

FRATERNITY ROW, THE STUDENT GHETTO, AND THE FACULTY ENCLAVE

Characteristic Residential Districts in the American College Town

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The unusual demographic characteristics of college towns, and the social differences that exist within student populations, have led to the emergence in college communities of several distinctive types of residential districts. Using Ithaca, New York, as an example, this study examines the origins and evolution of three such districts—the Greek-housing district sometimes called “fraternity row,” the student rental area often known as the student ghetto, and the faculty enclave. Together such districts help to make the American college town a unique type of urban place.

Keywords: college towns; neighborhoods; housing; residential segregation

The hundreds of college towns in the United States are, in essence, an academic archipelago.¹ Similar to one another, they often differ in several important ways from other cities and the regions in which they are located. The most fundamental difference is demographic and is a reflection of the fact that many college towns are single-industry communities whose main business is education. The annual migration of new students to campuses means college town populations are forever young. The need for faculty and administrators, and the presence of graduate students, mean that college town populations are more highly educated than the general populace.²

The lopsided demographics of college communities help explain their distinctive personalities. College town commercial areas reflect the ever-changing tastes of youth and the nonmainstream orientation of many professors. Faculty and students tend to be more cosmopolitan than the population at

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large, so college towns often act as regional centers of culture. Professors and students have been shown to be more politically liberal than the general population, which has caused some college towns to develop reputations for social activism and progressive politics.³ But perhaps the most conspicuous influence of youth and erudition is evident in the character of the college town residential landscape. The presence of unusual concentrations of students and highly educated adults, and the social differences that exist within college communities, have led to the emergence in college towns of distinctive types of residential neighborhoods.

College towns are highly segregated residentially. College faculty and other permanent residents seldom want to live near undergraduates because of the different lifestyles they often lead. For students, the college years represent their first chance to live relatively free from adult interference, so they, too, prefer to live among their own. Dissimilarities within the student body contribute still further to residential differences within college towns. Although faculty are less concentrated residentially than students, they too have shown a tendency to cluster. This study will identify and describe three types of residential districts common to college towns that are a function of their unusual age and education characteristics—the Greek-housing district sometimes called “fraternity row,” the student rental district often known as the student ghetto, and the faculty enclave. In order to better understand why such districts develop and how they have changed over time, I will examine the origin and evolution of examples of each in a single college town, Ithaca, New York.⁴

Ithaca is home to two four-year colleges, Cornell University and Ithaca College. This study will focus on residential districts near Cornell because its impact has been more conspicuous than its younger and smaller neighbor. Cornell was founded in 1868, its campus laid out atop a plateau that overlooks the city and Cayuga Lake. Growing quickly to become one of the largest and most prestigious private universities in the United States, Cornell has come to exert a profound impact citywide. The influence of Ithaca College is more localized and less pronounced. Founded in 1892 as the Ithaca Conservatory of Music, it did not offer bachelor’s degrees until 1926. For most of its history, it lacked a cohesive campus, its facilities scattered throughout downtown Ithaca. It did not develop its current campus on what is known locally as South Hill until the 1960s. Like other private, undergraduate-oriented, liberal arts colleges, Ithaca College houses the majority of its students on campus and has no off-campus fraternities, which limits its residential impact. Ithaca College faculty, moreover, seem as likely to live near Cornell as Ithaca College, drawn by the greater campus amenities of a research university.⁵

Like other college towns in the longest-settled parts of the United States, Ithaca has come to be more strongly influenced by its colleges over the years. When Cornell was founded, Ithaca was a growing manufacturing town. By the turn of the twentieth century, its factories made boats, glass, pianos, guns, clocks, paper, and typewriters. In the early 1900s, factories were developed

that made adding machines, bicycle chains, airplanes, and later, automobile parts.⁶ After World War II, however, college enrollments grew rapidly and manufacturing's share of employment steadily declined, with most of the city's old-line industries eventually closing.⁷ Students and faculty came to make up an increasing share of Ithaca's population. Today, education is overwhelming Ithaca's biggest "industry." Cornell and Ithaca College together employ more than 11,500 people in the city and nearly half of the labor force in 2000 worked in education, compared to 3.5 percent in manufacturing. Since 1960, combined enrollment at Cornell and Ithaca College has doubled to nearly 26,000, while the city's population has remained about the same. In 2000, fifty-five percent of the city's residents were college students. As Ithaca's colleges have grown, the housing needs of students and faculty have increasingly shaped the city's urban landscape.⁸

FRATERNITY ROW

At noncommuter colleges, undergraduates are normally required or strongly encouraged to live in university-owned residence halls for at least their freshman year. After freshman year, students begin to sort themselves out according to their interests and lifestyles. Away from home and perhaps lost in a university many times larger than their high school, some choose to postpone independence and formalize their social lives by joining a fraternity or sorority. In most college towns, fraternity and sorority houses are concentrated in one or two areas. Often, several line a single street, which is typically called "fraternity row." Examples include Webster Avenue in Hanover, New Hampshire; Dubuque Street in Iowa City; and Colorado Street in Pullman, Washington.

With their classical or Greek-revival mansions and the unusual traditions and active social lives of the people who live in them, the fraternity district is a landscape unique to college communities. Raucous parties pour from fraternity houses most every weekend during the school year. Pledge week rituals, formal dances, and the building of homecoming floats are local spectacles. Fraternity houses can make bad neighbors, which helps explain why they are often concentrated and located apart from other residential areas. Contrary to popular perception, fraternity houses at most universities are privately owned and located off campus.⁹ While most Greek organizations voluntarily submit to regulation by universities, college officials do not exert the same degree of control over them that they do over on-campus residence halls.

Although membership in Greek letter societies is declining and some elite private colleges, such as Williams College in Williamstown, Massachusetts, have abolished their Greek systems altogether, fraternities and sororities remain an integral part of student life in most college towns. At large state universities, typically one-quarter to one-half of undergraduates pledge. At some private colleges, such as DePauw University in Greencastle, Indiana, three-

quarters of undergraduates join.¹⁰ While fraternities and sororities have long been criticized for their elitist (and sometimes bigoted) selection processes, dangerous hazing rituals, cliquish behavior, excessive drinking, and anti-intellectual attitudes—indeed, it is hard to find noncritical accounts of Greek life—they can serve a useful purpose for students who require greater social interaction.¹¹ “For a certain kind of boy at a certain tender age, fraternity is simply a given,” wrote the novelist Richard Ford, who pledged Sigma Chi at Michigan State University. “A go-along guy, who wants friends. A guy with standards he can’t understand. For this kind of boy conformity is a godsend. And I was that kind of boy.”¹²

Ithaca does not possess a single fraternity district or fraternity row, as do some college towns. Most fraternities and sororities are located on the west side of the Cornell campus or in one of two suburban areas north of campus, Cornell Heights and Cayuga Heights (Figure 1). The Greek houses north of campus are relatively spread out and interspersed with single-family homes. This study will focus on the West Campus Greek housing district, since fraternity houses are more concentrated and conspicuous here than elsewhere, and because the area has been home to fraternities for the longest period. The West Campus area is home to twenty-five fraternity houses and one sorority house (Figure 2). Most of the houses were built in the late 1800s or early 1900s. Many have been occupied by the same organization for a century or more. The majority of Cornell’s most elite fraternities are located in this area. Most of Cornell’s sororities are located north of campus, and thus outside the focus area, because they developed later.

Fraternities were an outgrowth of the campus literary societies that emerged on college campuses in the late 1700s in response to the conservative nature of higher education at the time. Most colleges were religiously oriented and had classical curricula that emphasized memorization and recitation. It was in the literary societies that students found an environment that nurtured free intellectual inquiry. Literary societies sponsored debates on the issues of the day and built libraries that often surpassed college book collections in size and scope. The first fraternity established in the United States, Phi Beta Kappa in 1776, was also intellectual in its purpose, but from the beginning fraternities also had a social component. As colleges liberalized their curricula and took over some of the functions of literary societies, the purpose of fraternities became chiefly social.¹³

By the time Cornell University opened in 1868, fraternities had replaced the literary societies in importance on most college campuses and had largely forsaken their intellectual roots. They had become gentleman’s clubs that sought only the most urbane young men for membership. They provided fellowship and institutionalized the long-standing college traditions of drinking, smoking, card playing, and singing. They grew, in the words of the historian Frederick Rudolph, because they “offered an escape from the monotony, dreariness,

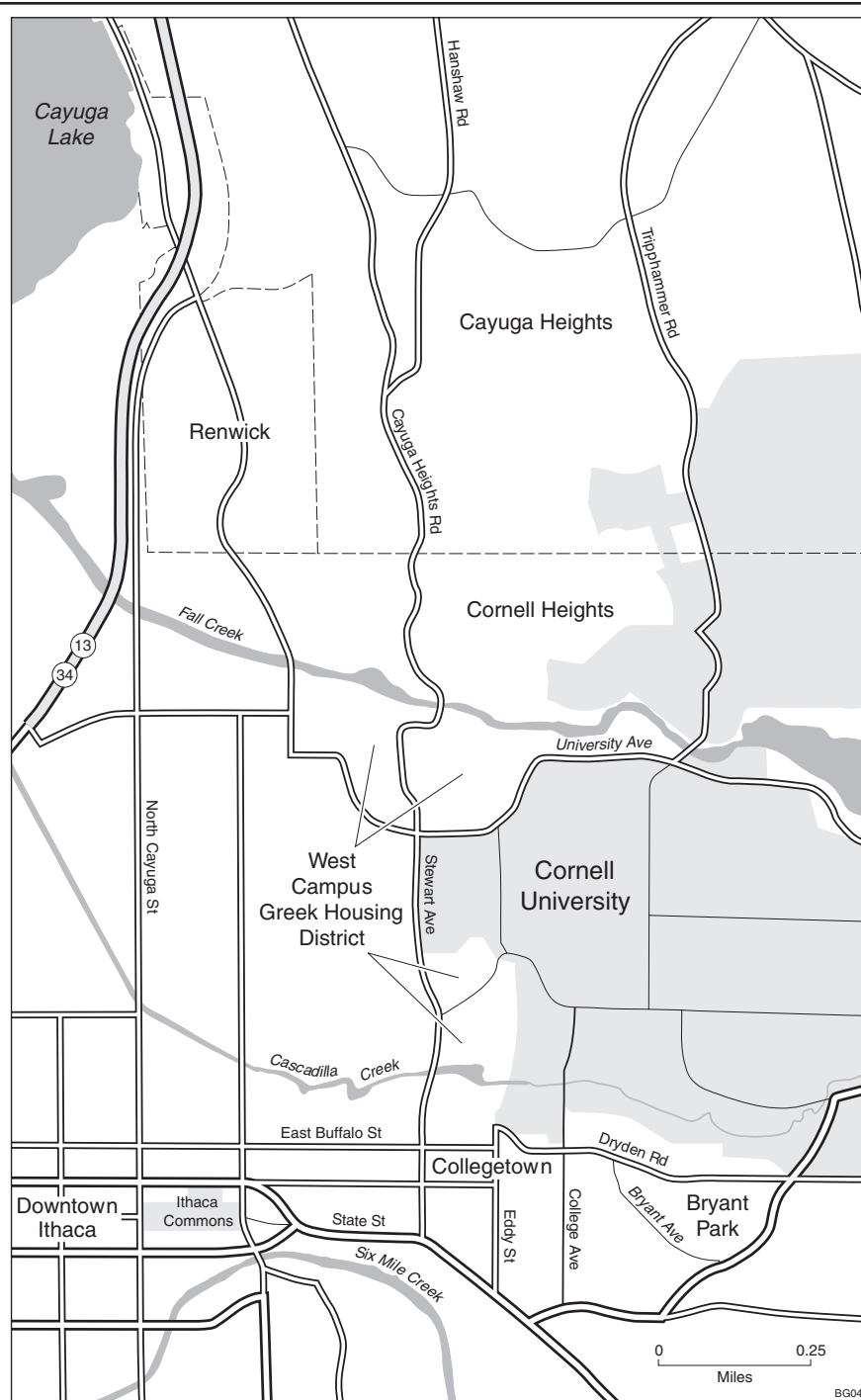


Figure 1: Map of Ithaca, New York, and vicinity showing the Greek housing district, the Collegetown student rental housing area, and the faculty enclaves, Cayuga Heights and Bryant Park.

SOURCE: Map by the author.

