

THE WELLINGTON-HARRINGTON PROJECT:  
A CASE STUDY OF PLANNING, PARTICIPATION, AND POLITICS

by

T'ING CHUNG PEI

A.B., Harvard University

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Signature of Author.....

Department of City and Regional Planning,

May 19, 1967

Certified by.....

*[Handwritten Signature]* Thesis Supervisor

Accepted by.....

Head, Department of City and Regional Planning

## ABSTRACT

Title: "The Wellington-Harrington Project: A Case Study of Planning, Participation, and Politics"

Author: T'ing Chung Pei

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This paper presents the history of the Wellington-Harrington Project with particular attention to three aspects of the case, namely the plan and the planning process, the form and role of citizen participation, and the political undercurrents which were present.

This study yields the following principle conclusions:

- 1.) Citizen participation may necessitate a substantial deviation from so-called "good planning principles."
- 2.) A citizen group must receive an education in the urban renewal process sufficient to permit adequate comprehension of and ability to deal with the complex issues which are entailed.
- 3.) The services of a trained community organizer and a trained planner on behalf of the citizens group are especially valuable, provided these individuals are permitted to act above all in the interests of the citizens.
- 4.) Participation need not be broadly based, but may be limited to the community elite, if this elite is closely identified with the rest of the community, and especially if it comprises the main opinion makers and opinion holders. In a less homogeneous community, however, this is less likely to succeed.
- 5.) Public relations must be a major concern of a Local Public Agency, and attempts to explain program shortcomings on the basis of limitations in "tools" seems to be fruitful when such reasons apply.
- 6.) The introduction of citizen participation at the neighborhood level as a requirement of the process introduces at the same time the requirement that any program developed be politically feasible within the constraints imposed by that neighborhood. The planner must to a certain extent become a politician. His plan must "sell."
- 7.) Disadvantages deriving from abandonment of certain "good planning principles" are balanced by advantages accruing from the creation of a new political force representing administrative decentralization in an era of ever-bigger government.
- 8.) The integration of the local community into a hierarchical structure from local to municipal to metropolitan,

regional, state, and ultimately to national levels requires the improvement of a coordinating apparatus which will rationalize policies in the context of the whole, but not at the expense of the local unit.

Thesis Supervisor: Lisa Redfield Peattie  
Title: Lecturer in City and Regional Planning

## PREFACE

This paper represents the culmination of two years of intensive and rewarding academic endeavor, and I am grateful for the outstanding instruction which I have received. The flow of ideas, which has taken place during this period both in the classroom and informally, is in a sense the factor which above all has made this possible, and I should like to acknowledge the roles played by my teachers and my fellow students. I am deeply appreciative of the assistance I have received from participants in the Wellington-Harrington project, including those members of the Citizens Committee who generously devoted so much time to talking with me, from staff members of the Cambridge Planning Board, who supplied me with much information and materials, and especially from Mr. Morris Kritzman, who made available to me all his painstakingly assembled notes. My greatest debt goes to my thesis supervisor, Mrs. Lisa Peattie, who patiently dispensed welcome advice and good cheer during even the most depressing periods in the creation of this work, when the end seemed hopelessly out of sight. Although all these individuals, and others, are in large measure responsible for such virtues as this paper possesses, I alone am accountable for its contents and conclusions, and of course, for its faults.

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## I. INTRODUCTION

This thesis developed into something quite different from what I had intended originally, and it is extremely relevant to know why in order to understand more fully the form it has taken subsequently.

Initially, I had planned to prepare a paper analyzing "successful" cases of citizen participation in the urban renewal process in lower class environments. My hope was to prove certain things about the way the participation "game"<sup>1</sup> must be played in order to achieve "success." I felt that investigation would confirm that urban renewal is not an immediately comprehensible concept to the average citizen, and certainly not to a potential lower class participant. I believed success in achieving "meaningful"<sup>2</sup> participation would prove to depend in part on the effectiveness of the educational experience by which the participants received the necessary competence to deal with complex issues. I

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<sup>1</sup>The use of the word "game" seems highly appropriate. The meaning I have in mind is akin to that used by Langley C. Keyes in his excellent work *The Rehabilitation Game: A Study in the Diversity of Neighborhood*, (unpublished doctoral dissertation prepared for the Department of City and Regional Planning, Graduate School of Architecture and Planning, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, January 9, 1967).

<sup>2</sup>This can probably be defined only in reference to cases after they have occurred, since what is "meaningful" for one case may be irrelevant for another.

thought I could demonstrate that success required the dedication of more time in the first stage of the project for citizen education than it is customary to allot in the ordinary renewal project.

My plan was to find cases where detailed information was available on the operations of a participant organization. I theorized that I would find an initial individual orientation to problems being confronted. Thus, participants would begin with concern about how urban renewal would affect them personally, or perhaps how it would affect a particular group of which they were a part. Only later would they begin to view issues as matters affecting others as well. I do not think that the ordinary citizen is likely to take a community-oriented view immediately when it comes to something so individually directed as urban renewal. I was even more convinced this would prove true in lower class communities. Therefore, I proposed to study the manner in which individual participants structured the issues with which they were confronted. The transition I expected to find from egocentric to community-oriented outlooks would bear a direct relation to the form of education the citizens received and to the time allotted for this process.

I still believe this hypothesis is correct, since my research has not given me grounds to think differently. Perhaps there is an idea here for subsequent work. Perhaps it is true that the time scale of the urban renewal process

will have to be altered if meaningful citizen participation is truly a valued objective (by no means a foregone conclusion). However, my work, as it developed, did not lend itself toward a conclusive resolution of these questions.

The search for a case with detailed primary source material proved extremely difficult. While I knew of several projects where citizen participation was considered successful at the neighborhood level, none of these had been documented adequately. Some of these were fairly well advanced, others only beginning. I also knew of some projects about to begin, and it appeared useful to see how each proposed to meet this problem. Again, however, the difficulty in obtaining first-hand information interposed itself.

Ultimately, I was directed to the Wellington-Harrington case. Detailed records existed of each of the meetings of the Citizens Committee, in the form of minutes, typed transcripts, and tape recordings of the proceedings. In addition, a substantial quantity of other material had been assembled by Mr. Morris Kritzman, of the Cambridge Redevelopment Authority staff, who served as Secretary-Coordinator to the Committee. Finally, the project was located virtually at the back door of M.I.T. Both the Committee and the project were still at hand, and I was able to conduct in-depth interviews with many of the participants and would-be participants of the neighborhood, as well as other people involved.

Very soon after I started to become familiar with the material, it became apparent that the Wellington-Harrington project is in many respects without parallel. One factor, though not the most important, was my determination that the neighborhood cannot be classified as lower class in composition, but rather perhaps as lower middle or working class. Further, I realized that I could not simply accept the prevailing view that this constituted a "successful" example of citizen participation, and as will be seen, in many respects I feel it was not. A number of things made this particular case different from the "average" urban renewal project. It is almost entirely a rehabilitation project. Admittedly, this is in large measure due to the efforts of the citizen group, but the fact that this was considered a feasible approach vastly simplified many of the issues. The most important factor which sets this case apart from most others is that it is an outgrowth of a previous plan which proved to be the element responsible for such neighborhood mobilization as did occur. This was not a case of learning the ABC's. The participants already knew how to read and what to look out for.

What purpose, then, does this thesis serve? What purpose did I have in pursuing it? My decision was to treat it largely as a history of one urban renewal project, with particular attention being paid to three aspects which I found to be involved. In the first place, I wished to find out

what it means to have citizens making decisions which we are apt to believe require two years or more of intensive academic mind-stretching, at the very least. What was the planning process under these circumstances? What sort of education did these citizen planners receive? Who *really* was responsible for the plan? What factors made it possible? What would have made it easier? What made it more difficult than it might have been? And what about the plan? Would it pass muster in a graduate school planning jury? Where was it strong, and where weak? How does it compare with the defeated plan? What makes the difference between the two?

My second area of inquiry concerns the process of participation. Who took part, and who did not? Was the Citizens Committee representative? How extensive was the participation of people in the neighborhood? How did the Committee deal with the issues? What were the important factors in determining the Committee's manner of operations? Questions such as these also seemed in need of answers.

The third aspect was largely suggested by the first two. This area of the thesis did not become important in my mind until after I had become quite familiar with the facts of the case, and it is this aspect which is least generalizable to other cases since it involves quite unique conditions. I found that there was a high degree of political content in the history of the Wellington-Harrington project, and that indeed the resultant plan is basically

what is *politically feasible*. This, in itself, is the message of my investigation of this third aspect, and if there is a lesson to be emphasized<sup>3</sup>, it is simply that planning with direct implications for *today's* world (rather than the hypothetical world of the master plan) is a political act, with political consequences, and is shot through with political ramifications. Stated bluntly, the grandest of planning theories are useless if you cannot *implement* them.

I have not lost sight of my original purposes in undertaking this research, and while I do not feel confident in my ability to draw meaningful conclusions with regard to my initial hypotheses from the results of this exercise, in reading this paper it is important to bear in mind the evidence which seems to support or to disprove them.

As a case study, this work is historical in organization. I have concluded that an exposition of the history of the project is required background before the reader can have an adequate comprehension of the subsequent evaluation. This covers a period of some four years from its antecedents in the rejected Donnelly Field proposal to the culmination of the planning phase with the successful public hearing of May, 1965.

My conclusions are based largely on the sorts of questions posed above. It is an evaluation of this project, and

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<sup>3</sup>Others have made note of this before, and the lesson should already have been learned.

of no other. However, where particular items stand out strongly which appear useful for purposes of generalization to other cases of participation in a program of urban renewal, these will be duly noted.

I do not flatter myself that this paper constitutes an earth-shaking contribution to the annals of the planning literature. Most of the ideas presented here have already seen the light of day in one form or another. By repeating them, backed I hope by the evidence I will offer in their behalf, I count only on reinforcing them.

A brief note on the method of research is in order, in conclusion. As has previously been indicated, this paper is based on primary sources. The written and taped material made available to me has been of incalculable value. Even more valuable, however, were the numerous interviews I conducted with members of the Citizens Committee, others in the community, and with various officials connected in one way or another with the project. There are few direct references in the text to specific written works, but I have relied heavily on several books which are noted in the bibliography. For me, the ideas derived from these sources to varying extents colored my way of looking at the material with which I was working. They are a part of the way I think, and to separate out and individually identify specific ideas and the sources whence they came appeared a somewhat unimportant undertaking.

## II. THE HISTORY

This thesis is an examination of the history of citizen participation in the Wellington-Harrington area of Cambridge, Mass., emphasizing the period from the beginning of 1964, when the Wellington-Harrington Citizens Committee was established, through May 10, 1965, at which time a neighborhood improvement plan prepared by the committee was presented to a public hearing prior to adoption by the Cambridge City Council. It is an attempt to investigate three aspects of this history. First, I hope to discuss the nature of the planning process which was employed and the success of the plan it developed. Secondly, this paper will consider the degree of participation achieved and the extent to which it can be considered meaningful. Finally, I propose to consider the political forces at work in such an undertaking.

### Donnelly Field

The Wellington-Harrington Neighborhood Improvement Plan was adopted by the Cambridge City Council on May 17, 1965, almost exactly three years after the defeat of its predecessor, the Donnelly Field Urban Renewal Project, an action which the local newspaper termed an "apparent death knell" to urban renewal in the city.<sup>1</sup> Any attempt to study the

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<sup>1</sup>Cambridge *Chronicle-Sun*, May 31, 1962, p. 1.

process through which such a resurrection was achieved requires a review of the latter stages of the Donnelly Field experience. It will not be necessary at this point to discuss in detail the planning proposals of that urban renewal plan, although these will be considered later.

Late in 1957 the Cambridge Redevelopment Authority proposed a renewal project for a portion of the city around the John F. Donnelly Field, and comprising a substantial portion of Neighborhood 3. (see Map 1). This proposal met with a generally cool reception from Federal officials, and the following August the city was still attempting to get sanction for such a project "since Cambridge has working drawings for [the] new Harrington School and wanted to obtain credit for this school toward the City's share of the Donnelly Field Urban Renewal Project Costs."<sup>2</sup> Continued indecision over the location of the proposed Inner Belt highway served to impede still further decisions affecting progress of the project, and though the Urban Renewal Administration had previously granted the Donnelly Field program project designation, it nevertheless suspended the project in August, 1960, pending a determination of the likely location of the Belt route. Funds were restored the following March, and by June the Authority was prepared to present its proposal for the area in a public hearing.

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<sup>2</sup>Cambridge Redevelopment Authority, "Donnelly Field Facts -- 4/16/62."

This proposal called for early acquisition of two blocks, about 4 1/2 acres, which would be demolished. On this site, the Authority called for construction of apartments into which residents of the area could be relocated prior to demolition of their own houses. Thus, a fairly advanced idea (for the time) of staged redevelopment was suggested. The remainder of the plan, then in tentative form, indicated a program of neighborhood improvements with the major emphasis on rehabilitation. This, too, was an advanced idea, arising out of the opportunity to observe the bitter experience of Boston's infamous West End project, which had led to total clearance of an area.

The June, 1961 public hearing was followed by establishment of an exhibit at the Donnelly Field branch of the Cambridge Public Library. Staff members of the Authority were present at certain hours to explain the proposals and to answer questions. In September it was reported that the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, AFL-CIO, was planning to sponsor the apartments proposed for the early acquisition site. A headline in the *Cambridge Chronicle-Sun* read, "\$70 to \$90 Apartment Plan Under Study For Families Ousted by Urban Renewal."<sup>3</sup> A picture, accompanying the article, showed a similar development built by that union in Milwaukee, featuring row housing.<sup>4</sup> And the

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<sup>3</sup>Cambridge *Chronicle-Sun*, September 28, 1961, p. 1.

<sup>4</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 9.

Boston *Traveler* trumpeted, "Pay less than \$100 a month for a decent apartment? Cambridge, and a nationwide union is [sic] hoping to show the country it can be done."<sup>5</sup> The Redevelopment Authority continued with its efforts to bring the plan to the attention of the Donnelly Field community. Exhibits were set up, and staff members were on hand to explain them, in the local parish church and at the library. By the following February, the CRA was set to ask City Council approval of the application for early land acquisition in the two block area.

Until this time, opposition to the Donnelly Field proposals had not been felt, but as late as December, 1961, a CRA Community Relations Worker had written, "At this point Donnelly Field could still provide the opportunity to get our first large-scale project rolling quietly, smoothly, and with reasonable community acceptance."

However some of our good relationships there stem from the fact that the residents and their leaders have not grasped a couple of key facts as yet:

- a. the total displacement and relocation figure,
- b. that increased rentals after rehabilitation will be prohibitively high for many residents.

There are serious problems here that have not as yet been solved, including the present availability of rehabilitation funds locally.<sup>6</sup>

This warning passed unheeded, and shortly before the February

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<sup>5</sup>Boston *Traveler*, October 2, 1961, p. 2.

<sup>6</sup>Cambridge Redevelopment Authority, Memorandum by James T. Kane, Jr., Community Relations Worker, December 16, 1961.

public hearing on the early land acquisition proposal, a group styling themselves as the "Cambridge Minutemen" was organized to oppose the plan.

The Minutemen were led by two members of the Immaculate Conception Church, which faces on the proposed early land site. Immaculate Conception is the national church of the Lithuanian and Polish Catholic segments of the Donnelly Field community. John M. Raulinaitis and P. Gabriel Kirslis, both homeowners in the area, objected to the use of eminent domain for what they saw as the transfer of land from one private individual to another. In their view, urban renewal is an abrogation of freedom and in violation of the Constitution. This group was able to generate strong opposition to the early land proposal. The principal spokesman for the Minutemen at the hearing was Father Anthony P. Baltrushunas of Immaculate Conception. He attacked the use of eminent domain as not in the public interest and also criticized the proposal on the grounds that the proposed rents of \$70 and \$90 would be too high for the relocatees, who would thus be forced to move out of the Donnelly Field community. "The question here seems to be whether the individual has a right to his property and whether he can depend on his government for protection. No one objects to renewal, but it is the remaking of a neighborhood that we oppose. The rents proposed for this new housing are out of the reach of the people now living in the neighborhood. If they could pay these rents in the first

place, they wouldn't be living in the neighborhood. What you propose to do is to force a private owner to make way for another private owner large enough to be subsidized by the government."<sup>7</sup>

On March 1, the *Chronicle-Sun* editorialized, "... one thing seems clear. If Cambridge refuses to authorize a redevelopment plan on such a small area, where so few families are involved and where housing on the same site will be available to them at moderate rents, the outlook for any future urban renewal and redevelopment in Cambridge on a larger scale seem hopeless indeed."<sup>8</sup> The larger community began to exert pressure for approval of the early land acquisition application, which had previously been endorsed by the designated city-wide citizen participation organization. On March 12, the City Council voted approval by a vote of 5-4.

The Minutemen then announced plans to collect 6,000 signatures to force a city-wide referendum on the question: "Any vote of the Cambridge City Council for an Urban Renewal project anywhere in the city shall be declared null and void unless the project has been approved by a majority of the voters in an election supervised by the Cambridge Election Commission."<sup>9</sup> On April 2, the Redevelopment Authority made

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<sup>7</sup>Cambridge *Chronicle-Sun*, February 22, 1962, p. 2.

<sup>8</sup>Cambridge *Chronicle-Sun*, March 1, 1962, p. 10.

<sup>9</sup>Boston *Record-American*, March 27, 1962, p. 22.

public the plan for the entire Donnelly Field project. This called for displacement of 337 families in the 114-acre project area. 82% of the existing homes would remain untouched. Relocation would be staged. 142 units of housing would be constructed by the union on the two-block early acquisition site and would be ready for occupancy before any other housing in the area was affected. In addition, 140 more units would be constructed, according to the plan. Street widenings, tree planting, and other public improvements were also proposed. On April 30 a public hearing was set for May 14.

Raulinaitis expressed another of the fears of the residents at the public hearing: "This city council is supposed to know what's going on. Have they looked behind the scene? This is going to be a big housing project. People don't want projects."<sup>10</sup> The Roosevelt Towers public housing is located in the Donnelly Field area. This comment reflected the high degree of antagonism between the project and non-project segments of the neighborhood.

Mrs. Mary Bator enunciated another fear. "This is a lot of hardship for the people," she commented. "My husband and I have a 5-family house and a store. My husband is 61. I am 57. It's too late to start again. Where are we going to go? What are we going to do? We'll have no means of living if you take our home and store. My neighbors, too,

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<sup>10</sup>Cambridge *Chronicle-Sun*, May 17, 1962, p. 2.

are in the same position. Please don't take our homes away."<sup>11</sup> Neighborhood 3 has a high percentage of elderly people and of small property owners, most of whom are residents as well.

"Albert M. Brown of 10 Vandine St. said he was confused by the fact that so many people have different versions of what's going on," reported the *Chronicle-Sun*, "'I don't think the urban renewal story has honestly been put before these meetings. If this is so, it's a poor presentation to stuff down our throats.'"<sup>12</sup> Here, another of the important arguments, that of the lack of adequate information, may be seen.

Father Baltrushunas summed up:

What ever thoughts you might have had for the urban renewal project I think have been more or less wiped out because the people themselves have spoken. They have covered the fundamental issues involved plus the emotional concern about their homes.

If one of the fundamental requirements for urban renewal is that the people agree or disagree, then I think the issue has been resolved this evening. If that is so, then I don't think any of us has any arguments with the question of whether or not urban renewal is to be or not to be.

I think the people have spoken quite eloquently on the fundamental question -- namely whether or not the people want urban renewal. If they don't want it, it can't be.<sup>13</sup>

Six major arguments against the Donnelly Field project may be identified in these and other comments. At a general

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<sup>11</sup>Boston *Record-American*, *loc. cit.*

<sup>12</sup>Cambridge *Chronicle-Sun*, *loc. cit.*

<sup>13</sup>*Ibid.*

level, opponents charged that the use of eminent domain in urban renewal is unconstitutional in that it results in the transfer of private property between individuals and does not serve the public interest. This is a common claim, based on the Fourth and Fifth Amendments, and has been invalidated in the courts, most importantly in *Berman v. Parker*.<sup>14</sup> Two other arguments relate closely to this. In the first place, the CRA plan involved the taking of private property. For many opponents, urban renewal as such was not the evil, but simply the threat that their houses would be demolished. Thus, opposition is based on the emotional argument of loss of property. The second related argument against this renewal program holds that it would lead to the removal of sources of income for residents and merchants of the area. The loss of businesses and rental properties represents the most direct manner in which this impact would be felt, but it would operate in another sense as well through a general increase in rents in the neighborhood. The argument therefore encompasses both a removal of sources of income for some and an actual removal of income from others. A fourth major argument against the Donnelly Field plan was advanced by Father Baltrushunas, who criticized the proposed replacement housing as being outside the means of the people of the neighborhood. The identification of urban renewal with

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<sup>14</sup>348 U.S. 26, 75 Sup. Ct. 98, L. Ed. 27 (1954).

housing projects suggested the fifth major argument against the plan. The poor relations between the Roosevelt Towers community and the Donnelly Field community, especially those who border on the housing project, meant that this would be a potent argument against the proposal. And finally, the sixth argument in effect states merely that the people do not know what is going on and therefore are apprehensive.

It is important to separate these arguments into two groups, between those which oppose programs such as the Donnelly Field plan categorically and those which represent opposition to proposals because of the forms they take. It can readily be seen that only the argument of unconstitutionality remains inflexible. The other arguments may be invalidated or at least diluted through changes in the program. Thus, we may identify two distinct issues, held by different groups. For one, the entire concept of urban renewal was in question. For the other, the issue was simply that the program was unsatisfactory in its present form. This situation made possible the subsequent developments because a majority of the opponents proved to be concerned more with the second issue than the first. It is also relevant to point out that, as we shall see, the second plan did not completely solve all the problems which led to arguments against the Donnelly Field plan. However, in reducing them somewhat, and above all in overcoming the sixth argument against the first plan, the Wellington-Harrington program became feasible.

