



## Life in a Small Street in Baltimore: One Hundred Fifty Years of an Evolving, Unique Urban Landscape



Philip C. LaCombe  
HISP 710/711 – Final Project  
University of Maryland, College Park  
School of Architecture, Planning & Preservation  
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## ABSTRACT

Title of Document: LIFE IN A SMALL STREET IN BALTIMORE:  
ONE HUNDRED FIFTY YEARS OF AN  
EVOLVING, UNIQUE URBAN LANDSCAPE

Philip Carlton LaCombe, M.C.P. /M.H.P., 2012

Directed By: Donald W. Linebaugh, Ph.D., Director,  
Graduate Program in Historic Preservation

In Baltimore, Maryland, and a select few northeastern cities, the residents of small, narrow streets enjoy an urban environment closely resembling the beloved historic city centers of Europe. However, the lower-class origins of these streets have, through much of their history, put them largely out of view for both historic preservationists and participants in the middle-class housing market. This paper examines the evolution of one block of an alley street in the Upper Fells Point neighborhood of Baltimore. It explores the bulk of the block's history as a working class community, defined by waves of immigrants, and reveals how gentrification has changed the block in both physical form and demographic composition. The project ties the past and present together, arguing for a collection of social and psychological benefits enjoyed by residents living in a compact, nearly car-free urban environment that is quite unique for a North American city. It connects Baltimoreans from the past and present who have experienced very different social and economic circumstances but have held in common a personal and communal attachment to the special urban form of the alley street.

LIFE IN A SMALL STREET IN BALTIMORE: ONE HUNDRED FIFTY YEARS  
OF AN EVOLVING, UNIQUE URBAN LANDSCAPE

By

Philip Carlton LaCombe

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Advisory Committee:  
Dr. Donald Linebaugh, Assoc. Professor,  
HISP Director, Chair  
Steven Allan, AICP

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## **Dedication**

To my mother, whose heart and mind have always been taken by historic places.

## **Acknowledgements**

I would like to acknowledge Dr. Donald Linebaugh for the guidance and encouragement he provided through the process of completing this project.

I am in debt to Anna Campbell, Brian Herb, and Katelyn O'Brien, who shared their time, stories and thoughts about life in this special street. I would like to thank Steve Allan, fellow admirer of small streets, for providing insight and advice. I would also like to extend thanks to Doug McElrath, Lauren Schizik, and Eric Holcomb for connecting me with valuable research materials. Lou Thomas, co-founder of Small Streets, deserves thanks for inspiring me to dedicate my time and effort toward the preservation of small streets.

My partner and love of my life, Cathleen, deserves special thanks for always encouraging me, especially when the weight of this project fell heavily on my shoulders.

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## Chapter 1: Introduction

Using the crises of climate change and obesity as a frame, advocates for the environment, planning and public health have emphasized the importance of walkable neighborhoods for a healthy populace and a healthy planet. Historic preservationists have offered the country's many pre-automobile neighborhoods as prime examples of walkable urban form, and the Congress for the New Urbanism has worked to rebuild the body of knowledge that created these places. Despite these efforts, the traditional urban form of narrow streets found in medieval Europe, the most walkable urban form of all, goes largely unconsidered when building new streets and neighborhoods. In that sense, this paper originates from a lack of discussion about, and consideration for, traditional urban form in the public and professional discourse about the future of our towns and cities.

Together with a classmate from the University of Maryland, College Park, I founded *Small Streets* in June 2011, an organization with a mission “to support the preservation and proliferation of small streets in order to improve the quality of life and building the sustainability of our cities and towns” (Small Streets 2011). *Small Streets* educates and advocates through a website, blog, social media, and local issue campaigns. My co-founder, Lou Thomas, and I believe that one of the most effective ways to persuade the American public to consider adopting traditional urban form is to highlight examples of the United States' thriving historic urban places that include streets narrower than thirty feet wide as an essential element of their form and character. These places include the North End in Boston, the Center City of Philadelphia, the Old City of Saint Augustine, and Fell's Point in Baltimore. This

paper examines the history of one particular kind of small street found in the Upper Fells Point neighborhood of Baltimore, Maryland.

## **The Baltimore Alley Street**

### **Urban Form**

Unfamiliar to most Americans, the alley street is an urban form limited mostly to the Mid-Atlantic region, appearing in Baltimore, Philadelphia, Washington, Scranton and Harrisburg. The alley street is defined by its narrow width relative to other streets, referred to in this work as “wide streets.” Measured from building face to building face, alley streets vary from around twelve to thirty feet in width.

The name “alley street” is derived from the urban context in which these narrow streets are found. Typical 19<sup>th</sup>-century blocks in Baltimore were laid out on two or four sides with average-sized houses fronting streets 40 to 75 feet wide. An alley bisected each full city block, which typically measures 300 to 450 feet on each side, and provided service access to properties. Many of these alleys contained only outbuildings or entrances to yards, but others were turned into fully-functioning streets by the construction of dwellings on one or both sides. Because the streets would only function as alleys in some neighborhoods in the city, and because their dimensions recall that of an alley, “alley” forms the first part of their common terminology. Nevertheless, having houses whose front doors face these rights-of-way certainly makes these alleys streets as well.

## **Socioeconomic Status**

Living on an alley street by definition puts its residents on the margins. Urban rights-of-way less than thirty feet would be reserved exclusively for service access in many North American cities. The houses on Baltimore's alley streets are smaller and simpler than those on the city's wide streets. In a society where the size of a family's house is a strong indicator of socioeconomic status, living on an alley street carries little prestige. Residents of alley streets have attempted to break their streets' association with the negative connotations of alleys by renaming their streets "small streets." The term helps to improve the imagery of the alley street, and for some it may even displace thoughts of dumpsters and telephone poles with mental pictures of the medieval streets of historic European city and town centers. Importantly, the term "alley street" reaches beyond imagery to deep divisions between European American and African American residents in Baltimore. Even though in the Upper Fells Point neighborhood, which is the focus of this study, European American immigrants lived in wide streets and alley streets alike, in many Baltimore neighborhoods African American families lived almost exclusively in the small streets while European Americans lived in the wide streets. The historical legacy of this segregated living arrangement cannot be ignored.

## **The Study Block**

This study focuses on the history of the 200 block of South Chapel Street, located in the Upper Fells Point neighborhood of Baltimore. The study block is located within the Upper Fells Point Historic District, listed on the National Register of Historic Places (CHAP 2012). South Chapel Street begins at Baltimore Street,

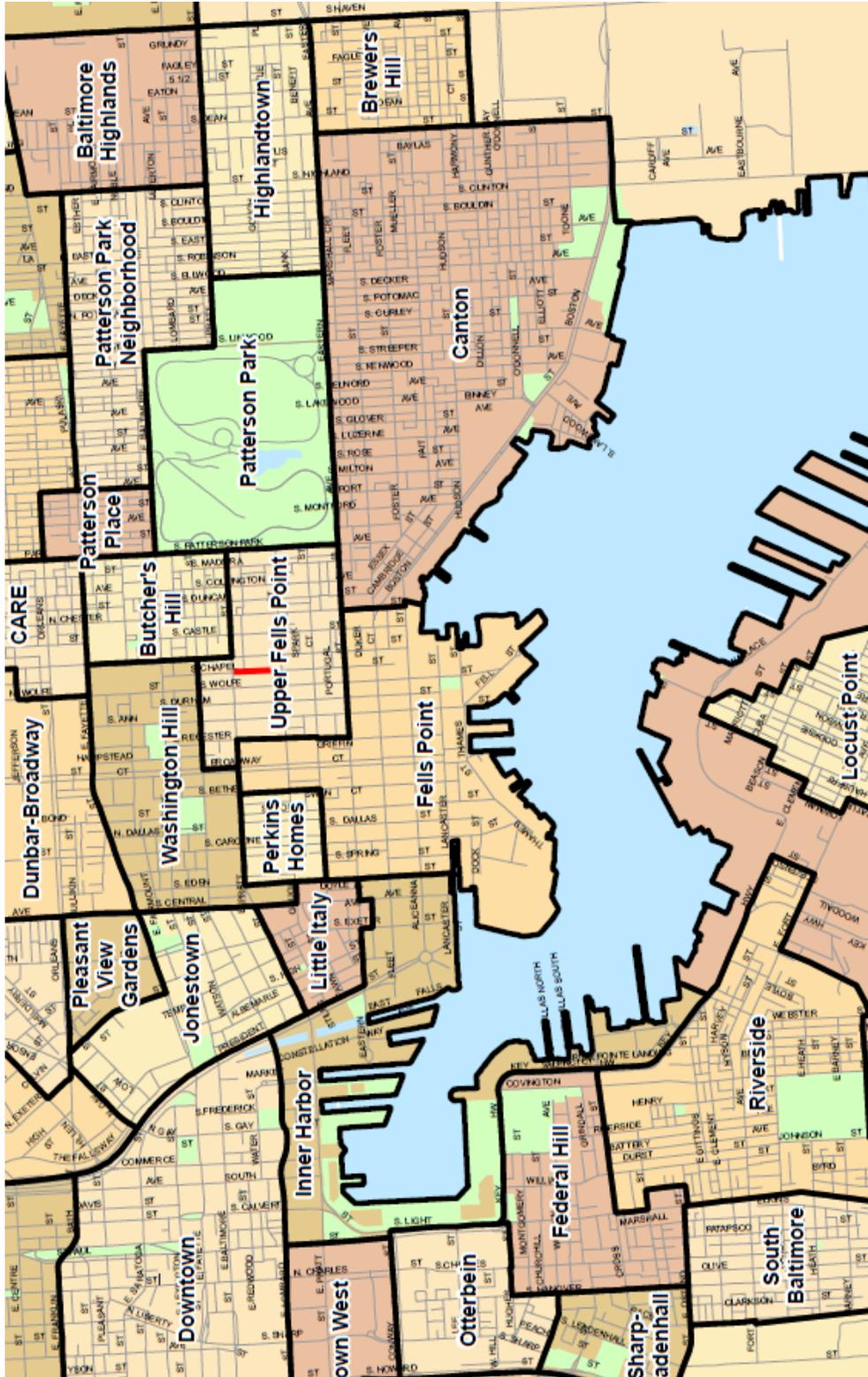


Figure 1. Enlarged section of Neighborhood Map, Baltimore City Planning Department, 2012. Study block highlighted.

the east-west axis of the city, and runs south for approximately one-half mile where it dead-ends less than 500 feet from the water's edge. The 200 block, bounded by Pratt Street to the north, Gough Street to the south, Washington Street to the east and Wolfe Street to the west, is the street's longest block at approximately 550 feet. At 20 feet wide between building fronts, Chapel Street is of average width for an alley street in Baltimore. Today the block has 37 residences, although in the past it had more. There is one commercial/industrial building, which is currently in use as a printing shop. The houses on the block—all rowhouses—range from 11 to 13 feet in width and sit on lots typically 48 feet deep. At the south end of the block is Wolfe Street Academy, a public elementary school. Several recently rehabilitated rowhouses, a few brightly-painted exteriors and many flowers and potted plants show the block to be well-cared for by its residents. On a clear day, one can enjoy a view of the harbor that terminates at the Silo Point condominiums, formerly the Baltimore and Ohio Locust Point Grain Terminal Elevator.

## **Previous Scholarship**

### **Alley Life in Washington**

Little has been written about the history of alley streets and traditional urban form in the United States. In general, the few works that do exist focus on Washington, DC and Baltimore. Much of the work that has been published about these elements of our cities came out of the housing reform movement in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, focused on deteriorated housing and poor living conditions, and therefore is overwhelmingly negative. In 1980, long after so-called housing reform

and urban renewal had demolished countless alley dwellings, James Borchert published *Alley Life in Washington: Family, Community, Religion and Folklife in the City, 1850-1970*.

Borchert tells the history of alley streets in Washington, DC, from their rise, creating housing for the black urban poor, to their fall, reacting to poor living conditions with demolition. The story of alley streets in Washington is one mostly based on race. The peculiarity of the alley street in the 19<sup>th</sup>-century urban form fundamentally changed the spatial relationship between black and white residents in Washington compared to northern cities. Instead of being concentrated in black ghetto neighborhoods, blacks in Washington were dispersed throughout the city. A small alley street community existed inside most of the blocks in Washington's urban core, often in close proximity to the most expensive and elegant houses (Borchert 1980). Poverty lived literally in the back yard of wealthy Washington families, but went largely unnoticed.

Population pressures as early as the 1850s caused landowners to subdivide blocks to create interior alleys, especially "blind" or "hidden" alleys that were connected to the outside of the block only by another alley (Borchert 1980). Modest two-story rowhouses were constructed on the small lots, and the affordable houses encouraged the formation of black enclaves. Significant population growth following the Civil War spurred alley development in the city because most people made their journeys to work on foot. Borchert writes that aside from the pedestrian nature of the city, the potential to profit from an "apparently inexhaustible demand" for low-cost rental housing "profoundly affected the nature and character of the alley communities

that developed” (Borchert 1980). Most alley landlords ignored their tenants’ complaints or overcharged for repairs (Borchert 1980). The lack of good maintenance ultimately contributed significantly to the poor image of the alley street community.

In spite of the poor material conditions of the alley streets of Washington, the residents fostered a strong sense of community. Borchert observes that the physical layout of the alley block encouraged social interaction among alley street residents. Narrow widths of less than 30 feet, narrow entrances from the wide streets, and a lack of both vehicle and non-resident pedestrian traffic all contributed to opportunities for alley street residents to know their neighbors (Borchert 1980). The alley street itself was literally the center of community life, from women doing laundry to children playing and men socializing on non-work days. Residents established “defensible space” where neighbors looked out for suspicious activity and outsiders were regularly asked their business in the alley street (Borchert 1980). The popular sentiment of alley street dwellers is perhaps best summarized by the words of an elderly gentleman, who wrote that “Most of us is poor and live in bad houses but we has a good time” (Borchert 1980). In the alley street, residents took ownership of their space, which enabled them to form a small, intimate community of people based on bonds of mutual trust.

Unfortunately, alley street communities in Washington endured attacks from whites with political power for decades, which led to their near-complete abolishment by the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century. The Board of Health condemned 985 alley street dwellings and demolished nearly 300 in just five years in the 1870s (Borchert 1980). President Theodore Roosevelt believed the alley streets to be “breeding grounds of vice and

disease” and urged Congress to act (Borchert 1980). Both Ellen Wilson and Eleanor Roosevelt sought the removal of alley housing, and by 1944 alley house dwellings were banned. While the automobile also played a large role in ending alley street life, social workers found strong emotional attachments to the alley among residents who would be forced to move out of their homes (Borchert 1980). Alley street residents deeply valued an overall quality of life that exceeded the face-value condition of their houses.

Borchert made the first and most significant contribution to remaking the image of the alley street community, establishing that in spite of their poverty they could be desirable places to live. His research also implied that if alley streets and their housing received an equitable level of maintenance, they might even become more desirable places to live than wide streets. Furthermore, *Alley Life in Washington* opened the door to further scholarship on alley street communities.

### **Baltimore’s Alley Houses**

In the 1990s, Mary Ellen Hayward embarked on a large research project to document the history of the alley houses of Baltimore in what she called a “preservation imperative” (Hayward, *Baltimore's Alley Houses* 2008). At the time, the city’s housing commissioner set his sights on demolishing alley houses as a way to attack vacancy in the face of continued flight to the suburbs. Hayward and her team of investigators found that in spite of the official political opinion at the time, most people liked living on their small streets. Mirroring Borchert’s findings in Washington, residents reported that they enjoyed a safe place for children to play

without fear of vehicle traffic and a close-knit environment where neighbors could talk and look after each other's homes (Hayward, *Baltimore's Alley Houses* 2008).

Hayward found Baltimore's alley streets and their small dwellings to be an essential part of the city's urban fabric. She frames the creation of the alley house as an answer to affordable housing that kept Baltimore from suffering the tenement woes of New York City. She quotes the words of a *Baltimore Sun* reporter from 1844, who noted that "In a walk over our city one is struck with a feature, which, so far as our observation of large cities extends, characterizes Baltimore alone—certainly to a greater degree than any other, viz: its numerous small, neat and comfortable dwellings, adapted to the means of individuals of nearly every circumstance in life" (Hayward, *Baltimore's Alley Houses* 2008). In the 19th century, builders and developers in Baltimore created a tradition of constructing three price levels of housing within each block: the most expensive on the wide streets, less expensive on the side streets, and the most affordable on the alley streets. The modest alley street houses matched the modest means of Baltimore's working classes, who could afford to eventually own their alley street home outright (Hayward, *Baltimore's Alley Houses* 2008). Large-scale alley house construction provided housing for the massive waves of immigrants settling in Baltimore from the 1840s onward. Hayward therefore frames her study as a story of urban immigrants: African Americans, Irish, Germans, and Bohemians, groups that called the alley streets of Baltimore their home.

## **Project Methodology**

### **Research Questions**

This study seeks to expand upon the existing scholarship of alley street life by examining the development of one block of an alley street in Baltimore through the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries and on into the present. This study emphasizes the historical continuity of alley streets as living communities, linking past and present, rather than viewing them in terms of a more traditional break with the past. How has the physical form of Baltimore's alley streets changed over time? The 200 block of South Chapel Street has survived at least two eras of housing reform and decades of widespread decline in Baltimore City to emerge in an era of urban gentrification. How have the demographic characteristics of the street changed through cycles of immigration? Do historical patterns of social segregation persist between Baltimore's alley streets and surrounding wide streets? How do Baltimore's alley street residents perceive their place or position in the urban environment? This study examines the historical significance of the alley street in a gentrified neighborhood, investigates why Baltimoreans choose to live on alley streets today, and explores whether gentrification has enhanced or eroded the historical integrity of Baltimore's alley streets.

### **Historical Research**

Research for this study draws heavily on primary source historical materials, with a special emphasis on United States Federal Census records, to provide a glimpse into demographic changes on the study block over the decades between 1880

and 1940, the years for which records by address are available. Historical maps, including those produced by the Sanborn Fire Insurance Company, tell the story of the block's physical development. Newspaper articles, reports and photographs offer additional details about the lives of alley street residents. Because Census records are only available up to 1940, this study must look at the history of the alley street between 1940 and 1970 at a greater distance, putting it into the context of the changes that took place in Upper Fells Point and the City of Baltimore during these years.

### **Interviews for Oral History**

Oral interviews with current residents will reveal the finest details about life on Chapel Street in the last several decades. As part of the project, I mailed letters in both English and Spanish to every household on the block, asking residents to share their stories of the recent past (see Appendix A: Oral Interview Letter). Their words play the greatest role in my interpretation of the years from 1970 to the present. Although I approached our conversations with a list of questions to explore (see Appendix B: Oral Interview Questions), I sought to let our conversations flow freely so that the residents might feel more comfortable in telling their stories.

### **Research of Urban Design Theory**

Although it is not the main focus, this study will also examine some of the urban design and architecture theory relevant to the alley street environment. Being a relatively unusual urban form in the United States, its physical characteristics deserve some attention. Jane Jacobs, Donald Appleyard, Jan Gehl, and Christopher Alexander

all offer thoughts on the qualities of streets and buildings that contribute to a high degree of livability.

## **Chapter 2: Historical & Cultural Evolution of a Small Street**

### **Introduction**

In order to understand the history of a place and its people over time, it is important to get acquainted with its origins. Although the study block at 200 South Chapel Street was not constructed until approximately the 1850s, the community from which it was born was founded over 100 years earlier, down the hill along the harbor.

