valid on its face; whether its application to diminish property values in any particular case was also valid would depend, the Court said, upon a finding that it was not "clearly arbitrary and unreasonable, having no substantial relation to the public health, safety, morals, or general welfare." ⁶⁹¹ A few years later the Court, again relying on due process rather than taking law, did invalidate the application of a zoning ordinance to a tract of land, finding that the tract would be rendered nearly worthless and that to exempt the tract would impair no substantial municipal interest. ⁶⁹² But then the Court withdrew from the land-use scene until the 1970s, giving little attention to states and their municipalities as they developed more comprehensive zoning techniques. ⁶⁹³

As governmental regulation of property has expanded over the years—in terms of zoning and other land use controls, environmental regulations, and the like—the Court never developed, as it admitted, a "set formula to determine where regulation ends and taking begins." ⁶⁹⁴ Rather, as one commentator remarked, its decisions constitute a "crazy quilt pattern" of judgments. ⁶⁹⁵ Nonetheless, the Court has now formulated general principles that guide many of its decisions in the area.

In Penn Central Transportation Co. v. City of New York, 696 the Court, while cautioning that regulatory takings cases require "essentially ad hoc, factual inquiries," nonetheless laid out general guidance for determining whether a regulatory taking has occurred. "The economic impact of the regulation on the claimant and, particularly, the extent to which the regulation has interfered with distinct investment-backed expectations are . . . relevant considerations. So too, is the character of the governmental action. A 'taking' may more readily be found when the interference with property can be characterized as a physical invasion by government than when

⁶⁹¹ 272 U.S. at 395. See also Zahn v. Board of Pub. Works, 274 U.S. 325 (1927).

⁶⁹² Nectow v. City of Cambridge, 277 U.S. 183 (1928).

⁶⁹³ Initially, the Court's return to the land-use area involved substantive due process, not takings. Village of Belle Terre v. Boraas, 416 U.S. 1 (1974) (sustaining single-family zoning as applied to group of college students sharing a house); Moore v. City of East Cleveland, 431 U.S. 494 (1977) (voiding single-family zoning so strictly construed as to bar a grandmother from living with two grandchildren of different children). See also City of Eastlake v. Forest City Enterprises, 426 U.S. 668 (1976).

⁶⁹⁴ Penn Central Transp. Co. v. City of New York, 438 U.S. 104, 124 (1978). The phrase appeared first in Goldblatt v. Town of Hempstead, 369 U.S. 590, 594 (1962).

⁶⁹⁵ Dunham, Griggs v. Allegheny County in Perspective: Thirty Years of Supreme Court Expropriation Law, Sup. Ct. Rev. 63 (1962). For an effort to ground takings jurisprudence in its philosophical precepts, see Michelman, Property, Utility, and Fairness: Comments on the Ethical Foundations of 'Just Compensation' Law, 80 Harv. L. Rev. 1165 (1967).

 $^{^{696}}$ 438 U.S. 104 (1978). Justices Rehnquist and Stevens and Chief Justice Burger dissented. Id. at 138.