Proponents of the plan continued to suggest that the majority of residents in the project area favored the plan.

The *Chronicle-Sun*, in an editorial, expressed this view:

One of the questions most often heard about urban renewal in Cambridge is this: why don't some people living in proposed renewal areas stand up and champion the renewal plans?

The answer, as we see it, is two-fold: First, it is obvious that almost no one who is to be dislocated by such a plan is likely to favor it. Second, other people of the area are naturally reluctant to say so for fear of seeming selfish and uncharitable toward neighbors who will have to move.

In the Donnelly Field area, the Redevelopment Authority says that only 18 per cent of the families will have to relocate, that this will be spread over a three-year period and that housing in the same general area will be available for most of them. It seems clear that the other 82 per cent of the families will benefit by civic improvements planned in the area with the aid of federal funds. However, anyone who expects many of this 82 per cent to stand up and champion the renewal plan does not, in our opinion, understand human nature and how it works.<sup>15</sup>

On May 28, the Council, in a 4-4 vote, refused to approve the plan. The deciding vote case was that of Councillor Pearl K. Wise, who complained that "the resolution submitted by the Authority and now before the city council states that East Cambridge is a decadent area because of the 'environmental influences, and social, cultural and economic conditions of the project area.' This attitude of mind is a piece of social arrogance about and class ignorance of people who live in the Donnelly Field area and who form such an important

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<sup>15</sup> Cambridge *Chronicle-Sun*, May 17, 1962, p. 8.

and respected segment of our community. Little wonder, then, that the Redevelopment Authority has stirred up so much civil strife. This is a tragedy for Cambridge. It is a threat to the sound realization of the good in urban renewal, based on the consent of the governed."<sup>16</sup>

The *Chronicle-Sun* continued to warn against the danger of a cut-off of Federal funds. On June 4, the Council voted to reconsider the proposal. "Mrs. Wise termed as 'absurd' the suggestion that urban renewal could not go forward in Cambridge if the Donnelly Field program was defeated. She maintained that a program 'well thought out and well conceived' with the cooperation of the people could be approved."<sup>17</sup> Councillor Joseph DeGuglielmo, speaking for the proponents of the plan on the Council, inquired, "Are we going to give them [the people of the area] an environment free of junk yards, free of barrel yards, free of broken down buildings? Fifty to 100 came up here and said 'we want what we want' and said 'the hell with the rest of the area.' I say that is not what this council is here for. This council is here to make every place in Cambridge a decent place in which to live."<sup>18</sup>

One week later, however, the Council, again by a 4-4 vote, refused to approve the project, and the *Chronicle-Sun* reported, "The apparent finish of the Donnelly Field project

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<sup>16</sup>Cambridge *Chronicle-Sun*, May 31, 1962, p. 1.

<sup>17</sup>Cambridge *Chronicle-Sun*, June 7, 1962, p. 5.

<sup>18</sup>*Ibid.*

just when it was about to be started also virtually seals the doom of the Houghton and Cambridgeport area plans as proposed by the Redevelopment Authority."<sup>19</sup>

Yet high level pressure to revive the project continued. "Planning expenditures for Cambridge's urban renewal program, involving some \$22 million in Federal funds and credits, were halted this week by U.S. officials," noted the *Chronicle-Sun*, and observed that rejection of the Donnelly Field plan was the reason given for the action. The newspaper also quoted John A. Lunn, Chairman of the Authority, as saying, "If the urban renewal program is defeated in Cambridge by the City Council, we can reasonably expect families dislocated by renewal in Roxbury, Charlestown, South End and other areas to move to Cambridge in housing which would otherwise have been claimed for Cambridge residents. East Cambridge has had about 85 families relocated from the West End Project in Boston."<sup>20</sup> It was also announced that two officials from the New York Regional Office of the Housing and Home Finance Agency, Lester Eisner, Jr., Regional Administrator and Charles J. Horan, Regional Director of Urban Renewal, were coming to discuss the possibility of positive votes in the future with the Council. Writing in the City's Annual Report for 1962, Paul J. Frank, Acting Executive Director of the Authority

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<sup>19</sup>Cambridge *Chronicle-Sun*, June 14, 1962, p. 1.

<sup>20</sup>Cambridge *Chronicle-Sun*, June 21, 1962, pp. 1-2.

reported on their visit:

Messrs. Eisner and Horan ... had met with the City Council and the Redevelopment Authority in advance of the vote on Donnelly Field and ruled that a Donnelly Field disapproval would be interpreted to mean that the Houghton and Cambridgeport projects could not be expected to muster the votes necessary to gain endorsement....

The Housing Agency officials further stated that no more Federal funds would be provided for Cambridge (other than caretaker or completion money) until there were grounds for belief that the City Council would support the execution of reasonable plans which conformed with the requirement of Federal legislation.<sup>21</sup>

The *Chronicle-Sun*, feeling the pressure, and remarking on the possible loss of \$22 million, editorialized:

"It's a lot of money.  
"It's a lot to think about."<sup>22</sup>

On June 22, the *Boston Record-American* reported that the Federal officials had given the Cambridge City Council until July 1 to reach a final decision.<sup>23</sup> Thus, the door was left deliberately ajar for a Council reconsideration of its vote and extensive political pressure was brought to bear. It

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<sup>21</sup>City of Cambridge, *Annual Report for 1962*, p. 5.

<sup>22</sup>Cambridge *Chronicle-Sun*, June 21, 1962, p. 8. However, on the same page, a resident of Cambridge, though not of the Donnelly Field area, John D. Herzog, wrote, "In my opinion, urban renewal in Cambridge is definitely possible and desirable if the Authority sees fit to work with and for, rather than above and around, the people of the urban renewal areas; and if the City grants the Authority funds sufficient to reach the people through qualified and properly motivated personnel. If either or both of these conditions are not met, Cambridge's neighborhood renewal projects will meet with continued dissensions, dissatisfaction, and eventual defeat."

<sup>23</sup>*Boston Record-American*, June 22, 1962, p. 26.

can be safely assumed that less public forms of pressure were also utilized.

On June 25, the *Record-American* reported that Councillor Alfred Vellucci had attacked what he termed the "inflexible all-or-nothing" stand of the CRA and had announced he would rescue the \$22 million tied up. Vellucci condemned the "Hitler-like tactics" of the Authority. "They said, 'You are going to be moved out of here and there is nothing you can do about'," he expostulated.<sup>24</sup> That evening, however, the Council once again failed to approve the project, in an identical vote.

#### Characteristics of the Area

At this point, it is appropriate to examine the Donnelly Field area in order to determine the reasons for such a continuing interest in obtaining a renewal program for that section of Cambridge. It is generally agreed that there are areas in the city more in conformity with the Federal guidelines on what should constitute a renewal area. Donnelly Field is in some respects an "average" Cambridge neighborhood. The project area consists of almost all of Neighborhood 3, which in turn is comprised of census tracts 6, 7, and 8 (see Map 2). Data from the 1960 census, which was still fairly current at this time, indicates that the city

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<sup>24</sup>Boston *Record-American*, June 25, 1962, p. 30.

as a whole had a median income per family of \$5,923. For Neighborhood 3, the figures ranged from a low of \$5,042 in census tract 7 to a high of \$5,898 in census tract 6. It is important to point out, however, that census tract 7 includes the Roosevelt Towers public housing project, which significantly biases the figures. Neighborhood 3 has a slightly lower percentage of elderly (persons 65 and over) than Cambridge generally. The city figure is 12.8%. Those for this neighborhood are 9.8% in census tract 6, 13.6% in the portion of tract 7 exclusive of Roosevelt Towers, and 11.3% for census tract 8.

The figures for certain other measures indicate some significant differences, however. An extremely high percentage of the adult population has not completed high school, ranging from 76.7% in census tract 6 to 82.4% in tract 8, and compared with a city percentage of 50.3%. Of a total of 36 census tract breakdowns, census tract 8 is third ranked for poor housing. The portion of tract 7 exclusive of Roosevelt Towers ranks fourth and census tract 6 is eleventh. Thus, Neighborhood 3 in general has a high percentage of poor housing.

The neighborhood has an extremely low percentage of non-whites, according to the data. Compared with a city-wide figure of 6.9%, census tract 6 has 0.3%, the non-project portion of census tract 7 has a mere 0.1%, and census tract 8 has 1.5% non-white. On the other hand, the area has a

high percentage of foreign born residents in comparison with the city figure of 15.2%, ranging from 18.6% for census tract 7 (not broken down between project and non-project areas) to 23.4% for tract 6.

Neighborhood 3 is an extremely densely populated area, with a range from 110.0 persons per residential acre to 150.3. Roosevelt Towers is considerably denser, with a figure of 232.6 people per residential acre. The Cambridge average is 72.3. Neighborhood 3 also has a high concentration of youths aged 7 to 16, ranging from 17.1 to 24.1 per residential acre, exclusive of Roosevelt Towers, which has a figure of 68.6. The city figure is 9.6. However, this is more a matter of high overall population density inasmuch as there is not too great a difference in number of children per family. The city average is 1.04. For the non-project sections of the neighborhood, the range is from 1.11 to 1.15, although the figure for the housing project is 2.65.

The juvenile delinquency rate furnishes an interesting fact. While census tract 8 has an average annual rate of only 4.9 cases per 1000, the portion of census tract 7 *outside the housing project* has an astonishing figure of 31.3, compared to 9.4 per 1000 within Roosevelt Towers and 10.4 in census tract 6. The city rate is 13.2 per 1000. The truancy rate is slightly higher than for the city as a whole, with a non-project area range from 26.9 to 34.2 cases per 1000 of population aged 7 to 15, compared with 23.4 for the

city.

Data on social welfare programs provides another measure of the position of Neighborhood 3 relative to the city as a whole. Cambridge records 18.2 cases per 1000 of aid to families with dependant children (ADC). The portion of census tract 7 outside Roosevelt Towers has a low figure of 16.7 cases, while tract 8 has 21.8. (Roosevelt Towers has 95.4 cases per 1000.) Census tract 6 has 142.8 cases per 1000 of old age assistance, while tract 8 leads, with the exception of Roosevelt Towers, with 184.8. The Towers rank second in the city with 452.2 cases, and the city average is 114.1. Cambridge has an average of 3.7 cases of general relief per 1000. In Neighborhood 3, census tract 8 is lowest in this respect with 4.6 cases. Tract 6 registers 5.3 per 1000 and the section of tract 7 exclusive of the housing project has 8.3. Finally, there is a range of from 5.3 to 15.0 cases per 1000 of disability assistance, compared with a city average of 5.5. The low figure pertains to tract 6, while tract 8 leads. Roosevelt Towers has 13.2 cases per 1000 and the remainder of tract 7 has 8.3 cases.

The foregoing data is summarized in Appendix A.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>25</sup>Source: Cambridge Planning Board, "Social Characteristics of Cambridge," 1962, pp. 11-14, 20, 29-32, and 35, as quoted in Cambridge Community Services, "Assessment, Evaluation, and Recommendation Concerning Recreation Needs and Resources in Neighborhood #3," prepared by CCS Associate Director Joseph F. Tulimieri for the Subcommittee on Recreation, Wellington-Harrington Citizens Committee, July, 1964.

Neighborhood 3 is a relatively stable community. It has long been composed of five major nationalities and is virtually entirely Catholic. The national groups include the Italians, the Portuguese, the Irish, the Lithuanians, and the Polish. In recent years, there has been a small increase in the number of Negroes moving into the area, especially in the area bordering on Hampshire St. toward Neighborhood 4 (see Map 1). The Portuguese population is also increasing fairly rapidly, and some Puerto Rican families have settled in the area. The original groups have been living in the neighborhood for several generations, and many residents are now property owners, including a few who own several structures. Absentee landlordism is not extensive but is widely blamed for the deterioration of the neighborhood. Such blame disregards the fact that many of the resident homeowners have not maintained their properties in conformance with code regulations, either from lack of funds for major repairs or because of an inability to get a mortgage. Many of the owners are elderly and cannot get mortgage financing, despite the excellent overall mortgage profile for the area. The principal exception to the prevailing residential pattern of Neighborhood 3 is the Roosevelt Towers housing project, with some 228 families in high-rise buildings of brick construction, which are definitely not in harmony with the surrounding community.

Neighborhood 3 is predominantly a residential area, as

can be seen from the figures indicating the population density. The Donnelly Field project area was accounted 70% residential.<sup>26</sup> Housing is in general of wood-frame construction and dates back to a hundred years ago and even earlier. The exterior condition of most is poor, despite the high rate of owner occupancy. In large part, the high proportion of elderly among the home owners with their lack of funds to permit necessary repairs accounts for this situation. On the other hand, the financial standing of the neighborhood measured by the small number of mortgages held on residential properties indicates the fiscal conservatism characteristic of many of the residents of the area.

Like the "urban villagers" of Boston's West End described by Herbert Gans,<sup>27</sup> residents of the Donnelly Field area apparently preferred to make internal improvements as and if they could be afforded, rather than saving up for large scale renovations.

Houses in Neighborhood 3 are generally two- and three-family structures, with a high degree of owner occupancy. These buildings are built close together, constituting a significant potential fire hazard, which is compounded by the flammable nature of construction and shingling materials,

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<sup>26</sup>Cambridge Redevelopment Authority, Part I, Application for Loan and Grant, Donnelly Field Urban Renewal Project, Mass. R-14, Code R-212, April 5, 1962.

<sup>27</sup>Herbert J. Gans, *The Urban Villagers* (The Free Press, Glencoe, Ill., 1962).

inadequate water mains, and the overall age of the structures. Many lots are nonconforming in terms of the present zoning ordinance because of insufficient frontage.

Scattered amongst the residential uses are occasional commercial operations and mixed residential and commercial structures. Businesses in the area are small and marginal. North and south of Cambridge St. along Webster Ave. and Windsor St., between the Somerville line and Lincoln St. (see Map 1) is a high concentration of nuisance uses, especially automobile dismantling operations selling used parts. Also, a number of industrial operations are located in the general vicinity of Portland St.

There are three schools in the Donnelly Field area, two of which have been abandoned. The Kelley School, which faces on Donnelly Field, has not been disposed of in any way and remains boarded up. The Wellington School, located in the midst of the used car parts operations in the two-block area proposed for early acquisition, was sold by the city to the Redevelopment Authority in the spring of 1962, under the assumption that this would be worth \$150,000 in cash credits as part of the city share in the renewal costs. In addition, the city hoped to count the \$2.5 million Harrington School, which replaced it, for credit as well. Thus, with over \$2.5 million expended in the area, Cambridge anticipated receiving over \$8 million in Federal and state aid for urban renewal in matching grants.

The John F. Donnelly Field lies near the heart of the neighborhood. It provides this portion of East Cambridge with recreational facilities not similarly available in other Cambridge neighborhoods and is a considerable asset to the area. Donnelly Field supplies 8.6 acres of playgrounds. Additionally, there are three tot lots in Neighborhood 3, with a combined area of 0.7 acres.<sup>28</sup> The Field once contained somewhat more usable space, but the 1959 construction of the new Harrington School consumed a portion, in line with the common tendency to use one public facility for another rather than creating a wholly new area for public use.

There are four heavily travelled streets in the portion of Neighborhood 3 under study in both the Donnelly Field and later Wellington-Harrington plans (see Map 1). Cambridge St. runs generally east-west between East Cambridge and Harvard University. Hampshire St. runs northwest-southeast between Porter Sq. in North Cambridge, where it meets Massachusetts Ave., and Kendall Sq., behind M.I.T. Hampshire and Cambridge Streets intersect at Inman Sq., and many residents of Neighborhood 3 consider that East Cambridge begins at that point rather than farther east. For others, the dividing line is the Boston and Albany Railroad line which forms the third leg of the triangle delineating Neighborhood 3. The

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<sup>28</sup>Cambridge Community Services, "Assessment, ...", p. 9.

two other heavily travelled streets are Portland St., which is used for trucking, and Webster Ave., which runs roughly north-south, tying several main arteries with Union Sq. in Somerville. Webster Ave. is most intensively used during commuting hours, but poses a major hazard as it cuts directly through the residential heart of the neighborhood.

The main reasons for selecting this area for urban renewal seem to have been the following: 1.) elimination of non-conforming uses, especially the auto parts establishments, 2.) elimination of some of the fire hazard created by aging combustible structures built too closely together, and 3.) clarification of the circulation pattern in and around the area. The fact remains, however, that other areas in Cambridge are at least as deserving of such attention, if not more so, and the central motivating force seems to have been the desire to take advantage of Federal and state credits created by the construction of the Harrington School. This factor pervades the entire process, and has already been indicated by some of the quotations cited above.

### The Interim

Meanwhile, maneuverings continued behind the scenes. Few accounts may be found in the news media or other public sources. On December 18, 1962, James Perkins, President of the Cambridge Civic Association, and Paul Rugo, Chairman of the Renewal Committee, met in New York with Jason R. Nathan,

Deputy Regional Director of Urban Renewal. In a memorandum to Charles Horan, Nathan made the following remarks:

Perkins and Rugo indicated that there is a considerable amount of quiet work going on in the direction of reviving the urban renewal program. They feel that possibly a year of spade work will be necessary before anything really tangible takes place. But they are proceeding on the assumption that with increased public awareness and understanding of the program the prospects would be very bright indeed. They are thinking in terms of carrying on a community organization effort broadly throughout the City and possibly, concentrating on the former Donnelly Field Project area.

There is strong feeling that a good way to get the program started again would be to select a small compact portion of Donnelly Field for a fast project to demonstrate the usefulness of urban renewal. They would want to keep clearance and relocation at a minimum and possibly to emphasize middle income housing.

It was clear that the biggest problem in Cambridge, stemming from lack of understanding, is that people generally have little faith or trust in various assurances by public officials. Everyone seems to think that urban renewal means relocation and the bulldozer. Urban renewal has become a dirty word for many people. In order to combat this feeling, the small compact project approach is one vehicle.

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Finally, there was discussion of the citizen participation in Cambridge. It was agreed by all participants that the present citizens group which consists of people like Killian and Pusey [the heads of M.I.T. and Harvard, respectively], while quite effective and obviously well meaning, might have been less than fully beneficial to the program because of its lack of balance in representation. Perkins indicated that this had been discussed locally, that members of the citizens group recognized this fault, but that they still want to "stay in business" because they feel that they have many functions which they can carry out effectively. It was agreed that efforts should be made in the direct on providing for a new and more broadly based citizens participation organization.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>29</sup>Memorandum, Jason R. Nathan, Deputy Regional Director of

On April 4, 1963, the *Chronicle-Sun* reported that Horan had been impressed by a proposal for a renewal project in what was now called after the two major schools in the neighborhood the Wellington-Harrington area. The proposal, in line with the thinking outlined in the December meeting between Nathan, Perkins, and Rugo, contemplated a possible reduction in plan area to 56 areas.<sup>30</sup> The reason for this figure once again belies the motivation for the project in the first place. Any smaller area could not be considered large enough to warrant full extension of credit because the Harrington School serves a larger area.

City Councillor Daniel Hayes at this time proposed the creation of a citizens committee to broaden participation at the neighborhood level. His proposal was taken over by Councillor Vellucci, who though an opponent of the previous plan, had also vowed to save the \$22 million in Federal aid the defeat of the Donnelly Field plan had apparently cost the city. Though the Cambridge City Council is elected at large, Vellucci receives his strongest support from the Italian community of East Cambridge. This community has a sizeable contingent in Neighborhood 3, particularly in the eastern half, around the Donnelly Field. To Vellucci political opposition to the Donnelly Field plan from among his

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Urban Renewal, to Charles J. Horan, Regional Director of Urban Renewal, December 28, 1962, from a copy furnished by Morris Kritzman.

<sup>30</sup> Cambridge *Chronicle-Sun*, April 3, 1963, p. 1.

constituents clearly stemmed from the threat to homes owned by people living in the area. Throughout the Donnelly Field episode he consistently expressed his support for neighborhood improvement, especially removal of the used car parts establishments, and opposed only the manner in which the project proposed to uproot his followers. Thus, his position was consistent with his earlier stand, and serves to indicate further that neighborhood estrangement from urban renewal was not nearly irreconcilable.

On April 8, the City Council approved the following resolution by a vote of 6-3:

WHEREAS:

The Federal Housing and Home Finance Agency has expressed a willingness to cooperate with the City of Cambridge to extend benefits to the so-called Wellington-Harrington neighborhood; and

WHEREAS:

There is reason to believe that a satisfactory renewal neighborhood could be developed in an area smaller than the former Donnelly Field Renewal Project

BE IT RESOLVED:

That the City Council of Cambridge requests the Cambridge Redevelopment Authority to restudy the former Donnelly Field Renewal Project area with a view to submitting to the City Council a revised tentative plan taking into full consideration the rights of home owners, residents, and citizens and the problems involved in relocation, and that the City Manager provide the Redevelopment Authority with such resources as it may require to conduct this study until such time as Federal financing is again made available for planning purposes.<sup>31</sup>

Having approved this resolution, the Council the following

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<sup>31</sup>City of Cambridge, Resolution in City Council, April 8, 1963.

week took up the matter of a citizens committee, first proposed by Councillor Hayes. Once again, Vellucci took the lead and gained approval of a City Council order "That His Honor the Mayor be and hereby is requested to appoint a committee of ten citizens whose membership shall include the pastors of St. Patrick's, St. Anthony's, and the Immaculate Conception Churches which committee shall work in conjunction with all municipal agencies involved in order to insure that all persons who are relocated will acquire the best possible housing."<sup>32</sup>

It is interesting to note the emphasis on adequate relocation in light of the subsequent functions of the committee. In addition, the *Chronicle-Sun* reported that "a second part of the order was designed to give this citizens' group a sort of veto over any submitted plan ... but Councillor DeGuglielmo, on a parliamentary inquiry to the chair, gained agreement from Mayor Crane that the delegation of such power to the citizens' committee would not be valid. It was stricken."<sup>33</sup>

In the same issue, the newspaper reported that the Cambridge Civic Association had issued a statement recommending changes in the urban renewal program. "These suggestions include employment of qualified and experienced community

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<sup>32</sup>City of Cambridge, Order in City Council, April 15, 1963.