### **Founding of Fell's Point**

The community of which the 200 block of South Chapel Street is a part began in 1730, when William Fell, a shipbuilder from Lancashire, England, purchased some land around a natural harbor in the Northwest Branch of the Patapsco River. Baltimore Town was laid out just the year before, and it was limited to a small area around what is known today as the Inner Harbor. Even though the Inner Harbor boasted excellent characteristics, the adjacent harbor or Fell's Prospect, as he called it, actually had deeper waters. William Fell married, started a shipyard, and built himself a home, but he died young and his son Edward inherited the land in 1746 (Hayward, Baltimore's Alley Houses 2008). Even though it was less than a mile from Baltimore Town, the area would develop as a separate town for some decades.

### **Raising of a Town**

Edward Fell waited until just after end of the French and Indian War to lay out streets with the purpose of developing his large inherited tract along the harbor. The

peninsula shape of the area gave it the name Fell's Point, and the way it lay low against the harbor made the area ideal for shipbuilding. This same topography made the area susceptible to outbreaks of yellow fever, which depressed the price of the building lots and homes, making the area affordable to prospective workers (Hayward, *Baltimore's Alley Houses* 2008). These two strengths—the exceptional harbor and availability of affordable housing—brought prosperity to Fell's Point for many decades to come. The incredible shipbuilding industry of Fell's Point developed the superior Baltimore Clipper schooner and trade increased for decades.

The street pattern Edward Fell laid out in 1763 naturally lent itself to the development of a well-formed town. He framed the blocks with wide streets and then bisected the blocks with narrow lanes, also known as “mews,” in the English pattern. Fell chose colorful names for the future alley streets: Strawberry Alley, Apple Alley, Happy Alley, Petticoat Alley, and (for the future South Chapel Street) Star Alley (Hayward, *Baltimore's Alley Houses* 2008). The area's many laborers and working class people typically lived on these alley streets. During a time when all classes of people walked to work, it was common sense to mix residents of various incomes on small city blocks. The development of Baltimore also incorporated another affordability mechanism in the form of ground rent. Under the ground rent system, also common in Philadelphia, Baltimore's sister city to the north, a homeowner leased the land under his house rather than buying it outright. A worker could buy the house (for the value of the house alone) and pay six percent of the value of the land annually to its owner.

Fells Point merged with Baltimore Town and Jones Town in 1797 to form the core of today's Baltimore. The development of Fells Point proceeded according to Edward Fell's street plan into the 19<sup>th</sup> century and gradually crept up the hill to what would later become known as Upper Fells Point.

## Early to Mid-19<sup>th</sup> Century Development

### Warner & Hanna's "Plan of the City and Environs of Baltimore"

Today's 200 block of South Chapel Street appears on a map of Baltimore as early as 1801. On Warner & Hanna's *Plan of the City and Environs of Baltimore*, where it is labeled Star Alley (Figure 2), Fells Point is fully laid out from the harbor to today's East Fayette Street. At this time, actual development had not yet climbed even halfway up the hill to the study block, but one could find houses three blocks south toward the

harbor. Two wooden houses on today's 500 block of South Chapel Street built in the 1770s or 1780s survived well into the 20<sup>th</sup> century and were photographed and measured by the Historic American Buildings Survey (*Hayward, Baltimore's Alley Houses* 2008). The HABS report notes that in its early days Star Alley "was probably

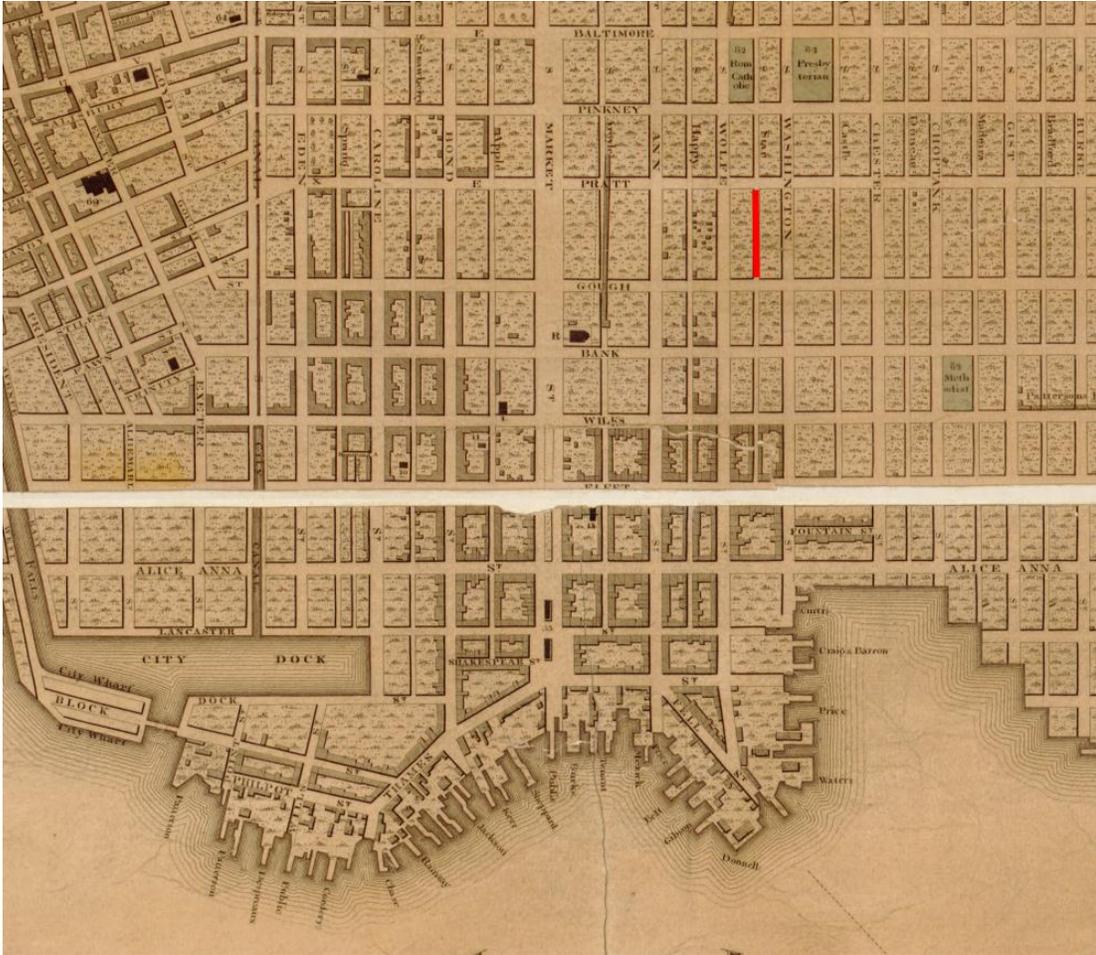


**Figure 2. Enlarged section of Warner and Hanna's *Plan for the City of Baltimore*, 1801. Note: study block highlighted.**

a lane leading into the open country” and that the houses “certainly were never more than the dwellings of the humblest people” (Historic American Buildings Survey 1936).

### **Poppleton’s “Plan of the City of Baltimore”**

In 1822 Thomas Poppleton published his *Plan of the City of Baltimore*. He had been hired by the City in 1811 to create a plan that would tie together the existing pieces of the city, then lacking in cohesion, but the War of 1812 derailed the effort (Hayward and Belfoure, *The Baltimore Rowhouse* 2001). The City rehired him in 1816 and he completed a gridiron plan for the city in five years. Composed of residential block after block, his design lacked much variety (Figure 3). While the Warner & Hanna Plan ended at present-day Fayette Street, Poppleton’s Plan extended an astounding 16 blocks further to the north. To illustrate this distance, the residents of Star Alley between Pratt and Gough Streets could walk to work on the harbor in less than ten minutes, but a family living at the northern reaches of Poppleton’s Plan would have to spend forty minutes walking to reach the harbor! Poppleton incorporated alleys running down the centers of each new block, including Star Alley. Although these alleys were intended to be used as service alleys, Poppleton’s plan legitimized the established tradition in Baltimore of constructing small dwellings on these narrow streets (Hayward and Belfoure, *The Baltimore Rowhouse* 2001).



**Figure 3. Enlarged section of Thomas Poppleton's *Plan of the City of Baltimore*, 1822. Note: study block highlighted.**

**Bradford Map**

The Thomas G. Bradford map, engraved in 1838, shows development on Star Alley as far as Bank Street (Figure 4), which lies just one block south of the study block (Bradford and Goodrich 1838). Blocks the same distance from the harbor but west of Market Street (today's Broadway) had been developed by that time, but they had good access to both Fells Point and Jones Town. The study block would have to wait for development to move north and east. With what is now known as Butcher's Hill and Washington Hill to the northeast, the topography north of Fells Point

undoubtedly played a role in shaping development. Notably, while the alley streets are outlined on the Bradford map their names are omitted (Figure 4). Similarly, proper street labels are omitted from other maps by Henry S. Tanner in 1836, J.H. Colton & Co. in 1856, and Samuel A. Mitchell in 1860, suggesting that the geographers either did not consider the streets significant or did not consider them streets at all.



Figure 4. Enlarged version of Bradford's *Baltimore*, 1838. Note that shading indicates development. Note: study block highlighted.

## **Newspaper Articles**

The *Baltimore Sun*, founded in 1837, offers a peek into life on Star Alley in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century. A couple of the articles report accidents involving the street's residents: a man fell overboard at a railroad bridge and drowned, and a six year old boy playing on a pile of lumber was crushed when the pile fell (*The Sun* 1846).

Another article reports that an inquest was called relative to the body of a still-born colored female child found in a box in an open lot at the corner of Star Alley and Bank Street (*The Sun* 1847). In 1847, a petition was presented to the City Council to change the name of Star Alley to Dunham Street (*The Sun* 1847). The matter was referred to the Committee on Streets, but it was not approved.

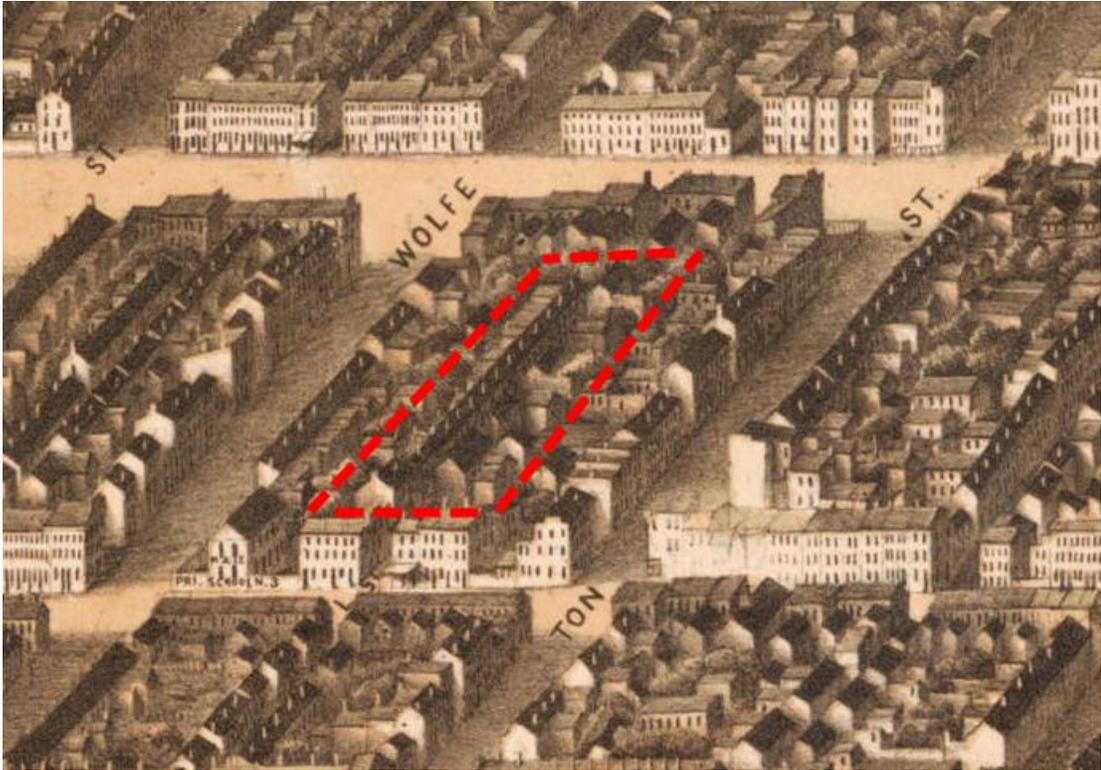
## **1850s to 1870s**

### **1855 Deed to 223 South Chapel Street**

Star Alley officially became a street in name sometime in the early 1850s. The last reference to Star Alley comes from an 1851 newspaper article that tragically reports on the death of a man of intemperate habits who fell down the stairs (*The Sun* 1851). In 1855, Louis Todzwer, a house, sign and ship painter based at the corner of Broadway and Thames Streets in Fells Point, sub-leased six lots on the east side of Chapel Street (Matchett 1855-1856). Remarkably, a reference to this 157-year old deed has survived to the 21<sup>st</sup> century in the title to 223 South Chapel Street. It is possible that the houses on these lots were constructed shortly thereafter. It is likely that many of the other houses on the study block were also constructed in the 1850s.

## Sachse's "Bird's Eye View of Baltimore"

The houses of the study block first appear in E. Sachse, & Co.'s breathtaking, enormously detailed "Bird's Eye View of Baltimore" in 1869. By this year, development of Chapel Street has well passed Pratt Street and reached as far as Fayette Street, four blocks to the north. The map shows the block between Gough and Pratt Streets nearly built out on both sides with what appear to be two-story rowhouses, except for two three-story houses at the southern end of the block (Figure 5). The lot at the northwest corner of the Block appears to still be a wooded lot at this date. Three-story rowhouses flank the entrances to the block at both ends, and at the corner of Gough and Wolfe Streets is Private Male School No. 3. All of the houses on the study block have a gable roof, which indicates they were not constructed in the Italianate style, then developing as the most fashionable for new rowhouses, but rather in the older Federal style. These small two-bay-wide, two-story houses, built into the 1850s on alley blocks, represented a late vernacular version of the popular two-and-a-half-story Federal style house built during the 1820s and 1830s on the wide streets (Hayward and Belfoure, *The Baltimore Rowhouse* 2001). Because they were built for low-income tenants, alley house architecture in Baltimore from the 18<sup>th</sup> through the 20<sup>th</sup> centuries lagged behind mainstream tastes.



**Figure 5. Enlarged section of Sachse's *Bird's Eye View of Baltimore*, 1869. Note: study block outlined.**

### **Renaming of the Alley Streets**

The Sachse map also reveals that by 1869 the city had renamed all of the alley streets in Fells Point, granting them the new names of Dallas, Bethel, Regester, Durham, Chapel, Castle, Duncan and Madeira. The classification of “alley” was dropped from their names and “street” substituted in its place. Indeed, these alleys had taken on the form and purpose of a street when the front doors for the homes of thousands of residents opened into them.

### **Hopkins's 1876 City Atlas**

The next map documenting the development of Chapel Street comes in 1876, when G.M. Hopkins published his “City Atlas of Baltimore.” This map does not

delineate one rowhouse from another and, unlike the Sachse “Bird’s Eye View” it is done in plan view, with no details about the architecture of the houses. One noticeable feature is the addition of a streetcar loop that passed by the study block on Pratt Street on its way to or from downtown (the direction is not shown) (Figure 6). The Citizens Railway Company, as it was called, would have used horse pulled cars at this time. The company had its depot at the intersection of Baltimore Street and Collington Avenue (Figure 6). In a minor change, Hopkins labels the school at the corner of Wolfe and Gough Streets as public rather than private.

### **Newspaper Articles**

Newspaper articles between the years of 1860 and 1880 provide a view into various events and developments on the block. In 1860, a little girl suffered severe burns when she took fire from the stove while her mother was away for a few minutes in the yard (*The Sun* 1860). Her mother heard her daughter’s cries and called for a physician who attended to the girl. In 1875, a child living in the street who received the attention of a physician was not so fortunate. E. Freidlein, who represented himself as the surgeon of a charity and came to a house to attend to a sick child, was arrested for practicing medicine without a license (*The Sun* 1875). In development news, a Chapel Street resident applied to the city for permission to erect two open sheds measuring 10 by 12 feet (*The Sun* 1868). The purpose of these sheds is not given, but on lots ranging from 11 to 14 feet wide, they would have occupied a substantial portion of a house’s rear yard. In 1869, an editorial opposed a proposed renumbering of the city’s streets based on an opinion that it would destroy

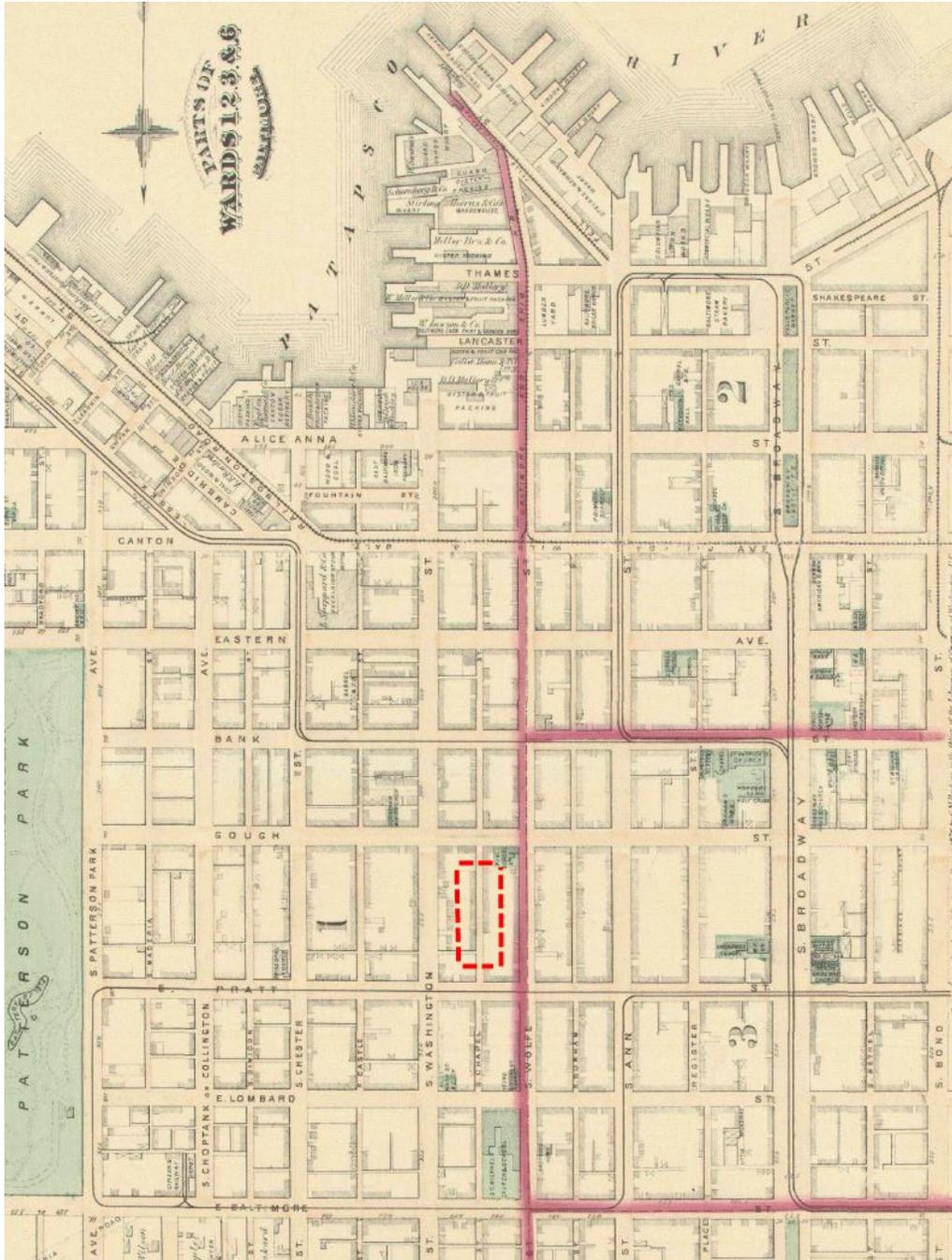


Figure 6. Enlarged section of G.M. Hopkins's *City Atlas of Baltimore*, Vol. 1 Plate C, 1876.  
Note: study block outlined.

the usefulness of the assessment books and “produce inextricable confusion” in the tax departments (*The Sun* 1869). At this time, a person would have found it difficult to find a house based on its address alone because its number had nothing to do with the closest cross streets. The study block’s houses held the numbers 56 to 106 and 39 to 81 (Woods 1880). Finally, an article from 1878 reporting the explosion of a city gas lamp on Chapel Street between Pratt and Gough confirms the presence of at least one gas light on the block (*The Sun* 1878).