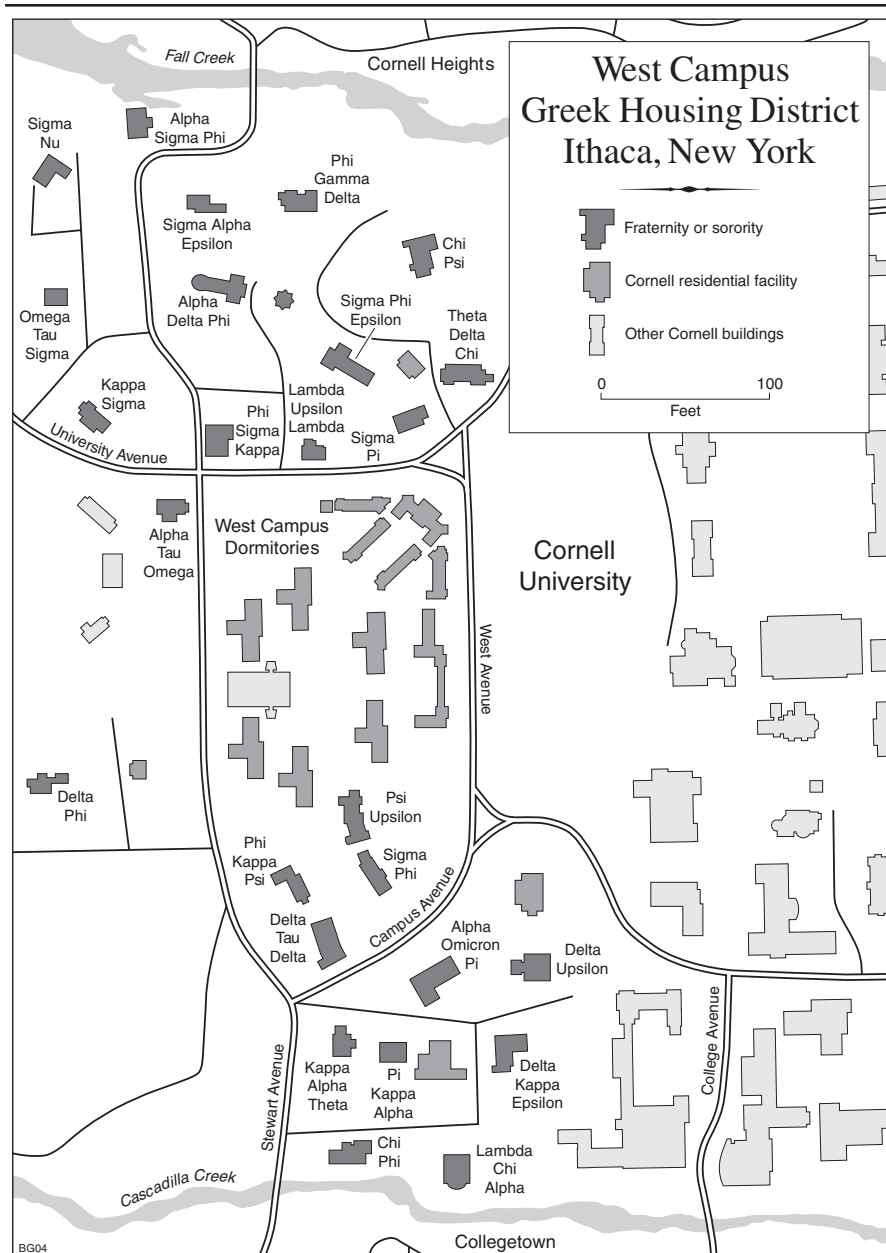


Figure 2: Ithaca's West Campus Greek housing district is home to twenty-five fraternities and one sorority.
 SOURCE: Map by the author.

and unpleasantness of the collegiate regimen." Cornell welcomed fraternities from the start. Its first president, Andrew Dickson White, had been a fraternity man at Hobart and Yale, and he spoke publicly about the virtues of fraternities on numerous occasions, arguing that they encouraged responsibility on the

part of their members and calling them “the best substitute possible for the family relation.” In Cornell’s first year, seven fraternities were founded.¹⁴

Fraternities have long served an important housing function at American universities such as Cornell, which opposed the construction of dormitories initially. White was adamant in his belief that students would be better housed in private homes or fraternities, saying that dormitories were breeding grounds for “carelessness, uproar, and destruction.” Still, the Cornell campus in its early years was isolated from the main part of Ithaca, sitting atop a steep hill that remains a difficult climb even in good weather. As a consequence, the university had little choice but to provide rooms for students and faculty at first. As new classroom buildings were constructed, rooms were set aside for student residences, but as the demand for educational facilities grew, these were gradually eliminated. The first dormitory for men was not built until 1914. As a result, fraternities came to house an increasing portion of undergraduate men.¹⁵ Sororities developed later, but have never been as numerous as fraternities because Cornell was an overwhelmingly male institution during the prime period of Greek society development in the late 1800s and early 1900s.¹⁶ Female students were so outnumbered that fraternities regularly bused in coeds from nearby women’s colleges for big party weekends until the 1960s.

Cornell’s first fraternities rented meeting rooms above businesses in downtown Ithaca. The newly founded Psi Upsilon became the first fraternity to have its own house and to locate near the Cornell campus when it rented a two-story structure in 1876 at the corner of Buffalo and Quarry streets in a neighborhood that became known as Collegetown (see Figure 1). The next year, Delta Kappa Epsilon rented a house nearby. In 1878, Alpha Delta Phi became the first fraternity to build its own chapter house in the area. One by one, fraternities migrated from downtown up the steep hill, East Hill, which separates Ithaca’s central business district from the Cornell campus. The steady migration of Greeks reflected a general shift in student housing. In time, however, animosity between the Greeks and independents, as non-Greeks were known, prompted most fraternities to relocate.¹⁷

The story of the Cornell chapter of Alpha Delta Phi is useful in helping to understand why this geographic shift took place and how separate Greek housing districts emerge in college towns. Alpha Delta Phi was the fourth fraternity chartered at Cornell. Shortly after its founding in 1868, members rented rooms in downtown Ithaca, near those of several other fraternities. Soon after Psi Upsilon and Delta Kappa Epsilon rented houses near campus, alumni of Alpha Delta Phi raised \$12,000 to build a house and purchased a lot on Buffalo Street about halfway up East Hill. The lot was ideally situated because at the time, most Cornell students lived downtown and walked up Buffalo Street to campus, passing by the Alpha Delta Phi house. The two-story, brick chapter house was completed in 1878 and provided housing for sixteen brothers.¹⁸

Three developments shifted the geographic focus of fraternity life and spurred Alpha Delta Phi to seek a new home. In 1881, Cornell began the



Figure 3: Kappa Alpha chapter house, completed in 1887, one of several fraternity houses built on the Cornell campus on land leased from the university.
 SOURCE: Archive Photograph Collection, No. 13-6-2497, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library. Used with permission.

practice of allowing fraternities to lease land on campus to build chapter houses. Then, in 1888, a bridge was built at Stewart Avenue over Cascadilla Creek, which separates the Collegetown neighborhood from Cornell, encouraging the development of fraternity houses on the west side of campus. Within a few years, three fraternity houses were built on the central campus (see Figure 3) and several more were constructed on the west side, some on campus lots, others on privately owned parcels. Finally, in 1893, a street railway was built from downtown to campus along State Street, eliminating most of the pedestrian traffic that had passed in front of the Alpha Delta Phi house on Buffalo Street.¹⁹ These changes served to isolate Alpha Delta Phi. "Buffalo Street . . . is now quite deserted," wrote the fraternity's alumni secretary in 1900, "and for some years the chapter has labored under the disadvantage of being out of the direct line and a considerable distance from the center of student life."²⁰ The migration of independents to rooming houses in Collegetown, meanwhile, spurred an exodus of Greeks from the neighborhood. In 1893, Alpha Delta Phi had been one of thirteen fraternities in the area. By 1900, only three remained.²¹

Though Alpha Delta Phi was the first fraternity to build its own house, in the intervening twenty years it had become run down and was smaller and less

opulent than several newer fraternity houses. If Alpha Delta Phi was to compete for the most sought-after pledges and retain its prominence in campus life, it needed a new house in a new location. In 1899, the fraternity's alumni board appointed a committee to consider its options.²² By this time, Cornell was under control of a new president, Jacob Gould Schurmann, who was critical of the Greek system and discontinued the practice of granting fraternities leases of campus land. Without the option of building on campus, Alpha Delta Phi considered four sites for a new house, three in Collegetown and one on the west side of campus. Indicative of the growing divide between Greeks and independents, it rejected all the Collegetown sites, dismissing one because of its proximity to "a number of cheap, unattractive buildings" and another, located near several rooming houses on Heustis Street (now College Avenue), because "it has a Heustis Street atmosphere as distinguished from a campus atmosphere."²³ Collegetown was becoming, in every sense of the term, Ithaca's student ghetto, and the status-minded fraternities wanted no part of it.

Alpha Delta Phi in 1900 chose a site on the west side of campus but away from most of the fraternities in that area. By this time, there were seven fraternities located on the west side of campus just north of Cascadilla Creek. Another stream, Fall Creek, formed the northern boundary of campus. Five years before, the Chi Psi fraternity had purchased the famous McGraw-Fiske mansion, which sat on thirty acres on the south edge of Fall Creek, opposite the northwest corner of campus. Built in 1881 for Jennie McGraw, daughter of one of Cornell's founders, the McGraw-Fiske mansion was Ithaca's most extravagant residence (see Figure 4). Styled after a French chateau and designed by William Henry Miller, who designed more than seventy buildings in Ithaca and on the Cornell campus, including nine fraternity houses, it had sweeping views of the campus, town, and Cayuga Lake, and cost a reported \$300,000 to build. After McGraw died, the land on which the mansion sat was subdivided into smaller lots, and, over the next decade, many were sold to fraternities. This became the next major fraternity-building area. In 1899, Phi Kappa Psi built a house next door to Chi Psi. A year later, Alpha Delta Phi purchased a five-acre lot just below the Chi Psi house.²⁴

The Chi Psi house set a standard of luxury that other Cornell fraternities sought to emulate. In fact, Alpha Delta Phi alumni worried about choosing a site nearby, fearing they would be forever "overshadowed." They also worried that the site was too far from the center of student life. Two factors enabled them to overlook these disadvantages. The Ithaca street railway was extended along Stewart Avenue in front of the site they were considering, making the area more accessible and stimulating the building in the vicinity of several "fine residences by professors and leading business men," a class of people more compatible with the fraternity's own social aspirations than the independents in Collegetown. Moreover, the fraternity had learned "from reliable sources" that Cornell planned to build several men's residence halls across from the site. Although the fraternity wanted no part of the "Heustis Street

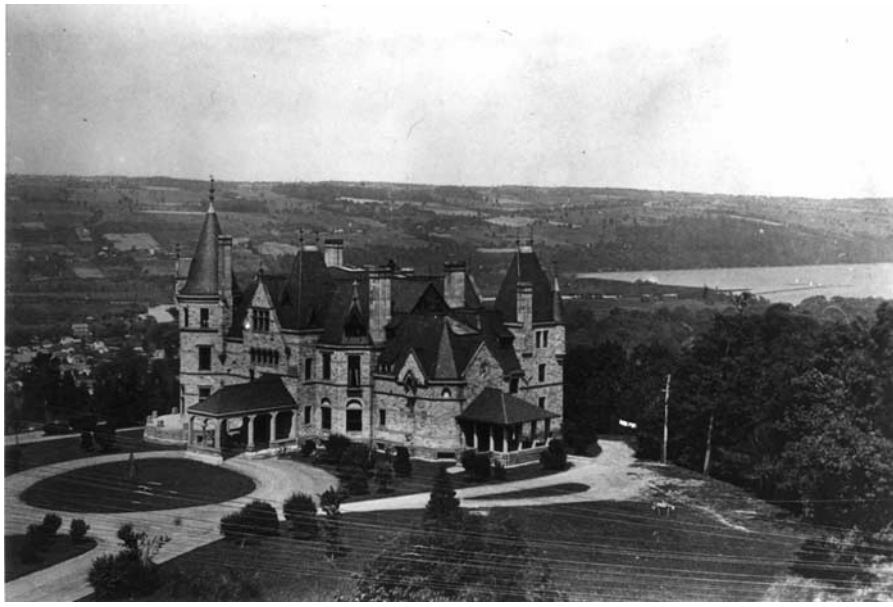


Figure 4: The Chi Psi fraternity purchased the famous McGraw-Fiske mansion in 1881. SOURCE: Carol Sisler Papers, Collection 4925, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library. Used with permission.

atmosphere,” the dormitories would house freshmen, the source of future fraternity pledges.²⁵ What better place to showcase the attractions of fraternity life?

Rather than try to copy the gothic grandeur of the Chi Psi house, Alpha Delta Phi hired Chicago architect George Dean, a student of Frank Lloyd Wright, who designed the house in the prairie-school tradition of his mentor (see Figure 5).²⁶ Seeking to distinguish it still further from Chi Psi, Alpha Delta Phi built a separate initiation chamber—a windowless, nine-sided, star-shaped structure designed for the fraternity’s secret initiation rituals. The chapter house and initiation chamber were completed in 1903. About the same time, two other fraternities purchased land on the former McGraw-Fiske estate and began building houses. A third fraternity purchased a private home nearby. Within a decade, there were ten fraternity houses in the vicinity (see Figure 6). There were thirteen more located farther south, on the north edge of Cascadilla Creek.²⁷ In 1914, as expected, Cornell built the first of fifteen men’s residence halls in between the two Greek housing areas. They provided a steady stream of new initiates to nearby fraternities and stimulated the building of other chapter houses in the vicinity.