<sup>33</sup>Cambridge *Chronicle-Sun*, April 18, 1963, p. 8.

relations workers to encourage neighborhood participation in renewal plans; emphasis on rehabilitation of neighborhoods rather than clearance; vigorous enforcement of the city's codes; appointment of an assistant to the city manager to coordinate regular city functions and renewal plans; and consideration of a city-wide Community Renewal Program."<sup>34</sup>

The comments of the CCA are reminiscent of those by John D. Herzog in his letter to the *Chronicle-Sun* of the previous May (see footnote 22, above) and of the recommendation by James T. Kane, Jr., CRA Community Relations Worker, who in December, 1961, had observed that "while our proposals seem to have made a less resounding impact on Donnelly Field residents than occurred in Houghton, we are still largely seeking their approval, not their participation."

What shift of emphasis has taken place might be described as a change from doing things for the neighborhood. The ideal of course, would be doing things with the neighborhood.

This would involve in many instances working initially on problems which would at first glance seem entirely unrelated to renewal aims and objectives, to use a social work phrase it means "starting where the client is," not where we would like him to be.

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If a community organization worker was utilized as a Community Planner or a Social Planner, we could begin to see the ways in which his seemingly unrelated efforts were preparing the neighborhood for formal urban renewal programs. He would be establishing and co-ordinating the appropriate programs, services and communications in a neighborhood. This process would, in effect, begin renewing the people. With this important phase

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<sup>34</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 13.

underway, with apathy dispelled and resources mobilized, the renewal of the homes, streets and schools would be considerably expediated by the cooperative attitude and responsible assistance of the residents.

Perhaps this approach might be contemplated in some future project area under consideration.<sup>35</sup>

The City Council on June 24, 1963, appropriated \$40,000 to run the Wellington-Harrington project for the six months from July to the end of the year. Councillor Vellucci noted that "he had been assured the ... citizens' committee from the Wellington-Harrington area would be appointed, that a public hearing would be held, and that no plans would be accepted until there was complete agreement between the citizens' committee and the council as to any action to be taken by the Redevelopment Authority," according to the *Chronicle-Sun*.<sup>36</sup>

1963 was an election year in Cambridge, and for the remainder of the time up to the elections virtually little was accomplished, though urban renewal was not an issue. Two members, Pearl Wise and Joseph DeGuglielmo, announced their decisions to retire from the City Council. Mrs. Wise denied that her vote, which had killed the Donnelly Field project, was the cause of her decision and affirmed that she would do it all over if the question arose again.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> Cambridge Redevelopment Authority, Memorandum by James T. Kane, Jr., Community Relations Worker, December 16, 1962. See also footnote 6, above. Emphasis his.

<sup>36</sup> Cambridge *Chronicle-Sun*, June 27, 1963, p. 2.

<sup>37</sup> Cambridge *Chronicle-Sun*, August 15, 1963, p. 2.

Toward the end of July, Paul J. Frank, Acting Executive Director of the CRA, and Alan McClennen, Director of the Cambridge Planning Board, drew up an "Urban Renewal Manual Checklist" for the Wellington-Harrington Project. Both were able to benefit from their experience of the Donnelly Field plan, of which McClennen had been the planner. This list described each of the various codes to be satisfied in Part I of the application for Loan and Grant and delineated responsibilities for each. Both Frank and McClennen were charged with the responsibility of preparing Code R-213, described in 10-3-2 of the Urban Renewal Manual, and entitled "Urban Renewal Plan." The following recommendations accompanied this listing:

Since the preparation of the plan itself is the key to the success of the endeavor, it is suggested that procedural steps be considered from all possible angles.

The City Council has called for the appointment by the Mayor of an advisory committee for the Wellington-Harrington Project. Properly utilized, such a committee could be a new approach to *selling the plan* to the citizens and the Council.

The City has provided funds for the salary of a member of the Authority staff assigned to work with the citizens committee. This person would be familiar with the operations of the Authority in the preparations of the plan. He would be expected to use good judgment in drawing out from the citizens committee recommendations without at the same time exceeding his powers. He would not commit the Redevelopment Authority to objectives or specific plans before the Authority has reached policy decisions or before plans are approved by the authority.

Since this is a most sensitive area it is suggested that all members of the Redevelopment Authority staff and the Planning Board staff be instruc[t]ed in detail how much or how little they

should do themselves in this work of community relations.

It is recommended that the community relations person seek to line up neighborhood leaders who would be so well informed on the renewal proposals that they could explain the details at any public gathering. He would call upon the Planning Director and the Redevelopment Director to present technical details to the neighborhood leaders from time to time. *It would appear that by allowing the community leaders to be in the limelight as much as possible the Boston planning and redevelopment authority staffs of the Washington Park project avoided the allegation that a plan "prepared by City Hall" was being forced upon the Washington Park neighborhood.*

It is further recommended that the community relations person engaged by the Redevelopment Authority be a person acceptable to the City Councillors who draw the greatest number of voters in the Wellington-Harrington project areas, that he be a resident of Cambridge, if at all possible to obtain such a person, and that he be familiar with the neighborhood and its many cross currents.<sup>38</sup>

### The Appointments

The decision to appoint a "Secretary-Coordinator" for the proposed citizens' committee and the search for a qualified applicant occupied the latter part of the summer, with no further action being taken on the selection of the citizens' committee itself.<sup>39</sup> In early November Morris Kritzman, an organizer by training, was hired by the Redevelopment Authority. Kritzman possessed only some of the rigorous

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<sup>38</sup>Paul J. Frank, "Wellington-Harrington Urban Renewal Manual Checklist," July 31, 1963, pp. 3-5. Italics mine, other emphasis his.

<sup>39</sup>For proposed qualifications for Secretary-Coordinator, see Appendix B.

qualifications sought by the CRA, and was notably deficient in experience with urban renewal and planning, generally. His background in industrial organizing was extremely valuable, however. Moreover, Kritzman possesses a remarkable ability to communicate with and to guide people. He is a man with a high sense of purpose and dedication. From the moment he joined the staff, the Wellington-Harrington Project took on his personal stamp, including his failings as well as his strengths.

In a letter from Frank to Horan dated November 21, 1963, the Acting Executive Director stated, "The Authority has hired a secretary for this committee whose principal task is to organize the neighborhood for renewal."<sup>40</sup> Kritzman denies that he considered this to be the case, and emphasizes instead that he took the job only on the condition that he be permitted to conduct it in his own way. He maintains that he made it clear to the Authority that he could not promise that a plan would result from his efforts, and indeed that if he found community opinion to be strongly opposed to any such action, he would not feel limited from organizing citizen opposition to, rather than endorsement of, any plan. According to Kritzman, the Authority had little choice but to accept his conditions since it was limited as to what it could do. The CRA was as far in a hole as it could be.

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<sup>40</sup> Letter, Paul J. Frank to Charles J. Horan, November 21, 1963, p. 1, from a copy made available by Morris Kritzman.

The appointment of the Citizens Committee was the next major action in the sequence of events. The method by which it was created is a matter of some confusion among those involved. Kritzman says that he expressly requested delay in the appointment of the committee until he could get the "feel of the place." He did not want to appear to be imposed on a previously created body, but rather wished to make contacts in the Wellington-Harrington area first. Kritzman's appointment itself was not publicized. During December and January, he toured the neighborhood, spoke with the leaders in the community, beginning with the pastors of the churches, and with public officials and representatives of various agencies. He was referred by people with whom he spoke to others in the community, and by them to still others. Through such a process, he came in touch with all the community leaders. Certain names appeared more regularly, and the more influential people were considered for places on the committee. His only criterion appears to have been the expectation that a potential member of the committee be counted on to contribute positively.<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>41</sup>This information is taken from interviews with Morris Kritzman. Kritzman's explanation accounts for the failure of the committee to include among its members P. Gabriel Kirslis, one of the early leaders in the Minutemen. Several people supported this description of him: "He was not open-minded and able to work with a group. I did not consider him representative of the thinking opposition. Kirslis, from my reasoned judgment, would be like putting in the fox to take care of the hens. The others in the Minutemen agreed he wasn't representative of the opposition."

On the 16th of January Kritzman reported on his activities to the Urban Renewal Coordinating Committee meeting.

The minutes carry the following account:

Unfortunately the term "urban renewal" was often associated with "West-End" [among people in the community with whom Kritzman spoke]; with widespread demolition and relocation; with high rents; yet, after some interpretation everyone agreed as to the need for an active program of neighborhood improvement". There was especially strong support for the kind of program we are talking about - one in which the people of the neighborhood will be involved and will participate in the planning process. With only two exceptions, the people talked with said they were sorry the previous plan failed. They stated that most people in the area hoped the plan was going through. Many of the people who had signed the petition opposing the program felt this way as well as those who attended the meetings and even lent their names to the Committee which opposed the program [the Minutemen]. Some did this because they were given misinformation about their homes being taken, some because they didn't want to antagonize friends or neighbors. Some businessmen were fearful that if they didn't "go along" or at least "remain neutral" that it might effect [sic] their business. In almost all these instances the people involved said they "figured the plan was going through anyway."

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It has been made clear to all concerned that we are starting with a "blank piece of paper". There is no preconceived plan to be submitted to the residents. What will develop in the way of a neighborhood plan will grow out of the efforts of the Citizens Committee and the various subcommittees it will establish. These committees will look to City Department Heads and other specialists to help them to develop greater understanding of the neighborhood's problems and needs under

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Similarly, the committee did not include Leonard J. Russell, a local businessman, who sought a place on the committee. "People never thought of him as part of the community. We did not want to have people who are not concerned with the future of the neighborhood as a place to live."

study. In this way the people may be helped to greater understanding of their problems and develop ways of solving them. Because this is a vital program it was pointed out that the Coordinating Committee should be informed that there is now no plan and that there will be none until the people through their joint study and discussion create one.<sup>42</sup>

Kritzman ultimately submitted a list of potential citizens committee members to the Mayor and City Manager.

During the first week of February the Wellington-Harrington Citizens Committee was appointed. Its members included some Kritzman had never heard of. At his insistence, however, the committee also included some of the most outspoken of the original opponents, including the President of the Minutemen, John M. Raulinaitis. The original Order in Council had specified the inclusion of the pastors of the three Catholic churches in the area, and Father Anthony P. Baltrushunas (another of the original opponents) of the Lithuanian and Polish national church, Immaculate Conception, Father Manual J. Cascais of the Italian and Portuguese national church, St. Anthony's, and Father Joseph D. Meredith of the parish church, St. Patrick's, which also serves the Irish segment of the Catholic population, were included among the fourteen members. Rabbi Joseph P. Schultz represented the Jewish interests in the Wellington-Harrington community, though his synagogue is located outside the area.

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<sup>42</sup>Urban Renewal Coordinating Committee, Minutes of Meeting, January 16, 1964, pp. 1-2, with minor corrections made by Morris Kritzman. Emphasis theirs.

Most of these interests are commercial rather than those of residents. Appointment of the religious leaders was therefore quite straightforward and easily explained.

Reasons behind the appointments of the other members of the committee are more difficult to obtain. The Chairman, Arthur W. Botelho, is a teacher in the Harrington School. He is one of the members of whom Kritzman had not previously heard, and it was widely assumed that his appointment was a purely political move on the part of the Mayor Edward Crane. Yet, as Kritzman points out, Botelho has directed the committee in a completely apolitical fashion. Two other members were previously unknown to Kritzman. Robert Shea explained his appointment this way: He had been in Germany during the Berlin Crisis at the time of the first plan and had followed it only sporadically through articles in the *Chronicle-Sun*. On his return, he was surprised to hear that there was to be a talk at the Harrington School where urban renewal was to be discussed. Thinking this matter had been resolved with the defeat of the Donnelly Field plan, he went to the meeting out of curiosity. This meeting took place on February 12, and at it Morris Kritzman spoke on "Citizen Participation in Neighborhood Planning." Shea says he was interested in Kritzman's talk and afterwards remarked on this to a friend, Councillor Walter Sullivan, who was also present. The next day, says Shea, he received a call from Mayor Crane asking if he would be interested in serving. The third member of

the committee unknown to Kritzman was Mrs. Helen Mosiewicz. The only apparent reason for her appointment was as representative of the Polish community. Kritzman reports that "She just sat. She wasn't well." After only a few meetings, she resigned and was not replaced immediately.

The others on the original committee included Robert W. Bright, the sole Negro, Edward A. Conley, Master of the Harrington School, Pasquale R. ("Pat") Coppola, Mrs. Mary Nicoloro, Manuel Perry, Jr., and James F. ("Brud") Whalen, who is Director of Recreation for the Metropolitan District Commission. Bright is an extremely articulate man, a homeowner, and very active in civil rights activities in the city. As a resident of the area, he was the most logical person to represent the interests of the small number of Negroes in the neighborhood. Pat Coppola is a well-known figure in the community. He is now sales manager of a refining company, and frequently travels. He has maintained and cultivated his roots in the community, however, and in 1963 ran for the Cambridge School Committee, finishing tenth of seventeen candidates for the six position body. Endorsing him for a position on this body, the Cambridge Civic Association notes, "He works in his family's East Cambridge pastry shop, located at the same place for 23 years, where he has been in close contact with the people and problems of his area."<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> Cambridge Civic Association endorsement, quoted in the Cambridge *Chronicle-Sun*, September 12, 1963, p. 5.

Kritzman tends to deprecate Coppola's political strength, but it appears to be reasonably strong in his immediate neighborhood.<sup>44</sup>

Mrs. Louis S. Nicoloro is an unusual woman. Energetic and ebullient, she is dedicated to the eradication of barriers which set people apart. "Mary," as she insists everyone call her, had been extremely active in the city as a whole, especially in the area of recreation services. Cousin of Councillor Vellucci, she has lived in the same house since birth, a structure owned by her family. Manuel Perry is well-known and respected for his role in various religious and fraternal organizations. And "Brud" Whalen is one of the most widely known persons in the community. He is a former football coach at the Cambridge High and Latin School and has been one of the leading authorities on recreation facilities in the Boston Metropolitan area.

### Education

The approach adopted by Kritzman corresponds very closely to that proposed by Kane in 1961 (see footnote 35, above).

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<sup>44</sup>It must be remembered, however, that Cambridge votes according to the "PR" or proportional representation system, which gives added strength to minority representation. Coppola also had the benefit of an endorsement from the powerful Cambridge Civic Association. Kritzman attributes this to that organization's search for a candidate from East Cambridge, since the CCA is widely considered to be controlled by the Cambridge intellectual community centered around Harvard Square. A candidate such as Coppola would tend to counteract this image.

This committee knew from the outset, however, that it was to be concerned with neighborhood improvement. Thus, the opportunity to develop a group from issues or "problems which would at first glance seem entirely unrelated to renewal aims" did not exist. All issues were seen in the context of neighborhood improvement (rather than urban renewal, a distinction carefully fostered by Kritzman). At each of the weekly meetings of the committee, speakers were brought in by Kritzman to discuss various aspects of municipal affairs. At the first meeting, held February 26, 1964, Mayor Crane was on hand to inaugurate the process. The outline of proceedings prepared by Paul Frank is fairly revealing. The Mayor first introduced the various dignitaries present, concluding with Mr. Kritzman. Frank here notes that he is to be introduced "as secretary to Citizens Committee - (not C.O.)." Following the introduction of Kritzman, Frank directed: "Mayor points out the new citizens participation approach to Renewal Program in Wellington-Harrington area - but also responsibility of citizens to consider seriously a genuine neighborhood improvement plan which the Redevelopment Authority can match with Federal requirements."<sup>45</sup>

The underlying current of this first meeting -- that the Citizens Committee should be concerning itself with a Neighborhood Improvement Plan -- was brought sharply into focus

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<sup>45</sup> Paul J. Frank, Outline for meeting of February 26, 1964, from copy made available by Morris Kritzman.

by the two guest speakers, none other than Charles J. Horan and Lester Eisner, Jr., of the New York Regional Office of HHFA. Both stressed rehabilitation. Horan began by noting the emphasis on local direction in the urban renewal program while pointing out the necessity for plans to conform with certain Federal requirements. He presented in general terms the sequence of events leading from project designation to project execution. Half his talk dealt directly with rehabilitation and conservation and with the importance of citizen participation: "To insure the success of any rehabilitation program, a high degree of participation by owners and residents, as well as by public and private community organizations is essential."<sup>46</sup>

Eisner carried forward the discussion of rehabilitation, pointing out its difficulties as well as its advantages. "Rehabilitation," he cautioned, "is a complex, individualized renewal technique that is much tougher to carry out than clearance and redevelopment. Those of us who have participated in carrying out rehabilitation and conservation

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<sup>46</sup>This comment underscores one of the central conclusions reached by Langley C. Keyes, who makes the following comments: "Rehabilitation requires that local owners have sufficient faith and confidence in the plan proposed for their area that they be willing to pay to bring their property to the standard imposed by the renewal program" (p. 24). Also, "A successful rehabilitation project requires the involvement of sufficient residents to insure that public investment in the renewal area will be matched by significant investment from the local community," as well as "that some people in the neighborhood be sufficiently sold on the plan to stand up and support it at that [required public] hearing" (pp. 26-27). Keyes, *Rehabilitation Game*.

programs have learned this lesson through hard work, disillusionment, plan failures and even heartbreak." He outlined eight ingredients in a successful program of rehabilitation and conservation: 1.) A Neighborhood Plan, 2.) Public Improvements, 3.) Spot Clearance, 4.) Removal of Adverse Uses, 5.) Community Organization, 6.) Staff Assistance to Property Owners, 7.) Code Enforcement, 8.) Standards. Speaking on the fifth ingredient, Eisner said, "The success of a conservation program depends upon private investment of residents and property owners in the project area. Meaningful involvement of these people in planning, programming, and action is all-important. People will support what they help to create."<sup>47</sup>

The minutes of this meeting provide an indication of the degree of sophistication possessed by this committee at its inception. They report the following points were raised in the discussion following the talks:

1. Methods of rehabilitation
2. Code enforcement
3. Financing of improvements - amount of interest and periods of loans.
4. Relocation procedures
5. Appraisal methods and payment process to home owners for property taken.
6. Formation of a non-profit housing corporation.
7. Plan for 2-4 family units vs. High Rise apartments.
8. How to keep rents in line and avoid rent increase after property improvement
9. Relationship of the Citizens Committee to the Redevelopment Authority and the municipality.

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<sup>47</sup>Wellington-Harrington Citizens Committee, Transcript of Meeting, February 26, 1964.

10. Authority of the committee - decision making.<sup>48</sup>

Having been introduced to its task, the Committee set about the business of self-education, guided carefully by Morris Kritzman. As several of the members recalled later, they were "green" when it came to the process of neighborhood improvement. Chairman Botelho outlined this educative procedure:

I think you will agree that we should discuss basic community needs before we can organize our program. We must find the answer to many questions

What do we have?

What do we want?

What do we need?

In other words, we will concentrate during this early period in the life of our Committee preparing ourselves with as much information as possible before we get into discussions leading to major decisions. Before we make any decisions, let's be sure we have all of the facts we need to make our decisions sound ones. That makes sense, doesn't it?<sup>49</sup>

For Kritzman, the greatest need was to mold a collection of fourteen individuals into a cohesive group. "I needed time," he recalls. "My purpose was to bring the people into involvement in the improvement of their neighborhood."<sup>50</sup>

In successive meetings, the heads of various city departments and agencies spoke on their particular operations.

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<sup>48</sup>Wellington-Harrington Citizens Committee, Minutes of Meeting, February 26, 1964, pp. 1-2.

<sup>49</sup>Wellington-Harrington Citizens Committee, Minutes of Meeting, March 11, 1964, pp. 1-2.

<sup>50</sup>Interview with Morris Kritzman, Secretary-Coordinator, Wellington-Harrington Citizens Committee.

Speakers included City Planner Alan McClennen; Paul Frank of the CRA; James A. Feeley, Chief Underwriter for the Boston Office of the Federal Housing Administration; William Cleary, Superintendent of Recreation for the City of Cambridge; Most Rev. Thomas J. Riley, John R. Moot, President, and Leo Sarkisian, Executive Director, all of Cambridge Community Services; Dr. Benjamin Sachs, Health Commissioner; Paul Marsh, Supervisor of Environment and Sanitation; and Robert Rudolph, Traffic Director. The Citizens Committee received a sound briefing in the operations of municipal government.