## **1880s**

### **1880 Census**

In 1880, an outsider walking down South Chapel Street might think he stepped out of America and into the German Empire. Seven out of every ten of the 222 residents of the block were born to German parents and three of ten were born in the German Empire themselves. These residents emigrated from Baden, Bavaria, Bremen, Darnstadt, Hamburg, Hanover, Hussia, Prussia and Wurttemberg, but arrived in the greatest numbers from Bavaria (Table 1). Fifty-one of the residents were born in Bavaria, 109 had a Bavarian father and 104 had a Bavarian mother. The German states had unified and proclaimed Wilhelm I emperor just nine years earlier, and the U.S. Census takers listed every person of German origin by their native federated state. German immigrants found a variety of working-class occupations in Fells Point, including tailoring clothing, working the docks, peddling goods, selling groceries, butchering meat, making barrels, and providing physical labor wherever someone had a need.

**Table 1. Summary of 1880 US Census.**

	<b>1880</b>
<b>Population</b>	
Total Population	222
Average Age	25
Population under 18	96
Percent Population Under 18	43%
Widows/Widowers	16
Percent Widowed (of adults)	17%
Men	100
Women	122
Most Common Male Name	John
Most Common Female Name	Mary
<b>Households</b>	
Total Households	50
Average Household Size	4.4
Largest Household Size	10
Largest Household Name	Traubert
Female Heads of Household	13
Female Married Heads of Household	1
Percent Female-Headed Households	26%
<b>Employment</b>	
Most Common Occupation	Laborer
2nd Most Common Occupation	Tailor
<b>Origin</b>	
Persons Foreign Born	91
Percent Foreign Born	41%
Most Common Foreign Place of Origin	Bavaria
Persons with a Foreign-Born Father	202
Percent with a Foreign-Born Father	91%
Persons with a Foreign-Born Mother	202
Percent with a Foreign-Born Mother	91%
<b>Education</b>	
Adults (age 18 or over) who Cannot Read	4
Adults who Cannot Read	2%
Adults who Cannot Write	4
Adults who Cannot Write	2%

On average, four or five people called a rowhouse home, but John and Elizabeth Traubert packed eight children into their two-story, four-room house of approximately 650 square feet. Their three teenage sons, Ferdinand, Damian and George learned and practiced their father's trade of tailoring. The younger Traubert children had plenty of playmates nearby; 96 children lived on the study block—43 percent of the total population. The local schoolchildren probably teased Michael and Julia Pretzel, but the 16 Johns and 26 Marys outnumbered their neighbors with more foreign-sounding names. A substantial Irish minority lived on the Block as well, with 20 persons born in Ireland, 41 having an Irish father and 42 having an Irish mother. While it was common for free Blacks to live in Fells Point, especially in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, the 1880 Census reveals that this block of South Chapel Street was all-white, with no black residents (U.S. Census Bureau 1880-1940).

### **1880 Sanborn Map**

The first detailed map of the Block comes from the Sanborn Fire Insurance Company, who published maps of United States towns and cities to help estimate fire insurance liabilities. The maps show the scaled footprint of each house and every outbuilding, indicate the number of floors to each part of a building, the materials used for its construction, and the current use of commercial and industrial buildings. The 1880 Sanborn Map shows a total of 39 dwellings on the study block, 21 on the east side and 18 on the west (Figure 7). Each house sits directly on the front lot line, lining up the dwellings in two neat rows except for a slight jog on the west side of the street. Most of the houses are two stories tall and all are constructed of brick.

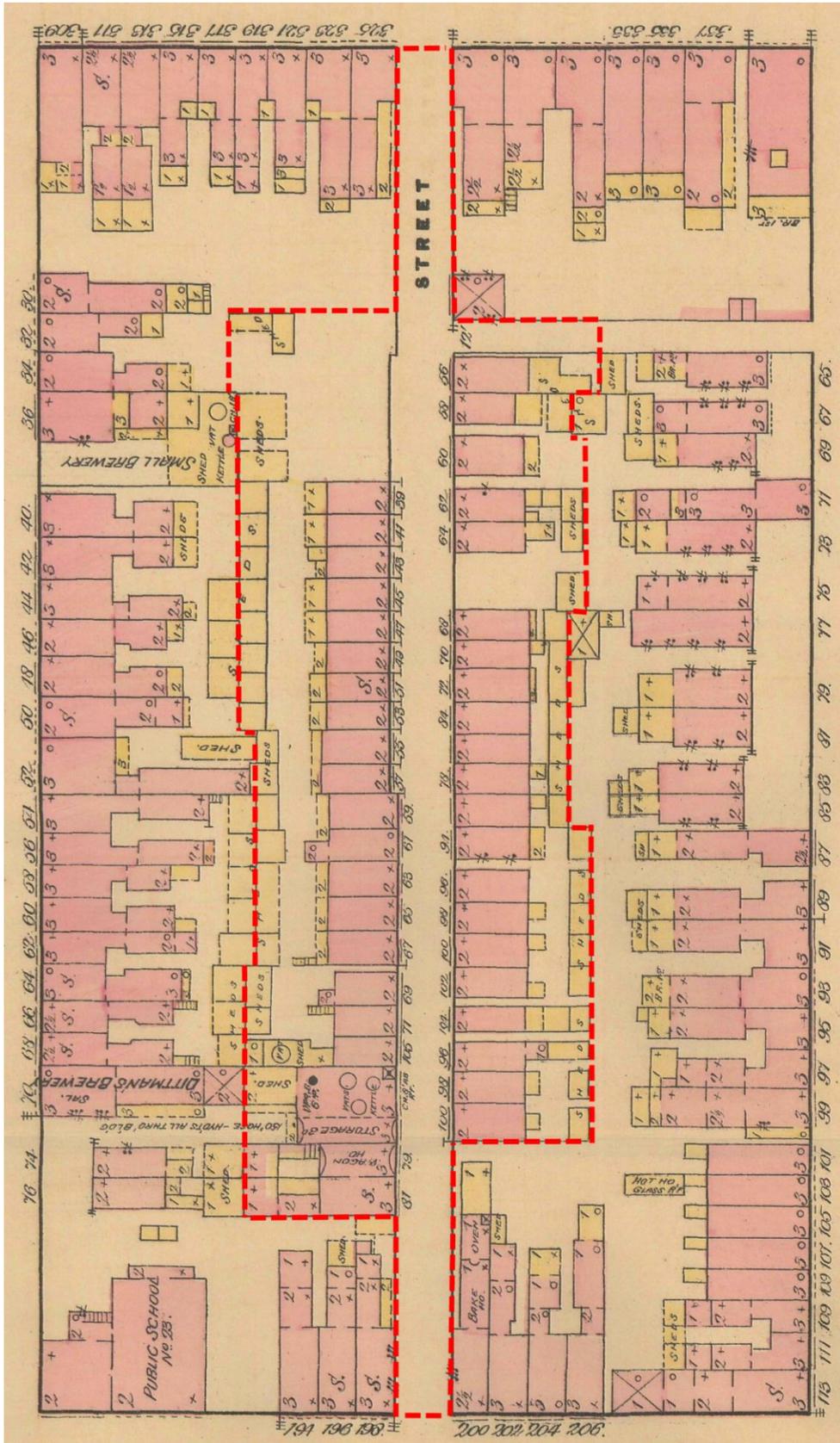


Figure 7. Enlarged section of Sanborn Fire Insurance Co. Map of Baltimore, Sheet 51, 1880.  
 Note: study block outlined. Pink = brick structure and yellow = wooden structure.

Each house occupies approximately half of the lot. Two wooden structures at the rear of the house occupied roughly half of the remaining space: a small wood frame kitchen addition attached to the back of the house and a wood frame privy at the very rear of the lot. The houses on Wolfe Street also have privies at the rear of their deeper lots, which means that the inhabitants of this alley street and adjacent wide street came in closest contact in their domestic lives while relieving themselves. While this arrangement might invite some jest, the maps reveal that the privies formed a physical buffer between residents of different incomes in a dense urban environment, reinforcing the social hierarchy of the neighborhood (Sanborn Map Company 1880).

In 1880 there are two non-residential uses on the study block. The first is a stable at the rear of the large rowhouse on the corner of Pratt and Chapel. The two-story stable has a larger footprint than the average house on the alley street it fronts. The second non-residential use is Dittman's Brewery, which extended from Wolfe Street to Chapel Street. The company had at least one building fronting Chapel Street, a three-story brick structure that housed vats, a kettle, and storage space. Number 79 is labeled as a wagon house, and considering that the 1880 Census does not list any residents at that address, it may have housed the wagons used to transport the brewery's kegs. The brewery later changed its name to the Empire Brewery, and in 1888 a city business directory lists John Heinbuch's Restaurant at the corner of Bond and Gough Streets (five and a half blocks to the west) as serving Empire Brewery Beer, "Always on Tap, Ice Cold" (Joseph Rippey & Co. 1888).

## Renumbering the Streets

In 1886, the Mayor and City Council finally decided to take action to remedy the situation of house numbers throughout the city. The City passed an ordinance to contract with J. Vernon Campbell to renumber the houses according to the decimal system. The city would be divided into quadrants with Charles Street (east and west) and Baltimore Street (north and south) as the axes, and one hundred numbers the proportion for each block. The contractor was to affix a stamped tin number plate on or above each house's door, with each number plate costing the owner of the house twenty-five cents (*The Sun* 1886). While the numbers jumped to the next hundred at every intersection of two wide streets, the system did not treat alley streets as full streets. To explain further, the 1900 block of East Pratt Street would start at the intersection of East Pratt and South Wolfe Streets, and it would continue all the way to South Wolfe Street, even though it crossed the intersection with South Chapel Street along the way. Thus, the numbering system affirmed the idea that a Baltimore city block was the space bounded by four wide streets. Alley streets only divided these full blocks, and were literally secondary streets in the eyes of the government. The expression of this unequal status continues to the present day in the lack of crosswalks at alley street intersections.

For the Chapel Street study block, the street renumbering meant mostly positive changes. Previously, the block had numbering oddities such that 78 was between 84 and 94, and 105 between 71 and 79. On the 1880 Sanborn Map, the houses between 84 and 78, 78 and 94 had no numbers at all. The renumbering remedied these problems. The even and odd sides of the street swapped, which may

have caused some confusion, but the houses received new numbers in logical order starting at 205 on the west side of the block and 212 on the east.

### **Newspaper Articles**

The 1880s had its share of unfortunate news stories, relative to the study block and its residents. Although the story behind it is unknown, 72 South Chapel was put up for auction (*The Sun* 1881). The 11 by 50 foot lot, with ground rent of \$14, and the house on it sold for \$400. In 1881, a 13-year old boy living at house number 71 shot himself through the left hand while playing with a toy cartridge pistol (*The Sun* 1881). In 1884, Anton Rostemeyer, a stevedore living at 78 South Chapel fell down the hold of the Allan Lino steamship at Locust Point and later passed away at home from his injuries (*The Sun* 1884). The article notes that he was regarded as an excellent workman by his peers. Census records show he left behind a wife, two sons, ages 25 and 17, and a daughter, age 10, although the newspaper article says he had four grown children. Also in 1884, a three-year old boy fell from a shed and suffered a compound fracture of the leg (*The Sun* 1884). In 1889, a young girl living at 208 South Chapel found a newly-born female infant on the pavement on Pratt Street between Chapel and Washington Streets (*The Sun* 1889). This is the first *Baltimore Sun* article to show the result of the comprehensive street renumbering.

## **1890s**

### **Loss of 1890 Census**

The 1890 Census was most unfortunately lost in a 1921 fire at the Commerce Building in Washington D.C., so the only information available about the people living on the Block in the 1890s comes from newspaper articles.

### **1890 Sanborn Map**

The second iteration of the Sanborn Fire Insurance map comes in 1890, and offers a look at changes in the study block's urban form since 1880. The map bears the street numbers that remain to this day, 205 to 247 on the east side and 212 to 254 on the west side of the block (Figure 8). The same 39 dwellings observed in 1880 remain, all with metal cornices. Several of them, 207, 212, 234, 242, 244, and 246, have brick additions at the rear. Numbers 244 and 246 have one-story additions and all others are two stories tall. The additions to all but 212 do not span the entire width of the lot, likely to retain daylight for what was the rear room on each floor of the house. The addition to number 246 stands out because of its size, more than doubling the depth of the house and extending to the wooden shed at the rear of the lot. All other additions add 20 to 50 percent to the footprint of the house. Strangely, four houses that previously had rear sheds in 1880 no longer have them in the 1890 map. The map shows that the Empire Brewery has three buildings encompassing four addresses on the block and that the larger of these buildings contains a steam kettle and horizontal steam boiler. The fermentation took place on the Wolfe Street side of the complex.

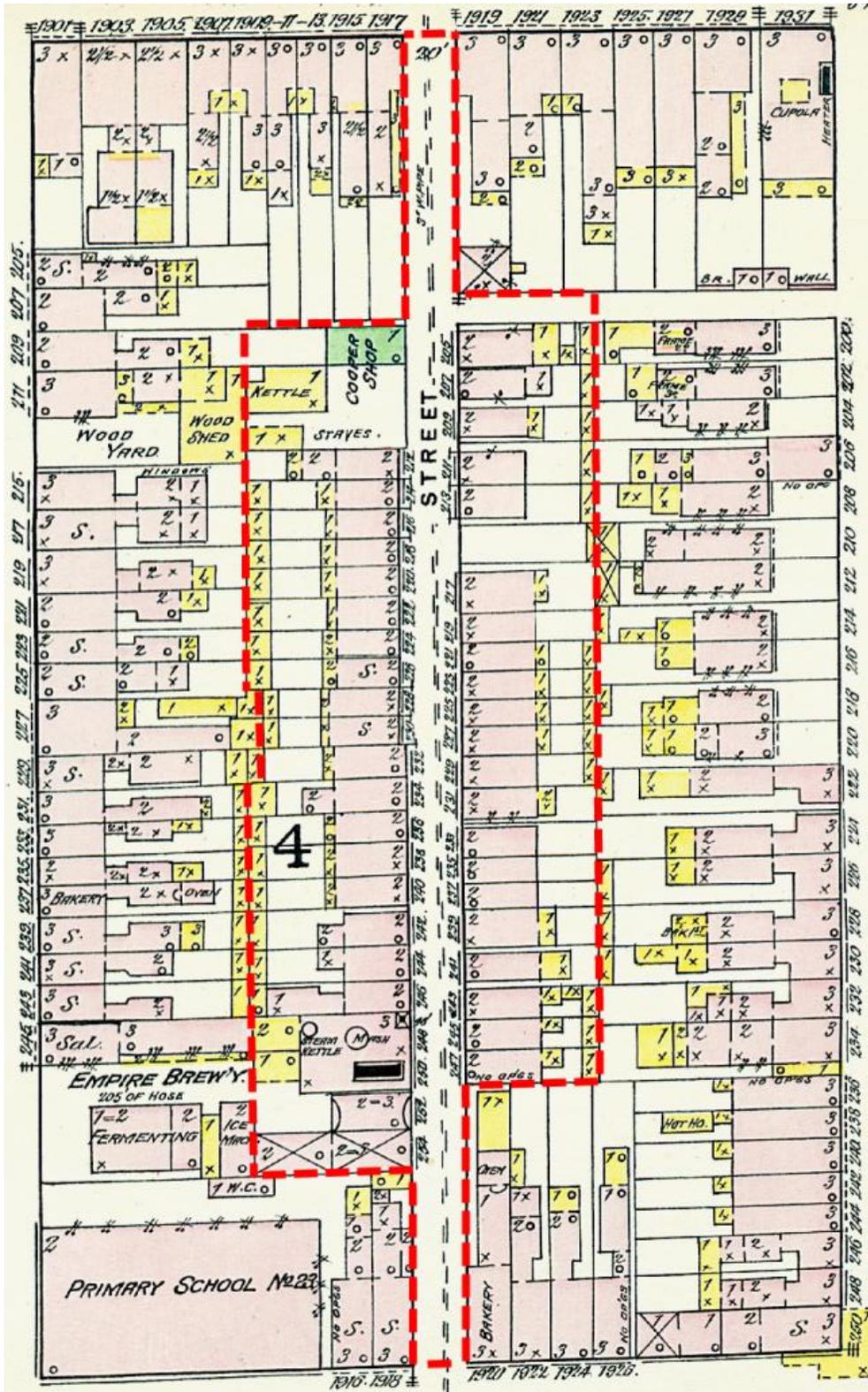


Figure 8. Enlarged section of Sanborn Fire Insurance Co. Map of Baltimore, Sheet 9, 1890.  
 Note: study block outlined. See previous comment.

In 1890, the Brewery complex included an ice machine, a demonstration of the new technology available to industry (Sanborn Map Company 1890).

By 1890, the vacant lot at the north of the block has been put to productive use as a cooper shop, and colored green on the map to indicate special hazardous risk of fire.<sup>1</sup> The map also marks the location of staves, the individual strips of wood that form the sides of a barrel, presumably also to indicate fire risk similar to the Sanborn Company's labeling of wood yards. A kettle and wooden shed also sat on the cooper's lot. Census records from 1880 show that a cooper named Conrad Maurer of Darmstadt, Germany, lived in the house adjacent to the lot. The logical conclusion follows that he made his craft next to his house, in a live-work tradition that shares more with the pre-industrial world than Baltimore in the 1890s, where most work took place away from the home. A younger man living at what was 100 South Chapel before the renumbering, also worked as a cooper and could have assisted Mr. Maurer.

At the southern end of the block, the map shows a bakery, although it faced Gough Street where it could attract more foot traffic. No bakers lived on the study block in 1880, although we will see that five bakers lived here in 1900. It might have been more pleasant to enter Chapel Street past the bakery, but passers-by would have to cope with the temptation that comes with the aroma of fresh baked goods. The map also shows that the school at Wolfe and Gough Streets has been replaced with a much larger building. One rowhouse on Gough Street was demolished in order to fit the new school on the lot. It might sound somewhat peculiar to a person of the present day that the City chose to invest in a new school building at a location adjacent to a

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<sup>1</sup> The Library of Congress has published a helpful guide to the color coding for Sanborn Company maps. <http://www.loc.gov/rr/geogmap/sanborn/san12.html>

brewery, but that is exactly what Baltimore City did, likely to save on the expense of land. At the same time, maintaining the location of the school likely kept its pupils within short walking distance.

