then blew up Pruitt-Igoe." *STL Today*. STL Today, 11 Aug. 2010. Web. 16 Oct. 2011. This article, about the former head of the St. Louis Housing Authority, includes information about Pruitt-Igoe and the attempt to save the housing project. I found the article useful because it contained information on Pruitt-Igoe's deterioration and demise.

Sowell, Jody. "Re: National History Fair." Message to the author. 2 Apr. 2012. E-mail. This E-mail was an important source. It gave the tenants a voice and helped show that despite how bad Pruitt-Igoe was, and how many of the tenants still loved the project. The E-mail helps place Pruitt-Igoe in a historical context and mentions that Pruitt-Igoe shows not just a housing project that failed, but also "a changing urban America". Jody Sowell is a public historian at the Missouri History Museum.

St. Louis History in Black and White. St. Louis Public Radio. KWMU, St. Louis, 2 Sept. 2011. *St. Louis Public Radio*. Web. 15 Jan. 2012. This radio talk show has a lot of great quotes on policy flaws, maintenance, crime, and other contributions to Pruitt-Igoe's failure. I put several of these quotes on my web pages.

Stoloff, J. A. "A Brief History of Public Housing." *ReEngange, Inc*. N.p., n.d. Web. 23 Dec. 2011. This article gave lots of information on why Pruitt-Igoe and other similar public housing projects failed. It listed four main reasons- target population (who the public housing was supposed to help), site selection (of the housing projects), financing, and design. It also suggested that the cause of the failure of Pruitt-Igoe was more financial,

than social; that the main problem wasn't the tenants or the architecture, but the lack of funding.

"Timeline: Public Housing." *New York Times*. New York Times Co., 1998. Web. 16 Oct. 2011.

This timeline helped me get the "big picture" of public housing, something that is important if you're looking at the failure of one of the most famous projects. Even though it had little on Pruitt-Igoe, it was still an important source.

Vale, Lawrence J. *From the Puritans to the Projects: Public Housing and Public Neighbors*.

Harvard University Press: n.p., 2000. Print. This book helped me understand the difference between the deserving and undeserving poor and what a public neighbor is. It also discussed the question of "who should we help?" when it comes to giving aid to the poor.

Von Hoffman, Alexander. "A Study in Contradictions: The Origins and Legacy of the Housing Act of 1949." *KnowledgePlex*. N.p., n.d. Web. 15 Jan. 2012. This article explains the history of the Housing Act of 1949. It had several great quotes, a few of which I used on my web page.

-- -. *Why They Built Pruitt-Igoe*. N.p.: n.p., 1995. Print. I was able to find an excerpt of this paper on the Internet. It had some interesting information on Pruitt-Igoe, St. Louis's population, and how Mayor Darst's election affected St. Louis's public housing. It also had some great quotes.

"Welcome." *Ridgewood - a S. Louis Mid Century Modern Neighborhood*. N.p., 14 Nov. 2008.

Web. 19 Feb. 2012. This website, dedicated to preserving the mid-century modern housing in the St. Louis area, had several great pictures of houses in the suburbs of St. Louis. I used one photograph on my "St. Louis" page.