At Cornell and elsewhere, as Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz has noted, Greeks dominated the formal aspects of student life. They were disproportionately represented in student government. They were the editors of the student newspaper and the yearbook. They were the cheerleaders and stars of athletic teams. Their parties and dances were the most important events on local social calendars and were covered on the society pages of newspapers. Fraternity men



Figure 5: Alpha Delta Phi chapter house, built in 1903 on land subdivided from the McGraw-Fiske estate.

SOURCE: Alpha Delta Phi at Cornell University. Used with permission.

were wealthier and more conservative than the student body as a whole, and their chapter houses were sumptuous mansions designed to symbolize the status of their residents, with great bay windows, wide verandas, grand staircases, oak-lined dining rooms, and stone fireplaces. The *Saturday Evening Post* called Cornell's chapter houses "the very apex of sybaritic luxury."²⁸ Cornell's early fraternities were also exclusively white and Christian, which stimulated the development of minority Greek organizations. The first black fraternity in the United States, Alpha Phi Alpha, was founded at Cornell in 1906, though it does not appear to have had a chapter house, its members living together in a rooming house on State Street. A Jewish fraternity, Zeta Beta Tau, was established on campus the following year. It established chapter houses first in Collegetown and later in Cornell Heights.²⁹

Cornell's Greek system, like those at other universities, grew with the institution, eventually becoming one of the largest in the United States. By 1925, there were eighty fraternities and sororities, and chapter houses had spread north into the Cornell Heights neighborhood and the separately incorporated village of Cayuga Heights. Several years before, Delta Gamma had become the first sorority to own its own house and sorority membership increased as female enrollment grew.³⁰ The lure of fraternity life and the contrasts between the Greeks and their opposites, the studious but socially inept "grinds," was well illustrated in Charles Thompson's novel, *Halfway Down the Stairs*, set in Ithaca. The book's protagonist, a self-described "grubby little jerk from Philip,

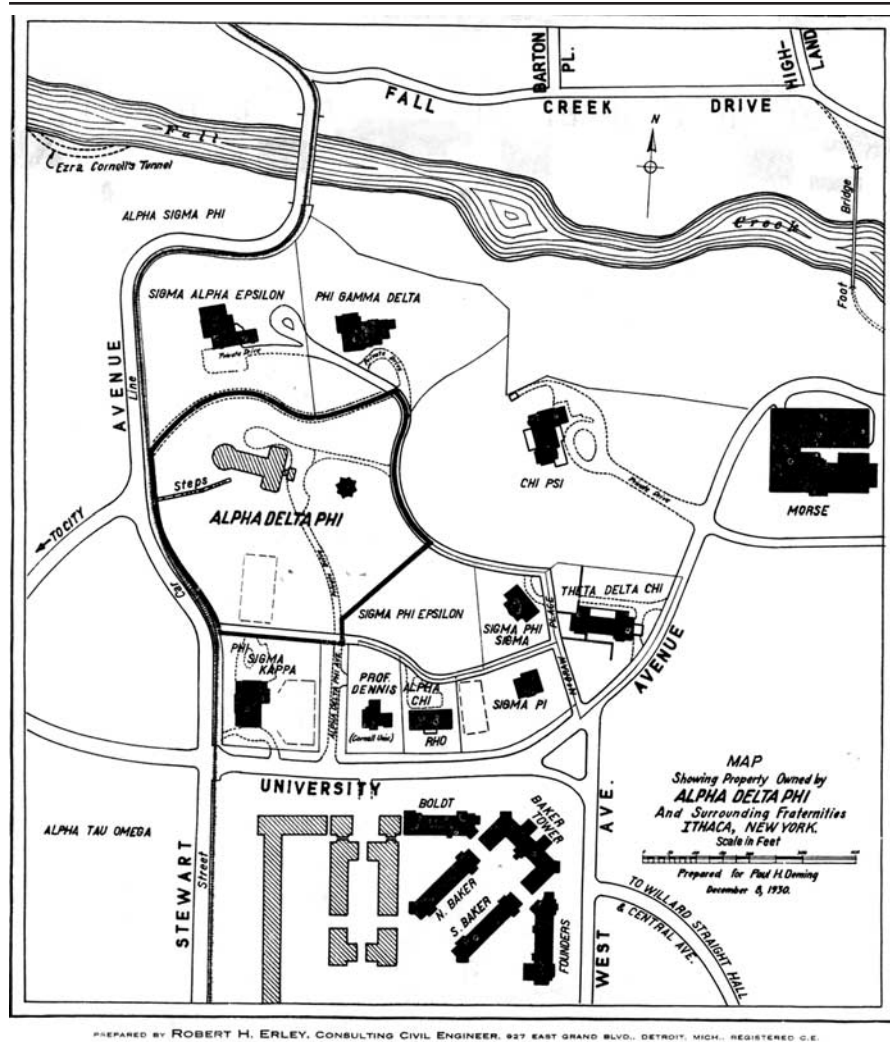


Figure 6: Fraternity houses built on land subdivided from the McGraw-Fiske estate in the late 1800s and early 1900s. Alpha Delta Phi's star-shaped initiation chamber is to the right of the fraternity's chapter house.

SOURCE: Alpha Delta Phi at Cornell University. Used with permission.

Mass.," arrives in Ithaca at one of the West Campus dorms, expecting ivy-covered grandeur only to find a "dirt and tar-paper shack, which was crouched with nine or ten like it under the shadow of two great brick fraternity houses."³¹ The houses belonged to Psi Upsilon and Sigma Phi, still today among Cornell's most elite fraternities.

"Well, I dropped my bags on the stoop of this hovel, and looked up at the fraternity houses," recalled the novel's central character. "They were huge, with diamond panes and lattice windows and about fifteen chimneys apiece. Each one had a cool flagstone terrace, and on one of these terraces a bunch of people

were having a party. They were tall brown boys and girls in skirts and cashmere sweaters, in light flannels and white bucks, and they looked like something out of the Philip Yacht Club. They were drinking what looked like orange juice; they moved in and out of wide French doors on the terrace, and inside someone was playing good cocktail piano. I stood there and watched them for a long time, fascinated.” After a while, one of the fraternity men wandered over to a wall, gazed out over the town, then looked down at the dorms. “There was a funny mixture of reactions on his face. He saw my suit and my shoes and my long hair and my beat-up cardboard suitcases, but it wouldn’t have bothered him if he hadn’t caught the look on my face. I guess he saw pure envy there, and a bitter kind of lust. . . . I wanted to be up on the Sigma Phi terrace with the pretty boys and pretty girls.”

Fraternities have experienced alternating periods of expansion and contraction, support and criticism. Many closed during World War II and struggled to regain their previous stature in a postwar era during which veterans dominated campus life. Fraternities boomed again during the 1950s, once the veterans graduated—two-thirds of Cornell freshmen pledged in the mid-1950s—only to come under attack in the nonconformist Sixties. Membership declined and some two dozen fraternities and sororities at Cornell closed. Fraternities nationwide were pressured to eliminate discriminatory clauses in their charters and to actively recruit ethnic and religious minorities. In 1968, Cornell’s Board of Trustees instituted a policy requiring all fraternities and sororities to comply with an antidiscrimination pledge. The conservatism of fraternities stood in sharp contrast to the tenor of the times. When militant blacks occupied the Cornell student union in 1969, for example, members of the Delta Upsilon fraternity broke into the building to try to remove them.³² Some faculty at Cornell and elsewhere called for the abolishment of the Greek system, which one report called “an absurd anachronism.”³³ Few colleges ever acted on such recommendations, perhaps because, as one Cornell report found and observers elsewhere have noted, a disproportionate share of the most generous alumni donors to colleges and universities are fraternity men.³⁴

The campus protests of the 1960s led to the eventual elimination of many university regulations governing student behavior, which, along with the raising of the legal drinking age and the popularity of the fraternity movie *Animal House*, spurred a revival of Greek life in the 1980s. As state after state raised its drinking age to twenty-one, fraternities assured undergraduates continued access to alcohol and made chapter houses once again the center of campus life. Fraternities became, in the words of Simon Bronner, “underage drinking clubs.” Nationwide, fraternity membership nearly doubled between 1980 and 1986. The number of fraternities and sororities at Cornell grew from fifty-two to sixty-five in a decade.³⁵ Giant fraternity parties rocked the West Campus Greek housing district every weekend. One fraternity alumnus described the 1980s as Cornell’s “*Lord of the Flies* period,” an era when fraternity parties advertising 125 kegs and drawing 3,000 people were common.³⁶

Growing concern in recent years over student drinking, the sexual conduct of fraternity members, and injuries caused by hazing, and continued criticism that fraternity membership practices are elitist and even discriminatory, have prompted colleges to again try to reign in the Greeks.³⁷ Some institutions have banned alcoholic beverages from chapter houses. Cornell has imposed many new restrictions on Greek social activities. Open parties are now prohibited: All events must be by invitation only and sponsors are required to have a guest list at the door. Chapters must hire a licensed caterer for all events where alcohol is served. Rush and pledge functions must be dry. Conversations with fraternity members indicate that the regulations are more a nuisance than a deterrent and are routinely ignored or circumvented. Drinking is still a central component of Greek life and student cultures in general (see Figure 7). Large parties are still common, with the fraternities on West Campus taking turns holding the biggest events. Underage drinking is still widespread. Hazing is still practiced, though truly dangerous rituals are rare.³⁸ Cornell's fraternities and sororities, like Greek organizations nationwide, also remain overwhelmingly white. While all have eliminated discriminatory membership policies in their bylaws and now have minority members, they are still less diverse than the student body and society as a whole.³⁹

Changing attitudes toward fraternities are having an impact. Nationwide, fraternity membership declined 30 percent between 1990 and 2000. At the dawn of the twenty-first century, "Greek life is . . . a tough sell," according to Richard McKaig, director of the Center for the Study of the College Fraternity at Indiana University.⁴⁰ At Cornell, membership fell 11.2 percent between 1996 and 2001. Three chapter houses closed. Cornell fraternity members refer to the time before the new social rules were implemented as "the good old days."⁴¹ Nevertheless, Greek life remains an integral part of student life at Cornell, which had forty-four fraternities and twenty-one sororities in 2001. Roughly one-quarter of undergraduates were members. The continued importance of fraternities and sororities, and the prominence of their chapter houses in the built environment (see Figure 8), suggest that the fraternity district will remain a distinctive attribute of college towns well into the future.

THE STUDENT GHETTO

For as long as there have been fraternities and sororities, there have been undergraduates who have reviled them, resented their importance, and lived their college years outside their sphere of influence. Many prefer to rent large houses near campus with friends or live in apartments. Campus-adjacent neighborhoods are often dominated by such rentals. Most college towns of a certain size have at least one neighborhood near campus that is home almost exclusively to undergraduates. Informally, it is often called the "student ghetto" and is characterized by dilapidated houses, beat-up couches sitting on



Figure 7: Students use a funnel while drinking at a Cornell University fraternity party.
SOURCE: Photograph by the author.

porches, cars parked on lawns, and bicycles chained to anything that will not move (see Figure 9). It is the result of what happened to many campus-adjacent neighborhoods when enrollments mushroomed following World War II: Colleges became less able to house their students, landlords saw an opportunity, and homeowners sought refuge from the influx of young people. Such neighborhoods often filtered down from faculty and other more well-to-do permanent residents as the housing stock deteriorated.⁴²

Neighborhoods such as University Hill in Boulder, Colorado; College Park in Gainesville, Florida; and the Collegetown district in Ithaca are locally notorious and the frequent subject of proposals by government officials seeking to control their spread and improve their appearance (see Figure 10).⁴³ Many college towns have sought to slow the expansion of such neighborhoods by imposing regulations intended to discourage the conversion of single-family homes into rental properties. In a decision that could prove significant for college towns, the Indiana Court of Appeals in 2002 struck down as unconstitutional a zoning ordinance in the college town of Bloomington, Indiana, that said no more than three unrelated adults could live in any dwelling. Many college towns have similar ordinances. Couches on porches are so central to the image of the student ghetto that an entrepreneur in Ithaca created a poster that is a parody of tourist posters such as “The Doors of Dublin.” It features thirty-three photos of couches and other indoor furniture on Ithaca porches above the banner, “Couches of Collegetown” (see Figure 11). Some see the proliferation



Figure 8: Delta Kappa Epsilon, one of 25 fraternity houses in Ithaca's West Campus Greek housing district.

SOURCE: Photograph by the author.

of couches on porches as less benign, however. The City Council in Boulder recently implemented an ordinance prohibiting upholstered furniture outdoors in response to several riots on University Hill in which couches were burned.⁴⁴

The origin and evolution of Ithaca's Collegetown neighborhood (see Figure 1) is in many ways representative of student-rental districts in college towns nationwide. Collegetown did not exist when Cornell opened its doors in 1868. Most residents of Ithaca lived on the "flats" that extended southward from Cayuga Lake. Ithaca's central business district developed along State Street and most homes were located north of it. There were but a scattering of private homes on East Hill, adjacent to the Cornell campus. Most of the area was occupied by small farms and woods. The first significant building on East Hill was a cotton mill built in 1827 by Otis Eddy, for whom one of the major streets in



Figure 9: Typical student-ghetto rental house in the Collegetown neighborhood, Ithaca.
SOURCE: Photograph by the author.