### **Newspaper Articles**

Only one *Baltimore Sun* article from the 1890s mentions the 200 block of South Chapel Street. In 1896 the father of two children was forced to give up his children out of extreme poverty. The Justice at the local police station committed John, Margaret and Catherine, ages ten, seven and two years, to St. Mary's Industrial School, St. Mary's Female Orphan Asylum, and St. Vincent's Infant Asylum (*The Sun* 1896). Philip Bastian of 224 South Chapel Street, "much affected at being compelled to part with his children," testified that their mother was dead and that their step mother had deserted both him and the children. In a scene of deep sadness, "when the time came for the separation the children," the story says, "little John, with tears flowing down his face, embraced and kissed both of his sisters and said, with heart-broken sobs, 'I hope some day God will let us be together again'" (*The Sun* 1896). The newspaper articles of the 19<sup>th</sup> century made clear that South Chapel Street was no stranger to tragedy.

### **1900s**

#### **1900 Census**

By 1900, the German immigrant character of the study block had begun to wane. The percentage of residents born in Germany dropped from 32 percent in 1880 to just 13 percent in 1900. Many residents still claimed German heritage, with 40

percent of residents' fathers and 37 percent of residents' mothers born there, much lower than the 72 and 71 percent, respectively, in 1880. Foreign-born residents, 19 percent of the total population, had lived in the United States for an average of 23 years (Table 2). Dwellings were clearly more cramped, with the average household size swelling from 4.4 to 5.8, and the number of persons claiming to be head of household exceeded the number of houses. It seems likely that multiple families lived in the same house but were counted separately, meaning that household sizes in 1880 were actually larger than reported. In any case, the overall population of the one block increased to 242 people. The percentage of residents under 18 remained relatively steady at 48 percent, but 1900 saw a shift from a majority of females to a majority of males. With this trend, the percentage of households headed by women dropped from 26 to 17 percent (U.S. Census Bureau 1880-1940).

Workforce characteristics in 1900 changed somewhat since 1880. "Laborer" remained the most common occupation, but the second most common occupation shifted from the tailor shop to the harbor, with 11 men listed as having the occupation "seaman" or "stevedore." Other common occupations included baker, can maker, cigar maker, enameller and tinner, among others. The illiteracy rate more than doubled, with 12 adults (or 5 percent) reporting that they could not read or write. The 1900 Census also introduced information about home rental versus ownership. The vast majority of families, 81 percent, rented their homes. While only eight families owned their homes, all of them owned them free without mortgages. These home-owning families had a variety of backgrounds: Irish, German, and Danish.

**Table 2. Summary of 1900 US Census.**

	<b>1900</b>
<b>Population</b>	
Total Population	242
Average Age	23
Population under 18	115
Percent Population Under 18	48%
Widows/Widowers	12
Percent Widowed (of adults)	10%
Men	132
Women	110
Most Common Male Name	John
Most Common Female Name	Lizzie/Annie
<b>Households</b>	
Total Households	42
Average Household Size	5.8
Largest Household Size	10
Largest Household Name	Kaufman/Welch
Female Heads of Household	7
Female Married Heads of Household	0
Percent Female-Headed Households	17%
<b>Employment</b>	
Most Common Occupation	Laborer
2nd Most Common Occupation	Seaman/Stevedore
<b>Origin</b>	
Persons Foreign Born	46
Percent Foreign Born	19%
Most Common Foreign Place of Origin	Germany
Average Year of Immigration	1877
Average Years in United States	23
Average Age of Foreign-Born Pop.	42
Average Age of Immigration	19
Persons with a Foreign-Born Father	134
Percent with a Foreign-Born Father	55%
Persons with a Foreign-Born Mother	126
Percent with a Foreign-Born Mother	52%
<b>Education</b>	
Adults (age 18 or over) who Cannot Read	12
Adults who Cannot Read	5%
Adults who Cannot Write	12
Adults who Cannot Write	5%
<b>Housing</b>	
Home Rented	34
Percent Home Rented	81%
Home Owned	8
Percent Home Owned	19%
Home Owned Free	8
Percent Home Owned Free (of owned)	100%

## **1902 Sanborn Map**

In 1890 the Empire Brewery looked awkward standing behind an enlarged public primary school, but by 1900 it was gone (Figure 9). Five rowhouses replaced the several brewery complex buildings on Chapel Street, each two stories tall and made of brick, but with wood cornices rather than the metal on the rest of the block's houses (Figure 9). These houses offered more space than the older homes on the study block by building deeper into the lot. Four houses added two-story brick additions, all of them consuming nearly all the remaining area of their small lots. By 1900, only two houses lacked small sheds at the rear property line. Two rowhouses on the west side of the block were in use as stores, and all other rowhouses were used as dwellings. Although the Empire Brewery had been demolished, the cooper shop expanded and reconfigured its buildings, and the bakery at the corner of Chapel and Wolfe Streets continued operations (Sanborn Map Company 1901-1902).

## **Newspaper Articles**

In the first decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, a remarkable 11 newspaper articles from *The Sun* directly mentioned residents of the 200 block of South Chapel Street. In 1900, William Beachley of 248 South Chapel, had his left arm broken while “wrestling with a man whom he did not know” in a saloon downtown (*The Sun* 1900). In 1901, John Shuman of 225 South Chapel was injured when a streetcar and wagon collided (*The Sun* 1901). Shuman, listed as a butcher in the Census, was taking the wagon with two other men to buy cattle. In 1906, 18-year old Joseph Greely, 213 South Chapel, tragically fell overboard at the foot of Thames Street and drowned. Greely had “boarded a scow that was lying at the wharf” and had last been seen

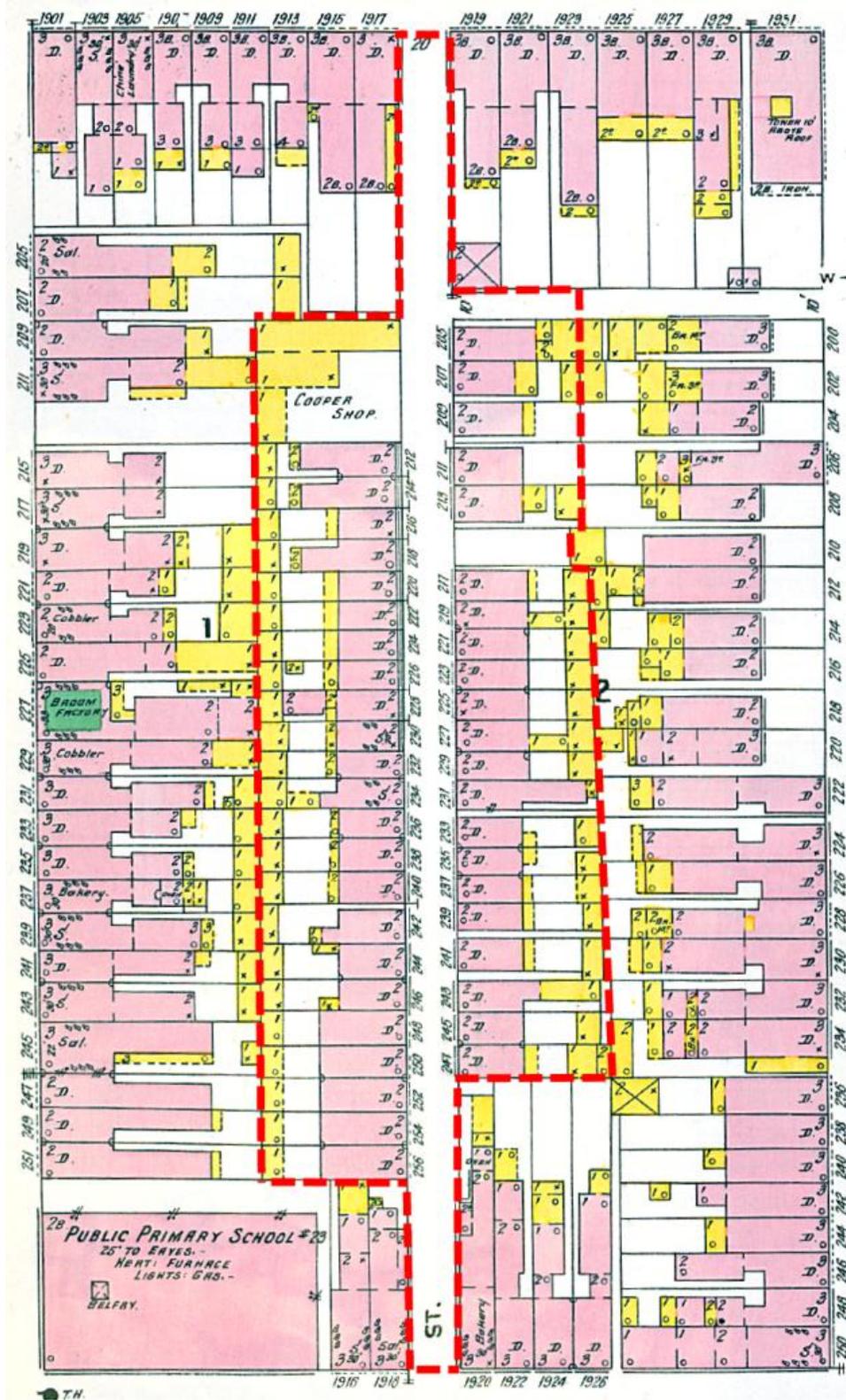


Figure 9. Enlarged section of Sanborn Fire Insurance Co. Map of Baltimore, Sheet 395, 1902.  
 Note: study block outlined. See previous comment.

“engaged in playful conversation with some young women” who worked in a pickling establishment at the harbor (*The Sun* 1906). It was thought that in an effort to jump back to the wharf he missed his footing and fell into the water. In 1907 *The Sun* brought news of a wedding of two alley street residents, the groom from 227 South Chapel and the bride from 413 South Durham. The wedding was performed in the alley street house of the bride (*The Sun* 1907).

A series of news articles show that residents struggled with the danger of fires. On July 4, 1903, Elizabeth Miller of 251 South Chapel and her baby were burned by a rocket (*The Sun* 1903). In October of 1903, the explosion of a gasoline storage tank in the summer kitchen of Julia Markert 246 South Chapel resulted in severe burns for her neighbors. Christina Scheller, who was looking after Markert’s young children at the time, caused quite a scene when she ran into the street “with the lower portion of her body wrapped in flames” (*The Sun* 1903). In another sad story, Barbara Mullin of 252 South Chapel died of injuries sustained while attempting to put out a fire started by her children while playing with matches (*The Sun* 1903). A 1905 article about a fire revealed that John Goeppner operated a paint shop in a frame shed at the location of the former cooper shop (*The Sun* 1905). John Caulfield of 241 South Chapel was scalded by a fire in 1906, but it was not a great surprise—he fought fires for a living (*The Sun* 1906).

### **Housing Conditions Investigation**

In 1903, the Baltimore Association for the Improvement of the Condition of the Poor and the Charity Organization Society appointed a special committee to investigate housing conditions in Baltimore. Janet E. Kemp, who had worked for the

Associated Charities of Washington to study housing conditions in Baltimore, produced a comprehensive report with recommendations for the city to take action. Kemp did not study alley street conditions anywhere in Upper Fells Point, but she did report on a “tenement district” the Thames Street area across from the Fells Point harbor and on alley streets elsewhere in the city (Kemp 1907). In the districts she studied, she found defects in many areas: exterior repair, basements, lighting, air circulation, toilet accommodations, drainage, cleanliness and more. In her overall recommendations, she states that “the overcrowding of lot areas has been shown to be the fundamental defect in housing conditions” and declares, “no legislation could be considered adequate which did not definitely require the reservation of at least 30 percent” of the lot for open yard (Kemp 1907). Very few of the houses on the 200 block of South Chapel Street met this standard, with lot coverage ranging from 70 to almost 90 percent. Fortunately the removal of the privies would have enabled many houses to achieve 30 percent yard area, but the houses would be prevented from expanding any further.

Kemp believed that the problems of the alley streets were easier to solve than those of the tenement districts and made three sets of recommendations. On sanitation, she called for general sanitary inspection at frequent intervals by competent officials and abolishing the privy wells and vaults as soon as the city sewer system was completed, as well as providing public water to each house (Kemp 1907). The houses of Chapel Street used privies since their construction in the 1850s, and so their inhabitants waited with the rest of the city for the government to construct a sewer system. For the back alleys, Kemp recommended that they all should be

cleaned by the city (Kemp 1907). Chapel Street does not have any back alleys, but it has side alleys at the end of the rows, so this recommendation had only limited applicability. In cases where structural “radical defects” could not be remedied, Kemp recommended condemnation by the City, foreshadowing urban renewal in a time to come.

## **1910s**

### **1910 Census**

By 1910, the population of the study block fell by 50 people to 192 and the number of households dropped from 42 to 39 (Table 3). The average household size also dropped by almost one whole person to 4.9, but the largest household size reached a new high of 11 in the Lohnchart dwelling. Henry and Anna Lohnchart fit six sons, two daughters and a boarder into their house at 231 South Chapel Street. This same house held the largest family in 1880 as well. The explanation may have been its size; as of 1902 the dwelling was the largest on the block, occupying approximately 85 percent of the lot area with a two-story structure (Sanborn Map Company 1901-1902). The percentage of female-headed households increased from 17 to 23 percent, and 16 percent of adults were widowed. Men continued to outnumber women on the block. The short-lived fad for the names Lizzie and Annie died away and Mary returned as the most common female name. John continued to be the most common male name (U.S. Census Bureau 1880-1940).

The percentage of foreign-born residents remained stable at 19 percent, and the most common foreign place of origin continued to be Germany. The average year

**Table 3. Summary of 1910 US Census.**

	1910
<b>Population</b>	
Total Population	192
Average Age	26
Population under 18	82
Percent Population Under 18	43%
Widows/Widowers	13
Percent Widowed (of adults)	16%
Men	100
Women	89
Most Common Male Name	John
Most Common Female Name	Mary
<b>Households</b>	
Total Households	39
Average Household Size	4.9
Largest Household Size	11
Largest Household Name	Lohnchart
Female Heads of Household	9
Female Married Heads of Household	0
Percent Female-Headed Households	23%
<b>Employment</b>	
Most Common Occupation	Laborer
2nd Most Common Occupation	Seamstress
Wage Workers	71
Working on Own Accord	6
<b>Origin</b>	
Persons Foreign Born	36
Percent Foreign Born	19%
Most Common Foreign Place of Origin	Germany
Average Year of Immigration	1877
Average Years in United States	33
Average Age of Foreign-Born Pop.	52
Average Age of Immigration	19
Persons with a Foreign-Born Father	122
Percent with a Foreign-Born Father	64%
Persons with a Foreign-Born Mother	97
Percent with a Foreign-Born Mother	51%
<b>Education</b>	
Adults (age 18 or over) who Cannot Read	7
Adults who Cannot Read	4%
Adults who Cannot Write	7
Adults who Cannot Write	4%
<b>Housing</b>	
Home Rented	25
Percent Home Rented	64%
Home Owned	10
Percent Home Owned	26%
Home Owned Free	7
Percent Home Owned Free (of owned)	70%

of immigration remained 1877, and in the first decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century no new immigrants moved to the block. The absence of new German immigrants opened the door for new ethnic groups to transform the block. Wladyslaw and Stanslaw Rozycki arrived in the United States from German Poland in 1898 and 1896, respectively, and moved to Chapel Street sometime after 1900. As the first Polish residents on the block, they may have stood out among their neighbors. Mr. Rozycki used his ethnicity and his native language to his advantage by finding work as an interpreter in a hospital. Several of the couple's children had names that may have sounded peculiar: Bogumil, Miron, Rystyna, and Tadeuse. By 1910 the study block's Irish minority had dwindled to just four persons of Irish birth, with nine persons having Ireland-born fathers and eight having Ireland-born mothers.

Work moved slightly away from the harbor in the first decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. At least twelve residents worked on the water in 1900, but only five did so in 1910. The streetcar offered work for two residents and other new jobs included making window shades, peddling oysters, working on electrical systems, and producing spices. The 1900 and 1910 Census refute the still common misperception that the alley streets primarily housed servants. Only one servant lived on the Block in both decades. The 1910 Census included both a person's occupation and the industry they worked for. The 1910 Census showed that the block's many laborers worked for a box manufacturer, cannery, the city government, a cooper, the railroad, a stable, and odd jobs. The 1910 Census also offered the first insight into who worked for wages and who worked on their own accord. Six people reported being self-employed, while the remaining 71 workers worked for wages. By 1910 workers had

obtained their first access to mortgages, increasing the home ownership rate from 19 to 25 percent. At the same time, the number of houses owned outright decreased by one. The residents of Chapel Street had begun to free themselves from landlords, and while a bank mortgage resulted in a new type of financial dependence, it also offered families the opportunity to build wealth.

### **1914 Sanborn Map**

The 200 block of South Chapel Street did not add any new houses between the years of 1902 and 1914, and the block's form exhibits few other changes during these years. The most visible change was the removal of the cooper shop and all of its associated wooden structures, perhaps because of the Great Baltimore Fire of 1904 (Figure 9 and Figure 10). The bakery at the corner with Gough Street remained and the school did not change, although a belfry is no longer marked on the building. Only the owner of house number 230 constructed a significant addition at the rear of the lot. Fourteen fewer wood frame sheds, most of them privies, appear on the 1914 map than in 1902, which is surprising because Baltimore did not construct a sanitary sewer system until 1915 (Waterfront Partnership 2012). It is unclear what happened to the backyard privies. The 1914 Sanborn was the last of its kind to map this section of the city (Sanborn Map Company 1914-1915).