During this period, also, the Citizens Committee began to tackle some minor issues of community concern. At the March 30th meeting, it took up the matters of a general neighborhood clean-up campaign as an organizational tool, efforts to block licensing of a pool room in the area, meetings with neighborhood merchants, and beautification of the area through tree planting.<sup>51</sup>

The handling of one issue is indicative of the way the Committee met its responsibility as a public body. The *Chronicle-Sun* reported that Councillor Vellucci had voiced objection to a proposed sign at a used car lot on Webster Ave. Since the Wellington-Harrington Citizens Committee was assuming responsibility for neighborhood improvement, Vellucci

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<sup>51</sup> Wellington-Harrington Citizens Committee, Minutes of Meeting, March 30, 1964, p. 1.

asked that it be given an opportunity to deliver an opinion on the propriety of such a sign. "Councillor Bernard Goldberg pointed out that the council would undoubtedly receive a negative report on the sign from the committee."<sup>52</sup> However, on April 17th Chairman Botelho addressed a letter to the City Council stating that the committee "has concluded that the use under existing zoning for that particular site as a used car lot is legal and the issuing of a permit for a sign for that business is not contrary to the practice of the City in granting such permits. The Committee, therefore, feels that it cannot reasonably object to the permit requested in this application."<sup>53</sup>

In an editorial, the *Chronicle-Sun* summarized the situation as it stood in early April:

As a result [of the defeat of the Donnelly Field plan], the city now has what is believed to be a very sane approach to neighborhood improvement programs.

The function of the citizens committee, which meets at least once a week in the Wellington-Harrington area, is to study the fundamentals of the program first before getting into detailed planning of neighborhood improvements. Citizens who have lived in that area should understand the factors which have led to some undesirable situations in the neighborhood that now need to be revised. The committee is representative of all the people in the neighborhood who will be brought into the program when the committee reaches out to them at

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<sup>52</sup>Cambridge *Chronicle-Sun*, April 9, 1964, p. 4.

<sup>53</sup>Letter from Arthur W. Botelho, Chairman, Wellington-Harrington Citizens Committee, to the City Council of Cambridge, April 17, 1964, from a copy made available by Morris Kritzman.

the various discussion groups.

As we understand it, the citizens committee, appointed by Mayor Crane, as the result of requests by the City Council, is empowered to call upon any city department for technical assistance and advice, and the Redevelopment Authority is authorized to use city funds to pay for personnel and supplies required by this committee in its study.

The committee understands that it and the Redevelopment Authority are obligated to meet certain planning standards in the proposed neighborhood improvement plan if they are to seek City Council approval of an application for Federal funds, but these planning standards emphasize the rehabilitation of existing buildings. This is not a "bulldozer" operation such as the West End project in Boston.

One can only hope that this neighborhood democratic process will overcome most of the difficulties in urban renewal projects in the past and that emotionalism created by some of the mistakes in the past may now be eliminated.<sup>54</sup>

Beginning in March Planner McClennen began laying before the committee the various alternatives from which it should choose, in constructing its neighborhood improvement plan, first outlining existing conditions and problems, then posing possible solutions. For example, he described the residential pattern of the neighborhood, its problems, and methods of correcting some of the faults, then suggested four alternatives for the future -- single-family, two-family, row housing, or apartments. He was able thereby to clarify the choices in terms of easily understandable concepts. At this same meeting, Paul Frank discussed the role of the Authority. The minutes report that

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<sup>54</sup>Cambridge *Chronicle-Sun*, April 9, 1964, p. 12.

once a plan has been recommended by this Committee, the Redevelopment Authority will be responsible for taking it before the State Housing Board, City Council, Federal Authorities. The Authority will do everything necessary to:

- a. Carry out the plan
- b. Award the contracts
- c. Set up a One-stop Neighborhood Service Office. Specialists assigned to this office will help property owners obtain all information and assistance necessary for anything they want done for their homes --- rehabilitation costs, contractor sources, financing plans, contact and assistance with banks and FHA. In short the Redevelopment Authority will operate as administrators of any approved plan conceived by this Committee.<sup>55</sup>

At this time, too, the Citizens Committee began consideration of its mode of operations following the briefing period. One of the first questions to come up was that of broadening representation on the committee through expansion. Because the original committee had been appointed by the Mayor, it was determined that any additional participation would come through creation of subcommittees. This organizational structure apparently was reached before the first meeting, since the minutes from February 26 record that "Mayor Crane expressed the hope that this Committee would assume a real leadership role and involve the entire neighborhood through sub-committee organization. In this way additional interested residents could participate in the work of the committee planning for neighborhood improvement."<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>55</sup>Wellington-Harrington Citizens Committee, Minutes of Meeting, March 18, 1964, pp. 2-3.

<sup>56</sup>Wellington-Harrington Citizens Committee, Minutes of Meeting, February 26, 1964, p. 1.

Notes from a meeting between Kritzman and Botelho on March 10 indicate the added possibility of "possible small group meetings in a block or street basis."<sup>57</sup> The following day, the matter was brought up at the committee meeting:

Mr. Bright reported that some neighbors have raised the question as to how inclusive our Committee is. Does it include "all schools of thought" in the neighborhood? He further reported that a suggestion was made that Mr. or Mrs. Kirslis should be included on the Committee.

It was pointed out by the Chairman and several other Committee members, that:

1. This Committee does represent a good cross-section of the neighborhood. It includes each spiritual leader and a group of responsible people selected by the Mayor, all of who[m] have been active in community affairs. Each is public-minded and each is capable of rising above "factional" thinking to the good of the totality of the neighborhood and the larger community of which the neighborhood is a part. The Committee was selected by the Mayor, in compliance with a City Council order. We are established as an advisory group to make recommendations for a Neighborhood Improvement program, which will meet the needs of our neighborhood. We cannot change the composition of the Committee. This is the prerogative of the Mayor and the City Council. However, we have the opportunity to involve every interested resident of the Neighborhood in the work of our Committee. This will be done by opening up opportunities for every interested resident to share in the work of the sub-committees. These Committees will get underway as we complete our orientation sessions which are planned for the next few weeks. In this way, we will be able to help formulate neighborhood thinking on as wide a base as possible. The Chairman stated that he would see that the suggestion pertaining to Mr. or Mrs. Kirslis is conveyed to the Mayor for his consideration.<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>57</sup>Morris Kritzman, notes from discussion with Arthur Botelho, March 10, 1964.

<sup>58</sup>Wellington-Harrington Citizens Committee, Minutes of Meeting, March 11, 1964, p. 1.

These notes bear the unmistakable imprint of Morris Kritzman, who as Secretary-Coordinator to the Citizens Committee was responsible for keeping the minutes. More will be said later about these two aspects of the Wellington-Harrington situation: The representativeness of the Committee and the role of Morris Kritzman. For the moment, however, we shall continue with this largely chronological exposition of the events.

Following the "orientation" sessions, the Committee undertook two major tasks. In April, Pat Coppola and Mary Nicoloro were named to the Cambridge Citizens Committee for a Clean City. The Wellington-Harrington group had already taken steps toward a neighborhood clean-up effort, and Coppola was designated to take charge of a campaign. This operation became one of the primary tools for bringing the Committee to the attention of the residents of the neighborhood and in creating a more positive atmosphere in the community.

The Neighborhood Clean-Up Campaign was set for the 28th and 29th of May. Coppola established a broadly based organization, with block captains designated to alert residents, and with promotional materials such as flyers. He got the City Manager to request the Police Department to supply a squad car equipped with a loudspeaker to tour the area informing people who might have missed the other notifications. The campaign proved extremely successful.

The second task was the delineation of project boundaries, which began in May. On the 25th, tentative lines were established encompassing a *larger* area than had been marked out for the Donnelly Field project. At this meeting, Kritzman emphasized that the lines drawn were for study purposes only and that when the final project area was decided, it would be easier to reduce the size of the area than to expand it.<sup>59</sup>

In the latter part of the spring, Kritzman began to encourage the formation of subcommittees to deal with specific facets of the improvement program. He selected those areas which were likely to have the broadest community appeal, health services and recreation, and business interests, the area of most obvious need, in terms of expanding the contact of the Committee. Mary Nicoloro took charge of the subcommittee on health services, Brud Whalen that of recreation, and Pat Coppola headed the subcommittee of merchants. Each of these subcommittees sought participation from interested members of the community, and the failure of each constitutes an important aspect of the Wellington-Harrington story which will be examined later.

During the summer months, meetings became less frequent as certain Committee members left the city for various vacation spots. However, a third task was commenced during this

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<sup>59</sup>Wellington-Harrington Citizens Committee, Minutes of Meeting, May 25, 1964, p. 3.

period, the establishment of Minimum Property Standards. Since the Committee was dedicated to the rehabilitation of the area, rather than a program of clearance, and since many otherwise rehabilitable buildings were considered substandard in the eyes of the zoning ordinance and various of the city codes, it was necessary to set standards which would apply specifically to the Wellington-Harrington area and which would be acceptable to FHA. The meeting with James Feeley, Chief Underwriter for the Boston Office of FHA, served as the kick off for this assignment. In mid-June, Paul Frank supplied a rough draft of a possible set of standards from which the Committee could work. Committee members accompanied a survey team on an exterior survey of the entire area in early July and became familiar with the types of structural problems with which they would have to deal. On July 20th work began in earnest on selecting the standards for the area. At that meeting, Paul Frank proposed a timetable for future Committee deliberations: "By late August, we would like to have a neighborhood improvement plan in draft form to be approved by this Committee. This draft should be flexible so that parts of the plan may be changed as situations develop, before final approval. ... If all goes well, we should be able to send this plan to the Planning Board, the Redevelopment Authority, and finally the City Council in September."<sup>60</sup> The

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<sup>60</sup>Wellington-Harrington Citizens Committee, Minutes of Meeting, July 20, 1964, p. 2.

preliminary stage of Committee education was now over, and the CRA was looking for action.

### Planning

On July 29th the Committee adopted the rough draft spelling out the Minimum Property Standards and measures to deal with property owners who would not comply. "However, it is urged that these procedures not be applied arbitrarily, but that special provision should be made for all hardship cases."<sup>61</sup>

During August, the Committee considered specific planning proposals, including land uses, types of housing, circulation patterns, and other aspects having physical consequences. Alan McClennen was extremely active during this period, posing alternatives and interpreting the implications of each to the Committee. On September 17th, "after a detailed presentation by Mr. McClennen covering proposals for each of the blocks in the neighborhood, the Committee unanimously voted approval of each proposal. A general plan for the neighborhood has now been developed."<sup>62</sup> Thus, less than seven months after its first meeting this Committee of citizens had produced a plan for the Wellington-Harrington

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<sup>61</sup>Wellington-Harrington Citizens Committee, Minutes of Meeting, July 29, 1964.

<sup>62</sup>Wellington-Harrington Citizens Committee, Minutes of Meeting, September 17, 1964, p. 2.

neighborhood.

City Council adoption of the final, detailed plan did not come until May 17, eight months later. During the intervening period, the Citizens Committee refined the general plan and during October held a series of public meetings in various locations around the neighborhood for the purpose of bringing the plan to the attention of the residents. In December, the Committee presented the general plan to the City Council. Members of the Committee discussed particular aspects of the proposal and fielded questions themselves. The Council then approved the plan, in principle, and it was referred to the New York Regional Office for comments.<sup>63</sup>

During the early months of 1965, the Committee continued to meet, though less frequently than at the beginning of the planning process one year previously. Kritzman attempted to direct the Committee toward more involvement with social issues, away from the purely physical character it had taken. On February 11, the *Chronicle-Sun* took note of a forthcoming study of the area's health needs by the Health Services subcommittee, directed by Mary Nicoloro. Of the seven members on the subcommittee, only two were not on the parent Committee. The article also quoted Arthur Botelho: "...Our committee feels that physical renewal is not enough. Our concern is with people and it is this concern that underlies

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<sup>63</sup>This unusual procedure grew out of an agreement between Paul Frank and Charles Horan, which will be discussed later.

the physical plan we have developed."<sup>64</sup>

The Citizens Committee devoted itself toward refining the final plan, in preparation for the required public hearing. The general plan, approved in principle by the Council, had been sent to the New York Regional Office. Comments were received by the Committee and corrections made to make the plan conform with Federal specifications. The Committee also expanded its knowledge, hearing speakers on more specialized subjects, dealing especially with rehabilitation and with 221(d)3 projects. The various subcommittees were more active at this time than at any other either before or after the May public hearing. A Mothers' Committee was created, with Mary Nicoloro as its chairman, to attempt to bridge the gap between residents of the project area and those living in Roosevelt Towers, which had been excluded from the planning area.<sup>65</sup>

The City Council announced that the public hearing would be held on May 10th, almost exactly three years after the defeat of the Donnelly Field plan. Prior to this hearing, the Citizens Committee organized a series of neighborhood presentations. Despite attempts from agitators from Charlestown to disrupt these meetings, those community members present voiced overwhelming support for the proposals. At

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<sup>64</sup>Cambridge *Chronicle-Sun*, February 11, 1965, p. 20.

<sup>65</sup>This action has had serious consequences since, and the decision and its implications will be examined later on.

the ensuing public hearing, opposition was sporadic while supporters of the plan clearly dominated the gathering. The industrial interests voiced the strongest protest. One of their spokesmen expressed sympathy with the objectives of the Citizens Committee but remarked, "I hope ... they will give the industrialists the same considerations they are giving residents."<sup>66</sup> A week later, the City Council approved the plan by a 7-2 vote, and the *Chronicle-Sun* rhapsodized:

Chalk up another "first" for Cambridge.

For the first time anywhere in the nation, the residents of a neighborhood have drawn up an acceptable urban renewal plan, with no assistance except that which they specifically requested.

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The Citizens Committee engaged in real grass roots planning. It was a case of those who knew their neighborhood best making plans to make their neighborhood better.<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>66</sup>Cambridge *Chronicle-Sun*, May 13, 1965, p. 2.

<sup>67</sup>Cambridge *Chronicle-Sun*, May 20, 1965, p. 10.

### III. THE PROCESS

#### The Plan

The Wellington-Harrington Neighborhood Improvement Plan is a political document, a compromise reached in a bargaining framework where "good planning principles" were not highly valued. The process through which it was reached represents the sacrifice of planning ideals to neighborhood desires as the price to be paid for achieving the objectives for which the program was designed by the City Council and the Redevelopment Authority.

As has been pointed out, there were two primary reasons for an urban renewal project in the Donnelly Field or Wellington-Harrington area. The first was the desire to take advantage of Federal credits created by the construction of the Harrington School. This made possible an expenditure of some \$8.5 million of Federal funds without a further contribution on the part of Cambridge. The second reason was to establish a showcase, of sorts, of what can be done in the city through urban renewal. The stigma of the West End experience in Boston overshadowed the early days of the Cambridge renewal program. The Donnelly Field proposal would demonstrate that the excesses of the Boston project could be avoided in Cambridge and that renewal need not be a dirty word.

There was ample reason to be optimistic about the realization of both goals. Neighborhood 3 undoubtedly qualified for urban renewal assistance, and all that was necessary was the development of a plan to bring this about. It would be a matter only of drawing up an acceptable program, and the \$2.5 million which had to be spent anyway on the Harrington School would be made to pay off handsomely in Federal dollars. Furthermore, conditions in the area appeared ideal for a plan. Rehabilitation would be the key to the program, and the Donnelly Field plan prepared by Alan McClennen and the Planning Board staff, under contract to the Redevelopment Authority, called for retention and rehabilitation for 82% of the existing housing. Only 18% would be demolished. Everybody in the area would support a plan which called for the removal of the auto junk yards, certainly the single most blighting influence on the neighborhood. A two-block area with a high concentration of these nuisance uses could be cleared first. This area also contained the abandoned Wellington School, occupying 20% of the 4 1/2 acre site (see Plan 1). Before any housing in the area would be demolished, the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees, AFL-CIO, would build 142 units of 221(d)3 housing to take care of those relocatees who wished to remain in the area. This was an enlightened plan, even by academic standards of "good planning principles." It featured staging, on-site relocation in one step, and minimal clearance.

Rehabilitation was also seen to be feasible from the point of view of the property owner. The area had a high percentage of owner-occupied structures. Only 35.9% of properties in the neighborhood carried mortgages, an extremely low figure for Metropolitan Boston. Problems arising from minority groups were another area where little difficulty was anticipated. The Donnelly Field Loan and Grant application reported 9 non-white families in the entire area, with only two Chinese families in one building in need of relocation.<sup>1</sup> All in all, it appeared to be the ideal place to demonstrate the effectiveness of an urban renewal program.

There is really only one cause for the defeat of the Donnelly Field plan. This is simply that an extremely articulate segment of the project area population felt something was being imposed on them without their knowledge. P. Gabriel Kirslis, one of the leaders of the Minutemen, blamed the City Council for failing to represent the will of the people: "They try to put things over on the people."<sup>2</sup> There is still a general feeling today that Donnelly Field represented a bulldozer approach to urban renewal, and its affinity to the West End project is cited by many even though the high percentage of conservation and rehabilitation was one of the

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<sup>1</sup>Cambridge Redevelopment Authority, Application for Loan and Grant, Part I, Donnelly Field Urban Renewal Project, Mass. R-14, Code R-215, April 5, 1962.

<sup>2</sup>Interview with P. Gabriel Kirslis.

high points of the Donnelly Field plan. The lack of good communication with the community lies behind the defeat of that proposal.

Another example of this failing, which amounts to no more than a lack of public relations with the community leaders, is the tendency to identify the row housing proposed by the Chicago-based union with public housing and "projects." John Raulinaitis expresses this view, which has not been eradicated even today: "Why have projects or garden apartments owned by one person? Big tracts of land. I'm against it. Look what's happened to row houses in Roxbury. Landlords are impartial to people. They don't care so long as they can make a buck. Then you put a mass of dirty people in. Too many tenants means a lack of control for the landlord. Why an outfit from Chicago should come here, supposedly non-profit -- notice I choose my words -- supposedly. It just doesn't add up. I don't see any outfit in the world tying up millions of dollars just for non-profit, so I formed a committee of residents called the Minutemen, because we had to form in a hurry."<sup>3</sup>

Pat Coppola stresses the importance of support for a program from the political leaders of a neighborhood. According to him, the two politicians from East Cambridge, Councillor Vellucci and himself, were not behind the plan as

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<sup>3</sup>Interview with John M. Raulinaitis, Wellington-Harrington Citizens Committee.

it was originally presented. There wasn't enough contact with the people of the neighborhood, he recalls, so the political leaders opposed it, though it was "a good plan, not too different from the new one. You've got to have the pulse of the people. You don't just go into somebody's house and say, 'This is it.' These people have been living here for two or three generations, and who are you to say, 'This is it'?"<sup>4</sup>

The lack of citizen participation was immediately pinpointed by all involved with the Donnelly Field plan as the cause of its failure, and the need "to organize support in the neighborhood for renewal"<sup>5</sup> was seen to be of elemental importance. In other respects, however, the planning process which subsequently evolved was kept as close as possible to that undergone in the Donnelly Field case. The effort was mainly in pointing out reasons why decisions had been made in a particular way in the first project. The educative role stressed all the requirements which a neighborhood had to meet, rather than the sort of imagination-expanding learning process familiar to planning students. The emphasis was on the constraints, not the possibilities, and each lesson said, "This is why you must do such-and-such in this way."

The Citizens Committee had certain objectives of its

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<sup>4</sup>Interview with Pasquale R. Coppola, Wellington-Harrington Citizens Committee.

<sup>5</sup>Paul J. Frank, Letter to Charles J. Horan, November 21, 1963.

own which caused a degree of pressure for some aspects of the plan and prevented the Wellington-Harrington project from being altogether a carbon copy of its predecessor. These can be gathered under the rubric of "preserving the residential character of our neighborhood," which is in fact the expression used by Chairman Botelho.<sup>6</sup>

Initial opposition to the Donnelly Field plan had centered around the degree of clearance (18%), and the Committee was committed to reducing this figure to the extent possible. This required the adoption of a set of Minimum Property Standards which were not part of the original proposal. Nevertheless, the Committee was not and could not reasonably be expected to have the capability of preparing these standards itself, and those adopted are based on a draft supplied by the CRA, with the single addition being the proviso favoring leniency in the handling of cases where enforced rehabilitation would impose hardships on the owner of a structure.

Because of the high rate of owner occupancy and of property owned by residents living elsewhere in the neighborhood, the demolition of homes posed a real problem. For many, especially the elderly, this constituted the main source of income. In addition, it was felt that compensation, even at

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<sup>6</sup> Arthur W. Botelho, Chairman, Wellington-Harrington Citizens Committee, from draft of statement (prepared by Morris Kritzman) to Cambridge Redevelopment Authority, December 2, 1964.

the market rate, would not adequately serve the needs of the dispossessed. In what is the most creative contribution of the Citizens Committee, a proposal was developed whereby a non-profit corporation would construct individual homes of the two- or three-family type, which would then be offered for sale, with priority going to those whose real property had been or would be taken.<sup>7</sup>

Preservation of the residential character can be seen most visibly in the stipulation that new housing must be of the two- or three-family variety. Row housing or anything resembling a "project" was taboo. The fears expressed by John Raulinaitis were recognized in the new plan. This was an extremely important objective to the Citizens Committee. The Donnelly Field application had asserted that economic reuse of the land was not suited for such structures.<sup>8</sup> The Wellington-Harrington application, however, contains this statement: "Studies have been made which show that site plans can be developed for two family and similar low density structures which would be of a type common in the neighborhood and popular among the residents."<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> It is important to stress, however, that the feasibility of this proposal has not been tested since the project has not yet gone into execution.

<sup>8</sup> Cambridge Redevelopment Authority, Application for Loan and Grant, Part I, Donnelly Field Urban Renewal Project, Mass. R-14, Code R-212, April 5, 1962.

<sup>9</sup> Cambridge Redevelopment Authority, Application for Loan and Grant, Wellington-Harrington Neighborhood Improvement Project, Mass. R-108, Code R-212, May 20, 1965.