Collegetown is named. The mill was torn down in 1866 and replaced by a five-story stone building, Cascadilla Place, a hospital based on the water cure, which also failed.⁴⁵ Cornell leased Cascadilla Place, converting it into a dormitory for students and faculty. It became the nucleus around which the neighborhood grew. Collegetown developed organically in response to undergraduate demand for housing, the student-dominated district expanding outward as Cornell's enrollment increased.

When Cornell opened, students had three choices of where to live. Cascadilla Place provided room and board for 104 students, plus twelve faculty members and their families. It was abhorred by professors and students alike. It had outdoor privies and gas lighting. The manager of the dining room kept a pigsty out back. Cornell's first president, Andrew Dickson White, who lived in Cascadilla while his home was being built, called it "an ill-ventilated, ill-smelling, uncomfortable, ill-looking alms house."⁴⁶ Another seventy-five



Figure 10: Sights such as this one have prompted governments in college towns to try to improve the appearance of student rental districts and control their spread.
SOURCE: Photograph by the author.

students lived in the university's first academic building, Morrill Hall. Everyone else had to live down the hill in central Ithaca and walk a mile to campus, climbing the steep, four-hundred-foot hill upon which the university stands. The walk to campus was so exhausting that an early professor placed a stone bench about halfway up Buffalo Street to provide weary climbers a place to rest.⁴⁷

White opposed the building of dormitories, insisting undergraduates would be better off rooming in private homes. "Large bodies of students collected in dormitories often arrive at a degree of turbulence," he said, "which small parties, gathered in the houses of citizens, seldom if ever reach."⁴⁸ By necessity, some space was set aside in the first university buildings to house students, but as enrollment grew, student rooms were converted to academic uses. The building of rental housing near campus lagged behind demand. For the first five years, the majority of students lived in central Ithaca, many forming clubs so they could reduce expenses by leasing an entire house. Cornell's first student newspaper, the *Era*, urged Ithaca residents to "wake up" and "furnish accommodations—at reasonable prices and within reasonable distance of the University halls." So desperate were students for housing near campus that a group of twenty students was granted permission to build a cottage on the university grounds. Later, David Starr Jordan, who became the first president of Stanford University, joined with several classmates to build a wood "hut" on campus, near the president's house.⁴⁹

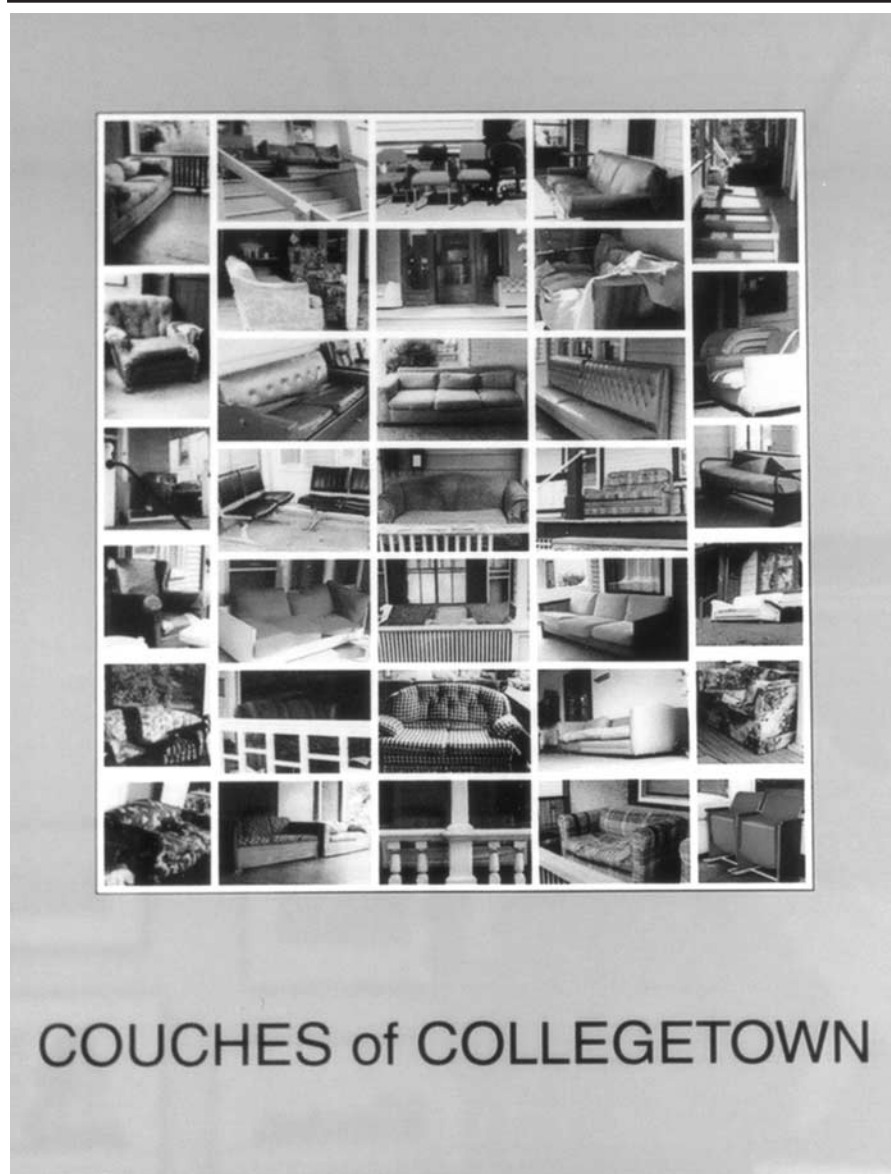


Figure 11: Couches on porches are so central to the image of the student ghetto that an Ithaca entrepreneur created this parody of tourist posters such as “The Doors of Dublin.”

SOURCE: Carole Schiffman. Used with permission.

Finally, in the late 1870s, several large, frame rooming houses were built on Eddy Street and Heustis Street, now College Avenue (see Figure 12). By 1889, there were fifty-nine residences in Collegetown. Enrollment at Cornell had topped 1,000, making it one of the largest universities in the country. That year, the *Era* appealed to the city to extend its streetcar line to campus, claiming that the lack of transportation served to “isolate the university” and caused rents in



Figure 12: Rooming houses built in the 1870s along Heustis Street, now College Avenue, in Ithaca's Collegetown neighborhood.

SOURCE: Archive Photograph Collection, No. 13-6-2497, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library. Used with permission.

Collegetown to become “abnormally high,” a common complaint in student rental districts up to the present day.⁵⁰ The streetcar line was extended to campus in 1893. The largest rooming houses were located along Heustis Street, most of them, in the words of Cornell’s historian, “cheap, ugly, and hazardous.”⁵¹ In time, businesses began to spring up in Collegetown to serve students living in the rooming houses. In 1903, a private dormitory, Sheldon Court, was built opposite the main entrance to Cornell. It housed 135 students, the Triangle Book Store, a doctor’s office, and a restaurant known as Mother’s Kitchen.⁵²

The student-housing district grew and grew. Year by year, new houses were built on the north-south streets leading to campus. Between 1904 and 1910, twenty new houses were built along Heustis Street. Eventually, new east-west streets were developed and one by one houses were built along them. The Cook family, Ithaca’s leading florists at the turn of the century, owned a large tract between Heustis and Eddy streets, upon which they had an orchard and several greenhouses. Catherine Street and Cook Street were built through this tract. Over the next twenty years, two dozen houses were built on the two one-block streets and the last of the greenhouses was removed. By 1930, most of present-day Collegetown was built up. Houses farthest from campus were initially occupied by families, who may have rented an extra room to students, but over time these too were converted to rooming houses and later apartments. The Collegetown commercial district also expanded. The parts of Heustis Street, Dryden Road, and Eddy Street closest to campus came to be lined with restaurants, bookstores, grocers, barbers, and other businesses catering to students.⁵³

As Cornell students began to sort themselves out residentially according to lifestyle differences, Collegetown developed a decidedly different character than the Greek-housing district between Fall and Cascadilla creeks. Where the fraternity houses were expensive and palatial, the rooming houses were, in the words of Morris Bishop, a Cornell student and later a faculty member, “light, flimsy structures of wood or of loathsome chocolate-colored Ithaca mud.” Bishop mapped the geography of the rooming houses in a 1912 article in the *Cornell Era*. The most desirable—and expensive—were located on the hill leading to Collegetown. “The dweller here need never be ashamed of his address,” Bishop wrote. The quality of housing quickly deteriorated east of Eddy Street, an area he referred to as “The Great Rooming-House Belt.” “Rooms here are cheaper,” he wrote, “but as ever you must pay for cheapness. Many . . . are small, bare, and insecure against the invasion of our famous February weather.” In 1913, a committee composed of students reported that most of the Heustis Street and Dryden Road rooming houses were “crowded” and many were “fire traps,” and recommended that the university begin regular inspection of the rooming houses. The following year, Cornell’s Board of Trustees implemented a plan to inspect the rooming houses annually and supply to freshman a list of inspected houses.⁵⁴

Where the best of the fraternity houses were home to the undergraduate elite, Collegetown housed those students who were at the bottom of the Cornell “caste system,” according to Bishop. They were, he wrote fifty years later, “a vast plebian mass, the independents, the outsiders, the pills, the poops, the drips.” Where the fraternity district was Cornell’s country club, Collegetown was its tenement district. It also became Ithaca’s Left Bank, particularly after World War II, when living in the “sweet little slum of rooming houses” became an affectation of the wannabe proletariat. “The Collegetown crowd—well, they’re the bohemians,” wrote Charles Thompson in *Halfway Down the Stairs*. “They dress a la Greenwich Village and they’re actors and writers and musicians and that sort of thing. I always thought they were a ratty bunch.”⁵⁵

As Cornell’s enrollment grew following World War II, the student housing district expanded. Enrollment nearly doubled between 1940 and 1965, as veterans flooded campuses and baby boomers began to enter college. The proportion of high school graduates attending college tripled in the first three decades after the war.⁵⁶ Like most American universities, Cornell devoted increasing resources to dormitory construction, building in the 1950s alone seven residence halls capable of housing 1,200 students, but the number of students living off campus grew even faster. The nature of student accommodations also changed, as the postwar student sought more room and greater freedom. Students came to prefer apartments and gradually most of Collegetown’s rooming houses were converted.⁵⁷ As demand for off-campus housing increased, many single-family homes in Collegetown were also turned into apartments. Typical of college towns nationwide, landlords could outbid families as houses came on the market. The lifestyle differences between students and older adults also

pushed families out. Block by block, Collegetown turned from a mixed neighborhood into a student-dominated district. At the time, it was also a predominantly male neighborhood, as female students were required to live on campus or in sororities, as they were at many American colleges.

Collegetown became the center of Ithaca's countercultural scene during the 1960s, a period one writer later called the neighborhood's "Golden Age." As enrollments grew and the contrasts between undergraduates and the rest of the population intensified, student-dominated districts near college campuses developed a culture all their own. They were, in the words of the sociologist John Lofland, "cities of youth." The anthropologist William Partridge called one such neighborhood in Gainesville, Florida, "the hippie ghetto." It was in Ithaca's Collegetown that Richard Fariña, confidante of Bob Dylan and brother-in-law of Joan Baez, set his quintessentially Sixties novel, *Been Down So Long It Looks Like Up to Me*. There were poetry readings at the Cabbagetown Café. Gays and bikers hung out at Morrie's bar. "Eight Miles High" drifted out of apartment windows. A paved parcel at the corner of Eddy Street and Dryden Road was set aside as "People's Park."⁵⁸ "Collegetown," wrote a contemporary observer, "is, and always has been, the fertile soil in this area for writing, partying, rioting, speech-making, and messing up and getting off."⁵⁹

In the early seventies, however, a "wave of heroin" arrived in Collegetown and the mood began to sour. In 1971, a reputed drug dealer was murdered in a Collegetown parking lot. Junkies ruled the streets, according to one writer. The grassy slope behind Cascadilla Place became the favored spot to smoke marijuana. Drug deals "were going on all the time" on Eddy Street. LSD was commonplace, with hangers-on "'laying hits' on anyone who walked by."⁶⁰ In May 1972, following an anti-Vietnam War rally on campus, a crowd tried to set fire to the Collegetown branch of the First National Bank, but it would not burn. Two days later, police seeking to break up a block party on College Avenue triggered a four-hour melee during which partygoers threw bottles, cans, and rocks at police. Twenty-nine people were arrested and twenty others were injured, including ten policemen (see Figure 13). Police in riot gear used tear gas to disperse the crowd.⁶¹

By this time, the housing stock in Collegetown had deteriorated. Little new housing had been built in a half-century and existing housing was poorly maintained (see Figure 14). The most run-down buildings were fire and health hazards. "It was dirty, cockroach infested," said Sean Killeen, who represented the neighborhood on the Ithaca Common Council.⁶² As enrollments increased, a housing shortage developed on campus, which heightened demand for housing off-campus. The greatest growth was in the female student population, which doubled between 1965 and 1975 while male enrollment stayed about the same. In response to protests against differential regulations for coeds, which grew out of the nationwide student power movement, Cornell's administration gradually eliminated rules requiring female students to live on campus, which escalated demand for rental properties in Collegetown. Demand