### **Newspaper Articles**

The newspaper articles of the 1910s document the effects of both social and technological change for South Chapel Street residents. In 1915, the *Baltimore Sun* printed its first notice of a divorce granted to a resident of the 200 block of South

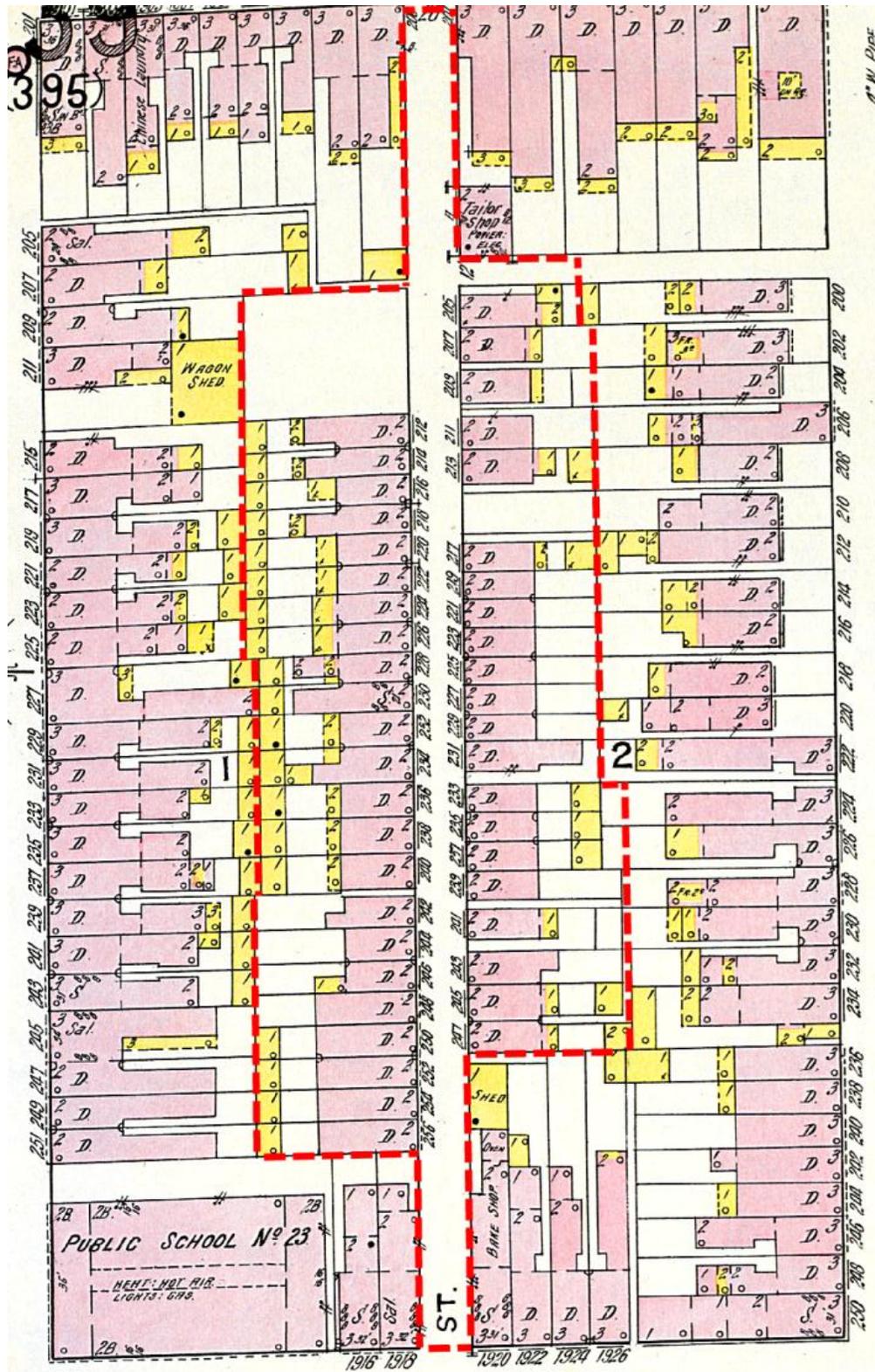


Figure 10. Enlarged section of Sanborn Fire Insurance Co. Map of Baltimore, Sheet 339 (395), 1914.  
 Note: study block outlined. See previous comment.

Chapel Street. Interestingly, the divorce was granted not to the wife but the husband. Joseph George testified before the court that his wife had left him in 1901 and he had not seen her in more than 10 years, leaving him alone to take care of the two survivors of their three children (*The Sun* 1915). The Baltimore Circuit Court granted another divorce to a resident in 1918. Dora King and George King of 226 South Chapel ended their marriage and Ms. King received custody of their child (*The Sun* 1918). The other important event for the block also occurred in 1915 when Viola Browning, a three-and-a-half year old child, was struck by an automobile a short distance from her family's home at 248 South Chapel Street (*The Sun* 1915). She was playing in the street at the intersection of Gough and Chapel when she was struck by an automobile driven by a resident of nearby Ann Street, a wide street. The driver hurried the child to Johns Hopkins Hospital, where she later died (*The Sun* 1915). The driver was arrested and charged with the girl's death, although testimony "indicated [he] had been careful." Although South Chapel Street continued to offer a relatively safe environment for children to play as the automobile rose to dominate the city streets, this article and others in the future would document the increased danger automobiles caused for both children and adults.

Other dangers continued to afflict the residents of Chapel Street. "Bang! Went a pistol in the hands of William Hutton, 18 years old, 256 South Chapel Street," an article from 1913 reads, reporting that he had fired a pistol at the home of his brother-in-law in South Baltimore (*The Sun* 1913). "Thump!" his brother-in-law struck the floor, "groaning and writhing as though in great pain." He was taken to the hospital, only to find that he had not been shot at all. Hutton had fired the gun when his

brother-in-law came after him with a hatchet during a quarrel. In 1911, Gustav Mack, 205 South Chapel, was arrested for disorderly conduct while he and several other men waited at an office near Fayette Street to work as strikebreakers for New York City garbage drivers (*The Sun* 1911). In 1912, Charles Clark, 229 South Chapel Street, was arrested for stealing a pair of boxing gloves from a man living on Eastern Avenue, a nearby wide street, and selling them for 50 cents (*The Sun* 1912). He pleaded guilty, saying that he had to steal in order to feed himself. Several days earlier his father, also out of work, received an eviction notice. In a display of sympathy, the Justice dismissed the young man and promised to help him secure work. Two residents suffered from accidents around the house. A nine year old boy fell from a shed and a woman fell unconscious by the gas that illuminated her kitchen (*The Sun* 1914, *The Sun* 1916). Although no *Baltimore Sun* stories reported on the men sent off to fight in the World War, Mamie Ely of 248 South Chapel Street participated in “soldierettes” training with the Ladies’ Reserve State Guard and Auxiliary to the Red Cross at Fells Point’s Broadway Market Armory (*The Sun* 1917).

## **1920s**

### **1920 Census**

At the time of the 1920 Census 217 people lived on the study block, 15 more than in 1910, although the number of households remained the same (Table 4). In concert, the average household size rose to 5.6, and the Schuhart family achieved a new record with their twelve person household. Henry Schuhart, a widower, cared for

**Table 4. Summary of 1920 US Census.**

	1920	
<b>Population</b>		
Total Population		217
Average Age		21
Population under 18		118
Percent Population Under 18		54%
Widows/Widowers		13
Percent Widowed (of adults)		6%
Men		112
Women		103
Most Common Male Name	John	
Most Common Female Name	Mary	
<b>Households</b>		
Total Households		39
Average Household Size		5.6
Largest Household Size		12
Largest Household Name	Schuhart	
Female Heads of Household		5
Female Married Heads of Household		0
Percent Female-Headed Households		13%
<b>Employment</b>		
Most Common Occupation	Laborer	
2nd Most Common Occupation	Driver	
Wage Workers		56
Working on Own Accord		1
<b>Origin</b>		
Persons Foreign Born		32
Percent Foreign Born		15%
Most Common Foreign Place of Origin	Poland/Russian Poland	
Average Year of Immigration		1895
Average Years in United States		25
Average Age of Foreign-Born Pop.		44
Average Age of Immigration		18
Persons with a Foreign-Born Father		138
Percent with a Foreign-Born Father		64%
Persons with a Foreign-Born Mother		104
Percent with a Foreign-Born Mother		48%
Persons with Foreign Mother Tongue		30
Percent with Foreign Mother Tongue		14%
Persons who Do Not Speak English		7
Percent who Do Not Speak English		3%
<b>Education</b>		
Adults (age 18 or over) who Cannot Read		10
Adults who Cannot Read		5%
Adults who Cannot Write		12
Adults who Cannot Write		6%
<b>Housing</b>		
Home Rented		18
Percent Home Rented		46%
Home Owned		21
Percent Home Owned		54%
Home Owned Free		7
Percent Home Owned Free (of owned)		33%

seven sons and four daughters in his house at 231 South Chapel Street. By 1920 this house may have gained a reputation for busting at the seams, because the large family still lived within its four walls. The percentage of female-headed households dropped from 23 to 17 percent, and the percent of widowed adults decreased from 16 to 6 percent. For the third straight decade, men continued to outnumber women on the Block. John and Mary remained the most popular names for three out of the previous four decades (U.S. Census Bureau 1880-1940).

The percentage of foreign-born residents decreased slightly from 19 to 15 percent, but a great shift occurred in the last decade when people of Polish decent came to outnumber Germans on the block. Between the years of 1890 and 1914, sixteen people emigrated from Poland, Russian Poland, German Poland, and Austrian Poland, and in 1920 made their home on Chapel Street. All of the residents left their homeland before Poland gained independence in 1918. Three of these residents could not speak English, nor read or write. Sixty-eight residents of the block had a Polish father, and 59 had a Polish mother. Two families claimed Italian ancestry, the study block's first residents of Southern European descent. Between 1910 and 1920 the number of German immigrants living on the block dropped from 27 to 11, and the number of residents with a German father or mother was reduced by more than half. In 1920, the study block was home to small Irish, Scottish and Canadian minorities.

In the Fells Point tradition, the Polish immigrants worked at the shipyard, on the wharf, and in local foundries. The newly-arrived immigrants increased the number of residents working on the water to 13, equivalent to 1900 levels after a decade long decline. Some new industries offered employment to residents including

a paper bag factory, brass factory, newspaper plant, sheet factory, and telephone office. Just one resident was self-employed, and all fifty-six others worked for wages. With the help of a rise in savings associations with a progressive agenda, access to mortgages increased, doubling the rate of homeownership from 26 to 54 percent. Nevertheless, only seven homes on the block were owned free and clear—unchanged since 1910.

### **Newspaper Articles**

In the 1920s, injuries and deaths caused by automobiles ballooned. A thirteen-year old boy, possibly stealing a ride, suffered a probable skull fracture when he fell from an automobile at Broadway and Pratt Streets (*The Sun* 1922). An automobile cut the face and body of a six-year old boy in 1923 (*The Sun* 1923). Similarly, Frank Dombrowski of 238 South Chapel received severe bruises on his face, back, arms and legs when the truck he was riding in overturned on Belair Road (*The Sun* 1924). Eleven other men were riding with him at the time, all of them on their way to Port Morris, New Jersey, to work in an oyster packing plant. The same year, two men from the block were injured when a truck collided with a car and overturned near Dundalk (*The Sun* 1924). Another resident driving an automobile collided with another car and caused a compound fracture of the skull of an 18-year old woman. In 1925, Police Patrolman Joseph Eagan of 234 South Chapel caused a scandal when he likely committed the first DUI offense by a resident of the block (*The Sun* 1925). A son of the Shuhart family, the largest family on the block, suffered from shock and possible internal injuries when the lumber truck he drove for work was struck by a streetcar (*The Sun* 1925).

The increased use of trucks to transport goods created opportunities as drivers for working class Baltimoreans. In 1920, residents of the block reported driver as their occupation, second only to laborer. While truck driving provided needed employment, it put lives at risk. Seven of the fourteen *Baltimore Sun* articles about residents of the block in the 1920s involved injuries and deaths from automobile collisions. An eighth article reported on a new form of crime enabled by the automobile, when resident John Dunphy was robbed by a motorist who asked him to come over to his car and then showed him a pistol (*The Sun* 1928).

## **1930s**

### **1930 Census**

By the 1930 Census, the 200 block of South Chapel Street lost 17 percent of its population, reaching a record low since 1880. The decline in population and the addition of one household decreased the average household size to 4.8 people (Table 5). The size of the largest household also decreased from twelve to nine. For the first time, the average household resembled something close to what Americans think of as today's common family of two parents and two or three children. The percentage of female-headed households dipped slightly from 13 to 11 percent, but the percent of widowed adults increased from 6 to 10 percent. Again, men continued to outnumber women on the block. For the fifth time since 1880, John was the most common male name, but Helen took the title of most common female name (U.S. Census Bureau 1880-1940).

**Table 5. Summary of 1930 US Census.**

		1930
<b>Population</b>		
Total Population		179
Average Age		22
Population under 18		83
Percent Population Under 18		46%
Widows/Widowers		8
Percent Widowed (of adults)		10%
Men		93
Women		86
Most Common Male Name	John	
Most Common Female Name	Helen	
<b>Households</b>		
Total Households		37
Average Household Size		4.8
Largest Household Size		9
Largest Household Name	Kowlewski/Levindowski	
Female Heads of Household		4
Female Married Heads of Household		1
Percent Female-Headed Households		11%
<b>Employment</b>		
Most Common Occupation	Laborer	
2nd Most Common Occupation	Pickle Packer	
People in Workforce		66
People Seeking Work		9
Unemployment Rate		13.6%
Veterans		3
<b>Origin</b>		
Persons Foreign Born		24
Percent Foreign Born		13%
Most Common Foreign Place of Origin	Poland	
Average Year of Immigration		1907
Average Years in United States		23
Average Age of Foreign-Born Pop.		41
Average Age of Immigration		18
Persons with a Foreign-Born Father		99
Percent with a Foreign-Born Father		55%
Persons with a Foreign-Born Mother		83
Percent with a Foreign-Born Mother		46%
Persons with Foreign Mother Tongue		25
Percent with Foreign Mother Tongue		14%
Persons who Do Not Speak English		5
Percent who Do Not Speak English		3%
<b>Education</b>		
Adults (age 18 or over) who Cannot Read		10
Adults who Cannot Read		6%
Adults who Cannot Write		10
Adults who Cannot Write		6%
<b>Housing</b>		
Home Rented		11
Percent Home Rented		30%
Average Monthly Rent	\$	17
Home Owned		23
Percent Home Owned		62%
Average Home Value	\$	1,524
Own Radio Set		10
Percent Own Radio Set		27%

The percentage of foreign-born residents remained relatively stable, dipping from 15 to 13 percent. Unlike the 1920 Census, the 1930 Census did not distinguish between ethnic Poles from different nations. Twenty residents were born in Poland, 76 reported having a Polish father and 60 a Polish mother. Some Germans remained on the block, but they were outnumbered by Poles by at least three to one. Just two people claimed Irish ancestry, and the Italian presence on the block completely disappeared. Three percent of residents could not speak English.

The 1930 Census was the last to include the year of immigration. The average immigrant living on the block in 1930 had been in the United States for 23 years. Between 1900 and 1930, the average years in the country remained fairly consistent: 23, 33, 25, and 23. A comparison of the average age of immigrants in each decade to their years since emigrating reveals a common trend across at least 30 years: the average immigrant arrived at 18 or 19 years old. Of the 117 residents reporting their year of immigration across the four censuses, 27 arrived at less than 10 years old, 30 between the ages of 10 and 17, 23 between the ages of 18 and 24, 28 between the ages of 25 and 35, and 9 over the age of 35. As no immigrant ever reported having lived on the block for less than five years, one can reasonably conclude that the rowhouses on the 200 block of South Chapel Street were not the first residences for new immigrants in Baltimore.

In 1930 more new industries and employment opportunities appeared while work on the harbor declined slightly. Ten workers had jobs on the wharves, at the ship yards, or at the marina, compared with 13 in 1920. New industries included a guano factory, a meat packing company, a pickle packing company, a soap factory,

and a sugar refinery. Less than a year into the Great Depression, of the 66 persons reporting their employment status, 14 residents reported being out of work, yielding an unemployment rate of 13.6 percent. Access to mortgages continued to increase, with the homeownership rate rising from 54 to 62 percent between 1920 and 1930. The homeownership rate rose steeply since its minimal rate of 19 percent in 1900. Whether these houses had mortgages or were owned free and clear was not indicated on the 1930 Census, but the form added new fields to record the rent and value of each home. The average renter paid 17 dollars per month and the average house was reported to have a value of 1,524 dollars. The 1930 Census also asked whether households owned radio sets. Twenty-seven percent of households on the study block enjoyed the modern convenience of the radio. Three residents living on the study block were veterans, and all of them fought in the First World War. Veterans were rare through the Block's history—in no other year with Census data did a resident report being a veteran.

### **Housing and Commercial Conditions Report**

In a 1934 report prepared for Mayor Howard W. Jackson on the housing and commercial conditions of the city, William W. Emmart made a direct attack on the alley streets. He wrote colorfully,

A review of the large scale maps of the city show in most cases a deplorable misuse of the area constituting a city block, - badly and uselessly sub-divided by a ramification of seemingly purposeless alleys of all widths... While the purpose of the fairly wide alley sub-dividing the block was originally for rear deliveries, the collection of garbage, and because of a system of out-door privies, the conditions changed and by an encroachment on the rear yards a system of alley housing was evolved, that in the end has proven a menace to health, the source of much social evil, and of great cost to the city for maintenance and policing (Emmart 1934).

Emmart, believing that the city had outgrown the alleys and that “they but retard betterments,” recommended that alleys should be eliminated on sites of new development. Although his thoughts may seem extreme today, the city would later adopt a policy of eliminating alley streets in its public housing projects. Emmart recommended that in residential areas the usual plan of housing facing the street be reversed to place the principal rooms so that they “will have an outlook upon an attractive garden occupying the center of the block” (Emmart 1934). His ideas were representative of the city planning ideology of his time, based upon the ideals of Ebenezer Howard inscribed in his work, *Garden Cities of To-Morrow*. To Emmart and others, the elimination of the alley street offered an opportunity to reclaim space in crowded blocks and reach toward a suburban ideal of landscaped areas throughout the city.

### **Newspaper Articles**

Newspapers continued to document the misfortunes of Chapel Street residents in the 1930s. In 1930, a truck owned by the A. S. Abell company struck eleven-year-old Raymond Strzenski and fractured his leg and lacerated his hand (*The Sun* 1930). The article states that he was running across Wolfe Street at the time, between Pratt and Gough Streets, just one half-block from his home. The driver of the truck was released from police custody on the ground that “there had been no violation of traffic rules” (*The Sun* 1930). The protection given to automobile drivers in an increasingly automobile-dominated society increased the importance of the alley streets as a relatively safe place for children to play. If an automobile struck a child, his family could do little to seek justice for the driver. Two seventeen-year-old

youths, one living on the study block, found themselves on the perpetrating end of an automobile crime when three policemen caught them driving a stolen car downtown (*The Sun* 1934).

In 1934 John Akers, 212 South Chapel, was found unconscious from inhaling municipal gas flowing from two burners in his kitchen stove (*The Sun* 1934). This was the third time the *Sun* had reported that gas or gasoline caused injury to a resident of the study block, and the stories reveal the changing role of gas and gasoline in the household. In 1903, gasoline was stored outdoors for use in the summer kitchen. In 1916, the gasoline involved was used to illuminate the interior of the home. And by 1934, municipal gas was used for cooking at an indoor stove. In a span of around thirty years, fossil fuels became increasingly integrated into the working class alley street households.

Just one news story of the decade hints at the economic hardship caused by the Great Depression, and does so in a rather indirect way. Eighty-one-year old George Seitz, 213 South Chapel, was found ill from malnourishment in front of his home and taken to the hospital, where he refused treatment but would not leave the grounds (*The Sun* 1939). Eastern District Police charged him with disorderly conduct and upon searching him found in his shirt “a wad of ten and twenty dollar bills, amounting, all told, to \$570,” which at the time was “enough money to feed the average family for a year.” To provide another comparison, Seitz reported for the 1930 Census that his house was worth 700 dollars. The elderly man had been living alone since at least 1920 (when he first appeared on the Census schedules for the

block) so it is possible that a combination of his solitary living situation, his age, and the dismal economic conditions of the time drove him to unsound mind.

The Federal government provided some relief to unemployed citizens through the Works Progress Administration. A 1936 *Sun* article quoted the Secretary of the Interior,

Unfortunately, a large part of our early American architecture has disappeared. It is inevitable that the majority of our structures will at some time outlive their ultimate usefulness. And it admittedly is impracticable to preserve all buildings or sites associated with events of incontestable historic importance. It is possible, however, to record in a graphic manner and by photography, before it is too late, the exact appearance of these buildings and their surroundings (*The Sun* 1936).

The Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS) documented two of the oldest houses in Fells Point, located at 520 and 522 South Chapel Street, three blocks south of the study block (Historic American Buildings Survey 1936). These houses represented an older era when working class rowhouses in Baltimore could be constructed with wood rather than only brick. Considering the simplicity of their construction and the people for whom they were built, it is remarkable that the houses survived to an age of 150 years or more. The houses have since been demolished, and walking South Chapel Street from end to end someone could make the assumption that its dwellings had always been made of brick. The façades would later be covered in formstone in a period of post-war prosperity.

## 1940s

### 1940 Census

Because the Census is released to the public 72 years after it is taken, 1940 is the last year for which complete data about the residents of the study block are available. Between 1930 and 1940 the population of the block remained stable, increasing by just two persons to a population of 181 (Table 6). The 1940 Census recorded one more household than ten years prior but the average household size remained steady at 4.8 people. The Schuhart Family, now having occupied 231 South Chapel for at least twenty years, reclaimed the title to the largest family on the block. A Polish family, the Schmidts, also had a household of nine. The percentage of female-headed households increased from 11 to 16 percent, reaching the highest level since 1910. For the first time since 1880 women outnumbered men, 100 to 81. For the sixth Census in a row, John was the most common male name, although there were just as many Josephs and Edwards on the street, and Mary was the most common female name for the fourth time since 1880 (U.S. Census Bureau 1880-1940).

The percentage of foreign-born residents remained stable into the 1940s, with 13 percent of residents claiming foreign origin. Poles continued to be the most common ethnic group on the study block, with twenty-three residents born in Poland. The only other two foreign-born residents were born in Germany, an enormous change since 1880, when 70 residents were born in Germany. The 1940 Census provides much less information on the origins of immigrants. It did not include the year of immigration, place of birth of father or mother, or mother tongue. Last names of Rotunno and Russo show that people of Italian heritage had not completely left the

**Table 6. Summary of 1940 US Census.**

	<b>1940</b>
<b>Population</b>	
Total Population	181
Average Age	24
Population under 18	82
Percent Population Under 18	45%
Widows/Widowers	12
Percent Widowed (of adults)	7%
Men	81
Women	100
Most Common Male Name	John/Joseph/Edward
Most Common Female Name	Mary
<b>Households</b>	
Total Households	38
Average Household Size	4.8
Largest Household Size	9
Largest Household Name	Shuhart/Schmidt
Female Heads of Household	6
Female Married Heads of Household	1
Percent Female-Headed Households	16%
<b>Employment</b>	
Most Common Occupation	Sewing Machine Operator
2nd Most Common Occupation	Laborer
People in Workforce	67
People Seeking Work	7
Unemployment Rate	10.4%
Average Weeks of Unemployment	46
Discouraged Workers	6
Public Emergency Workers	4
Average Years School Completed (Adults)	4.8
Veterans	
<b>Origin</b>	
Persons Foreign Born	23
Percent Foreign Born	13%
Most Common Foreign Place of Origin	Poland
<b>Housing</b>	
Home Rented	13
Percent Home Rented	34%
Average Monthly Rent	\$ 13
Home Owned	23
Percent Home Owned	61%
Average Home Value	\$ 715

study block, and some American-born families had German last names, but most American-born residents had Polish names such as Goralski, Ratajczak, Rykaczewski, and Wiatrowski.

The 1940 Census offers the most in-depth look into employment on the study block of all Censuses available since 1880. New industry and expanded mobility continued to offer new job opportunities to residents, among them: manufacturers of automobiles, coat pads, chemicals, cushion covers, ice boxes, toothbrushes, asphalt distributor, sand and gravel plant, and steel mill. Residents continued to work at the canning plant, the oyster and pickle packing houses, and of course the harbor and shipyard. A drop in the unemployment rate from 13.6 percent in 1930 to 10.4 percent in 1940 pointed to a recovery from the Great Depression. Nevertheless, six workers on the study block reported being unemployed but no longer seeking work. Today we call these people “discouraged workers” who have given up on their prospects in the employment market. Little more is needed to understand their discouragement than the average duration of unemployment for residents of the study block: an astounding 46 weeks. Public emergency work provided employment for four workers, or around six percent of the study block’s eligible working population. For the first time, “laborer” was not reported as the most common occupation, displaced by sewing machine operator. The 1940 Census offered the first information about the education level of the working class residents of the study block, showing that its adults on average had completed just 4.8 years of schooling.

Without net economic expansion in the 1930s to fuel lending, homeownership rates halted their rise. It may be remarkable that the homeownership rate did not fall

significantly due to foreclosure but remained steady at 61 percent. However, homes lost more than half of their value between 1930 and 1940, with the average value plummeting from \$1,524 dollars to \$715. Monthly rents fell by around one-quarter from \$17 to \$13. After the Second World War, the devalued and deteriorated alley houses came under scrutiny by the City.

## **Housing Projects**

“When the time comes to tear down Baltimore’s slum dwellings, a *Baltimore Sun* article said in 1938, “there’ll be few regrets on the part of present tenants,” reflecting the desire built up over the years to attack the problem of poor housing (*The Sun* 1938). The City designated a large area across Broadway, just three blocks from Chapel Street, a slum clearance zone. By 1940, more than 90 percent of the properties had been vacated, and soon the six block area would be completely razed to construct a housing project (*The Sun* 1940). Perkins Homes, as it is still called, consists of low-rise buildings in a garden apartment style layout, with the buildings facing away from the streets and inward to shared grassy courtyards. The design destroyed the relationship of people’s front doors and stoops to the street. Even more severe, the layout totally removed two alley streets, Spring and Dallas Streets from the blocks. Perkins Homes offers a look at what housing reformers would have done on Chapel Street if perhaps it had been more blighted.

## Newspaper Articles

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**Figure 11. Infographic from “Modern Baltimore’s 1847 Improvements,” *Baltimore Sun*, 1947.**

In 1947, the *Baltimore Sun* devoted a full page to a story titled, “Modern Baltimore’s 1847 Improvements,” which sought to bring attention to the age and condition of the city’s housing stock. Thousands of dwellings lacked central heating or bathrooms, had outside toilets or no inside running water, or used coal and wood for heating (Figure 11). The article offers a rare glimpse into the physical condition of the 200 block of Chapel Street. Even though the houses lacked many modern conveniences, the author communicated clearly that the street was not a slum, calling the houses “prim and tidy” and “solidly built.” The author wrote romantically of the street’s charming appearance and its connection to Baltimore’s past,

These solidly built little brick houses, standing in solid rows on either side of Chapel street, are reminders of a picturesque era in the city’s history. They were in their prime when square-rigged ships from all parts of the world docked at the foot of Broadway, when vegetable packers were thriving in Boston street. And today, though Chapel street’s original cobblestones are covered with cement, they still bear an Old World look, like painted scenery, in this quiet little place. Most of the fronts are painted a chocolate brown, the bricks neatly delineated in white. Some of the doors are grained in imitation of oak, the front windows, carefully polished, gleaming in the sunlight. The scrubbed steps are precisely spaced along the sidewalk (*The Sun* 1947).

**Figure 12. Photograph of the 200 block of South Chapel Street, *Baltimore Sun*, 1947.**

While the street scene appeared picturesque, resident Henry Evers, Jr. revealed some of the antiquated features common to the block's houses. Evers, who owned the house at 213 South Chapel, was born in the street, and so was his father (*The Sun* 1947). "My grandfather owned No. 223 South Chapel and lived there," he told the reporter, and elaborated, "three generations of us have lived in that house without bath or inside toilet. My father is 88 and I am 36, so you can see we are used to it" (*The Sun* 1947). He explained that instead of using an indoor bath, he and his father bathe in a "big tub over there by the woodpile (Figure 13)." The woodpile also deserved explanation, and so he offered, "The wood is for the kitchen range. Of course we have a small gas stove, but the range is the important thing in winter because it heats the house" (*The Sun* 1947). Although Chapel Street was not a slum, its outdated features were at least a curiosity.

**Figure 13. Photograph of wood for cooking and heating, modern electric washer (left), and bathtub (right) at 213 South Chapel Street, *Baltimore Sun*, 1947.**

*The Sun* reported crimes involving the study block three times during the 1940s. In 1940, George A. Lewandowski, who operated a tavern in the study block, was charged with possession of lottery slips (*The Sun* 1940). The article does not indicate the address of the tavern, but later newspaper articles indicate that it may have been located in a building on the former site of the cooper shop. In 1943 Mrs. Anna Marko fell victim to an unscrupulous solicitor who “blessed” two hundred dollars and promised to restore the sixty-five-year old woman’s health (*The Sun* 1986). And in 1948, Joseph Kunkel was convicted of making indecent assaults on two young girls, ages seven and ten, inducing them to his home and keeping them there from 6 P.M. until midnight (*The Sun* 1948). Although the court psychologist deemed him legally sane, and recommended treatment outside a penal institution, the

judge ignored the advice. The article was the first from the *Sun* to address sexual crimes on the study block. In a much less serious crime, a 1944 article reported that at least a third of the pupils at General Wolfe School, located at the end of the study block, were not expected to return until October (*The Sun* 1944). The principal did not regard their absence as truancy, and explained that the students “normally return to the city from work (and play) on the Eastern Shore.” The children of the study block were likely among them.

More than one third of the newspaper coverage of the people of the study block during the 1940s by the *Sun* dealt with the War. Albert Lewandowski, 234 South Chapel, served on the *U.S.S. Philadelphia* deemed “the Galloping Ghost of the Sicilian Coast” by its crew for its extraordinary record of having steamed “many thousands of miles” and sustained no battle damage (*The Sun* 1944). One other alley street resident, of the 300 block of South Dallas Street in Fells Point, served with Lewandowski. Milton J. Schuhart of the persistently large Schuhart Family, 231 South Chapel, returned from war in 1945 with the rank of staff sergeant (*The Sun* 1945). Private Michael F. Rybarczyk, 235 South Chapel, was not so fortunate and was killed in action (*The Sun* 1945). In 1947 his body was returned from a European cemetery at the request of his next of kin, along with 92 other Marylanders (*The Sun* 1947).

## 1950s

### Newspaper Articles

In the 1950s, the 200 block of South Chapel Street became an unexpected center of Democratic politics in Baltimore City. “H-A- double R-ing t-o-n spells Harrington,” chanted supporters of Barton Harrington, choice of Baltimore’s First District Democrats for the mayoral primary in 1955, at the “spacious quarters” of the organization’s club on the study block (*The Sun* 1955).<sup>2</sup> The local political organization honored Mr. Harrington at a gala dance, complete with a “three-piece orchestra” of drums, accordion and saxophone, and enjoyed by 60 or more b’hoys and g’hirls (a play on the Irish pronunciation of boy and girl) who danced “polka after polka.” Despite their enthusiasm they lost the election, and in 1958 members of the club sneered at the picture of Mayor D’Alesandro on the wall as “the nastiest and meanest of them all” (*The Sun* 1958). The article from the *Sun* indicates that the club was located on the second floor of a building on the study block. Supporters, again referred to as “b’hoys” and “g’hirls,” stuffed envelopes with sample ballots that included a circular asking, “Do you remember full-time employment in Baltimore—until D’Alesandro drove industry out of town?” (*The Sun* 1958).

In February 1959 the First District Democratic Club again tried to push D’Alesandro out of office as he campaigned for a fourth term (*The Sun* 1959). Candidate J. Harold Grady called for a two-term limit, and speaking to a cheering group of precinct workers at a meeting at the club, Grady teased that the one four-

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<sup>2</sup> *The Baltimore Sun* article notes that the audience “did fine on the H and the A and even the double-R, but they stumbled over the “ing.”

year term limit originally prescribed by the State Constitution would be too restrictive because he would “be burdened for at least three years” with the “tax mess” created by Mayor D’Alesandro (*The Sun* 1959). His major attack dealt with a manufacturer’s inventory tax, which Grady appears to have believed contributed to businesses’ decisions to leave the city. That September the good times came to an end when the officers of the First District Democratic Organization turned in their beer license while the Liquor Board was considering revocation (*The Sun* 1959). The licensees of the club, whose address was revealed as 204 South Chapel, the site of the old cooper’s shop, were charged with falsifying renewal applications because one of the officers signed the names of the two others. The officers said they turned in the license because they had stopped dispensing beer at the club, although the article does not elaborate. Considering their history with the mayor, it’s not surprising that the City government would come after the club.

### **Urban Renewal Reports & Plans**

Of the larger American cities in 1950, only Philadelphia had a larger proportion of one-family rowhouses than Baltimore (Housing Authority of Baltimore City 1960). Even midway through the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Chapel Street residents had housing of the same type as the plurality of Baltimore families, but of a smaller form. Forty-four percent of the dwellings in the one-third of Baltimore designated as blighted in 1945 were deemed substandard in 1950, meaning that they were “dilapidated,” or lack a private inside flush toilet or bath or hot running water (Housing Authority of Baltimore City 1960). In the Census tract of the study block, bounded by Baltimore Street to the north, Chester Street to the east, Eastern Avenue

to the South, and Wolfe Street to the West, 50 to 75 percent of the dwellings were considered substandard, and more than 40 percent lacked central heating.

### **Formstone and the Changed Façade of the Alley Street**

In the midst of the beginning of neighborhood decline shown by the housing surveys, some residents began applying a fashionable new material to their houses' facades called Formstone. The imitation stone material, composed of three layers of stucco, offered homeowners with poor quality brick the opportunity to enjoy a maintenance-free façade they would never have to paint. Formstone sold well in East Baltimore, where Eastern European immigrants held strong positive associations with stone buildings in their home countries. The Formstone came with a plate verifying that the product was "genuine FormStone" and often a congratulatory letter arrived soon after from the local utility company (Hayward and Belfoure, *The Baltimore Rowhouse* 2001). The households of Chapel Street were no exception, and many applied the Formstone to their homes. Through the 1950s and 1960s, Formstone served as an indicator of the health of city neighborhoods, showing where rates of homeownership were high and people were committed to staying in the city (Hayward and Belfoure, *The Baltimore Rowhouse* 2001). The faux stone phenomenon has persisted to the present day, and in 2009 there were 21 houses on the study block with Formstone, although only 11 had remained unpainted.

## **1960s**

### **Urban Renewal Reports/Plans**

By 1960, the percentage of deficient dwellings, defined as deteriorating, dilapidated, or lacking plumbing facilities, in the census tract of the study block fell to the range of 20 to 34.9 percent (Urban Renewal and Housing Agency 1962). The City claimed that the improvement was brought about through demolition of the worst slums and through the upgrading and enforcement of housing codes, though the City did not attempt large-scale demolition in the census tract of the study block.

### **Newspaper Articles**

A wedding announcement from the *Sun* in 1962 showed that Polish families still lived on the study block in the 1960s but they were literally on their way out. Miss Carolyn Burdynski of 217 South Chapel married Mr. Kenneth Stevens of 309 Exeter Street in Little Italy, and held a reception at the Polish Home Hall (*The Sun* 1962). While they had their wedding in the neighborhood, the announcement states that the couple would move to the Cedonia Apartments after their honeymoon. The Cedonia neighborhood lies at the far northeastern extents of Baltimore City, and it has a far more suburban character than Upper Fells Point. The exodus of immigrant families from the street and neighborhood would lead to decline and blight through the well-known process of white flight.

### **“Slums” and Urban Renewal**

Some of the most colorful examples in Jane Jacob’s seminal work, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, come from the North End neighborhood in

Boston. In the introduction of her book she writes about the qualities that made it and other places like it a slum in the eyes and minds of the urban planners of the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century. She wrote of the North End,

It embodies attributes which all enlightened people known are evil because so many wise men have said they are evil. Not only is the North End bumped up right up against industry, but worse still it has all kinds of working places and commerce mingled in the greatest complexity with its residences. It has the highest concentration of dwelling units ... of any part of Boston, and indeed one of the greatest concentrations to be found in any American city. It has little parkland. Children play in the streets. Instead of super-blocks, or even decently large blocks, it has very small blocks; in planning parlance it is 'badly cut up with wasteful streets.' Its buildings are old. Everything conceivable is presumably wrong with the North End. (Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* 1961).

The North End and its wonderful street life still survive, but the similar “slum” of the West End in Boston was wholly lost to urban renewal. Planners cut off the North End from the rest of the city by constructing the elevated Central Artery interstate highway.

Jacobs refuted the “slum” designation of the North End, insisting that there is nothing wrong with immigrants living at high densities in a central city neighborhood. In fact, its physical and social characteristics made it both safe, with eyes watching the street, and interesting, with its delightful street life. The Italian and Irish immigrants of the North End battled the forces against their community by helping each other, especially by rehabilitating their own homes with neighborhood funds and labor.

In the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century, Fells Point shared similar attributes and threats to its historical form. The people of the 200 block of Chapel Street have always lived with industry, the density has exceeded 150 persons per acre for much of its history, and

instead of playing in parks children play in the streets. In Baltimore, planners proposed routing Interstate 95 across the Inner Harbor and directly through Fells Point, four blocks from the study block (Kozel 1998-2003). Only well-organized neighborhood opposition stopped the proposal, which would have cut off the community from the harbor—the very reason for its existence. But as in Boston’s North End, as long as new immigrants to Fells Point continued to replace those who preceded them in a virtuous cycle, the neighborhood would continue to succeed, even if the residents of Chapel Street and other streets like it had low incomes.

## **1970s**

### **Urban Renewal & Community Plans**

In 1970, the Baltimore Community Renewal Program compiled several indicators concerning community health. Perhaps the most favorable statistic for the study block is that in 1970 its census tract had a home ownership rate of 40 to 59 percent, comparable to that in suburban areas (Baltimore Community Renewal Program 1976). The percentage of vacant housing was much less favorable, with the census tract falling into the last quintile of 8.2 to 25.6 percent vacancy. The census tract also fell into the last quintile for incomplete plumbing facilities. Between 6.2 and 9.5 percent of dwellings qualified as crowded, having more than 1 person per room. The census tract had an average rate of tuberculosis, but below average premature births and infant mortality, and an average score on the “marital unrest index” and an average rate of female-headed households. The data says that the study

block and the surrounding area was not among the worst in Baltimore, but its health was no better than average.

### **Newspaper Articles**

The articles from the *Sun* in the 1970s addressed two controversial topics, race relations and schools, issues that intertwined in a time of social change. Michael E. Pedersen, resident of the 200 block of South Chapel, caused a rumble when he and several friends rushed to the aid of a neighborhood woman who, while walking with two of her children, was approached by several black teenagers who began to push her and call her names. A white police officer noticed the disturbance from his cruiser and when he got out some forty or fifty people showed up. In the officer's words, "Everybody was hollering. Then one white guy tried to get through me to kick at one of the colored guys, and I had to mace him" (*The Sun* 1974). After the officer arrested Pedersen, more than a dozen area residents milled around the Southeast district police station, "petitioning for the release of their afternoon hero" (*The Sun* 1974). Upon his release, they were still upset by the actions of the police. The incident, which at the very least indicated difficult racial tensions, may have been fueled by a new busing program to integrate Baltimore's public schools. Pickets and protests circled Larry Rowe, a young white man who had just enrolled his 9-year-old sister in General Wolfe Elementary School at the corner of South Chapel when a *Sun* reporter asked him for comment. He said, "I really don't see what the fuss is about. It's the law of the land, and even in the Bible says you have to obey the law. I can see how people are concerned for their children, but..." and his voice trailed off (*The Sun* 1974).