Still another objective of the Committee was the elimination of the "eyesore" nuisance uses along Webster Ave. This was a major factor in permitting the use of the two-block site which is a feature of both plans. Only Raulinaitis expressed any qualms about the removal of the junk yards, since he claims their proprietors have a legal right to retain them if they wish. However, because they were a readily visible cause of deterioration, the Committee accepted the proposal that the site be used largely as originally designated in the Donnelly Field plan. Other uses not in consonance with the residential character of the neighborhood have also been eliminated or restricted. Certain of the light industries scattered through the area have been offered sites in a proposed small industrial park at one edge of the project, with adequate precautions taken to buffer this area from adjacent residential uses.

The other differences between the two plans can be traced to these Citizen Committee objectives as well. Thus, Planner McClennen's proposals for "fingers of green linkages" and similar concepts of the "good plan" have been disregarded in favor of preserving the houses. Structures too close together will remain and be rehabilitated. Mixed uses will be preserved along Cambridge St. And so on.

When a particular decision did not relate specifically to their objectives, the Citizens Committee was perfectly happy to leave it to the professionals. In most cases, the

extent of Committee involvement went no farther than decisions on land use. For these, alternatives were offered by McClennen, and the citizens were gradually guided to the proper choice. All the reasons for a particular alternative were explained carefully, and the Committee, not having adequate grounds on which to do otherwise, acquiesced.<sup>10</sup> Says Raulinaitis, "Learning the process is a waste of time, because if the law is written, you can't change it. There's no point in learning the ins and outs because you can't do anything about it. You can't make lawyers out of us."<sup>11</sup>

The Wellington-Harrington plan is in large measure the same as the Donnelly Field plan (see Plans 1 and 2). It has been designed to serve individual needs and situations, however, an element customarily lacking in planning efforts, which thrive on the broad-brush approach. The result therefore lacks some of the unity and "comprehensiveness" which planners strive to attain, and instead appears to be a collection of spot actions, still another departure from "good planning principles." The key to the Wellington-Harrington approach lies in the fact that this plan constitutes a solution to the problems of the present day, with little concern for the future. Alan McClennen sums this up concisely: "We

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<sup>10</sup>I am not suggesting that such decisions were necessarily wrong, only that the process by which they were reached was based on the assumption that there was no other feasible way.

<sup>11</sup>Interview with John M. Raulinaitis.

haven't solved what's wrong with the neighborhood. The issues were just barely coped with. We got only half way there, if you go by the [Urban Renewal] Manual. We knew what they wanted before they started, and we just didn't bother to try to change that. This [plan] is a compromise for this generation."<sup>12</sup> This strongly supports a contention that the objective of citizen participation is likely to conflict with the objectives of comprehensiveness and a long-term view.

Finally, the Wellington-Harrington plan is a solution of the needs of a particular area. It does not respond well to city-wide requirements. This phenomenon has been commented on by Langley Keyes: "In the political market place within which a neighborhood plan is hammered out, there is neither a rule that all the groups in the neighborhood must benefit from the plan nor that the plan must be good for the larger community outside the artificial walls created by the project boundaries."<sup>13</sup> The most important manifestation of this localism comes in the area of housing. Cambridge has an acute housing shortage, according to some observers.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>12</sup>Interview with Alan McClennen, Director, Cambridge Planning Board.

<sup>13</sup>Keyes, *Rehabilitation Game*, p. 482.

<sup>14</sup>These include Richard Green of the Cambridge Corporation and Justin Gray, Assistant to the City Manager for Community Planning and Development. However, Alan McClennen does not agree: "I don't know what a serious housing problem is. In simple terms, two students can buy out one Cantabrigian. But you just don't know if these people planned to leave anyway or not. Housing conditions are

It is expected that if the proposed Inner Belt highway is constructed, there will be a substantial relocation load. The Citizens Committee did take the Belt into consideration, but only to the extent of using it for one boundary of the project area, assuming it would take the proposed Brookline-Elm St. route. Otherwise, there has been virtually no increase in the housing supply through their plan. John Raulinaitis spoke for the Committee when he said, "We don't want more people. We want the same amount of people - with a little more breathing room, for a better neighborhood."<sup>15</sup> Not only that, the Committee wanted the *same* people. Thus, the decision was made to disregard in effect the relocation needs of the city-wide community. This sort of insularity is probably a fundamental dilemma from the decentralization of decision-making. Throughout its deliberations, it is apparent that the Committee is not giving conscious recognition to factors impinging on it from outside, except insofar as it seeks to eliminate them. Neighborhood planning in Wellington-Harrington sacrificed the interests of the larger community.<sup>16</sup>

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improving. It's awfully easy to be an urban renewal planner in a community that is upward moving, economically. The overall economic situation is bullish as hell."

<sup>15</sup> Wellington-Harrington Citizens Committee, Transcript of Meeting, May 25, 1964, p. 2.

<sup>16</sup> Father Baltrushunas summed this up: "Our main problem was to come up with a plan for this specified area." Those who pretended the plan had contributed to the city saw this

### Two Personalities

The conflict between two major personalities furnishes an important element of the Wellington-Harrington experience which cannot be divorced from the analysis of the process through which a neighborhood improvement plan was ultimately reached. The two were Paul J. Frank, then Acting Executive Director of the Cambridge Redevelopment Authority, and Morris Kritzman, Secretary-Coordinator to the Citizens Committee.

Kritzman, as has been said, is an extremely independent-minded individual. He is not a natural administrator and appears frustrated by bureaucratic impediments. Unhappy in his job as Director of Human Relations and Training in a private corporation, he applied for the Wellington-Harrington position though it meant a lower salary. To him, the objective appears not to have been the development of a neighborhood improvement plan so much as the organization of a community. Physical plans were not enough, and he had a deep commitment to initiating programs with social implications as well. Indeed, he made it clear when he took on the job that he could not guarantee the Redevelopment Authority, which employed him, that any plan at all would result. An acceptable objective for his services would be the development within the community of the ability to handle its own problems, if need be, and he felt a strong possibility

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in terms of rescuing the city from the potential loss of Federal credits.

existed that community confidence might result in the feeling that the CRA was merely an intrusion.

Paul Frank is a true bureaucrat, a man dedicated to playing the game by the rules. The Urban Renewal Manual is truly his "black bible." During the Donnelly Field program, Frank was second to John E. Connolly in the Redevelopment Authority staff. When Connolly left, Frank was appointed Acting Executive Director by then-Mayor Edward Crane. Frank has been called "a political hack,"<sup>17</sup> and Kritzman expressed the view that Frank's sole reason for holding the job was the political support of the Mayor. "Paul Frank was Mayor Crane's man in there," he claims.<sup>18</sup>

There is a strong sense among the members of the Committee that most of the fault for the friction between the two men lies with Frank's inability to see beyond the petty administrative requirements of the planning process. Several cases were mentioned where Frank refused to approve expenditures for small items such as postage, though the City Council had appropriated \$40,000 for the period of planning leading up to restoration of Federal funds.

Frank wanted no more than the development of a plan which would conform to Federal requirements yet would pass safely through a public hearing. All the book called for was a

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<sup>17</sup> Interview with anonymous source.

<sup>18</sup> Interview with Morris Kritzman.

physical plan, responding to a specific set of Manual code requirements. Anything beyond this was "frosting on the cake." Citizen participation was a necessary step in the planning phase, but once approval was granted following the public hearing, it would be necessary to get down to the "meat and potatoes" of the business.<sup>19</sup>

Committee member Bob Shea felt there was a great need for planning technicians who could supply the data on which the Committee could base such decisions as it was called upon to make. "We're a policy-making body, not a technical staff. We have questions we want answered, and there's nobody there to answer them." This became an extremely important limitation on the extent to which the Committee could make planning decisions. Shea feels that such mistakes as the Committee did make in the planning details stems from this lack. "We didn't have the professional people in the planning stage -- that, I think, is the basic point." The Committee was perfectly competent to prepare the general plan which was presented in December, 1964. However, the succeeding five months necessitated detailed information from surveys which were not forthcoming. Treatment of individual parcels would have to be spelled out. "We're not professional inspectors.

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<sup>19</sup> Morris Kritzman claims he saw these terms in a memorandum sent by Paul Frank within the Authority which was not supposed to have reached Kritzman's eyes. Barbara Markunas also used the first phrase to describe Paul Frank's view of anything beyond the book requirements.

How can we tell exactly what's to be done?" The CRA's solution was to utilize the data collected for the Donnelly Field plan, an idea which Shea scorns: "When you're dealing with humans, people move, things change," he says. He believes funds could have been secured to undertake the needed surveys had there been a commitment to the process. "I think if the city government was sincere in wanting a plan, they should have backed this Committee up with funds." Asked if he felt there was any one thing which could be pinpointed as the cause for this, he suggested: "If there was any roadblock, I would say it was Paul Frank. It could come down to one man."<sup>20</sup>

The inability of the Committee to secure funds when they were needed was also noted by others. Mary Nicoloro blames the failure of a Mothers' Committee which she headed on inadequate financing.<sup>21</sup> This was one of the attempts made to expand the range of activities of the Committee to get more people in the area, including those in the Roosevelt Towers project, involved in the uplifting of the community which Kritzman saw as his goal. Each effort made to expand the contacts of the Committee fell through for lack of administrative support. Kritzman had planned to encourage the

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<sup>20</sup> Interview with Robert J. Shea, Wellington-Harrington Citizens Committee.

<sup>21</sup> Interview with Mary Nicoloro, Wellington-Harrington Citizens Committee.

growth of subcommittees stressing community-wide needs such as health services, recreation facilities, and the like. The small expenditure for postage which was turned down was to have paid for the distribution of promotional material throughout the area.

The shortage of funds is due in part to an arrangement made between Paul Frank and the Federal officials in the New York Regional Office. Because of the fact that the Donnelly Field project had received funds for Survey and Planning, preparatory to submittal of the application for Loan and Grant, it was decided that the Wellington-Harrington project would not be eligible for such funding. The City therefore appropriated \$40,000 for this phase of the renewal process. Return to Federal financing was made contingent on City Council approval of the Loan and Grant application.

The most serious result of this arrangement was that the Committee was forced to prepare detailed planning proposals without the necessary information on which to base its decisions. It was a fairly understandable settlement, though it does not seem unrealistic to suggest that in view of the passage of time, with a corresponding obsolescence of available data, coupled with the fact that project boundaries were expanded, an agreement for some Federal assistance might have been reached. The City appropriation should have been sufficient, however, and it is not clear why some of it was not devoted to supplying more adequate data to the Committee.

In part, this may be attributable, as Bob Shea suggests, to Paul Frank.

The entire area of social planning was closed off to the Committee. To be sure, some members felt there was no need for this. Dick Green terms these as an "unreconstructed-America-the-Beautiful-no-problems-in-our-neighborhood kind of people,"<sup>22</sup> and Alan McClennen, speaking on the exclusion of Roosevelt Towers from the planning boundaries, claimed: "We can't get enough support from the Committee to bring them in, though some on the Committee have developed a high degree of social conscience."<sup>23</sup> However, the opposition of Paul Frank appears the predominant reason why the Committee was unable to expand into this new area. "The only way the Towers got in was because I tried to back in a little bit," recalls Kritzman. "Remember, I was told to 'lay off. This is not your business.'"<sup>24</sup>

Frank's insistence on conformity with the rules explains the exclusion of Roosevelt Towers in the first instance. Since the housing project had already received a Federal subsidy (though it is State-run), an official in HHFA ruled it would not be eligible for a further Federal subsidy. Frank was told it would not be acceptable to include it in the

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<sup>22</sup>Interview with Richard Green.

<sup>23</sup>Interview with Alan McClennen.

<sup>24</sup>Interview with Morris Kritzman.

project boundaries, and while it was originally intended to be part of the Donnelly Field project, it was first struck out there. When the Wellington-Harrington Citizens Committee was setting boundaries for their project, they were informed by Frank that the Federal government would not permit inclusion of the Towers. Since the Citizens Committee and Kritzman, both new to the renewal process, had no way of suspecting otherwise, this large segment of the neighborhood (though it is not of the community) was summarily eliminated from further consideration. Dick Green, familiar with the methods of handling the Federal bureaucracy learned while he was at the Boston Redevelopment Authority, comments acerbically that "some official in Washington probably got a nice raise for saving the Feds so much money."<sup>25</sup>

Exclusion of Roosevelt Towers also makes sense when one considers renewal in purely physical terms. Interviews with tenants of the project indicated strongly that those issues

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<sup>25</sup> Interview with Richard Green. Green was formerly Project Manager of the South End Urban Renewal Project in Boston for the BRA. That project includes a public housing project within its boundaries, as does the current Campus High School Urban Renewal Project in the Madison Park section of Boston's Roxbury.

The financial savings to which he alludes comes from a more recent development in the Wellington-Harrington Project. The Department of Housing and Urban Development, successor to HHFA, has lately ruled that Cambridge is not entitled to claim Federal credits for that percentage of the cost of the Harrington School which serves students from Roosevelt Towers. Current estimates indicate this will mean a loss of some half a million dollars to the city unless it can persuade HUD to reverse this decision.

which were of primary concern to them were substantially different from those with which the Committee was dealing. In part, of course, this was directly attributable to the restrictions placed on the Committee. However, one dominant objective of the Committee members was to "save homes." Clearly, this is not a matter of any importance to housing project tenants, whose apartments are secure from demolition. Those issues which did concern tenants which had neighborhood-wide implications could easily have been exploited in social planning, however. In particular, the two groups seem to share the same desire for expanded recreational facilities. A community center was a need mentioned by several interviewees, both in and out of the Towers. This social service, had it been contemplated during the otherwise physical planning process, might have been included in the plan. Social needs can have physical consequences, it is plain, while physical actions can have social implications.

Speaking of the inclusion of citizen participation in the planning process, Frank maintained that the advantages "far outnumber the disadvantages." This sentiment did not appear to be backed up by his subsequent comments, however. "The important thing is the disadvantages -- when you get any group of citizens together you form a political body. They have special interests. You have difficulty when these go in conflict with the rules. You don't have as much control over the end results. You have to compromise. But this is

the plan we can get through." He did remark, whether sincerely or not: "Probably in overcoming these difficulties you strengthen the program."<sup>26</sup>

At another point in the interview, Frank indicated that he did not feel the real reason for the failure of the first plan had been inadequate participation. Rather, he indicated "the original planning was under the influence of professional planners who felt they knew best what is good for any neighborhood."<sup>27</sup>

If Frank is a man with limited vision, Kritzman is the opposite. His influence over the Committee was unmistakable throughout. Two members used the term "leg man" to define the role they felt Kritzman filled vis-a-vis the Committee. "He dug out the information the Committee needed at its meetings," comments James Whalen.<sup>28</sup> In one of the few really accurate statements contained in the article, the *Columbia Law Review* defined his role as "one of subtle provocation and direction."<sup>29</sup> This article suggests that Kritzman

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<sup>26</sup> Interview with Paul J. Frank, Acting Executive Director, Cambridge Redevelopment Authority.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>28</sup> Interviews with James Whalen and Father Anthony Baltrushunas, Wellington-Harrington Citizens Committee.

<sup>29</sup> See *Columbia Law Review*, "Citizen Participation in Urban Renewal," Vol. 66, No. 3, pp. 509-511, 545, March, 1966. Apart from minor errors involving dates and names, this article exhibits only a superficial understanding of the Wellington-Harrington case. Comparison of the differences in emphasis between this article and my paper should make

did not dominate at Citizen Committee meetings. A reading of the transcripts demonstrates that often this was not true, though his dominance remained "subtle" in that it was largely unperceived by the Committee members. For example, a portion of the discussion at which project boundaries (see Plan 3) were delineated went as follows:

Mr. Kritzman: Well, may I suggest this, can we all agree on this? There's one thing I think you can agree on, let's start this way, if you don't mind. Can you all agree that the upper line must be the Somerville line? Now the next easiest one it seems to me to agree on would be how far you want to go over this way. The railroad track obviously. Now the railroad track down to what?

Comment: I would suggest Hampshire Street.

Mr. Kritzman: Now wait - before we do that. We have a suggestion that we go to Elm. Now what was your's Pat? Was your's Elm or something else?

Coppola: Mine was Columbia.

Mr. Kritzman: Now, let me ask you this - if you go to Elm St. you can shrink back to Columbia anyway; so the worst that will happen is you'll have information from studies made of the area between Elm and Columbia to help you decide whether to stop at Columbia St. or to include that area of Columbia and Elm anyway, so what do you lose?<sup>30</sup>

Kritzman himself seems to realize that he had a great influence over the Committee. Talking about his role, he repeatedly stressed his personal activities. Committee member Walter Costa stresses Kritzman's independence: "We felt all the time the urban renewal people [CRA] couldn't turn Morry

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this abundantly clear. If the entire article in the *Law Review* is based similarly on a skin-deep analysis, its conclusions cannot be sustained by the material on which they are based, however accurate or inaccurate they might otherwise be.

<sup>30</sup> Wellington-Harrington Citizens Committee, Transcript of Meeting, May 25, 1965, p. 3.

to their side, even though he was working for them."<sup>31</sup> Chairman Botelho says, "He has a dynamic approach, and he has all the facts before him. He has all the answers. He told people, 'Look, this is your program.'"<sup>32</sup> Mary Nicoloro comments, "This Committee worked because of two very strong reasons -- 1.) the city government wanted it to, and 2.) we had Morry Kritzman. He educated the public."<sup>33</sup> Rabbi Joseph Schultz cites Kritzman's "keen sensitivity,"<sup>34</sup> and Father Baltrushunas observed: "I don't think any citizens committee would have that much knowledge or contact by itself. They'd have to have some direction."<sup>35</sup> To him, Kritzman's importance was in his possession of these three qualities.

Kritzman's strong guidance can be seen throughout the collection of notes which he collected during the project. For example, the following comments were prepared by Kritzman for delivery by Chairman Botelho to the Committee:

In answer to those who are in a hurry and want to get to the "hot" problems right away, we must have an answer -- for moving too rapidly into highly controversial areas can kill our Committee before it gets going. Our problems are not

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<sup>31</sup> Interview with Walter A. Costa, Wellington-Harrington Citizens Committee.

<sup>32</sup> Interview with Arthur W. Botelho.

<sup>33</sup> Interview with Mary Nicoloro.

<sup>34</sup> Interview with Rabbi Joseph P. Schultz, Wellington-Harrington Citizens Committee.

<sup>35</sup> Interview with Father Anthony P. Baltrushunas, Wellington-Harrington Citizens Committee.

unique. Most Communities have a multitude of problems. But, these problems have been a long time developing and they won't be resolved over night. So it is better that we start small and grow into a readiness for solving the "tough ones". Successful solutions on a small scale will give us the experience for tackling the big problems. Early failure can mean a fatal loss of worthwhile developments for our neighborhood for a long time. So, I am sure you will understand why, as your Chairman, I am planning for us to devote ourselves for these first few weeks to the number one job of becoming informed, of gathering the facts we will need if we are going to make sound, reasoned decisions the community has a right to expect from a responsible committee, made up of intelligent community-minded people. This will require your patience, your persistence, judgement and attention, and your imagination. Certainly, as a public body we want to act with understanding and responsibility. We should not rely on "generalizations" and "half truths". Only if we are completely honest in the "look" we take at our neighborhood; only if we rise above selfish interests and petty factionalism will we be able to arrive at a plan which each of us will be proud to have our children know we helped bring into being.<sup>36</sup>

Later, Kritzman's influence is still evident. Urging Whalen to get his Recreation Committee in action, he said:

We promised, you remember at the very beginning that anyone who is interested who had something to contribute would have an opportunity to share in the planning and there certainly must be good people in this neighborhood who are not only interested in recreation but who are willing to help plan something that makes sense.

We're trying to bring about the participation of more people rather than just this group. Certainly what we're trying to do is trying to get other people in the area interested in the program of recreation of which you are the Chairman.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>36</sup>Comments by Arthur W. Botelho, March 18, 1964 (prepared by Morris Kritzman).

<sup>37</sup>Wellington-Harrington Citizens Committee, Draft Transcript of Meeting, May 11, 1964.

Kritzman's major shortcoming, and it was a serious one, was his lack of familiarity with the technical and administrative aspects of urban renewal planning. He was as new to the process as the Committee, and many decisions were made perforce without adequate understanding of the implications. Alan McClennen devoted considerable time to the Committee, and most of these errors were corrected. However, he had numerous other duties and was not able to give the plan the attention it deserved. This lack of technical expertise was obvious to everyone. McClennen and Green both made a special point of it, and no one was more aware of the difficulty than Kritzman himself. He was peerless as an organizer, but when it came to educating the Committee he was able only to look for help elsewhere. The fact that no speakers were brought in to open up the eyes of the citizens to possibilities, but rather dealt with all the constraints of the process, is an indication of this weakness. Kritzman was responsible for getting the speakers but did not know whom to look for when it came to new ideas. Until Dick Green came on the scene a year and a half after plan approval, when almost all the flexibility had gone out of the process, the broadening experience which should have been possible simply was not forthcoming.

Members of the Committee also sensed this void. Bob Shea, in many ways the most perceptive of the citizens, observes: "You need professional people to guide you; not to make your decisions, but to guide you. Citizen participation

programs can work, but they need a lot of education."<sup>38</sup> Barbara Markunas feels the success of the participation effort depends on full-time professionals: "One with Morry's talents for going out and involving people, and someone who knows the technical ins and outs."<sup>39</sup>

The tight control over funds prevented the appointment of technical staff personnel to assist Kritzman. What resulted was the strange phenomenon of non-planners, organized by a non-planner, attempting to plan with only part-time assistance from the man who was responsible for the plan which was initially rejected.