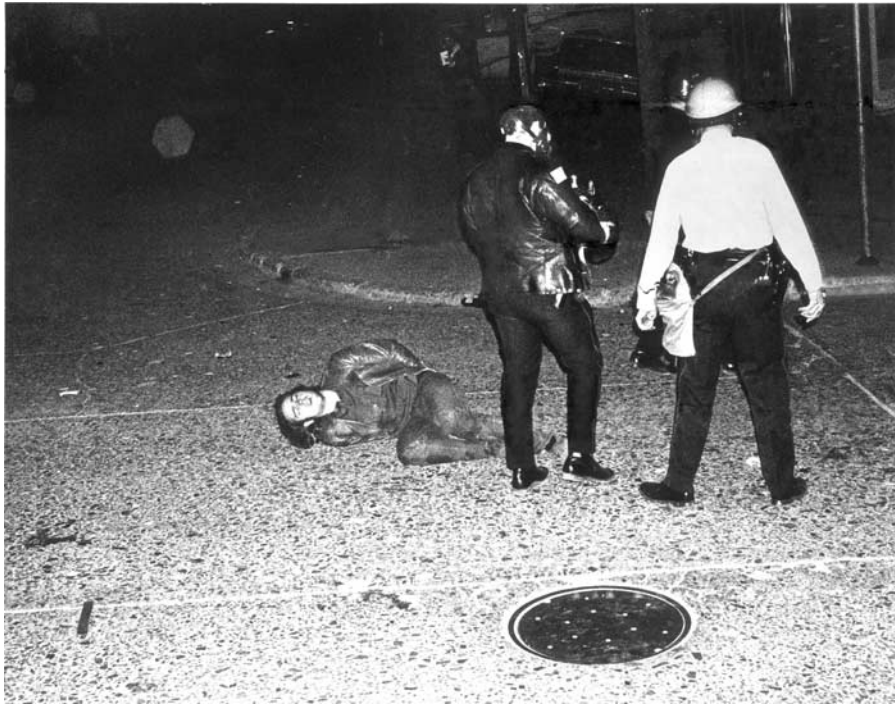


Figure 13: Handcuffed student arrested in May 1972 Collegetown riot.

SOURCE: Photograph by Dan Brothers, published in *A Century at Cornell*, by Daniel Margulis and John Schroeder, copyright 1980. Used with permission.

exceeded supply in the areas closest to campus, so rents rose. Because students were a captive market, landlords often did little to improve their properties (see Figure 15). The situation grew so bad that in 1965 students put up tents on campus to protest poor housing conditions in Ithaca. Cornell implemented a detailed code for student rental housing and, in 1966, began requiring students to live in university-approved housing. In 1969, the Ithaca Tenants Union was formed; it called on Cornell to build more residential facilities on campus and pressured the city to strengthen its building codes and increase enforcement. Rent strikes became widespread.⁶³

A columnist in the Cornell student newspaper in 1975 lampooned the poor conditions of Collegetown housing, retelling the story of his search for a place to live. He visited one apartment on Eddy Street, which he described as “a street of singular charm and ugliness, punctuated by garbage cans and parking meters. . . . The landlord, an unfriendly and unshaven man with an apron, showed me into the flat which had a bedroom, kitchen and water closet and all slanting ten degrees off the horizontal. The table was nailed to the floor and the landlord told me the only problem with the flat was when Sally upstairs washed her twelve blue jeans and washing machine B overflowed, but there was plastic in the closet to catch the drippings.” He visited another apartment on Buffalo Street. “The landlord led me up the stairs [which] creaked with the



Figure 14: Rooming house at 209 College Avenue, Ithaca.

SOURCE: Photograph by Carin Ashjian, published in *A Century at Cornell*, by Daniel Margulis and John Schroeder, copyright 1980. Used with permission.

poverty that makes a great writer and my heart beat faster and my pencil weighed heavy in my pocket. The door to the flat led to the kitchen which led to the bathroom which led to the bedroom where the light from the gabled window lit all three rooms because they were in a straight line . . . The window had a crack in it where I could stuff my socks. Bad apartments make good writers so I signed the lease and I was happy.”⁶⁴

Collegetown has undergone profound changes over the last quarter century. City officials began to press for the redevelopment of the neighborhood in 1968. The following year, a city-sponsored urban renewal plan called for the heart of Collegetown to be demolished and replaced with a massive, multipurpose development. It recommended construction of a large building on College Avenue that would include 375 apartments, 600 parking spaces, retail on the first and second floors, two movie theaters, a restaurant, and nine floors of office space. It also called for the construction of six to eight high-rise apartment towers, the tallest eighteen to twenty-one stories. The plan went nowhere



Figure 15: Cramped interior of a typical Collegetown apartment, 1971.

SOURCE: Photograph by Richard A. Shulman, published in *A Century at Cornell*, by Daniel Margulis and John Schroeder, copyright 1980. Used with permission.

because, as Ithaca planning director H. Matthys Van Court said, “it was too big” and “unfinancable.”⁶⁵ Countless proposals were debated over the subsequent decade, but little real change took place until the 1980s. In 1981, Cornell decided to build a new \$16.5-million performing arts center in Collegetown, and to renovate Cascadilla Place and a once-private dormitory nearby to provide additional student housing.

Cornell spent \$40 million on various Collegetown projects and, in the process, stimulated the transformation of the neighborhood. Today, large apartment buildings, the tallest of which is nine stories, line both sides of Dryden Road (see Figure 16). Several other apartment buildings were built on College Avenue and Eddy Street. “It’s like a mini-Manhattan,” observed one local businessman.⁶⁶ The city encouraged development by temporarily suspending building-height limits and parking requirements. Over a ten-year period, more than a dozen apartment buildings, capable of housing 1,700 people, were built. The building boom is representative of changes that are taking place in student-housing districts in college towns nationwide. A prolonged period of economic prosperity meant students were arriving at college with new cars and more money for housing. Landlords in Ithaca and elsewhere discovered that student tastes had changed. Where undergraduates in earlier periods would snap up cramped and dingy apartments in beat-up old houses, a new breed of students preferred modern buildings with greater amenities, while still wanting to live close to campus. Developers such as Houston-based Sterling



Figure 16: Large, modern apartment buildings now line Dryden Road in Collegetown, indicative of the changing nature of college town student rental districts.
SOURCE: Photograph by the author.

University Housing have recognized this market niche. Sterling has built amenity-rich student housing—intended as a cross between dormitories and apartments—in thirty college communities. Its properties typically include fitness centers, volleyball courts, hot tubs, game rooms, and high-speed Internet access.⁶⁷

Jason Fane, Ithaca's biggest landlord, built three of the apartment buildings on Dryden Road. All are fully furnished, air conditioned, with dishwashers, microwave ovens, and Ethernet connections. One even has a doorman. Fane also owns a number of older Collegetown houses. He has watched student housing tastes change over the last quarter century. In 1975, he remarked that students "aren't interested in aesthetics."⁶⁸ A quarter century later, Fane observed that students "are looking for quality." They want apartments that are "clean, fresh, new," "close to campus," with "the latest technology," "superb

services,” and “views.” “Basically,” he concluded, “students want pretty much the same thing as the tenant in a new high-rise tower in a big city.”⁶⁹ Rental rates have skyrocketed as a result of the new development. A one-bedroom apartment in Fane’s newest building, Collegetown Center, is \$1,300–\$1,400 a month. Parking costs another \$175 a month. Studio apartments in the 312 College Avenue building, which has a mini-theater that residents can reserve, study rooms, and a concierge, are \$1,020–\$1,255 a month.⁷⁰

The expensive new buildings have increased the population density, stimulated new retail development, and created, in effect, two Collegetowns. There were nearly 2,000 more people living in the neighborhood in 2000 than there were in 1980, an increase of 125 percent. Population density is now comparable to Brooklyn or San Francisco. Not surprisingly, the population is young, most are students, and nearly all are renters. Anyone over age thirty stands out. Collegetown is also increasingly Asian, reflecting a rise in the enrollment of Asian students at Cornell since 1980. Asians made up 30 percent of the neighborhood’s population in 2000, a proportion three times higher than twenty years before.⁷¹ Many of the new apartment buildings include retail on the first floor, and the character of businesses has changed dramatically in recent years. Collegetown is now filled with restaurants, bars, coffee houses, and other businesses catering to the wealthier students who live in the new buildings. There are seventeen different restaurants, including six different varieties of Asian cuisine.

Farther from campus, however, Collegetown remains much as it has for fifty years. The lower ends of Eddy Street, College Avenue, and nearby streets are still lined with large, frame houses full of student apartments, many of them approaching one hundred years old. Rents are cheaper than they are in the new buildings. Since the 1960s, the student-housing district has expanded down East Hill and east into the Bryant Park neighborhood, as rising enrollments increased demand for rentals. Collegetown remains Ithaca’s student ghetto and still meets the definition of a ghetto as a neighborhood where a particular group lives in relative isolation from the rest of the population, but parts of the area no longer fit the aesthetic characteristics that such a designation suggests. Collegetown, like student housing districts in university communities nationwide, is changing.

THE FACULTY ENCLAVE

Although professors are less concentrated residentially than they once were and are scattered throughout university communities like Ithaca, most college towns have at least one older neighborhood near campus that has resisted the invasion of undergraduates and is home to large numbers of professors and college staff. The faculty enclave is a neighborhood of classic homes and tree-lined streets, where residents vigilantly seek to preserve the area’s character



Figure 17: Entrance to Cayuga Heights, one of two major faculty enclaves in Ithaca.
SOURCE: Photograph by the author.

and prevent incursions by students (see Figure 17). John Jakle, in a study of Urbana, Illinois, found that University of Illinois faculty were concentrated in that city's Carle Park neighborhood and observed that professors were more likely to own houses that were architecturally distinctive as a way to set themselves apart as an "educated gentry class." Gorman Beauchamp, in a portrait of Burns Park, a faculty enclave in Ann Arbor, Michigan, noted that residents of such neighborhoods are more likely than inhabitants of other areas to own a passport, subscribe to the *New York Review of Books*, and espouse liberal causes, and less likely to go to church or fly the U.S. flag. "Ah yes, Burns Park," Beauchamp wrote, quoting a faculty colleague at the University of Michigan, "where they vote left and live right."⁷²

Ithaca has at least two faculty-oriented neighborhoods, Cayuga Heights and Bryant Park (see Figure 1). Cayuga Heights, a separately incorporated village located north of the Cornell campus, is the more elite of the two, its lots larger, its homes more expensive, and, as a result, is home to high percentages of tenured and emeritus faculty. Nearly two-thirds of adult residents in Cayuga Heights in 2000 held graduate degrees.⁷³ Bryant Park, adjacent to the south side of the Cornell campus and convenient as well to Ithaca College, was developed about the same time, but its lots are smaller, its homes less grandiose, and its location less desirable. Where Cayuga Heights looks out on picturesque Cayuga Lake, Bryant Park abuts the student-dominated Collegetown district. While Cayuga Heights has traditionally been home to large numbers of senior faculty, Bryant Park is more affordable and, as a result, has been

popular with younger faculty buying their first homes. One longtime resident of Bryant Park, a Cornell economics professor, said, "I always tell my students that the proletariat professors live in [Bryant Park] and the affluent ones live in Cayuga Heights."⁷⁴

In the early years after Cornell was founded, most faculty lived on campus—first in Cascadilla Place alongside students and later in houses built on the university grounds. Because the campus was isolated from the rest of Ithaca, Cornell's trustees permitted faculty to build houses on land leased from the university, a practice not uncommon in college towns.⁷⁵ The first two faculty cottages were built in 1871 and eventually thirty-four faculty homes were built on campus. Cornell President White supported the program because he believed "commodious, convenient, and attractive" homes would make professors less likely to leave Cornell. "Even the presence of an attractive little veranda or bay-window," he said, "may hold a wife against advanced salary for her husband elsewhere."⁷⁶ After the turn of the century, as Cornell's enrollment began to rise, there came to be increasing pressure for the land upon which the houses were built. One by one the faculty houses were purchased, demolished, and replaced by academic buildings, and faculty moved off campus. This change stimulated residential development nearby. In fact, the only subdivisions developed in Ithaca between 1888 (when it was incorporated as a city) and World War I were built on East Hill in areas convenient to the Cornell campus.⁷⁷

Ithaca's first faculty enclave was Cornell Heights, located between the Cornell campus and Cayuga Heights, on the north edge of the Fall Creek gorge. An unnamed writer in the Cornell student newspaper first recognized the residential potential of the area one year after the university's founding. In an article calling for the construction of housing for students near campus, the writer appealed to the owner of the land north of Fall Creek to "at once throw a bridge across that stream as near as possible to the University edifices, cut up his property into building lots, and forthwith erect as many inexpensive but substantial residences as can be built."⁷⁸ A few years later, Franklin Cornell, son of university founder Ezra Cornell, likewise recognized the attractions of the area, observing, "the land across the gorge is the grandest and best in this country for residences." He had a different clientele in mind than the student writer, however, predicting that one day "the campus people will burst across the gorge . . . and make those lands the choicest in Ithaca."⁷⁹

The lack of a bridge across the deep gorge inhibited development of the area for a quarter century. Finally, in 1896, a group led by Edward G. Wyckoff, son of a wealthy Ithaca businessman, announced plans for the development of Cornell Heights. Wyckoff purchased a controlling interest in the Ithaca Street Railway so the streetcar line could be extended to the area. Two bridges were built across the gorge just before the turn of the century, enabling the street railway to be built through the Cornell campus to Cornell Heights and back. From the outset, Wyckoff envisioned Cornell Heights as an elite residential area

catering to faculty and businessmen, “without the encroachment of commercial interests or students.”⁸⁰ Several streets were named for early Cornell professors. Most original residents were Cornell faculty, who walked to campus or rode the streetcar.