In 1975, the City approved a replacement for the General Wolfe Elementary School. Mayor Schaefer came under criticism when the city's Board of Estimates approved a \$75,000 contract for some of his political contributors to supervise construction of the replacement school (*The Sun* 1975). Not only was the contract approved without competitive bidding, but the firm had never performed construction management services. The city comptroller, who had been pressuring the mayor to get on his 1975 election ticket, later disapproved the contract, claiming it was not subject to the proper controls by the Board of Estimates (*The Sun* 1975). Two years later the school received mention in an article titled, "The Ugly School Problem," which did not address social tensions but made the allegation that the school had very ugly aesthetics (*The Sun* 1977). The article featured photos of four schools, two of which were deemed "praiseworthy" and two "much less agreeable" (Figure 14). Although the Wolfe school fell into the "much less agreeable" category, all of the schools would be considered brutal and prison-like by today's standards.

**Figure 14. Architecture of Southeast Middle School, top left, Moravia Park School, lower left, deemed "praiseworthy." Design of General Wolfe Elementary School, top right, and Walker P. Carter, lower right, found "much less agreeable," 1977.**

## **The Dollar Houses**

In 1973, Mayor Schaefer created the Urban Homesteading program, whose legacy continues to be well-known in Baltimore and across the United States. Most notably, the program sold city-owned houses acquired through tax delinquency for one dollar to citizens willing to rehabilitate and live in them. In the first year, 105 houses were awarded, 25 houses on Stirling Street in Old Town and the remaining 80 scattered throughout the city (Department of Housing and Community Development 1975). Two aspects that made the program attractive were the opportunity to borrow money from the city at a low interest rate of 6 percent to cover the costs of rehabilitation, and that the homesteader was given an estimate of the cost of the rehabilitation work, prepared by the city. Although no homesteading properties were located in the census tract of the study block, one was located in an adjacent tract across Washington Street, and three of the homestead applicants lived in the study block's census tract.

Although it did not directly affect Chapel Street, the Urban Homesteading program represented a turning point for the block and others like it. In the wake of at least two decades of failed urban renewal programs that prioritized demolition of historic houses and whole blocks, the Urban Homesteading program was the first major city effort to prioritize rehabilitation, and furthermore, to achieve it using citizen power to perform rehabilitation work themselves. The Urban Homesteading program drew upon the romantic appeal of settling the West, inspiring a generation to seed their labor to reinhabit the city and reap the satisfaction of seeing it bear fruit (Department of Housing and Community Development 1975). This legacy continues

today as the Millennial Generation moves back to Baltimore and cities across the country that their parents and grandparents abandoned.

## **1980s**

### **Newspaper Articles**

By the 1980s, there were signs of hope for Chapel Street and the neighborhood. In 1985, the census tract of the study block had a rate of vacant housing of 1.6 to 4 percent, the same as other tracts in Upper Fells Point (Citizens Planning & Housing Association 1988). Two newspaper articles from the era indicate a growing curiosity in city living in Fells Point. The first states, “Carriage houses, once used as stables for horses and sometimes as living quarters for the coachman or other servants, are now a popular in-town renovation project” and features a carriage house for sale one half block west of Chapel Street (Herman, Carriage houses for sale in Federal Hill, Fells Point 1981). The \$50,000 property is noted for its location, “in an area of major renovation,” and the article suggests it could be used as an artist’s studio, suggesting that by the early 1980s the first wave of gentrification had already arrived in Upper Fells Point. A second article published one year later features another combined carriage-house-and-rowhouse, this time on the 100 block of South Chapel, for sale for just \$32,900 despite having been completely renovated (Herman, A home as a garage? 1982). The author explains the emphasis on automobile storage, “Renovators in the east Baltimore areas have been combining two of the small houses recently, using the ground floor of one for both storage and as a much-needed garage to combat the difficult parking situation in the section of narrow streets” (Herman, A

home as a garage? 1982). The article again confirms major renovations in the area, this time adding that Fells Point has been one of the first sections of East Baltimore to undergo renovation. The focus of the two articles on houses offering automobile storage speaks to the transitional stage toward city living, where suburbanites showed interest in moving back to centrally-located neighborhoods but still demanded the convenient use of their automobile.

### **Alley Houses Report**

In 1987, the Baltimore Department of Housing and Community Development published a report on the condition of alley houses in the city. The document had a purpose of using “quantitative data, along with historical and design data, to suggest policy implication and guidance criteria for alley houses,” which the report notes, “have been viewed as a less desirable form of housing” within the housing hierarchy of Baltimore (Danes and Callan 1987). The report acknowledges that the small scale of alley houses and streets affects household sizes, vehicle movement and parking, mixed use land patterns, and street object placement, so that the strategies used for standard residential streets may not necessarily be applicable to alley house districts. Blocks were categorized into market rate areas, stabilized areas and distressed areas depending on demographics, physical condition and market value. The study block fell into the “stabilized areas” category, as did the unit block, 100, 300 and 400 blocks of South Chapel. The 500 and 600 blocks, closer to the waterfront, earned the “market rate areas” distinction. There were 123 alley houses in the study block’s census tract, having an average market value of \$20,539.00, 51 percent of which were owner-occupied, only one was vacant, and none were city-owned (Danes and Callan

1987). The block's observed relative stability meant that the city would not pursue demolition. Instead the report recommended providing low interest loans and construction information in physically deteriorated areas, committing funds for streetscaping, and offering purchase and rental incentives (Danes and Callan 1987). By the late 1980s, the study block was officially established as not in grave danger.

## **1990s**

### **Newspaper Articles**

Nearly ten years after the City published its alley house report, a group of preservationists received a grant from the Maryland Historical Trust to conduct a survey of Baltimore's estimated 750 blocks of alley houses and to record oral histories of current and former alley house residents. The article recalls the history of attacks on the alley streets, including allegations by early 20<sup>th</sup>-century health officials that they bred tuberculosis, demolitions after World War II because of lack of plumbing, and further demolitions to construct modern buildings or roadways (McCraven 1996). The threats of demolition were sparked again after state and city officials decided to stop renovating alley houses in response to shrinking federal housing subsidies in the mid-1990s.

Mary Ellen Hayward, who led the research effort, estimated that there were 3,000 to 6,000 alley houses remaining in Baltimore in 1997, and many of them were on the list of 1,000 houses to be razed that year (McCraven 1997). She and her fellow researchers disputed with City Housing Commissioner Daniel P. Henson III, who believed, "The streets are too small, and the houses are too small. Today's families

don't want to live in a space that small" (McCraven 1997). In spite of the apparent threats to Chapel Street, the last quote of the article marks it and the blocks around it as an exception. Hayward notes that "In Fells Point, these houses are cute—everybody wants to live in them. Up here [in East Baltimore], the party line is that it's not economically viable [to renovate] and no one can live in houses this small. In fact, there is an element of the population that wants small spaces" (McCraven 1997). The Housing Commissioner likely confused the demand for small houses on small streets with the (lack of) demand to live in Baltimore's deeply deteriorated neighborhoods.

## **2000s**

### **Building Permits**

The Baltimore Department of Housing and Community Development provides public access to building permits issued since January 1, 2005, and these records indicate that 16 of the study block's 37 houses have been rehabilitated in the last seven years, many of them including substantial additions (Department of Housing and Community Development 2012). Formstone was removed from seven of those houses, three of which (243, 245 and 247) make up a group at the southern end of the block. At 243 South Chapel, wide stucco trim with keystone arch motif was applied around the front door and windows. On the other side of the street, Ken Schiller, principal of Baltimore's Distinctive Homes and chair of the beautification committee with the Upper Fells Point Improvement Association, fully rehabilitated 238 through 244 South Chapel. He and his wife, Jan Mooney, live at 244 South Chapel. They have made extensive changes to the original house, extending it onto

the former lot of 246 South Chapel, adding a third story set back from the original two-story façade and installing a photovoltaic solar array on the new roof. Schiller and Mooney have also created a parking space on the front portion of the former lot of 246 South Chapel. Schiller applied a more modern look to their house and 242 South Chapel, which make up their own group, but at 242, 240 and 238 they have repointed the brick, added conservative six-panel doors, and installed six-over-six wood windows consistent with their historical appearance. Of the sixteen houses for which permits were requested, 207, 220 and 227 are presently vacant.

### **Oral History**

Residents of two of Kurt Schiller's houses, Brian Herb and Anna Campbell, offered interviews for this project, and both spoke highly of Schiller's work and their experiences living on Chapel Street. Herb moved to Chapel Street in 2009. He and his fiancé, graduate students at Johns Hopkins School of Medicine, were attracted by the value of Schiller's two-bedroom alley house compared with a one-bedroom apartment. Although Herb, a native of Pennsylvania, is relatively new to the street, he articulated the general arc of the neighborhood from the 1970s, when the neighborhood still faced demolition, with a turning point in the 1980s through the arts community, which he saw as a young college student visiting the city, to revitalization in the 1990s and 2000s leading to high-end apartments being built nearby today. Herb sees his neighbors often and has observed that there are strong friendships on the block, especially among families. Kurt Schiller has invested substantial work in the block, including flowers planted through the beautification committee of the community association, which he chairs. In Herb's opinion, the

appeal of Baltimore comes from its inexpensive but “malleable” rowhouses, which invite creativity on the part of people like Schiller. Furthermore, the affordability of Chapel Street, even after rehabilitation, keeps it from becoming too artificial.

Anna Campbell also moved to Chapel Street in 2009 and expressed enormous satisfaction with her house, street and neighborhood. Campbell, a native of the Midwest, works for the Lutheran Immigration and Refugee Service and enjoys a commute by foot to the Federal Hill neighborhood that takes her by the Inner Harbor. In her time living on Chapel Street, she has felt a “close family vibe,” with one family spanning three generations and at least that many houses. Despite the familial atmosphere, Campbell notes that traditional racial boundaries persist. While there are many Hispanic families and some Asian Americans living on the block, there are no African American residents, although one African American man owns one house that he rents to a family of another race. Some of the older white men could be described as xenophobic, in her opinion. Campbell believes that Wolfe Street Academy, a bilingual school, has attracted many Latino families over the years and continues to be in high demand. White and Latino children, often seen playing soccer together in the street, have shown no trouble integrating. She knows of at least six children under the age of nine on the block, and at least one grandmother continues the urban tradition of policing the kids by screaming from the window.

### **Foreclosure Scandal**

Twelve years into the 21<sup>st</sup> century, the biggest story on the study block is a mortgage fraud scandal that could land a neighborhood man in prison for 20 years or with a \$250,000 fine. “News stories about what’s been dubbed the ‘foreclosure crisis’

tend to follow a set narrative,” wrote Edward Ericson Jr. of the *Baltimore City Paper* in 2008, where “evil lenders push subprime loans on naïve borrowers, leading to defaults by ‘struggling homeowners,’” but a closer look at the history of transactions involving an Upper Fells Point resident and six of his neighbors reveals another side of the foreclosure crisis (Ericson Jr. 2008). Ken Koehler bought his first house in Upper Fells Point for \$7,000 in 1999, “quickly adding several others, including, in 2004, the \$1,000 purchase of the house his mother grew up in on the 300 block of South Madeira,” an alley street between Chapel Street and Patterson Park (Ericson Jr. 2008). It appeared he had beaten the odds in real estate, “selling several houses for double or triple their value, clearing a gross profit of more than \$700,000,” but his buyer, George Agelakis, fell into foreclosure on all of the properties just as Koehler bought a failed diner that Agelakis and his brother operated downtown (Ericson Jr. 2008). Koehler insisted that the two were not connected. Notably, George Agelakis is the stepbrother of Ken Koehler’s domestic partner. *City Paper* revealed that two of the houses on the 200 block of South Chapel were implicated in this suspicious scheme. In May 2007, Agelakis paid Koehler \$325,000 for 214 South Chapel and in August, Agelakis bought 227 South Chapel for \$270,000 (Ericson Jr. 2008). Incredibly, appraisals supported these purchase prices.

On September 14, 2012, Koehler plead guilty in federal court to conspiracy to commit wire fraud on six houses in Upper Fells Point (Kilar 2012). He and his co-conspirators caused losses of more than \$ 1 million to mortgage lenders when all six homes went into foreclosure, and about 90 percent of the losses were suffered by government-sponsored lenders Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac (Kilar 2012). A press

release from the U.S. Attorney's Office reveals that a third house on the study block was implicated in the scheme. In 2006, Koehler signed a loan application for the refinance of a loan on 229 South Chapel, prepared by his co-conspirator, which falsely stated that Koehler earned \$20,000 per month with a company that had actually ceased doing business in 2001, when he and his co-conspirator knew Koehler was self-employed (U.S. Attorney's Office 2012). Creating a fictitious employer that could verify made-up borrower income was one of the conspirators' methods, along with concealing the actual purchase prices for properties from lenders (Kilar 2012). Koehler's prosecution was part of President's Obama's Financial Fraud Enforcement Task Force created in November 2009, at the height of the Great Recession, "to wage an aggressive, coordinated, and proactive effort to investigate and prosecute financial crimes" (U.S. Attorney's Office 2012). Two of the three houses on the block that were preyed upon in the conspiracy, 214 and 227 South Chapel, remain vacant as of November 2012.

### **Housing Market Trends**

Seven of the block's houses have sold since 2010, with sales prices ranging from \$22,500 for 207 South Chapel to \$186,250 for number 231 (Zillow 2012). Three of the houses have sold for more than \$150,000. Zillow, a real estate database, estimates rents between \$1,100 and \$1,500 per month.

### **State of the Community**

In just three years, Anna Campbell has seen four or five rehabilitations of houses on the block, and believes that she and her neighbors live in a "very desired

community.” While seven houses on the block are currently vacant, Campbell expresses confidence that they will fill up again. Neither Campbell nor Brian Herb felt that the vacants made the street unsafe, although they are somewhat ugly. Both have always felt safe on their block, and recent efforts to encourage neighbors to keep their front lights on reinforce their security. Anchored by Kurt Schiller, the Upper Fells Point Improvement Association has a strong positive influence on the block. Chapel Street is a diverse community, where the only sign of trouble integrating is the Pittsburgh Steelers flag a Russian couple flies outside their door. Neighbors have parties in the street and longtime residents keep an eye out for suspicious activity outside their screen doors and windows. Young professionals occupy many of the block’s houses, but they mostly stick to themselves. At the very least, they contribute to the health of the block by boosting housing values and encouraging rehabilitation. And at the current pace of rehabilitation, the 200 block of Chapel Street will continue to rise. It’s clear from talking with Anna Campbell that Chapel Street has the atmosphere of a close village and that she would very much like that feeling to remain.

### **Summary of the Historical Evolution of Chapel Street**

The history of the study block was in large part driven by waves of immigration that resulted in an ever-evolving demographic landscape. The first houses of Chapel Street were built in the 1850s. The study block was nearly fully built out by 1880, which was the first year in which detailed demographic information was recorded by street address through the Census. In that year, seven out of every ten residents were German, and most of the remaining residents were Irish. Many of

the immigrants made their living as tailors and tailoresses. Less skilled workers provided basic labor to a plethora of industries, and from 1880 until 1930 the most common occupation was “laborer.” Although the immigrants were of modest means, few adults could not read or write. Germans continued to be the majority in 1900 and 1910, although the share of the block’s residents who were foreign born fell from 41 percent in 1880 to 19 percent in 1900.

By 1920, Polish immigrants started to replace the German families who had by then improved their economic standing and begun to move elsewhere. Although the largest ethnic group had changed, the average age of immigration remained 18 or 19 years old. As Fells Point developed into a mature industrial center, residents increasingly held jobs at manufacturers of all types. By 1940, sewing machine operator replaced laborer as the most common occupation. Between 1880 and 1940, the period for which detailed demographic information is available, the population ranged from 179 to 242 residents. The average household was composed of five people, although as many as 13 crowded into one of the narrow rowhouses.

After the Second World War, Baltimore’s alley streets and the working class communities of which they were a part came under threat of urban renewal. A slum clearance zone was designated just three blocks from Chapel Street and blocks of rowhouses were demolished to construct public housing in the garden apartment style. Although the houses on Chapel Street came under scrutiny for lacking modern facilities such as indoor plumbing, the street continued to be well-maintained by its residents. Although the neighborhood declined following Baltimore’s peak in population in 1950, by the 1980s the first wave of gentrification arrived in Upper

Fells Point. Since that time, many of the houses on the study block have been rehabilitated. Today, the population is composed of three major groups: families whose memory of the street reaches back generations, young professionals, and Latino immigrants. Chapel Street has become a desirable place to live. Similar to its early history, it is safe, offers excellent access to employment and amenities, and enjoys a strong sense of community.

## **Chapter 3: Evaluating the Urban Design of a Small Street**

### **Historical Settlement Patterns**

For thousands of years before the Industrial Revolution, humans settled according to a pattern of dense villages formed laterally with narrow streets and vertically by narrow mixed-use buildings. Small and narrow winding streets were quite the norm in medieval Europe, where towns grew incrementally and only to a size manageable for travel by foot. At the center of any European city one will almost surely find a roughly oval-shaped urban core of narrow streets, small squares, and dense buildings. Today these places are some of the most visited in the world because they offer an urban environment that is both dense with amenities but also at a human scale. Although the alley streets of Baltimore do not curve in an incremental, organic pattern or respect changes in topography, they share similar street widths, building widths and heights.

### **Alley Streets as Car-“Lite” Streets**

The narrow streets of medieval Europe, which either carry little vehicle traffic or are altogether closed to vehicles, offer a calming reprieve from the modern urban and suburban patterns of Europe and North America. None of Baltimore’s alley streets are closed to vehicle traffic, but drivers almost always choose to take the adjacent wide streets to their destinations. Alley streets are narrow enough that even if two vehicles can pass each other, they have to slow down to do so. The alley streets of Baltimore are de facto “shared space” streets where all forms of traffic (pedestrian, bicycle, automobile) share the width between curbs. The alley streets are the only

streets in Baltimore where you will find people walking directly down the middle, only momentarily moving to the narrow sidewalk to let a vehicle pass. To a large extent, they belong more in the pattern of the medieval city than the modern one.

## **Social and Psychological Benefits**

### **Damaging Effects of Poor Streets**

Donald Appleyard has produced some of the most valuable work toward reclaiming city streets for the use of people rather than automobiles. Appleyard writes that, “outside the home, [streets are] the most important part of our urban environment. Yet today these streets are dangerous, noisy, polluted, impersonal domains, about which residents feel able to do little” (Appleyard, Gerson and Lintell 1981). This statement is as true today as when it was first written in 1981.

In San Francisco, Appleyard studied streets of light, medium, heavy and very heavy traffic volumes to find out how traffic conditions affect the perception and behavior of city residents. Traffic volume correlated with perceptions of greater danger of crime and danger from the traffic itself (Appleyard, Gerson and Lintell 1981). Residents of light traffic streets saw their neighbors as keeping up their buildings more than anyone else. Feelings of home were strongest on the light traffic streets as well. Disruptions of children’s play, talking, sleeping, working and eating all became more severe with increased traffic volume. Even in California, “home of the open-air life,” 42 percent of residents of very heavy traffic streets kept their windows shut, more than twice the rate of those on light traffic streets. Sadly, friendships and acquaintances declined with traffic volumes. When the residents of

light traffic streets know more than five households per person and the residents of very heavy traffic streets know only one and a quarter households per person, it is clear that traffic affects the ability to generate community.