Plainly, Kritzman and Frank were incompatible with one another. This was obvious to all observers. With the plan approval following the public hearing Kritzman found himself shifted to other projects. As an employee of the Authority, this became the first instance of a limitation imposed on his freedom to act. Paul Frank was prepared now to dispense with all the "frosting" in favor of the "meat and potatoes." His objective from the participation process had been achieved; Federal funds had been restored to Cambridge. Dick Green saw what had happened: "Frank threw him out. He said the community organization stage was over, and it was time for the technicians."<sup>40</sup> "I think the guy was squeezed out. He was

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<sup>38</sup> Interview with Robert J. Shea.

<sup>39</sup> Interview with Barbara Markunas, Wellington-Harrington Citizens Committee.

<sup>40</sup> Interview with Richard Green.

doing too good a job." That was Bob Shea's analysis. Kritzman's "job was to get the Committee to vote on a plan. He did this, and they didn't need him anymore."<sup>41</sup> Kritzman ultimately resigned when it became apparent that he would not be able to accomplish anything further because of limits placed on him. One Committeeman summed up the feeling about Paul Frank: "I think the consensus is he's a ....."<sup>42</sup>

The independence of a community organizer or a planner attached to a citizen group is something Kritzman considers essential. He does not feel that such a person need be fettered by ostensibly being employed by a redevelopment agency, as he was, so long as there is a clear understanding of his freedom to act in the way he considers best for the citizen group with which he is working. "This kind of program can't succeed without full-time professional help, and the kind of professional help you need is an *advocate* for them."<sup>43</sup> Yet his subsequent experience indicates that there may be drawbacks to being reliant on a redevelopment authority for one's paycheck. Unless one can have confidence that one's employer is sincerely interested in permitting its staff members full freedom to act in the best interests of their foster clients at all times, one would do well to look for a second source of financial support.

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<sup>41</sup>Interview with Robert Shea.

<sup>42</sup>Interview with anonymous source.

<sup>43</sup>Interview with Morris Kritzman.

The Committee and the Community

The Wellington-Harrington Citizens Committee is at once both representative and not representative of the neighborhood which it serves: it is an accurate reflection of public *opinion* but not of the public itself. The members of the Committee constitute the elite of the area. They are the most articulate members of the community and are active on a broad front in neighborhood affairs. The method by which the Committee was selected has already been discussed, as have the characteristics of the individuals of which it is comprised. The stability of the community has also been presented. It is extremely close-knit, and it is not uncommon to find several generations of a family living nearby. The strong ethnic orientations are fostered by the presence of two national churches. While there is a certain amount of change taking place, this is localized along the southern edge of the area.<sup>44</sup> In this environment, a situation exists where the leadership group nevertheless maintains close ties with the remainder of the community. The Citizens Committee appears to have a strong identification with the people in the area, and while participation was not widespread, it is reasonable to say that the Wellington-Harrington community did not feel itself to be greatly misrepresented.

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<sup>44</sup>Two of three Committee members who made note of the change in the community were Robert Bright and James Whalen, both of whom live in this part of Neighborhood 3 (see Map 3).

The Citizens Committee was composed of community notables, people with a recognizable stake in the area. Many are homeowners in Wellington-Harrington; some even own vacation houses out of town. While most residents of the area are renters, the Committee is more apt to represent the segment with a capital interest. Though this is generally a blue-collar community, members of the Citizens Committee include a teacher (Botelho), the head of a small business (Raulinaitis), the MDC Director of Recreation (Whalen), and the head salesman for a refining company (Coppola). They are unmistakably middle class. Many have attained higher education; their children attend good colleges.

Yet they still identify strongly with the rest of the residents of the area. For many of them, kinship patterns extend far out into the community. During the interviews, the members of the Committee were asked if they felt they were expected to represent a particular segment of the community. Many did, of course, especially those whose previous activities in community affairs had been in church groups. The religious leaders also naturally saw their role as being representatives of their congregations. It is significant, however, that all the members interviewed felt a commitment to serve as the spokesmen for a vertical, rather than a horizontal, slice of the community. And several expressly claimed to speak for the entire community. This Committee was not oriented toward satisfying the needs of one particular class

over another. Further, members came from all areas of the neighborhood, providing a geographical balance in representation. (see Map 3).

It is revealing to consider the precise ways in which some members viewed their community and their roles on the Committee. John Raulinaitis probably holds the most extreme views among the members. To him, the entire process is clouded by the question of its constitutionality, which he disputes. He is closely aligned with the Lithuanian and Polish part of the community, which apparently has a far greater tendency to think in such terms than the other nationalities represented in the community. Raulinaitis and Gabriel Kirslis, another Lithuanian, together with Father Baltrushunas, pastor of the Immaculate Conception Church, formed the backbone of the attack on the Donnelly Field plan. Kirslis sees in the new plan no more than the old one, warmed over, and still uses the same vocabulary when discussing it.<sup>45</sup> Raulinaitis, however, felt that there was no alternative but to make the

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<sup>45</sup> Interview with P. Gabriel Kirslis. Kirslis is particularly vituperative now when speaking of Raulinaitis, who he seems to feel has sold out. Of him, he says, "You've got to decide what to believe or not to believe. He's two-faced. He has no fact - he has all opinion." To him, Kritzman is "just a big bluff," and "the figurehead for the Mayor and the Council." On renewal, he says, "I believe the Federal Government is trying to grab all the land in the United States." My entire interview with him strongly confirmed the opinion formed of him by Kritzman and indicated to me that had Kirslis been appointed to the Committee, he would not have been willing to hear the other side, but from the first would have been dedicated to the Committee's destruction. See Chapter II, Note 35.

best of the situation. There was no way of stopping urban renewal because too much was riding on it. He agreed to serve in order to salvage as much as he could. Raulinaitis stresses the old-world close-knit extended-family kinship system. He believes this to be characteristic of the area and says change would disrupt this whole pattern on which the community is based. He staunchly denies there are any social problems in the area:

The kind of people here don't want social services. I don't know of a single family which wants it. So I'm dead set against it and this social diagnostic survey [ a recent action taken by the Committee and being prepared by Cambridge Community Services]. I think too much help is available. You sort of lose incentive; you gradually deteriorate. It's going to a complete socialist state. This poverty program is fine, but if you go too far ... Leave the people who aren't being touched alone. I don't understand this social help. What kind of help can you give *me*?<sup>46</sup>

Walter Costa joined the Committee midway through 1964 to supplement Father Manuel Cascais, who had too many other duties to devote the time he felt the process deserved. At the time, Costa was President of the Holy Name Society. Thus, he had wide contacts in the community through this religious organization. He says he was neither for nor against the Donnelly Field plan, though he was familiar with it. As a supplement to Father Cascais, he viewed his role as representing the congregation of St. Anthony's Church, which serves the Italian and Portuguese segments of the community.<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>46</sup>Interview with John M. Raulinaitis.

<sup>47</sup>Interview with Walter A. Costa.

Bob Shea attempted to take a community-wide view in his position on the Committee. He says that some on the Committee tended to take an interest in proceedings only when their immediate areas were affected. Shea admits that he is not really in touch with a lot of people but is nevertheless confident that he can represent what they want. The two ladies on the Committee he feels to be most closely in tune with neighborhood sentiments. (This was also the opinion of James Whalen.) He is aware that the principal motive for the creation of the Committee was to take advantage of the credits for constructing the school: "I don't think there is any Committee member who has any doubt about the reason for starting that Committee." He is also of the opinion that participation in the community has not been extensive and says, "The individual isn't concerned about the whole area. He's only concerned about his own house."<sup>48</sup>

Pat Coppola feels he was appointed to the Committee to add political muscle to whatever it produced. An opponent of the first plan, he feels the reason it failed was for lack of political support. The two political leaders in the area both favored some sort of neighborhood improvement, but not in the form originally offered. "No urban renewal program could ever succeed without political power," he says forthrightly. He has his own political machine in the community which keeps him in regular contact with the way people are thinking, so

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<sup>48</sup> Interview with Robert J. Shea.

he feels he can represent exactly what they want. A planner must be a politician and a salesman (like him). The "pulse of the people" is the all-important factor. The present plan would succeed because the people could see the two politicians representing them, himself and Councillor Vellucci, supported it.<sup>49</sup>

Robert Bright, the sole Negro on the Committee, says that his first concern was with the impact on his immediate area around Bristol Street, where he owns his own single-family home. Later, he broadened this interest to take in the community as a whole. His area is changing, however, and he hopes the plan will check that: "The neighborhood is no longer as peaceful and friendly and quiet as it used to be." His family has now been in his particular house for four generations.<sup>50</sup>

"Brud" Whalen viewed his role as encompassing the entire neighborhood. His major concern is with recreation facilities, as is only natural. Contact with the people is good, and he thinks "the members of the Committee have good knowledge of the problems of the people living within the bounds of the project." Like Bright, however, he sees his particular area as changing, and complains that he no longer can name everyone on his block. "This is an unusual neighborhood

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<sup>49</sup> Interview with Pasquale R. Coppola.

<sup>50</sup> Interview with Robert W. Bright, Wellington-Harrington Citizens Committee.

here," he says. "You have everything. I thought for a while of moving out to the suburbs, but having lived here all my life, I think I'd go crazy."<sup>51</sup>

The two women are unusual people. Probably in closer contact with the community at large than any of the men, they nevertheless disagree on some points. Mary Nicoloro claims the community is actually fairly well-to-do. This is, of course, a relative description, but she apparently feels that there is no grinding poverty such as exists in other areas of the city. Barbara Markunas, who actually lives just outside the project boundaries in the proposed path of the Inner Belt along Elm St., holds that the Committee "is financially better off than most. Most of us own our own homes. A few of us own second homes in the country." She disputes Raulinaitis, saying "John will maintain there are no problems, or if there are, the people are too proud to reach out for help. But I've had experience, and there are problems." Mary Nicoloro, on the other hand, says, "We handle our own problems." Both women are committed to social plans, however, and Mary Nicoloro is particularly vocal about the need to dissolve barriers which separate people -- "white picket fences," as she calls them. She, too, stresses the extended family situation and professes to know all her immediate neighbors. Both Mary and Barbara feel they represent the

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<sup>51</sup> Interview with James F. Whalen, Wellington-Harrington Citizens Committee.

total community.<sup>52</sup>

The two religious leaders interviewed realized they had been appointed as representatives of specific groups of people. Father Baltrushunas explicitly felt the Committee was intended to produce a plan for the Wellington-Harrington neighborhood, without reference to the remainder of the city. Rabbi Schultz, representing the city's only synagogue, took a broader view, the more so because few if any of his congregation reside in the neighborhood. He feels his main reason for being on the Committee is as spokesman for the Jewish businessmen in the area. He remembers feeling a certain estrangement from some of the Committee members at the beginning and attributes this to "a sense of outrage against the business people who were disfiguring the neighborhood by the junk yards."<sup>53</sup>

Chairman Arthur W. Botelho teaches at the Harrington School. As head of the Committee, he naturally was concerned about the whole project area. He, like Bright and Whalen, took note of changes in the area, ascribing it to students and people from out of state. He felt this was bringing in upper middle income people, which did not appear to trouble him. Rents are rising, he noted. These indications he offered without interpretation, and the change which was taking

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<sup>52</sup>Interviews with Mary Nicoloro and Barbara Markunas.

<sup>53</sup>Interviews with Rabbi Joseph P. Schultz and Father Anthony P. Baltrushunas.

place did not seem too upsetting to him.<sup>54</sup>

### Others in the Neighborhood

There are a few people in the neighborhood who are not of the community. In general, the members of the Committee felt no compulsion to meet their needs, and in some cases explicitly took measures to deny them. Part of the doctrine of preservation of the residential character of the neighborhood implied the creation of barriers against certain undesirable elements which were seen to be infiltrating the area. Very much as a suburban town takes steps to protect itself from invasions from Negroes or lower class people, the Wellington-Harrington group saw where *its* best interests lay. This was unquestionably a factor behind the very support for "neighborhood improvement" in the first place.

One group in particular was singled out for exclusion. Members of the Committee mentioned the increasing spread of students into the area.<sup>55</sup> For the most part, they felt powerless to do much about it, but observed with a growing sense of disquietude the general increase in rents paid in the area and the corresponding acquisition of properties for conversion

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<sup>54</sup> Interview with Arthur W. Botelho.

<sup>55</sup> The extent to which this was related to the fact that I, too, was a student is hard to assess, but the experience of many people in Cambridge is that this is a common concern of residents not connected with the academic community.

to multi-family units. This had been matched by a rising exodus from the community, especially among the younger generation, and an acceleration in the decline of the elements of the area which they valued. It was noted that there had been no new residential construction in the neighborhood for several decades until John Raulinaitis began work on his new house in 1964 as a symbol of his faith in the area. By making Wellington-Harrington a better place in which to live, the Committee sought to retain the self-renewing segments of its population -- its youth -- and thereby to prevent the easy takeover by students or other undesirable newcomers.

Another group which received no sympathy from the Citizens Committee were the proprietors of the junk yard. As the most visible symbol of neighborhood blight, the eradication of these eyesores was deemed essential to the achievement of the objective of preserving the residential character of the neighborhood. Their participation was not sought or desired, since there could be no reconciliation between the two interests.

Three interest groups in the Wellington-Harrington neighborhood received only partial consideration. The merchants fared best, and there was a Merchants' Committee under Pat Coppola. Of the various subcommittees established, this alone was not directed toward a general broadening of participation, but to the inclusion of a specific group. For this reason, the merchants were fairly well represented, though

no member of the Committee was completely representative of their views. Because the merchants were closely identified with the neighborhood, however, the Committee went far toward satisfying their needs. Many are also residents. Alan McClennen later remarked that it was "silly to retain those Cambridge St. frontages of vestigial commercial uses."<sup>56</sup> Once again, this serves as an indication of the extent to which this plan deviates from the planner's conception of "good planning principles."

Principle opposition at the public hearing on the Wellington-Harrington plan in May, 1965, came from industrialists, as has been noted. The Committee was determined to solidify the residential character of the neighborhood; in any case, Federal standards forbade the preservation of nonconforming uses. Several light industries are scattered about the neighborhood, and the Committee proposed to relocate those wishing to remain nearby in a proposed industrial park east of Portland St., in the same site proposed for the same use in the Donnelly Field plan. Committee members conferred with owners of industries to determine their needs. It was found that many wished to close down altogether, simply receiving severance pay. Others saw an opportunity to relocate in more advantageous sites in suburban areas. However, several indicated a desire to remain nearby. The reason behind the

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<sup>56</sup>Interview with Alan McClennen.

opposition of the industrialists does not seem to lie so much in their exclusion from the considerations of the Citizens Committee as from the inability of that Committee to provide adequate guarantees about the availability of reasonably priced relocation space. This underlies a central difficulty which seems built into the present urban renewal process. If property is "a basis of expectation," as Bentham maintains,<sup>57</sup> then the substitution of a possible relocation arrangement for a known situation cannot suffice. Since the Citizens Committee had no authority to make commitments, conflicts were bound to arise when specifics were demanded. "We had no answers, recalls Committee member Bob Shea.<sup>58</sup>

Exclusion of Roosevelt Towers from planning consideration created the most inequitable disregard for the needs of an interest group of the neighborhood. Unquestionably, the public housing tenants are not viewed by most people in the area as part of the same community, and this feeling in reverse is shared by the tenants. Yet Roosevelt Towers is no more than a place to live. The residents are dependant on the services and facilities afforded by the Wellington-Harrington neighborhood for their needs. Their children attend the Harrington School, along with the children of those in the "community." They shop at the same stores, use the same Donnelly

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<sup>57</sup>See Morris Raphael Cohen and Felix S. Cohen, *Readings in Jurisprudence and Legal Philosophy* (Little, Brown, and Co., Boston, 1951).

<sup>58</sup>Interview with Robert J. Shea.

Field facilities, the same streets, the same public transportation. They live *in* the neighborhood, though not *of* the community. Therefore, any planning actions affecting that neighborhood will have an impact on them, though perhaps not as much as on a person whose home might be demolished.

In part, this exclusion was the fault of the residents of the Towers. Tenant leaders recall that they were invited to attend Citizens Committee meetings. However, the estrangement between these two groups is so great that without constant encouragement to get together, each prefers simply to ignore the other. There is a strong degree of suspicion. The public housing tenants are bitter because the outside community clearly looks down on them and blames them for neighborhood problems which are not necessarily their responsibility. The data gathered by the Cambridge Planning Board indicates that in some respects, including social problems, the area outside the project is as or more responsible for difficulties.

Kritzman made every effort to open up contact between the two segments of the population. This was directly in line with his personal objective of organizing the community, meaning in this case the total Wellington-Harrington neighborhood, to cope with its own problems. The way to achieve this he correctly saw was through organization around issues of mutual concern. This motivated the creation of subcommittees of the Citizens Committee which would deal with issues

of neighborhood-wide import. The difficulty in obtaining funds stifled this, however, and has actually served to widen the gap still further.

When the subcommittees were first formed, the tenants of the housing project most likely to participate became interested and for a time attended meetings. The lack of financing, combined with the fact that for some members of the Committee this was not a matter of such great concern as the salvation of home and hearth, led to the eventual atrophy of these groups. While they are not officially dead, they are in fact moribund or comatose. But since they only gradually faded away, those housing project tenants who participated at first only recently have come to the realization that interest in them has apparently ceased. This was something of a shock, and further reinforces their tendencies to keep apart. They have no way of knowing why such a hopeful effort died.

#### Political Undercurrents

Just at the point when Morris Kritzman was attempting to expand the concerns of the Committee into the social area, another divisive force came on the scene. The Cambridge Economic Opportunity Council, or CEOC, was established in the early part of 1965 as the local adjunct of the War on Poverty. Dan Clifford, Executive Director of CEOC, and Kritzman did not mix well, and Clifford decided that he would prefer not

to work within the sole existing area-wide organization, but would rather create one of his own, but operating almost exclusively within Roosevelt Towers. Kritzman feels that the reason for this was Clifford's realization that the Citizens Committee was already representative of the non-Towers area and that all those who would otherwise take part in CEOC were already involved with the Committee. The result was that those who had gone from the Towers to meetings with the Citizens Committee now found the opportunity to run for election to CEOC, and gradually ceased to take part in Citizen Committee concerns.<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>59</sup>The fact that membership on this rival citizen participation organization was through election raises the interesting question of whether or not the Wellington-Harrington Citizens Committee might have been more representative had it, too, been created in an area-wide election. My feeling on this score is that it probably would not have been. Instead, I believe that it would have resulted in a somewhat smaller and perhaps even *less* representative group than was actually the case. The reasons for this conclusion are fairly simple. First, it is unlikely that any of the religious leaders would have sought a place on an elective Committee. The three pastors and Rabbi Schultz brought to the Committee a sense for the opinions held by the members of their respective congregations. They are also among the foremost influencers of community opinions in themselves. Second, the community is fairly well characterized by political apathy. It is unlikely that many people would have sought a place on the Committee, and certainly many of those who did participate on it through appointment would not have done so otherwise. Appointment brought a well-balanced group. Third, those who are likely to have sought a place on the Committee would probably have been more representative of the opponents of the Donnelly Field plan, and it seems clear that they actually constituted a minority of the community, with the majority either having no opinion or favoring neighborhood improvement of some sort. This is not to suggest that the Citizens Committee, as it was set up, necessarily was the most

The community-wide election for membership on the Board of Directors of CEOC attracted virtually no interest in the non-Towers area. All those elected came from the housing project, and the division was formalized.

This was but one of the many political undercurrents active in the neighborhood during the entire process. Political concerns played an active role throughout, as has already been indicated. For example, one of the theories regarding the appointment of the Citizens Committee holds that each City Councillor chose from among the names proposed.<sup>60</sup> Most of those on the Committee may in some way be said to wield political influence of some sort in the community. Thus, the four religious leaders have the important power of the pulpit. In Roman Catholic churches, this is particularly potent, as history has demonstrated. Pat Coppola's political influence has been discussed. Committee member Jim Bentubo is head of the Republican organization in Ward 1. Others like Walter Costa exercise influence through participation in various social organizations. Robert Bright is widely known throughout the city for his civil rights activities. The Committee, in short, consists of the principal opinion holders and opinion makers in the neighborhood.

Most of the political implications of the Wellington-

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representative body that could have been established. What I do feel, however, is that it would probably have been less so, had it been elected in a neighborhood-wide election.

<sup>60</sup> Interview with Alan McClennen.

Harrington project have been presented during the exposition which has gone before. It was not realistic to separate these out from the other concerns with which they were so closely tied. There is one major political development, however, which can be presented here. The appointment of the Wellington-Harrington Citizens Committee created a new political force which had not previously existed. The most important result of this new force was the replacement of the local politician as the means through which things get accomplished at the neighborhood level.

The Citizens Committee developed into a political entity with which to be reckoned during the first neighborhood clean-up campaign in 1964. It became known around the community as the place to go to get certain things taken care of. Thus, where formerly a resident went to a city councillor with whom he felt particular ties,<sup>61</sup> he now turned to the Committee to get his street cleaned or his trash collected. This was facilitated by the emphasis on learning about municipal services in the early part of the Committee's educational experience. A memorandum from the City Manager to the various city departments stressed cooperation with the Committee.<sup>62</sup> Kritzman recognized this, as did Dick Green, who said of Kritzman: "He scared hell out of some of the political

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<sup>61</sup>The Cambridge City Council is elected at large, rather than on a ward basis.