An unwelcome development in 1906, typical of the forces that trigger neighborhood change in college towns, squelched Cornell Heights’ emergence as Ithaca’s premier faculty enclave. That year, Sherman Peer donated his Cornell Heights house to the Alpha Zeta fraternity. The move enraged Wyckoff, who threatened legal action against Peer for violating the terms of his deed. “You are aware as to the efforts we have always made to the end of keeping fraternities from occupying houses on Cornell Heights,” Wyckoff wrote his lawyer. “These young men are causing considerable annoyance in the neighborhood.”⁸¹ Cornell Heights’ proximity to campus made it increasingly difficult to keep out students and gradually faculty began to relocate. In 1912, Cornell built the first of several women’s dormitories in the area. Two years later, Wyckoff himself gave up, selling his Cornell Heights estate to the Phi Kappa Psi fraternity. Many faculty who sought to escape the invasion of students looked north.⁸²

Cayuga Heights held many of the attractions of Cornell Heights without its major disadvantages. Sitting atop the same plateau as the Cornell campus, it is at the same elevation as the university grounds, a desirable characteristic in hilly and snowy Ithaca. It overlooks Cayuga Lake, while its gently rolling topography meant many home sites would have lake views. While it was convenient to the Cornell campus, it was not so close that it faced the same pressure from student housing (though fraternities were later built on its southern edge). Because it never became part of the city of Ithaca, it has also been better able to control what goes on within its borders. The nucleus around which Cayuga Heights developed, two parcels totaling 616 acres north of Cornell Heights, just beyond the Ithaca village limits, were purchased in about 1901 by Jared Newman, Edward Wyckoff’s attorney, and Charles Hazen Blood, Newman’s law partner. Newman and Blood hired Boston landscape architect Warren Manning to design the subdivision. Influenced by the picturesque residential designs of Frederick Law Olmsted, Manning laid out Cayuga Heights with irregular-sized home lots and curving streets that followed the contours of the landscape. White pines and other trees were planted according to formal plan.⁸³

Development of Cayuga Heights was slow at first. Newman built a summer home there in 1903. In 1909, he built a year-round residence. Two years later, Sherman Peer built a Gustav Stickley–designed house next door to the Newman home (see Figure 18). By the end of that year, there were twenty-one houses in the tract. In 1913, Newman began to more actively promote Cayuga Heights. He named the first area that was subdivided White Park, after Cornell’s first president. He advertised home sites in the *Cornell Alumni News*, which circulated on campus. He envisioned Cayuga Heights as a village of

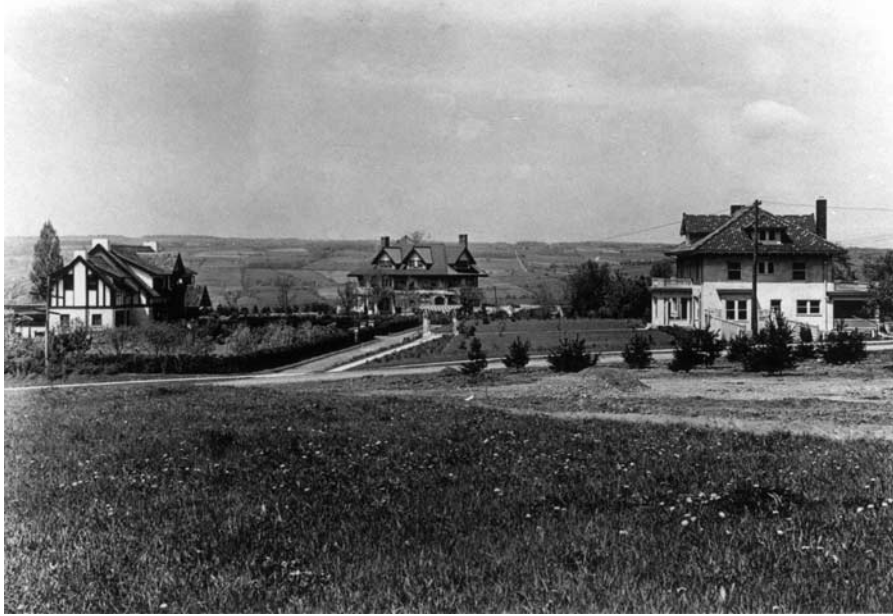


Figure 18: These three grand residences marked the entrance to Cayuga Heights in 1916.

SOURCE: The History Center of Tompkins County. Used with permission.

NOTE: At the center is the house of Cayuga Heights developer Jared Newman. At left is the Gustav Stickley–designed house of Sherman Peer, a close friend of Newman. At right is the house of John Tanner, Newman’s brother-in-law.

“cultured families” and predicted it would become “the finest residential section in Ithaca.” To keep out “undesirable elements” he refused to allow real estate agents to sell home lots on his behalf. Deeds prohibited fraternities and commercial enterprises. House designs had to be approved by the developers.⁸⁴

Newman saw Cornell faculty as his preferred clientele (see Figure 19). In a letter to a Chicago real estate broker in 1920, he noted that Cornell professors were to receive large salary increases that year. Many of them, he observed, “are on the lookout for homes and a goodly portion of them turn their attention in this direction.” To distinguish Cayuga Heights from Cornell Heights, he noted that there “isn’t a single boarding house in the entire village” and “the lots are larger and the outlook finer.” By February 1921, there were fifty-six houses in Cayuga Heights. “Three-fourths of the residents,” he wrote, “are in some way connected with the University.” Newman’s correspondence is filled with sales pitches to professors. In one, he encourages Professor John Parson, bothered by fraternities near his Ithaca home, to look to Cayuga Heights for relief. In trying to interest Professor W. W. Fisk in a large parcel, Newman wrote, “it seemed to me it was just what a University man might want.”⁸⁵

From the beginning, Cornell faculty exerted a disproportionate influence on civic affairs in Cayuga Heights. All but two mayors since 1923 have been Cornell professors. Frederick Marcham, a professor of history, was mayor for thirty-two years. Faculty and their spouses have occupied a majority of seats



Figure 19: Cornell professor Paul R. Pope built this Cayuga Heights house, shown under construction and after it was completed, in about 1912. Cayuga Lake is visible in the background of the top photo.

SOURCE: The History Center of Tompkins County. Used with permission.

on the village governing board over the years and their attitudes, particularly the desire to prevent developments that would attract students, have shaped policy. Marcham led a successful 1954 campaign against annexation by the city of Ithaca, which he feared would bring Cayuga Heights the student-related problems that plagued campus-adjacent neighborhoods in the city. The village rejected proposals for the building of a restaurant with a tavern because of the worry that the tavern would draw students. In the 1970s, it thwarted an attempt by Cornell to build a dormitory in the village.⁸⁶ Cornell professors have also shaped life in Cayuga Heights in other ways. One longtime resident observed that the influence of faculty families on the operation of the Cayuga Heights School was so great that it “was practically a branch of Cornell . . . a kind of private school adjunct to the Cornell faculty.”⁸⁷

The Cayuga Heights School went through only eighth grade, so older students had to attend Ithaca High School. When village teenagers went down the hill to attend high school, they sometimes found their new classmates had preconceived notions about people from Cayuga Heights. Residents from other parts of Ithaca were less highly educated, more blue collar. Cayuga Heights inhabitants were perceived as bookish, cultured, and aloof. “With unfamiliarity grew contempt,” said John Marcham, son of Cayuga Heights’ longtime mayor. “One day when I had to leave a school activity early to catch a bus to the Heights, a friend was incredulous. ‘You’re not one of *them*, are you?’ was just the way he put it.” Indicative of the lighthearted tension that existed between hill dwellers and those who lived on the “flats,” intramural teams at Ithaca High School composed mostly of Cayuga Heights residents were sometimes known as the Cayuga Heights Sophisticates.⁸⁸

Bryant Park was developed at about the same time as Cayuga Heights by the same developer. Its emergence as a faculty enclave followed a similar path. The land upon which the neighborhood developed had been a wheat farm and fruit orchard owned by Solomon Bryant. Following his death, three of his children in partnership with Jared Newman subdivided forty-five acres of the property into 161 building lots. The Bryant tract began immediately east of the rooming houses in Collegetown. The growth of the neighborhood was stimulated by the development of the New York State College of Agriculture. In 1904, the state Legislature created the college and placed it under the control of Cornell. Within a few years, it became the largest college on campus. The sale of lots in Bryant Park began in 1908. Lots sold more quickly than they did in Cayuga Heights, in part because parcels were less expensive, but also because Bryant Park was less isolated. By 1914, one-third of the lots in Bryant Park had been sold, many of them to professors. Most of the lots in Bryant Park were built upon by World War II and development began to spread east to the city limits. A 1941 report said that 477 Cornell employees lived in the area, nearly half of them staff members in the College of Agriculture.⁸⁹

The design of the subdivision, the nature of promotional materials, and the characteristics of deeds make clear that developers sought to establish Bryant

Park as a faculty enclave. The initial announcement of the sale of lots noted that the tract was “within three minutes walk of the campus bridge.” Bryant Avenue was cut diagonally across the slope of the tract to create a nearly level road, “so that it would not be necessary to go up hill to reach the University campus.” To distinguish the subdivision from Cornell Heights, the announcement pointed out that Bryant Park “is much nearer to both town and campus.” With the College Avenue rooming houses so close, developers imposed deed restrictions designed to prevent student housing from expanding into Bryant Park. Deeds prohibited commercial enterprises and the sale of liquor. They forbade more than one house from being built on any lot, to prevent homeowners from erecting separate rental properties. Some deeds also included a statement that any house built “shall be planned and erected for use as a home, and not for the purpose of keeping roomers.”⁹⁰

Like their counterparts in Cayuga Heights, faculty in Bryant Park have been unusually active in civic affairs. When the Bryant Park Civic Association was formed in 1923 to mount a campaign for the building of a school in the neighborhood, thirty-five of forty-seven persons who signed their names in support of the organization were Cornell employees or their spouses. Ten of its first fourteen presidents were faculty. Although neighborhood organizations are common today, the Bryant Park group was the only such organization in Ithaca at the time. The nature of its activities, moreover, showed a strong imprint of academic culture. The group regularly formed committees—on schools, streets, zoning, parking, parks, bus service, and other issues of the day. It produced detailed and remarkably sophisticated studies on matters of neighborhood concern, in order to better present the group’s views to city officials. One such report in 1946 was actually written on Cornell University stationary.⁹¹

Ithaca was essentially fully developed residentially by 1950 and has seen little single-family housing construction since then. The city’s population actually fell by 3,000 people between 1950 and 1970, though it has rebounded since that time because of the tremendous growth of Collegetown and rising on-campus student populations at both Cornell and Ithaca College. Most single-family housing development since 1950 has taken place outside the city limits, in suburban towns such as Lansing, where a shopping mall was built in 1974, and Dryden.⁹² Cayuga Heights has also grown. It annexed an area north of the original village in 1953, quadrupling its size and more than doubling its population in the process. Most of the homes in the newer part of the village were developed after World War II and are smaller and more typically suburban in character than those farther south. In 1994, a retirement community catering to Cornell faculty and alumni was developed in this area.⁹³ As the Ithaca area has suburbanized, faculty have become more residentially dispersed. Nevertheless, Cayuga Heights and Bryant Park have maintained their status as faculty enclaves to varying degrees.

Bryant Park today is a mixed neighborhood, about half owner-occupied houses and half rentals (see Figure 20). Some blocks are inhabited mostly by



Figure 20: Typical street in the faculty enclave of Bryant Park.
SOURCE: Photograph by the author.

faculty families; others are dotted with student houses. As Cornell's enrollment grew in the 1960s and 1970s, the student-housing district spilled east into Bryant Park. Those streets closest to Collegetown have significant student populations. Most of the neighborhood is zoned for single-family homes, but some houses have apartments, or were rentals before current zoning classifications were implemented. The threat that Collegetown will further encroach on Bryant Park is an ever-present fear of nonstudent residents. "You always have to be vigilant," said one resident, the wife of a Cornell professor, echoing the sentiments of homeowners in campus-adjacent neighborhoods nationwide. "You don't want to live next door to an undergraduate student house. One property, one bad apple, can cause a whole flight."⁹⁴

Bryant Park has been able to retain its character as a faculty enclave in the face of such threats because its current residents, like the original homebuyers in the area, have been politically adept, a trait that reflects the presence of so many highly educated people in the neighborhood. Homeowners pay particular attention to real estate activity. If a house comes on the market, the Ithaca Common Council representative for the neighborhood will telephone the real estate agent to make sure they know the zoning for the area and to encourage them to seek family buyers. If someone applies for a zoning variance, a potential precursor to conversion of a single-family house to a rental property, homeowners will quickly organize to oppose the application.⁹⁵ "When a situation that makes the neighborhood potentially vulnerable come[s] up . . . the word spreads very quickly and before you know it, the phones are buzzing,"

said a longtime resident. "There will be a meeting at somebody's house, and, if necessary, a small army will march down the hill to the city council chambers. We come in large numbers and we're pretty savvy about how to play the political game. There's a level of sophistication that I think academics are able to bring to bear on these things that allows them to fight these kinds of fights."⁹⁶

Why do professors seem more likely to live close to their places of employment than other workers? Numerous residents of Bryant Park and Cayuga Heights spoke of a desire to be able to walk to work. Indeed, residents of fifty-nine college towns that are the focus of a larger project upon which this study is based were four times more likely to walk to work and seven times more likely to commute by bicycle in 2000 than the U.S. population in general. Academics tend to work more irregular hours than workers in other industries, and are more likely to go to their offices at night and on weekends, which makes convenience desirable. Faculty (and others) are also drawn to college campuses because they possess amenities—concert halls, museums, recreational facilities, park-like green spaces—that other workplaces do not. Joel Savishinsky, who teaches at Ithaca College but chooses to live near Cornell, is a case in point. "I don't work [at Cornell], I don't teach here, but I subscribe to the theater series," he said. "I can walk to the performing arts center. I love the fact that I can walk out my front door and in five minutes be up at the graduate library at Cornell. I love having Cornell next door."⁹⁷

CONCLUSION

Alison Lurie, in her novel *The War Between the Tates*, set in a thinly disguised Ithaca in the turbulent 1960s, captures the peculiar flavor of college towns and the fractured nature of their social environments. She writes about the book's protagonist, a political science professor: "Brian had known for some time that he and his colleagues were not living in the America they had grown up in. It was only recently though that he had realized they were also not living in present-day America, but in another country or city-state with somewhat different characteristics. The important fact about this state . . . is that the greater majority of its population is aged eighteen to twenty-two. Naturally, the physical appearances, interests, activities, preferences and prejudices of this majority are the norm. . . . Cultural and political life is geared to their standards, and any deviation from them is a social handicap." In college towns, faculty like Brian may govern the classroom, but their influence is less significant off campus. "Like a Chinaman in New York, [Brian] looks different; he speaks differently. . . . He likes different foods and wears different clothes and has different recreations," writes Lurie. "Naturally he is regarded with suspicion by the natives."⁹⁸

It is those differences that also shape the residential mosaic of college towns like Ithaca. Young people are dominant, but they are not distributed evenly

across the city. Undergraduates live apart from permanent residents, both by choice and because year-round residents do all they can to keep them out of their neighborhoods. Some students live in fraternity and sorority houses. Some live in the beat-up old rentals of the student ghetto. Still others prefer the expensive new apartment buildings that are indicative of the changing face of college communities. Faculty and undergraduates work and play in close proximity, but they rarely live near one another, “by silent consent from both sides,” as one longtime Cayuga Heights resident observed.⁹⁹ The distinctive character of college town residential districts is one aspect of life in the American college town that helps give it its unusual personality and contributes to making it a unique type of urban place.

NOTES

1. This study considers as a college town any city where a college or university, and the cultures it creates, exerts a dominant influence over the character of the place. I have described in greater detail elsewhere the distinguishing characteristics of college towns. See Blake Gumprecht, “The American College Town,” *Geographical Review* 93:1 (January 2003), 51–80.

2. In 2000, one-third of residents in fifty-nine college towns that are the focus of a larger research project were eighteen to twenty-four years old. Nationwide, just one in ten were in that age group. Adult residents in the study towns were twice as likely as the overall U.S. population to possess a college degree. One-third possessed a graduate degree, three times the U.S. average. U.S. Bureau of the Census, “Census 2000,” <http://factfinder.census.gov/> (accessed January 22, 2004).

3. Carl Everett Ladd and Seymour Martin Lipset, *The Divided Academy: Professors and Politics* (New York, 1975); Richard F. Hamilton and Lowell L. Hargens, “The Politics of the Professors: Self-Identifications, 1969–1984,” *Social Forces* 71:3 (1993), 603–627.

4. Ithaca’s population characteristics are typical of college towns nationwide. In 2000, the median age was twenty-two years old and more than half of residents were aged eighteen to twenty-four. Six in ten adult residents possessed a college degree, one-third held a graduate degree, and nearly one in ten had a doctorate. U.S. Bureau of the Census, “Census 2000.”

5. Dan Snodderly, “Downtown,” in Carol U. Sisler, Margaret Hobbie, and Jane Marsh Dieckmann, eds., *Ithaca’s Neighborhoods: The Rhine, the Hill, and The Goose Pasture* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1988), 36–37; Clayton W. Smith, “South Hill,” in Carol U. Sisler, Margaret Hobbie, and Jane Marsh Dieckmann, eds., *Ithaca’s Neighborhoods: The Rhine, the Hill, and The Goose Pasture* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1988), 85–87; Ithaca College, “Former Presidents,” http://www.ithaca.edu/president/former_presidents.php (accessed April 13, 2004); Ithaca College, “Common Data Set, 2003–2004,” <http://www.ithaca.edu/ir/cdsindex.html> (accessed April 13, 2004).

6. Gretchen Sachse, “Ithaca: An Overview,” in Carol U. Sisler, Margaret Hobbie, and Jane Marsh Dieckmann, eds., *Ithaca’s Neighborhoods: The Rhine, the Hill, and The Goose Pasture* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1988), 9, 14; Smith, “South Hill,” 83–84; Amy Humber, “Fall Creek,” in Carol U. Sisler, Margaret Hobbie, and Jane Marsh Dieckmann, eds., *Ithaca’s Neighborhoods: The Rhine, the Hill, and The Goose Pasture* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1988), 41–46.

7. Manufacturing’s share of total employment in Tompkins County, where Ithaca is located, declined from 45.7 percent in 1948 to 9.4 percent in 2001. From 1972 to 1992, Tompkins County experienced a net loss of 1,500 jobs as three major factories employing 3,300 people closed. See Tompkins County Area Development, *Economic Development Strategy* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1999), 7; Tompkins County Area Development and Tompkins County Planning Department, “Tompkins County Economic Development Strategy: Phase One, The Database and Comparisons” (Ithaca, N.Y., 1992), 23; U.S. Bureau of the Census, *County Business Patterns*, Tompkins County, New York, 2001, <http://censtats.census.gov/cbpnaic/cbpnaic.shtml> (accessed April 20, 2004).

8. TCAD/TCPD, "Tompkins County Economic Development Strategy," 1992, 8; Cornell University, Institutional Research and Planning, "Total Cornell Workforce, 1993–1994 to 2003–2004," <http://dpc.cornell.edu/irp/pdf/FactBook/HR/workforce.pdf> (accessed April 15, 2004); Ithaca College, Institutional Research, "Facts in Brief," <http://www.ithaca.edu/ir/factsfigs.html> (accessed April 15, 2004); U.S. Bureau of the Census, "Industry by Sex—Percent Distribution: 2000" (Table QT-P30), Ithaca city, New York, <http://factfinder.census.gov> (accessed April 15, 2004); Cornell University, Institutional Research and Planning, "Cornell University Enrollment, Total Registration, Ithaca Campus, Fall 1868—Current," unpublished table.

9. Jack L. Anson and Robert F. Marchesani Jr., eds., *Baird's Manual of American College Fraternities*, 20th ed. (Indianapolis, 1991).

10. Leo Reisberg, "Fraternities in Decline," *Chronicle of Higher Education*, January 7, 2000, A59–A62. Estimates on the proportion of students who belong to fraternities and sororities are based on data obtained from a variety of sources about the fifty-nine college towns that are the focus of a larger research project.

11. Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, *Campus Life: Undergraduate Cultures From the End of the Eighteenth Century to the Present* (Chicago, 1987), 274. For a sympathetic but objective history of Greek letter societies, see Kent Christopher Owen, "Reflections on the College Fraternity and Its Changing Nature," in Jack L. Anson and Robert F. Marchesani Jr., eds., *Baird's Manual of American College Fraternities*, 20th ed. (Indianapolis, 1991), 11–124.

12. Richard Ford, "Rules of the House," *Esquire*, June 1986, 231.

13. Frederick Rudolph, *The American College and University: A History* (New York, 1968), 138–141; Owen, "Reflections on the College Fraternity," 12, 114.

14. Rudolph, *American College and University*, 146; Andrew Dickson White, "College Fraternities," *Forum*, May 1887, 251; Waterman Thomas Hewett, *Cornell University: A History*, Vol. 3 (New York, 1905), 13.

15. Horowitz, *Campus Life*, 111–112; James H. Goodsell, "The College Homesteads of Greek Letter Men," in *Greek Letter Men of Central New York, South*, comp. Will J. Maxwell (New York, 1901), 39–48; Scott Meacham, "Halls, Toms and Houses: Student Society Architecture at Dartmouth," <http://www.dartmo.com/halls/index.html> (accessed January 22, 2004); White, "College Fraternities," 246; Morris Bishop, *A History of Cornell* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1962), 81–82, 95, 138; Kermit Carlyle Parsons, *The Cornell Campus: A History of Its Planning and Development* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1968), 91, 101, 219.

16. Female students made up 20 percent of Cornell's enrollment in 1950. In that year, Cornell had fifty-five fraternities, but only fifteen sororities. After that, female share of enrollment steadily climbed. By 2000, 46 percent of Cornell students were women. The number of Cornell sororities has grown, but not as fast as enrollment, increasing to nineteen by 2000. Cornell, "Cornell University Enrollment, Fall 1868—Current"; Cornell University, *Directory of Students, 1950–1951* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1950); Cornell University, Fraternity & Sorority Advisory Council, *2001–2002 Annual Report* (Ithaca, N.Y., 2002), 30.

17. Willard Austin, "Fraternities at Cornell University," *College Fraternity*, April 1893, 14; G. H. Hooker, "Cornell Fraternities: A Sketch," *Cornell Era*, April 1901, 315; Hjalmar H. Boyesen, "Chi Chapter," in Peter A. Babauer, ed., *The Annals of Psi Upsilon, 1833–1941* (New York, 1941), 232–233; H. William Fogle, Jr., *The Cornell Deke House: A History of the 1893 Lodge* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1993), 1; Knight Kiplinger, "The History of the Chapter [Alpha Delta Phi, Cornell University]," unpublished manuscript, no date.

18. Kiplinger, "The History of the Chapter"; A. L. Reed, ed., *Alpha Delta Phi: The History, Function & Structure of the Fraternity, Cornell Chapter, Founded 1869* (Ithaca, N.Y., n.d.), 27.

19. Cornell University, *Proceedings of the Board of Trustees of Cornell University*, April 1965–July 1885 (Ithaca, N.Y., 1940), 223; Hewett, *Cornell University*, 20; Carol U. Sisler, "East Hill," in Carol U. Sisler, Margaret Hobbie, and Jane Marsh Dieckmann, eds., *Ithaca's Neighborhoods: The Rhine, the Hill, and The Goose Pasture* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1988), 59, 66.

20. Minutes, Cornell chapter, Alpha Delta Phi, April 20, 1900, Alpha Delta Phi chapter records, #3742101, Department of Manuscripts and University Archives, Cornell University.

21. Sanborn Map Co., fire insurance maps for Ithaca, N.Y., 1893, 1898, 1904.

22. Kiplinger, "The History of the Chapter"; Edward R. Alexander, *Alpha Delta Phi Home, Cornell University* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1902), 6; Cornell University, *Sixth Annual Report of President Schurman, 1897–98* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1898), 59–60.

23. Minutes, Cornell chapter, Alpha Delta Phi, April 20, 1900.

24. Kiplinger, "History of the Chapter"; Hewett, *Cornell University*, 20; "Psi. U. Chapter House," *Ithaca Daily Journal*, June 23, 1884, 3; *Ithaca Democrat*, June 18, 1891, 5; "Fraternity Houses," *Ithaca Daily Journal*, January 2, 1892, 3; Fogle, *Cornell Deke House*, 6; "Sigma Chi House," *Ithaca Daily Journal*, December 15, 1900, 3; Sanborn Map Co., fire insurance maps for Ithaca, N.Y., 1893, 1898; Parsons, *Cornell Campus*,

119, 122; "Receptions: Fraternities Give Delightful House Parties," *Ithaca Daily Journal*, February 1, 1899, 6; Jane Marsh Dieckmann, *A Short History of Tompkins County* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1986), 47; Geoffrey M. Gyrisco, "A Guide to the Works of William Henry Miller, Ithaca's Architect," typescript, December 1978, Fine Arts Library, Cornell University.