<sup>62</sup>John J. Curry, City Manager, Memorandum No. 9, to Heads of All Departments, April 3, 1964.

people when he really started to be successful."<sup>63</sup> Walter Costa relates, "Things get done now since the Citizens Committee has been established. The City knows the Citizens Committee is keeping its eyes open. All actions which the City acts on are brought to the attention of the Committee beforehand."<sup>64</sup> And Bob Shea observes, "People are getting involved too much, and politicians don't like this." He points particularly to Kritzman's importance in this and says he supplants the councillors when people want something done.<sup>65</sup> This new political alignment was also commented upon by Councillor Vellucci's cousin, Mary Nicoloro: "The politicians have been bypassed. You don't have to call them any more to get things done."<sup>66</sup>

In effect, what has resulted from the participation process is a new political force which is filling a vacuum at the neighborhood level. The Citizens Committee has succeeded in decentralizing the administrative functions of government to make them more readily accessible. The implication, however, seems to be that citizen participation could turn into just another gimmick for attaining political power, tending to attract people who are more likely motivated out of

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<sup>63</sup>Interview with Richard Green.

<sup>64</sup>Interview with Walter A. Costa.

<sup>65</sup>Interview with Robert J. Shea.

<sup>66</sup>Interview with Mary Nicoloro.

self-interest rather than a concern for the general welfare. Planning could become merely another football in the political arena, but this time at the neighborhood level. Plans could lose all relation to a comprehensive approach and instead, as Langley Keyes writes, "become a question of political feasibility ... of the here and now at the project level. The city becomes the neighborhood. The time dimension becomes the present."<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>67</sup>Keyes, *Rehabilitation Game...*, p. 494.

#### IV. CONCLUSIONS

It must be clear that any conclusions arising out of this study are limited in their applicability by the particular circumstances of the Wellington-Harrington case. Nevertheless, a number of points may be made.

In the first place, does this study offer any indications as to the sort of answers one might expect for the questions which I had initially hoped to investigate? As I remarked at the beginning, this case did not lend itself to answering them according to the way the questions were framed. However, I believe that the results of this study do not in any noticeable way contradict the hypothesis originally posed. We saw that the education of citizen participants is an essential aspect of "meaningful" participation. They must be prepared to deal with the complex issues which are raised in the urban renewal process. The second major element of my initial hypothesis held that there would be a tendency for participants at first to take an egocentric view of problems, with a gradual change to a community-oriented outlook. This particular case involved a group of citizens who were already disposed to think in terms of a community because of the circumstances of experience with a previous plan. This does not contradict the hypothesis, and even so, there do seem to be some indications of an initial tendency to be concerned

more about how specific actions affect them or those very close to them as individuals rather than in reference to a larger community.

The Wellington-Harrington case involves a plan which is in many ways in violation of certain cardinal principles of "good planning" practices. The resultant proposal is a collection of individualistic remedies for specific ills. This set of spot solutions is a denial of the principle of comprehensiveness. Those actions which are called for are limited in scope and bespeak an attempt to solve no more than the problems of today. If planning attempts to produce order for the future through decisions in the present, this is not planning. Rather, it appears to be no more than the eradication of the evils of the past. Another aspect of the departure of this plan from "good planning principles" is in its insularity of outlook. It is presumed that the interests of the city as a whole should be recognized in the planning for a part of it. Except in the most backhanded fashion, this was not done here. But if this neighborhood did not seem too interested in solving the ills of the city, the city in turn had more interest in the effect a Wellington-Harrington plan would have outside the neighborhood than within it. Thus, the dual objectives of taking advantage of Federal credits and demonstrating the usefulness of urban renewal as a tool were formulated with other concerns taking precedence over any benevolent interest in the needs of the local community.

The plan which was produced is weak in that it deals only with physical solutions. It has become increasingly apparent that actions in the physical realm have far-reaching effects in other spheres. The integration of social and economic considerations into this process was lacking. This was not an inherent fault of the process, however, and stems instead from the inclinations of individual personalities. Thus, a departure from academic ideals need not be attributed solely to pressures arising out of the search for "meaningful" participation.

Emphasis on the constraints in the process, unrelieved by the whiffs of oxygen coming from an indication of its potentialities, was another serious drawback of this case. The element of citizen education is proven to be extremely important, and the evidence seems to recommend the device of assigning a trained planner, familiar with urban renewal procedures, to work with the citizens committee. He would be able to indicate the real constraints, bypass the would-be constraints, and show the way to imaginative citizen planning. Such a person would have to be in effect an advocate for his foster client, the citizens. His independence is extremely important, but this does not necessarily preclude his employment by a local public agency (LPA) provided that his freedom of action is not impaired.

A professional community organizer is of demonstrated value in producing a high level of citizen participation. It

is no less important for such a person to retain his independence of the LPA, although here again, it is not an absolute requirement that he be employed by some other agency. A dedicated hands-off policy can be as effective, and the availability of funds is more assured.

The Wellington-Harrington Citizens Committee was composed, as has been said earlier, of community notables. To the extent that this neighborhood can be characterized as a one-class community, this group must be accounted extremely representative of that group. The fact that it consisted of the elite did not detract from its concern for the entire community. It does not appear necessary to have a broad base of participation as long as the non-participant sector feels itself adequately represented by the committee. The Citizens Committee in fact contained or was endorsed by almost all the opinion makers of the community. To this extent, participation was "successful." However, there were several groups which I have characterized as of the neighborhood but not of the community, and these fared less well. In large measure, the "success" of this Committee can be explained only by the relative weakness of these non-community groups, and in a less advantageous situation it seems doubtful that the same degree of success could have been obtained.

One important lesson of this history is that good public relations are a "must" if an LPA hopes to implement a positive program. The skillful dissemination of information is

extremely valuable in controlling neighborhood opposition, most of which arises out of misunderstanding rather than inherent bellicosity. Such reactions are motivated more by fear than anything else. Except for a few dogmatic opponents, a clear statement of the facts and careful attention to getting people to understand them should suffice. An urban renewal program may be opposed for some reasons which cannot be successfully combatted since they arise out of a basic unwillingness to be open-minded. Gabriel Kirslis is representative of the type of person who exhibits this tendency. For most people, however, this is fortunately not typical. An effort to reach them and to make clear what the program can do and what it cannot would be valuable. Especially useful, I feel, would be emphasis on the limitations of the program which are built in because of the legislation. If people were made aware that certain inequities are not the fault of the LPA, but are merely caused by legislative restrictions and other inadequacies, this might well permit an upsurge in public pressure to induce more responsive programs through improving the tools which are available.

Citizen participation introduced the vital element of political feasibility. It is this factor which forces the departures from "good planning principles." Achieving a program which can be implemented is the challenge, and the

planner is required to be attuned to the political undercurrents. Indeed, the planner himself must become to some extent a politician. In order to be successful, he must persuade the citizenry to identify with him and to "buy" his program. Where they want something else, he must modify it. His overall success is more important than the success of individual elements of his package. His platform must be what the people want or they will select someone else's product. The world of the urban renewal planner is a far cry from that of the "visionary" master planner.

The Wellington-Harrington case introduces a potential new force on the municipal political scene. A citizens committee may serve as a tool for the decentralization of certain administrative functions, filling a major vacuum created in the day of ever-bigger government. The disappearance of ward politics has removed the ordinary citizen from the political decision-making apparatus. A citizens committee, capable of interceding on his behalf, offers him a possible replacement for the ward boss. On the other hand, such an organization offers a clear threat to local politicians, even if they are elected on an at-large basis, as is the case in Cambridge. It seems likely, however, that as long as citizen participation remains a dominant objective, existing political forces within the city are going to be subjected to considerable stress and strain. The War on Poverty provides additional evidence of this, and it has been suggested that

the threat posed by locally-elected Economic Opportunity Councils to mayors and local governments may actually lead to the ultimate death of the poverty program as a reaction sets in. However, the positive aspects of this trend must not be taken lightly. This tendency is indicative of an awakened interest among ordinary citizens in the processes of government which affect them directly. This constitutes an important gain, and some of the sacrifices in terms of "good planning principles" seem justifiable in these terms. What is required, however, is some apparatus which will integrate this new local unit into the city-wide picture, just as individual municipalities should be integrated into the metropolitan context, and so on. A new hierarchial framework seems necessary to coordinate and rationalize policies.

Obviously, a simple "yes or no" answer is not possible for the question, "Was this a 'successful' case of citizen participation in urban renewal?" I hope I have made it clear that I feel that in some respects, the answer must be "yes," but in others, "no." In fact, however, the answer is up to each individual, who must decide on the basis of his own judgment as to which objectives are important, and which are not.

APPENDIX A\*

Table 1: Family Income (City=\$5,923)

Census Tract	Median Income Per Family
6	\$5,895
7	5,042
P7	-
R7	-
8	5,500

Table 2: Adults Not Completing High School (City=50.3%)

Census Tract	Percentage
6	76.7%
7	77.0
P7	-
R7	-
8	82.4

Table 3: Poor Housing

Census Tract	Rank Order (Best=36)
6	11
7	7
P7	31
R7	4
8	3

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\* Source: Cambridge Planning Board, "Social Characteristics of Cambridge," 1962, pp. 11-14, 20, 29-32, and 35, as quoted in Cambridge Community Services, "Assessment, Evaluation, and Recommendation Concerning Recreation Needs and Resources in Neighborhood #3," prepared by CCS Associate Director Joseph F. Tulumieri for the Subcommittee on Recreation, Wellington-Harrington Citizens Committee, July, 1964. These tables are concerned with the population characteristics referred to as they are found in the three major census tracts of Neighborhood 3 (see Map 2). Tract 7 indicates all of tract 7, while P7 indicates Roosevelt Towers and R7 indicates the remainder of tract 7 outside the project.

Table 4: Persons 65 and Over (City=12.8%)

Census Tract	Percentage
6	9.8%
7	10.8
P7	4.3
R7	13.6
8	11.3

Table 5: Non-Whites (City=6.9%)

Census Tract	Percentage
6	0.3%
7	2.6
P7	8.3
R7	0.1
8	1.5

Table 6: Foreign Born (City=15.2%)

Census Tract	Percentage
6	23.5%
7	18.6
P7	-
R7	-
8	22.7

Table 7: Population Density (City 72.3 Persons/Residential Acre)

Census Tract	Persons/Residential Acre
6	150.3
7	159.6
P7	232.6
R7	141.1
8	110.0

Table 8: Concentration of Juveniles, Age 7-16 (City=9.6 Juveniles/Residential Acre)

Census Tract	Juveniles/Residential Acre
6	24.1
7	31.4
P7	68.6
R7	21.9
8	17.1

Table 9: Number of Children Per Family (City=1.04)

Census Tract	Children/Family
6	1.15
7	1.49
P7	2.65
R7	1.11
8	1.12

Table 10: Juvenile Delinquency Rate (City=13.2 cases/1000 Population/Year)

Census Tract	Average Annual Rate/1000 Population
6	10.4
7	21.6
P7	9.4
R7	31.3
8	4.9

Table 11: Truancy Rate (City=23.4 cases/1000 Population, Age 7-15/10 Months)

Census Tract	Ten Month Rate/100 Population, Age 7-15
6	26.9
7	38.9
P7	44.3
R7	34.2
8	29.4

Table 12: Aid to Families with Dependent Children (City=18.2 cases/1000 Population)

Census Tract	Cases/1000 Population
6	17.8
7	36.3
P7	95.4
R7	16.7
8	21.8

Table 13: Old Age Assistance (City=114.1 cases/1000 Population)

Census Tract	Cases/1000 Population
6	142.8
7	184.1
P7	452.2
R7	148.5
8	184.8

Table 14: General Relief (City=3.7 cases/1000 Population)

Census Tract	Cases/1000 Population
6	5.3
7	10.2
P7	17.6
R7	8.3
8	4.6

Table 15: Disability Assistance (City=5.5 cases/1000 Population)

Census Tract	Cases/1000 Population
6	5.3
7	9.3
P7	13.2
R7	8.3
8	15.0

APPENDIX B\*

SECRETARY TO CITIZENS COMMITTEE

NATURE OF WORK IN THIS CLASS:

This is professional work involving administrative responsibility in directing and coordinating a program of community relations for the Redevelopment Authority and the Wellington-Harrington Citizens Committee.

Work in this class involves the application of professional training and experience to the planning and implementation of a program intended to fully inform the public in the Wellington-Harrington area of all activities related to urban renewal, and the implications thereof, and to fully inform the Cambridge Redevelopment Authority of community attitudes and reactions regarding existing and planned urban renewal activities.

Work is performed with considerable professional independence in accordance with accepted procedures under administrative direction of the Redevelopment Authority Director and within areas of activities determined by the Redevelopment Authority.

ILLUSTRATIVE EXAMPLES OF WORK:

Formulates, implements, executes and conducts a program intended to interpret for the public, and create better understanding of, the policies, programs and activities of the Cambridge Redevelopment Authority.

Plans, develops and conducts a continuing series of informational seminars, classes and conferences for study groups and civic, religious, business, labor, educational and social welfare agencies and organizations, and the general public.

Organizes, advises and works closely with neighborhood groups in the area selected for urban renewal demolition and rehabilitation; informs members of such groups of their legal rights, aid available to them in relocating their families and businesses, aid available to them in financing improvements to their properties, and of the timing of the various stages of the project; and otherwise assists persons directly affected by the urban renewal project, to fully understand all of the implications of the project.

Organizes, directs and coordinates the activities of a speaker and educational bureau, purpose of which is to disseminate information on urban renewal activities; continually provides members of the bureau with up-to date information on urban renewal activities.

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\* Source: Cambridge Redevelopment Authority, August 9, 1963.

Organizes and directs a program for private and public school pupils intended to create interest in, and understanding of, urban renewal activities.

Maintains for the Citizens Committee close contact with representatives of all news media; advises Cambridge Redevelopment Authority; prepares news releases on urban renewal activities; arranges for newspaper, radio and television interviews relating to urban renewal activities.

Conducts research studies to determine areas of need in the field of community relations, evaluates the data obtained, and prepares reports and recommendations concerning the matters studied.

Cooperates with and solicits cooperation from municipal departments, public and private welfare agencies, public and private intergroup relations agencies, and other public and private agencies involved in, concerned with or interested in urban renewal activities.

Investigates complaints from the public regarding urban renewal activities; prepares reports and recommendations based on the investigations.

Obtains information on, and interprets for the Redevelopment Authority public attitudes relating to urban renewal and public reactions to urban renewal plans and activities; advises the Redevelopment Authority on any new policies needed to better carry out the urban renewal program because of such attitudes and reactions.

Confers regularly with Redevelopment Authority and staff on their activities to learn of likely topics for newspaper articles and photographs, and radio and television programs.

#### DESIRABLE KNOWLEDGE, ABILITIES AND SKILLS:

Thorough knowledge of the philosophy, principles, procedures, practices and techniques of urban renewal programs.

Thorough knowledge of the principles, procedures, practices and techniques of public relations and research in the field of urban renewal.

Thorough knowledge of the functions and resources of public and private agencies and other community resources available for use in carrying out a program of community relations for the Redevelopment Authority.

Thorough knowledge of the methods, techniques and requirements of news media for material to be published and broadcast.

Thorough knowledge of the functions of municipal departments in relation to their capabilities for becoming involved in and giving service to the urban renewal program.

Considerable knowledge of the psychological, social and economic forces involved in the carrying out of urban renewal program.

Working knowledge of the techniques of organizing neighborhood groups.

Ability to interpret to the public policies and programs concerned with the carrying out of urban renewal activities.

Ability to arrange and publicize meetings of small and large groups for the oral and graphic presentation of information relating to urban renewal activities.

Ability to prepare effective written material for all kinds of publications and to prepare copy for use by newspapers, radio stations and television stations, in interpreting and promoting policies, programs and activities of the Re-development Authority.

Ability to speak clearly and concisely before small and large groups with diverse educational and social backgrounds; ability to moderate conferences and lead discussion groups.

Ability to establish and maintain effective working relationships with municipal officials and personnel, public and private agencies and organizations, representatives of the press, radio and television, and the general public.

Ability to maintain objective standards at all times.

Ability to deal with others tactfully and diplomatically.

Skill in conferring with, eliciting information from, and assisting persons or groups under emotional tension and stress.

#### MINIMUM TRAINING AND EXPERIENCE

Graduation from an accredited four-year college or university preferably with but not restricted to major course work in sociology, public relations or closely related fields.

Considerable experience in the writing of reports and other material for distribution to the general public and specialized audiences.

Considerable experience in work with or for various governmental bodies.

Experience in planning, arranging and conducting public meetings.

Experience in writing reports based on investigations and research surveys.

APPENDIX C

WELLINGTON-HARRINGTON CITIZENS COMMITTEE

<u>Name</u>	<u>Address*</u>
1. Botelho, Arthur W. (Chairman)	335 Windsor Street <sub>1</sub>
2. Baltrushunas, Rev. Anthony P.	432 Windsor Street <sup>1</sup>
3. Bentubo, James	5 Plymouth Street <sup>2</sup>
4. Bright, Robert W.	55 Bristol Street
5. Cascais, Rev. Manual J.	341 Portland Street
6. Conley, Edward A.	14 Ware Street <sup>3</sup>
7. Coppola, Pasquale R.	738 Cambridge Street
8. Costa, Walter A.	13 Seckel Street <sup>4</sup>
9. Markunas, Mrs. Barbara A.	209 Elm Street <sup>5</sup>
10. Meredith, Rev. Joseph D.	40 York Street
11. Mosiewicz, Mrs. Helen	23 Hardwick Street <sup>6</sup>
12. Nicoloro, Mrs. Mary	15 Harding Street
13. Perry, Manuel Jr.	66 Plymouth Street
14. Raulinaitis, John M.	65 Lincoln Street
15. Schultz, Rabbi Joseph P.	77 Kirkland Street <sup>7</sup>
16. Shea, Robert J.	315 Windsor Street
17. Whalen, James F.	45 Plymouth Street

- 
- \* These are located on Map 3 according to the numbering next to the names at left.
- 1 Father Baltrushunas is no longer with the Committee, having been transferred to a church in South Boston, but after the period covered in this paper.
  - 2 James Bentubo was not an original member of the Committee, but was appointed to it in the latter part of 1964.
  - 3 Edward A. Conley resigned from the Committee when he was promoted from Master of the Harrington School to Assistant Superintendent of Schools, early in the life of the Committee.
  - 4 Walter Costa joined the Committee to supplement Father Cascais, who had too many other pressing concerns, in the latter part of 1964.
  - 5 Barbara Markunas was appointed toward the end of 1964. She does not live in the project area, but immediately across the boundary line. Her appointment results from her active interest in the deliberations of the Committee, and she is the only member who managed to secure a place on it on the strength of such an interest alone.
  - 6 Helen Mosiewicz, an original appointee, did not take part in the Committee. She resigned early, reportedly because of ill health.
  - 7 Rabbi Schultz lives outside the neighborhood.

APPENDIX D\*

PLAN COMPARISONS<sup>1</sup>

	Total Number		Clear		Conserve or Recondition		Retain without Treatment	
	DF	WH	DF	WH	DF	WH	DF	WH
1. All buildings	787	910	184	107	346	428	257	375
a. Residential	670	781	109	32	342	427	219	322
b. Non-residential	117	129	74	75	4	1	38	53
2. All dwelling units	1896	2265	354	106	1069	1433	473	726
a. In buildings with deficiencies	1397	1539	311	106	1069	1433	17	0
b. In standard buildings	499	726	43	0	0	0	456	726

\* Sources: Cambridge Redevelopment Authority, Part I, Application for Loan and Grant, Donnelly Field Urban Renewal Project, Mass. R-14, Code R-212, April 5, 1962, and Cambridge Redevelopment Authority, Part I, Application for Loan and Grant, Wellington-Harrington Neighborhood Improvement Project, Mass. R-108, Code R-212, May 20, 1965. Emphasis mine.

<sup>1</sup> The Donnelly Field area comprised 114 acres, while the Wellington-Harrington area was 127 acres.

APPENDIX E\*

IDEAS FOR REVIEW BY CITIZENS COMMITTEE

1. Land Use

Residential

Present - 2-3 Story on Small Lots - Wood Frame

Quite dense - Like 6 Story Apartments

High Coverage - Narrow Yards - Lack of Privacy

Old Fashioned Heating - Hot Water

Inadequate Wiring - Type - Load

Mixed Business and Residence

Code Enforcement - Housing-Building-Fire

Future - Single - Two Family - Row - Apt.

Business - Convenience or necessity

For neighborhood

By neighborhood

For and by Outsiders

Industry - Desirable or undesirable

By neighborhood

By outsiders

2. Recreation

Active

Passive

3. Traffic

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\* Alan McClennen, Director of Planning, Preliminary Draft,  
March 4, 1964.

Local - Passenger Cars - Trucks

Through - " " "

Parking - " " "

Loading - On Street - Off Street

4. Utilities - Public

Water - Fire Protection

Sewers and Drainage - Combined and Separate - Adequacy

5. Landscaping

In Recreation Areas

On Streets

On Individual Lots

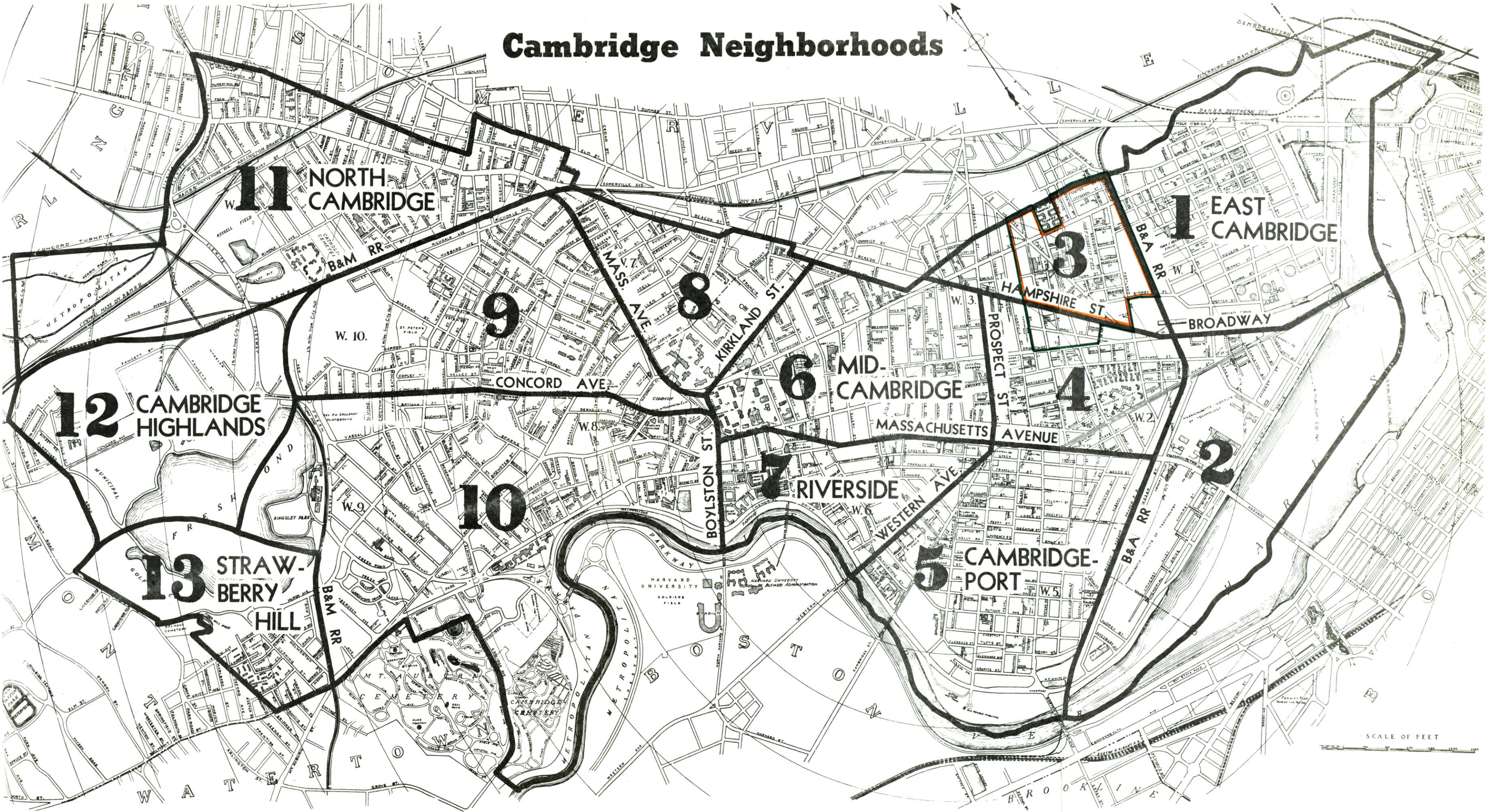
6. Street Conditions

Pavement

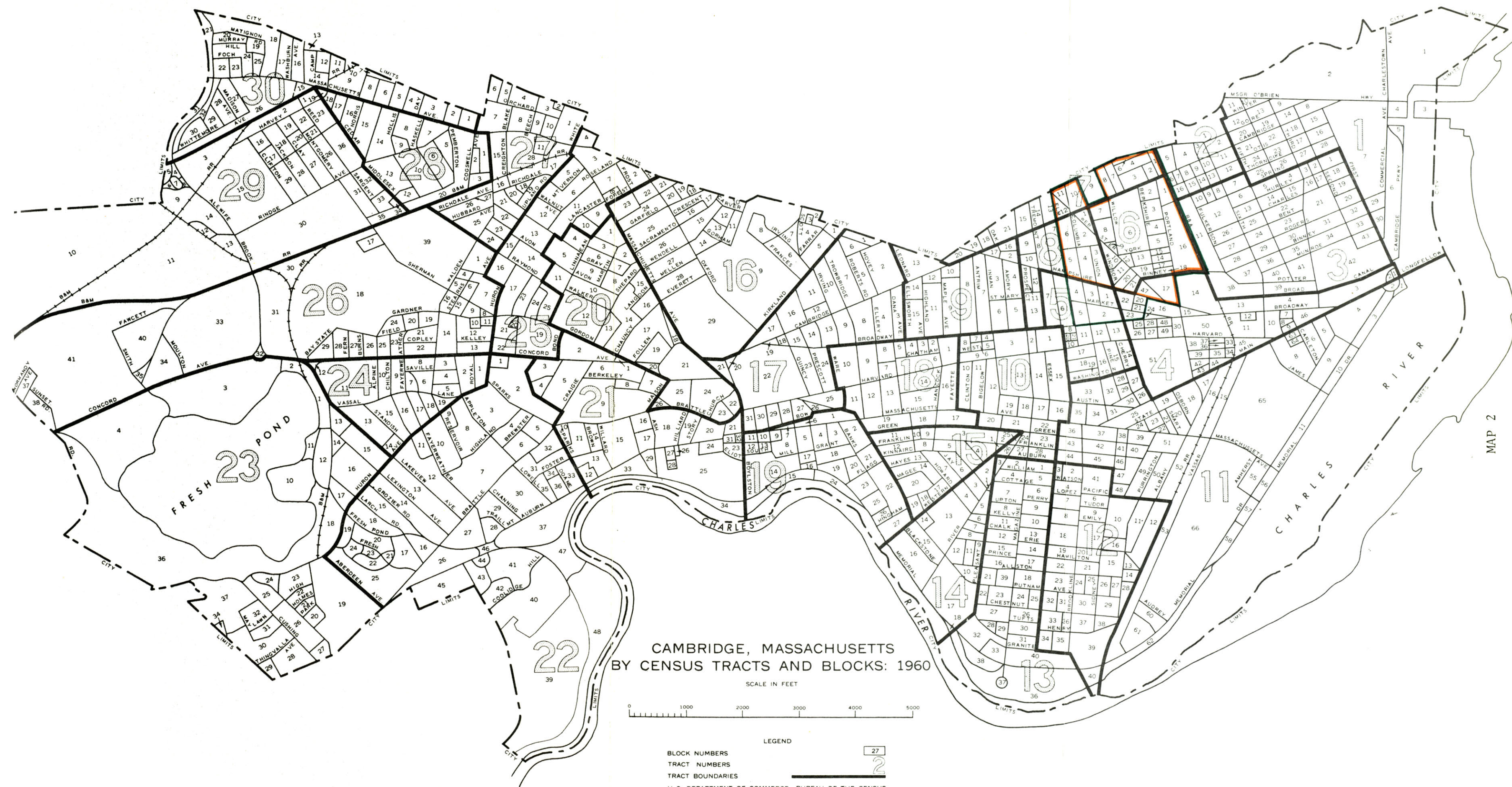
Sidewalk Pavement - Poor - None

Street Lighting

# Cambridge Neighborhoods



SCALE OF FEET



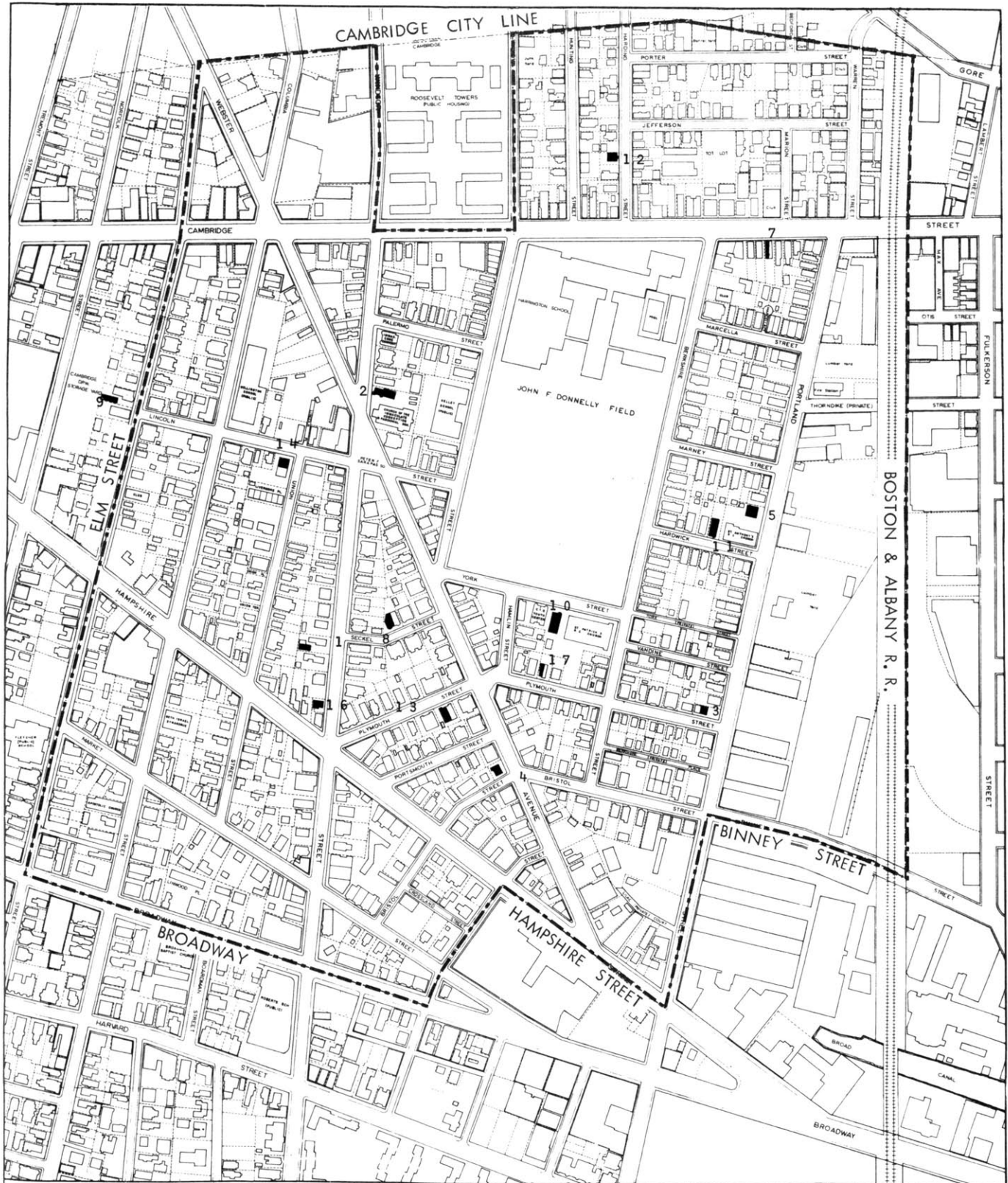
CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS  
BY CENSUS TRACTS AND BLOCKS: 1960

SCALE IN FEET



LEGEND

- BLOCK NUMBERS 27
- TRACT NUMBERS 2
- TRACT BOUNDARIES
- U. S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE, BUREAU OF THE CENSUS
- ALL TRACT NUMBERS PRECEDED BY- MC



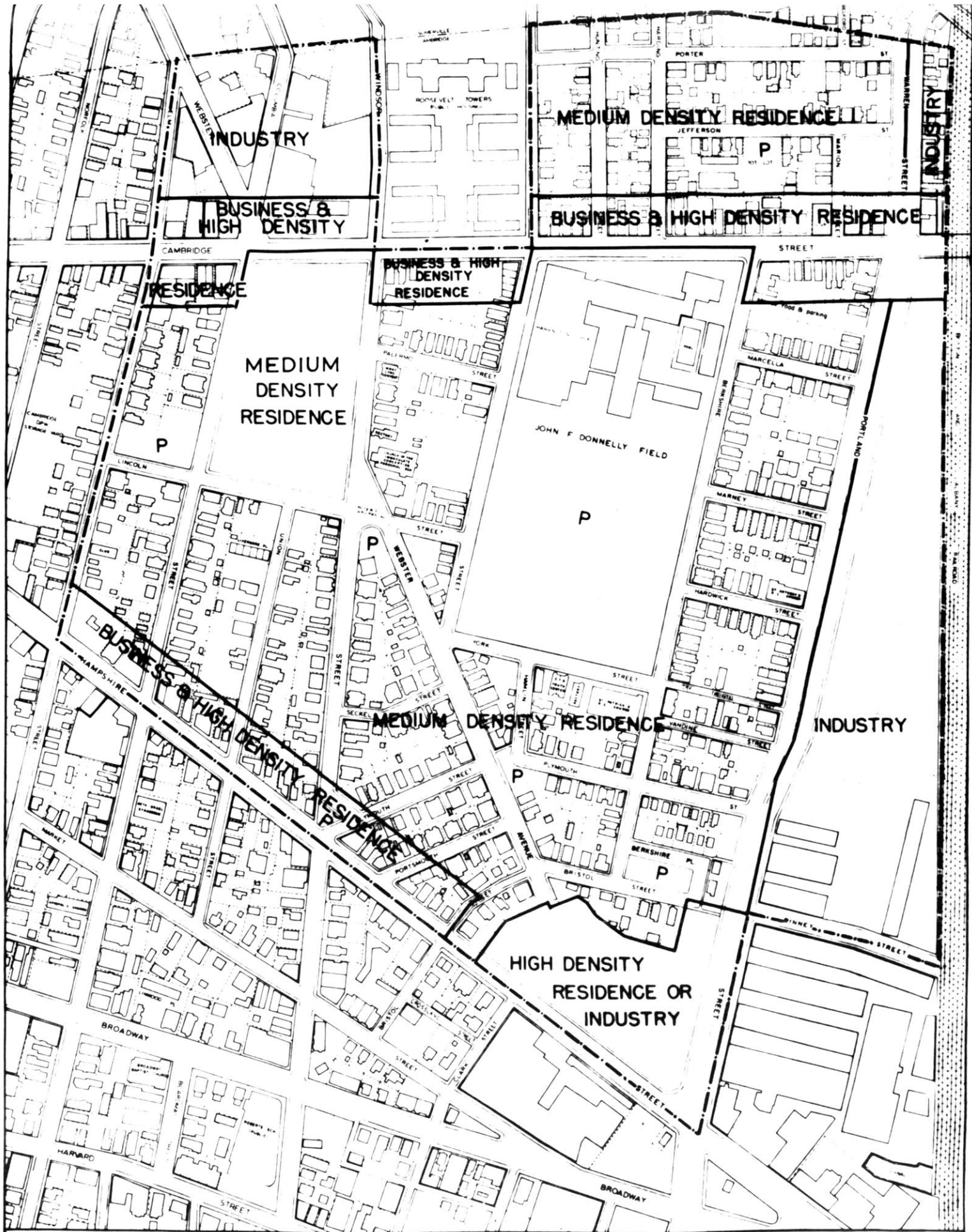
**PROJECT AREA BOUNDARIES**  
REFER TO APPENDIX C

**WELLINGTON-HARRINGTON  
URBAN RENEWAL AREA**

CAMBRIDGE REDEVELOPMENT AUTHORITY  
CAMBRIDGE, MIDDLESEX COUNTY, MASS.  
Prepared by the  
CAMBRIDGE PLANNING BOARD



CODE NO.



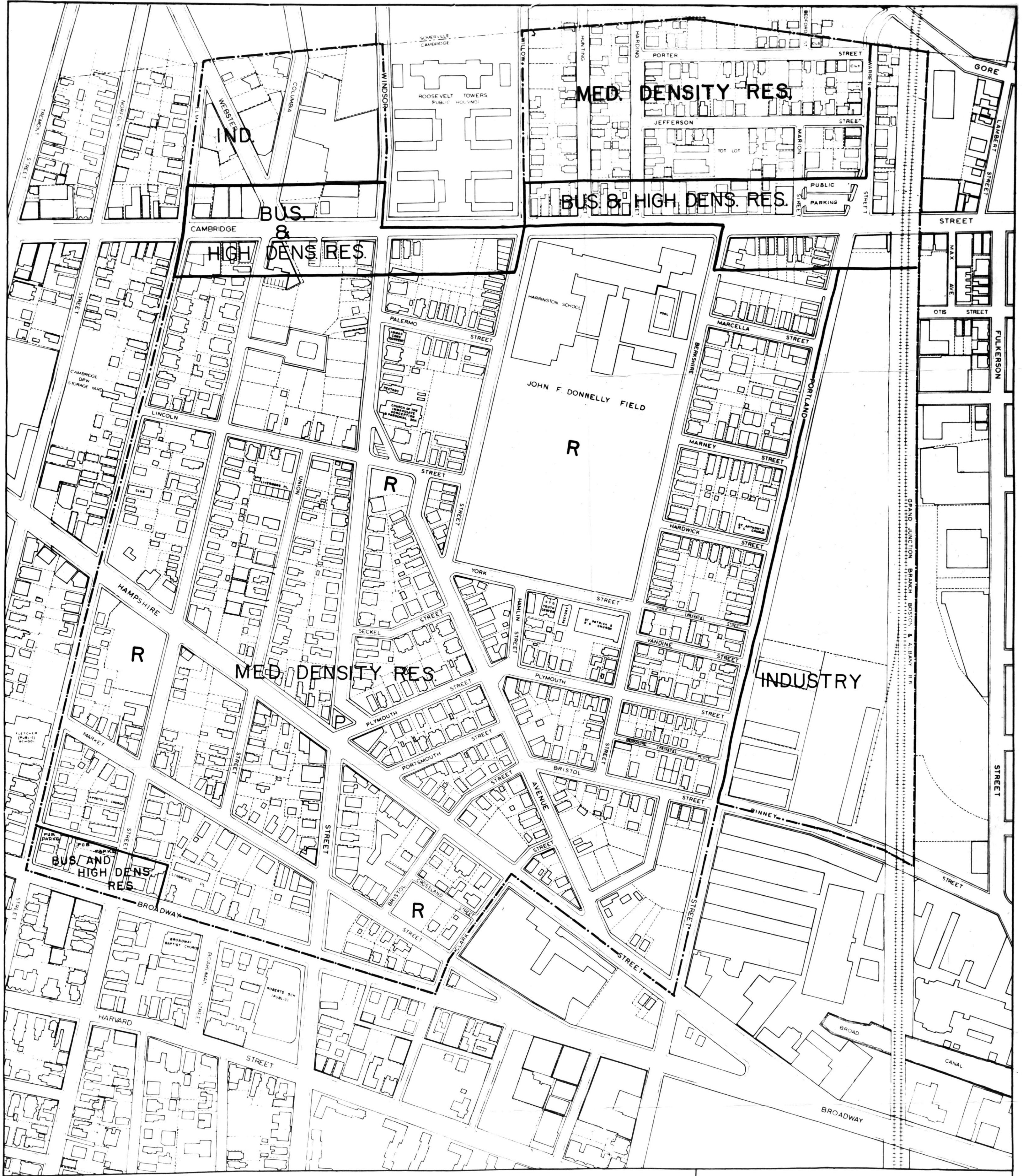
P PUBLIC LAND

**LAND USE PLAN**  
**DONNELLY FIELD**  
**RENEWAL AREA**  
 (MASS R.14)

CAMBRIDGE REDEVELOPMENT AUTHORITY  
 CAMBRIDGE, MIDDLESEX COUNTY, MASS  
 Prepared by the  
**CAMBRIDGE PLANNING BOARD**



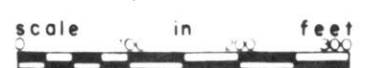
CODE NO R-213  
 APRIL 2, 1962



**LAND USE PLAN**

WELLINGTON-HARRINGTON URBAN RENEWAL AREA  
 MASS. R-108  
 CAMBRIDGE REDEVELOPMENT AUTHORITY  
 CAMBRIDGE, MIDDLESEX COUNTY, MASS.  
 Prepared by the  
 CAMBRIDGE PLANNING BOARD

**R** PUBLIC OPEN SPACE  
 - - - - - PROJECT AREA BOUNDARY



CODE NO. 213  
 APRIL 22, 1965



PROJECT AREA BOUNDARIES

WELLINGTON-HARRINGTON  
URBAN RENEWAL AREA

CAMBRIDGE REDEVELOPMENT AUTHORITY  
CAMBRIDGE, MIDDLESEX COUNTY, MASS.  
Prepared by the  
CAMBRIDGE PLANNING BOARD



CODE NO.

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Costa, Walter A.  
Markunas, Mrs. Barbara A.  
Nicoloro, Mrs. Mary  
Raulinaitis, John M.  
Schultz, Rabbi Joseph P.  
Shea, Robert J.  
Whalen, James F.

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Frank, Paul J., formerly Acting Executive Director  
Kritzman, Morris, formerly staff member and Secretary-  
Coordinator to the Wellington-Harrington Citizens Com-  
mittee

3. McClennen, Alan, Director, Cambridge Planning Board

4. Green, Richard, Vice-President, Cambridge Corporation.

5. Phillips Brooks House, Harvard University

Finn, Chester E., Jr., formerly President  
Knapp, Michael, Co-Chairman, Roosevelt Towers Tutoring  
Project  
McDonald, Douglas, Co-Chairman, Roosevelt Towers Tutor-  
ing Project

6. Kirslis, Peter Gabriel, Resident, 49 Bristol Street  
Kirslis, Mrs. Stephanie, Resident, 49 Bristol Street

7. Residents, Roosevelt Towers

Aleskivitch, Mrs. Lucy  
Evereteze, Mrs. Enricius, formerly President, Cambridge  
PTA, and member, Board of Directors, Cambridge Economic  
Opportunities Council  
Sleeper, Richard, member, Board of Directors, and Chair-  
man, Planning Group, Cambridge Economic Opportunities  
Council

Storiti, Mrs. Toni  
Waterman, Mrs. Muriel, member, Board of Directors, Cambridge Economic Opportunities Council

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