25. Minutes, Cornell chapter, Alpha Delta Phi, April 20, 1900.

26. "Alpha Delta Phi: Fraternity to Build Fine Home on University Hill," *Ithaca Daily Journal*, April 10, 1902, 8. Both the Chi Psi and Alpha Delta Phi chapter houses were destroyed by fire, but were rebuilt, although in different styles. See "Fire in Chi Psi Fraternity House Results in the Loss of Seven Lives," *Ithaca Daily Journal*, December 7, 1906, 3; "Chi Psi House Plans Completed," *Ithaca Daily Journal*, August 3, 1907; Reed, *Alpha Delta Phi*, 62.

27. "Alpha Delta Phi's Unique Building," *Ithaca Daily Journal*, July 14, 1908, 7; Kiplinger, "History of the Chapter"; "Three New Fraternity Houses," *Cornell Daily Sun*, October 2, 1903, 1; "Fraternity House Changes: Two New Lodges Building and Four Others Altered," *Cornell Daily Sun*, September 26, 1902, 3; Sanborn Map Co., fire insurance maps for Ithaca, N.Y., 1910.

28. Horowitz, *Campus Life*, 131, 138–140, 144; Owen, "Reflections on the College Fraternity," 13; O.D. von Engeln, *Concerning Cornell* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1917), 299; Bishop, *History of Cornell*, 293, 304–305, 403, 420; Hewett, *Cornell University*, 20–21; "New Buildings Being Erected: Homes for the Law School and for Fraternities," *Cornell Era*, October 24, 1891, 37–39; "Chi Psi Reception," *Ithaca Daily Journal*, November 21, 1896; "Receptions"; Kenneth L. Roberts, "Far Above Cayuga's Waters," *Saturday Evening Post*, February 2, 1929, 57.

29. M.G. Lord, "The Greek Rites of Exclusion," *The Nation*, July 4, 1987, 12; Lawrence Bancroft (Cornell chapter, Alpha Phi Alpha), e-mail message to the author, April 27, 2004; Bishop, *History of Cornell*, 404; Cornell University, *1911 Cornellian* (Ithaca, N.Y., n.d.), 180; Cornell University, *Directory of the University, First Term, 1925–26* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1925), 109.

30. Cornell, *Directory, 1925–26*, 109; Bishop, *History of Cornell*, 448.

31. Charles Thompson, *Halfway Down the Stairs* (New York, 1957), 99–101.

32. Cornell University, Office of the Dean of Students, "A Report on Some Aspects of Fraternity Life at Cornell University," September 1960, 10; Owen, "Reflections on the College Fraternity," 122–123; Horowitz, *Campus Life*, 239, 244; Cornell University, *Student Directory* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1960), 2; Cornell University, *Student Directory, 1975–1976* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1975), 6–7; Deborah Huffman, "Trustees Implement Anti-Bias Legislation for All Living Units," *Cornell Daily Sun*, February 23, 1968, 1; Richard M. Warshauer, "White Attempt to Break In Sparks Dispute Over Cops," *Cornell Daily Sun*, April 20, 1969, extra edition, 1.

33. Cornell University, University Faculty Committee on Student Affairs, "Fraternities at Cornell (The Muller Report)," March 1, 1961, 6, Fraternity and Sorority Affairs Records, #37/4/3027, Box 2, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.

34. Cornell Dean of Students, "Fraternity Life," 5. G. Armour Craig, former president of Amherst College, commented that the reason many small colleges do not abolish their Greek systems is because of a fear that such reforms will reduce alumni giving. See Lord, "Greek Rites of Exclusion," 12.

35. Ernest L. Boyer, *College: The Undergraduate Experience in America* (New York, 1987), 208; Simon J. Bronner, *Piled Higher and Deeper: The Folklore of Student Life* (Little Rock, Ark., 1995), 127; Owen, "Reflections on the College Fraternity," 123; Cornell University, *Student Directory, 1975–1976* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1975), 6–7; Cornell University, *Student Directory, 1985–1986* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1985), 8.

36. Dan Meyer (member, board of directors, Cornell chapter of Phi Kappa Psi), telephone conversation with the author, October 25, 2002.

37. William A. Bryan, "Contemporary Fraternity and Sorority Issues," in R. B. Winston, Jr., W. R. Nettles III, and J. H. Opper, eds., *Fraternities and Sororities on the Contemporary College Campus* (San Francisco, 1987), 37–56; George D. Kuh and James C. Arnold, "Liquid Bonding: A Cultural Analysis of the Role of Alcohol in Fraternity Pledgeship," *Journal of College Student Development* 34 (September 1993), 327–334; Valerie Nicolette, "Can Greeks Withstand Negative Attention?," *Cornell Daily Sun*, December 4, 1989, 23–24; Peggy Reeves Sanday, *Fraternity Gang Rape: Sex, Brotherhood, and Privilege on Campus* (New York, 1990); Hank Nuwer, *Wrongs of Passage: Fraternities, Sororities, Hazing, and Binge Drinking* (Bloomington, 1999).

38. Cornell University, Fraternity and Sorority Affairs, "Social Responsibility Policy," <http://www.dos.cornell.edu/dos/fsa/socialpol/SocialPolicy.html> (accessed January 22, 2004); Scott Conroe, "Fraternities Forever," *Cornell Magazine*, May/June 1999, 30–37; Chris Koza (president, Cornell University Interfraternity Council, member, Chi Psi fraternity), interview by the author, Ithaca, N.Y., April 28, 2000.

39. In Fall 2003, eight-two percent of members in fraternities and sororities that were part of the Interfraternity Council or the Panhellenic Association (which include all but fourteen organizations that are members of the Multicultural Greek Letter Council) were white, compared to 59.4 percent of all undergraduates. Less than two percent of IFC and PA society members were black, compared to 4.7 percent of all undergraduates, and six percent were Asian, compared to 16.4 percent of undergraduates. Cornell University, Fraternity and Sorority Affairs, "Membership Demographics," Fall 2003, unpublished table; Cornell University, Institutional Research and Planning, "Common Data Set, 2003–2004," http://dpb.cornell.edu/irp/pdf/CDS/cds_2003-04.pdf (accessed April 29, 2004).

40. Reisberg, "Fraternities in Decline," A59; Conroe, "Fraternities Forever," 34.

41. Cornell University, Fraternity & Sorority Advisory Council, *2001–2002 Annual Report* (Ithaca, N.Y., 2002), 29–30; comment from unidentified fraternity member, Chi Psi fraternity, Cornell University, Ithaca, N.Y., April 28, 2000.

42. Horowitz, *Campus Life*, 250; Avikam Wygodski, "Neighborhood Analysis of the Student Ghetto" (master's thesis, University of Florida, 1979), 3.

43. Lynn A. Staeheli and Albert Thompson, "Citizenship, Community, and Struggles for Public Space," *Professional Geographer* 49:1 (February 1997), 28–38; Jason Kobylarek et al., "Past, Present, and Future Relationships Between the University of Kansas and Adjacent Neighborhoods," student research paper, UBPL 502/802, University of Kansas, July 2001, http://www.users.muohio.edu/karrowr/College/sTU_rESEARCH_ku.pdf (accessed January 22, 2004); William L. Partridge, *The Hippie Ghetto: The Natural History of a Subculture* (New York, 1973); Beth Kassab, "Mayor Envisions Improved 'Student Ghettos' Near U. Florida," *Independent Florida Alligator* [University of Florida], January 14, 1999; Brian D. Vargo, "Slumming in Newark," *Delaware Today*, September 1999, 68–74.

44. Christopher C. Paine, "Court Rules Against City in Landlord Case," *Herald-Times* [Bloomington, Indiana], May 20, 2002, A1; Nick Madigan, "Peace Plan in Boulder Bans Sofas on Porches," *New York Times*, May 30, 2002, A14.

45. Dieckmann, *Short History of Tompkins County*, 43; Jane Marsh Dieckmann, "The University and Collegetown," in Carol U. Sisler, Margaret Hobbie, and Jane Marsh Dieckmann, eds., *Ithaca's Neighborhoods: The Rhine, the Hill, and The Goose Pasture* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1988), 157–158.

46. Bishop, *History of Cornell*, 92.

47. Parsons, *Cornell Campus*, 91, 102.

48. Bishop, *History of Cornell*, 80.

49. "A Word to Wise Ithacans," *Cornell Era*, March 13, 1869, 5; Parsons, *Cornell Campus*, 105; Bishop, *History of Cornell*, 98.

50. Parsons, *Cornell Campus*, 104; Dieckmann, "University and Collegetown," 164; "Editorial," *Cornell Era*, April 26, 1889, 1.

51. Bishop, *History of Cornell*, 359.

52. Dieckmann, "University and Collegetown," 169.

53. "Where the Students Live: Growth of the Various Rooming Sections on East Hill," *Cornell Alumni News*, February 7, 1912, 207; Sanborn Map Co., fire insurance maps for Ithaca, N.Y., 1904, 1910; H. A. Manning, comp., *Manning's Ithaca (New York) Directory for Year Beginning January, 1930* (Schenectady, N.Y., 1930).

54. Morris Bishop, "On Boarding-Houses and Landladies," *Cornell Era*, October 1912, 38–41; "Report of the Freshman Advisory Committee," *Cornell Alumni News*, December 18, 1913, 155–156; "Tackling Rooming House Problems," *Cornell Alumni News*, May 21, 1914, 406.

55. Bishop, *History of Cornell*, 403; Thompson, *Halfway Down the Stairs*, 128.

56. Roger Geiger, "The Ten Generations of American Higher Education," in *American Higher Education in the Twenty-first Century*, Philip G. Altbach, Robert O. Berdahl, and Patricia Gumpert, eds. (Baltimore, 1999), 61.

57. John Harp and Philip Taietz, "The Cornell Student, 1950 and 1962: A Comparative Report" (Ithaca, N.Y., 1964), 25. Between 1950 and 1962, the percentage of Cornell students living in rooming houses declined from twenty-three to eight percent, while the percentage living in apartments increased from seven to twenty-nine percent.

58. Jim Myers, "Collegetown," *Ithaca Journal*, August 22, 1975, Welcome Students issue, 6–8, 13; John Lofland, "The Youth Ghetto: A Perspective on the 'Cities of Youth' Around Our Large Universities," *Journal of Higher Education* 39:3 (March 1968), 121–143; Partridge, *Hippie Ghetto*; Richard Fariña, *Been Down So Long it Looks Like Up to Me* (New York, 1966); John Marcham, "A Question of Turf," *Cornell Alumni News*, July 1972, 25.

59. Myers, "Collegetown," 5.
60. Myers, "Collegetown," 8–11.
61. Joseph Masci and Robert A. Molofsky, "Police Gas C-Town Crowd: Disagreement Over Block Party Causes Skirmish in Streets," *Cornell Daily Sun*, May 14, 1972, Extra edition, 1; Dick Brass, "Town vs. Gown: Two Nights in Ithaca," *Cornell Alumni News*, July 1972, 16–23.
62. Jan Mireles, "Is Collegetown Development a Boon or Bust," *Ithaca Journal*, May 21, 1990, 9A.
63. Cornell, "Cornell University Enrollment, Fall 1868–Current"; Sol L. Erdman, "FCSA Allows Coeds to Live Off Campus," *Cornell Daily Sun*, February 9, 1965, 1; "Residence Rules are Suspended," *Ithaca Journal*, June 5, 1969; David F. Maisel, "Housing Shortage Plagues University: Enrollment Increase Overtaxes Supply," *Cornell Daily Sun*, September 20, 1965, 1; Patricia Nordheimer, "University Ready to Enforce Housing-Approval Ruling," *Ithaca Journal*, January 17, 1966, 9; Sue Strandberg, "Tenants Union Becoming Active," *Ithaca Journal*, February 6, 1969; Ithaca Tenants Union, *Tenants Arising: A Case Study of Dynamic Management of Existing Buildings* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1974); Allison Walzer, "Fane Tenants To Strike," *Cornell Daily Sun*, March 24, 1974, 1.
64. Rob Simon, "A Moveable Lease," *Cornell Daily Sun*, October 6, 1975, 5.
65. Carol Irene Chock, "Collegetown Redevelopment: An Analysis of a Public/Private Partnership in Ithaca, New York" (master's thesis, Cornell University, 1985); H. Matthys Van Court (director of planning and development, city of Ithaca), interview by the author, Ithaca, N.Y., May 4, 2000.
66. Mireles, "Collegetown Development," 9A; Alex Leary, "Second City: Landlords Watch Warily as Collegetown Continues to Take on a Life of Its Own," *Ithaca Times*, May 22, 1997, 27–29.
67. "New Student Housing Helps Ease Local Rental Market," clipping of unknown origin, September 1989; Diane Heath, "From Homes to High Rises: C-Town Reflects New Trends," *Cornell Daily Sun*, February 11, 1988, 1, 7; Nina Fox, "New Housing Complex Gains Interest Among Iowa State U. Students," *Iowa State Daily* [Iowa State University], January 12, 2000; Jeff Johncox, "Apartments Offer Students a Better Life," *Oklahoma Daily* [University of Oklahoma], June 4, 2003. See also Sterling University Housing's Web site: <http://www.sterlinghousing.com/> (accessed January 22, 2004).
68. Myers, "Collegetown," 6.
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