### **The Alley Street as a Livable Street**

In response to his findings, Appleyard created a seven-point Charter of Street-Dwellers' Rights to describe the ideal residential street (Appleyard, Gerson and Lintell 1981). First, the street should be a safe sanctuary for young and old alike, and drivers should move slowly as guests rather than owners. Second, the street should be a livable, healthy environment where residents can sleep soundly, talk on the sidewalks in normal tones, and breathe clean air. Third, the street should be a community where people can sit out and talk easily, throw celebrations, keep the street clean, and care for the detailed design of the street. Fourth, the street should become the symbolic neighborly territory of the residents, who maintain the space, plant trees and flowers and monitor behavior. Fifth, the street should be a fine place for children to play games, build things, and learn from adult social life. Sixth, the street should provide trees, grass, plants and flowers that remind people of the natural environment of which they are a part. And finally, the street should be a unique historic place with a special identity that is seen as a destination and not just a route. The residents of Chapel Street enjoy all of these aspects of the ideal street, and most, if not all, hold true for alley streets in neighborhoods across Baltimore.

## **Advantages of Narrow Streets**

Jane Jacobs wrote about the advantages of narrow streets in cities in 1958, when architects and planners were pushing designs that were large and monumental. Being the fierce critic she was, Jacobs attacked the designs for urban renewal in America's center cities, characterized by their spacious park-like settings and long vistas, as having "all the attributes of a well-kept, dignified cemetery" (Jacobs 1958). "The real potential is in the street," Jacobs countered, and cited the example of Maiden Lane in San Francisco where she noted, "Starting with nothing more remarkable than the dirty, neglected back sides of department stores and nondescript building, a group of merchants made this alley into one of the finest shopping streets in America" (Jacobs 1958). Jacobs wrote that in this place, "the pedestrian's welfare is supreme; during the rush of the day, he has the street." While she qualifies her love for Maiden Lane by stating that any city made up only of Maiden Lanes would be insufferably quaint, Jacobs praises narrow streets for their ability to "cheer a walker by giving him a continual choice of this side of the street or that, and twice as much to see" (Jacobs 1958).

While Chapel Street does not have any shops or restaurants, its residents have transformed the street to a degree as the shopkeepers on Maiden Lane. Although Chapel Street was built with very modest two-story rowhouses, all brick and quite similar in their design, over 150 years its houses have been personalized in layers by their owners. Residents have added planters and places to sit. Like Maiden Lane it is a peaceful place for pedestrians, away from fast-moving cars. Chapel Street is a very pleasant place for people. Baltimore has not allowed a residential alley street in Fells

Point to transform into a more mixed-use environment, but the City may want to explore the option. Such a place could prove to be quite delightful.

### **People-Centered Design Theory**

Danish urban designer Jan Gehl has spent fifty years researching the relationships between the built environment and human behavior. He has developed a people-centered design philosophy that works with the physical ranges and limits of human senses and mobility. In his seminal work, *Cities for People*, Gehl writes, “Twenty-first century urban pedestrians are the result of an evolution over millions of years. Man has evolved to move slowly and on foot, and the human body is linear in orientation” (Gehl 2010). Streets are spaces designed for the way humans have evolved to move around their environment.

### **Alley Streets as People-Centered Streets**

The limitations of human senses govern how we experience cities. The limit of the social field of vision is 110 meters (330 feet), the point at which we can see people in motion (Gehl 2010). Although the 200 block of South Chapel Street has a length of 550 feet, the typical Baltimore block has a length of 350 feet, which aligns with the limit of humans’ social field of vision. Two people can observe each other’s movement at the end of the block, and they can recognize each other when they come within 50 and 75 meters (165 to 225 feet). At the distance of 20 to 25 meters (66 to 81 feet) they can exchange short messages, but they cannot have a genuine conversation until they are within seven meters (22 ½ feet) of each other. This is the essential difference between the experience of a wide street and an alley street. Pratt, Gough,

Washington and Wolfe Streets are 70 feet wide, which means that it's not possible to have a conversation with a neighbor across the street. But Chapel Street is just 20 feet wide, which makes it possible for a resident to stand at his door or sit on his stoop and have a basic conversation with the neighbor across the street.

The width and height of the typical alley street makes it ideal for human interaction. Gehl notes that wherever people communicate directly with others, we can see how they constantly use space and distance. He writes, "We move closer, or lean forward, or withdraw discreetly," using distance to govern the intimacy of an interaction. Because we can only see forward, with limited peripheral vision, humans feel more comfortable with their back up against a wall or an object. At the social distance between 1.2 to 3.7 meters (4 to 12 feet) people can have comfortable conversations between friends and acquaintances. Because Chapel Street has very little vehicle traffic, neighbors use the entire width of the street to negotiate social distance, regulating, developing, and wrapping up interactions, and at least one person can have his back to the door at all times. On wide streets, the space to negotiate an interaction is limited to the width of the sidewalk unless both people give up the more comfortable position of having one's back to the street walls, in which case they are less likely to keep a conversation going. Furthermore, because alley street houses are typically only two stories tall, it is always possible to get the attention of someone in the street by speaking loudly, and if someone on the second floor asks a person in the street to come under the window, they will be within range to have a basic conversation. The dimensions of the alley street, truly of the human scale, enable neighbors to connect with each other and create community.

## **Timeless Design**

### **Pattern Language Principles for Timeless Design**

Architect and author Christopher Alexander believes in the power of vernacular architecture to create a better world, and presents a framework for people to take their built environment into their own hands. In *A Pattern Language*, he declares, “It is shown here, that towns and buildings will not be able to become alive, unless they are made by all the people in society, and unless these people share a common pattern language, within which to make these buildings, and unless this common pattern language is alive itself” (Alexander, Ishikawa and Silverstein 1977). Alexander provides a standard by which we can measure the livability of Chapel Street.

### **Alley Streets in the Pattern Language**

There are several elements of the *Pattern Language* that speak favorably for Chapel Street and alley streets in general. One of the points Alexander feels most passionately about is that urban environments should have a four-story limit, pointing to studies that adults who live in high-rises are more likely to suffer from mental illness and children are less likely to play outdoors on their own and have less contact with other children (Alexander, Ishikawa and Silverstein 1977). The houses on Chapel Street are all two stories tall, and no alley street in Baltimore has a building more than four stories tall. Alexander also notes that buildings of walk-up height keep people connected to the ground and to the street, which contributes to the street as a defensible space. He also believes strongly that isolated buildings are symptoms of a

disconnected sick society. “The sheer fact” of the adjacency of buildings like the rowhouses of Chapel Street, in his words, “forces people to solve the myriad of little problems which occur between them... forces them to learn how to adapt the realities outside them” (Alexander, Ishikawa and Silverstein 1977). Buildings that front the street are important as well because they maintain the street as a social space.

Alexander values slight angles in building fronts, which the gridiron-straight Chapel Street does not have, but the buildings still maintain a positive relationship with the street.

While Chapel Street exhibits some of the most important urban design characteristics of a livable environment as defined in *A Pattern Language*, there are at least a few areas where it may fall short. Alexander recognizes that rowhouses are essential at urban densities, but he opposes the typical pattern of short street frontages and long depths. It’s true that because of the long party walls, the rowhouses of alley streets can be poorly lit, the houses can lack privacy when they don’t have sound insulation because of the long party walls, and the small yards are not very useable because only one room can face the garden. Alexander makes all of these valid points and proposes that rowhouses be made longer than they are deep. No alley street in Baltimore was laid out in this fashion, most likely because it would have produced less profit for the length of street frontage. Interestingly, one homeowner on the study block has combined two rowhouses into one. Rowhouses on the unit block of North Port Street, also an alley street, have been combined in a similar fashion.

Although the rowhouse provides for a family’s own space, Alexander stresses, “people cannot be genuinely comfortable and healthy in a house which is not theirs.

All forms of rental... work against the natural processes which allow people to form stable, self-healing communities” (Alexander, Ishikawa and Silverstein 1977).

Although homeownership rates rose in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, renting the houses on Chapel Street has persisted to the present day. The small houses on Chapel Street also fail to provide for Alexander’s prescription of a room for each family member.

Although he believes the minimum requirement is only an alcove with a desk, shelves, and curtain, it is unlikely that the four-room houses could provide any type of private space for every member of households that commonly numbered five and more (Alexander, Ishikawa and Silverstein 1977). It would have been interesting to visit one of the Chapel Street houses in 1900 and see how the residents confronted the challenge of creating private space. Overall, the urban design of the alley street contributes positively to its livability, but the aspects of the dwellings and their layout determined by their construction as tract units for lower-income residents keeps them from fully meeting the ideals in *A Pattern Language*.

### **Summary of the Urban Design Critique of Chapel Street**

In its urban design, Chapel Street shares more in common with the narrow streets of European city centers than the wide streets most common across Baltimore and the cities of North America. Chapel Street, just 20 feet wide with two- to three-story buildings, was built on a truly human scale. Its scale, combined with the near absence of vehicle traffic, has profound effects on human behavior. People of all ages feel safe walking down the center of the street, and children play safely in the street. Neighbors provide their own surveillance to reduce crime, literally looking out for one another. The research of Donald Appleyard affirms Chapel Street as a livable

street, meeting all seven criteria for the ideal residential street in his Charter of Street Dweller's Rights. If she could have visited Chapel Street, Jane Jacobs would very likely have praised its street life, the variety in its rowhouse façades, and its prioritization of the pedestrian over the automobile. The research of Jan Gehl, focused on how the limitations of human senses affect our experiences of cities, also affirms Chapel Street as a properly-scaled urban environment. In a city lacking many public places at a human scale, it's likely that Gehl would deem the alley streets of Fells Point some of the best urban settings to be enjoyed by Baltimore residents.

Of the authors included in this analysis, only the writings of Christopher Alexander offer substantial criticism of Chapel Street. The street's small dwellings offer too little light and too little space for their inhabitants. Constructed for profit in the early industrial age, the origins of their design precluded absolute livability, but these deficiencies are not nearly great enough to negate the exceptional sense of community fostered by the urban design of the street. The livable, human scale of Chapel Street has helped to shape a sense of place over one hundred fifty years, and to nurture a memory of place that spans decades.

## **Chapter 4: Place and Memory on a Small Street**

### **Sense of Place Today**

While the range of participants in this project is limited, it is not difficult to grasp some of the key reasons why the current residents of Chapel Street chose it as a place to live. The location between the waterfront of Fells Point and the Johns Hopkins Hospital is a crucial factor. Both are key economic drivers in the city, with the former offering a vast array of services and the latter employing thousands of people. But Upper Fells Point is not merely a space between these two major attractions. It has a distinct identity of its own. In 2006, *Baltimore City Paper* named it the best neighborhood, pointing to its diverse population, “some mom-and-pop corner stores,” and “some solid neighbors who keep an eye out for trouble on their streets after dark” (Baltimore City Paper 2006). Compared with its better-known neighbor down the hill, Upper Fells Point is quiet and family-oriented. And while these two attributes likely hold true for most of the blocks in the neighborhood, a walk down Chapel Street and the other alley streets confirms it. In the calm, near-traffic-free alley streets, adults sit on front stoops and children play in the street. Some people walk their dogs and others walk to work. The alley streets are places for living, and the social activities of Chapel Street support a strong sense of place.

The very special physical character of the 200 block of South Chapel contributes equally to its sense of place. Once upon a time, the more than 35 rowhouses very likely shared similar brick, similar stoops, similar doors and windows. The people who first lived in the humble homes rented them from owners

who probably did not care at all about their physical appearance. The houses were not custom designed according to the latest fashions., but built to make a profit from the working poor. Yet walking the block today, one is astonished by the physical diversity. There is both brick and formstone, painted and unpainted. Nearly every house has a different style of window, and it's a challenge to find two stoops that are alike. Each homeowner has chosen a front light slightly different than all the others. Even the sallyports, the narrow doors leading to the rear yards from the street, are unique to each pair of houses that share them. An artist living on the street has combined two of the rowhouses into one, painted their formstone façades periwinkle and teal and the narrow sidewalk in front of them hues of salmon and light blue. Where a stoop once stood there is now a large planter, attached to the house. And the plants! There are trees, shrubs, and flowers in front of nearly every house. There's no mistaking the block for any other.

## **Memory of Place Today**

The research for this project demonstrates that this block is a living community and always has been, with all the layers to prove it. Interestingly, neither Brian Herb nor Anna Campbell thinks of their street as “historic” or “historical.” In their view, the blocks of Fells Point near the waterfront, homogeneous in their brick façades and painted wood windows, are streets that feel historic. Following that reasoning, every time the formstone comes off a house and its metal or vinyl windows are replaced with wood, the block becomes more historic. In their eyes, restoration, or the appearance of it, is essential to establish historic authenticity. Is this image of “historic” class-based? Preservationists do not all agree that removing

formstone is the appropriate action to take, and that some alterations become historic in their own right. The layers of alterations to the houses may better interpret the history of the community than would a restoration to its original appearance. This debate weighs the relative importance of a community's origins versus its more recent past. In this block, away from the sidewalks of Fells Point well-trod by visitors and residents, what is the more important story to tell?

The memory of place on the block is strong. Popular belief says that young professionals, like the interviewees for this project, are often unaware of their community's history and disinterested in those who came before them. However, both interviewees demonstrated a basic understanding of the history of the Fells Point area reaching back to the 1980s, well before they moved in. Anna Campbell joked that her street is not historical—except that her neighbors can recount stories from the last fifty years! Kurt Schiller has played a significant role in shaping the block's recent history and he also plays a role in passing on its more distant past. In his rehabilitations he uses bricks from the original rear wall to build an interior half-wall, marking the original footprint of the house. He has also passed on some of the block's history to his renters, including that of the brewery once located next to their homes.

The Latino families living on the block represent the latest of a long tradition of immigrants, and someday they will likely pass on stories to the group that succeeds them. The alley street is a place that encourages neighbors to talk and get to know each other, and thereby facilitates the storytelling that keeps memory of place alive. And on the 200 block of South Chapel, the care and thought that neighbors have put into making their block their own makes it very clear that they love their street.

“Historic” brick, wood and metal may matter little compared to the love and care that the block’s residents invest in their street.

Shortly before completing this study, while taking photos in the Chapel Street, I was approached by Bob Tarr, the owner and operator of the printing shop at 204 South Chapel. We discussed his building’s history as home of the First District Baltimore Democratic Club, and he recalled the regular chicken dinners held there, which were always followed by lively parties. Tarr explained to me the origins of the building as a soda-bottling company, and added that for some years it even hosted a boxing gym, making clear the adaptability of the modest two-story building, which has enabled its continued use to the present.

More astounding than his memories of his building’s past was a story he shared about a longtime friend who once lived on the block. Looking at a draft page of this report, he noticed the name Henry Evers, the man who was interviewed in 1947 by the *Baltimore Sun* about the condition of his home, which lacked indoor plumbing. He pointed to Ever’s former residence at 213 South Chapel, photographed for that *Sun* story 65 years ago, and said that they had shared a close friendship for 30 years. When Evers, a lifelong resident of the block, decided around 20 years ago to move in with his daughter in New Jersey, he asked Tarr to purchase his home for fifteen thousand dollars. Knowing the house must have been worth around six times that amount, if not more, Tarr was flabbergasted. Nevertheless, Evers convinced him to purchase the house. With a direct link between someone working on the block today and a resident who not only lacked indoor plumbing, but whose grandfather lived on the street one hundred twelve years ago, the memory of place on Chapel

Street is tremendously strong. These specific memories may fade away with time, but they will be replaced with new memories in the tradition of this community, rich in history and wealthy in its exceptional quality of place.

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# Appendices

## Appendix A: Oral Interview Letter

Philip LaCombe  
2314 Hunter Street  
Baltimore, MD 21218

August 28, 2012

Dear Chapel Street Resident,

I am a graduate student of historic preservation at the University of Maryland, and I am working on a final project about the history of small streets in Baltimore. I plan to research and write about the history of your block, and I would like to ask if you would be interested in participating in my project.

I also live on a small street in Baltimore. My partner and I live in a house in the Old Goucher neighborhood, north of Penn Station. We have enjoyed life on our quiet, narrow street where it's easy to get to know our neighbors. Last year I started a public education and advocacy project called Small Streets to support the preservation of streets like ours. You're welcome to visit our website at [www.smallstreets.org](http://www.smallstreets.org).

For my final project, I am creating an urban history for one block of a small street. I chose the 200 block of South Chapel Street because of its diversity and the community spirit of some its residents. My task is to capture the history of its residents from the 1800s until today. While there are many documents that can help me learn about who lived on the street 100 years ago, it is more difficult to find out about more recent history. That's where you come in.

I would love to incorporate some of your stories about life on Chapel Street. It doesn't matter whether you have lived in your house two years or 30 years, whether you own your place or rent, or if you were born in the United States or another country. You can make a valuable contribution by sharing your stories about family and friends, work and school, struggles and celebrations.

If you would prefer to write me, I have attached a self-addressed envelope inside. You can email me or call me at the address and number below. I look forward to speaking with you!

Hope to hear from you soon,

Phil LaCombe  
[placombe@gmail.com](mailto:placombe@gmail.com)  
(413) 648-7445

## **Appendix B: Oral Interview Questions**

### **Get-to-know you**

1. What is your name? (for the voice recording, if you grant permission)
2. What's your address on Chapel Street?
3. What do you do for a living?
4. How long have you lived in Baltimore?
5. Do you have any children?

### **Chapel Street**

1. When did you move to Chapel Street?
2. Why did you move here?
  - a. What do you like most about living here now?
3. Have the people on this block changed since you moved in?
  - a. Are there many kids who live here? Older folks?
  - b. Do professionals live here? Working-class people? Students?
  - c. Do Latinos live on this block? African Americans?
4. Have the houses themselves changed?
  - a. Was there more formstone in years past?
  - b. Have you seen many renovations done? When?
  - c. Do people have roof decks?
  - d. Have people constructed additions for more space?
  - e. What's the right size family for these smaller houses?
  - f. Are the vacant houses a problem?
5. How would you describe the feel of the street?
  - a. Are there flowers and plants?
  - b. Do you see litter often?
  - c. Do kids play here?
  - d. Do neighbors like to sit on their stoops?
  - e. Do neighbors chat with each other? Get together for dinner?
  - f. Is there much car traffic?
  - g. Do people walk in the middle of the street here?
6. Does this street feel like an historic place?
  - a. What are the qualities that make it feel historic?
  - b. What do you know about the history of this street?

### **Neighborhood Context**

1. What are the 100 and 300 blocks of Chapel Street like?

2. Does the school play any role in life on the block?
3. Do you mind the print shop at the end of the block?
4. Are you active in the Upper Fells Point Improvement Association?
  - a. What kinds of people participate?
  - b. What does the association do?
  - c. Are there other members who live on alley streets?
5. Has the neighborhood changed since you moved in?
6. Do you have friends or family in the neighborhood?
  - a. Do they live on main streets or small streets like this one?
7. Do you walk to the harbor or downtown?
  - a. Do you like to walk all the way down Chapel Street or walk down a main street?
  - b. Does it feel safe walking at night? Where?
  - c. Do you own a car? Where do you park it?
  - d. Do your neighbors own cars?
8. Is gentrification a term you think applies to Upper Fells Point?
  - a. Has gentrification enhanced or eroded the character of this street?
9. What's the future of Chapel Street and Upper Fells Point?

**Appendix C: 1880 US Census**

House Number (old)	House Number (new)	Last Name	First Name	Race	Sex	Age	Relationship	Marital Status	Occupation	Attending School	Cannot read	Cannot Write	Birthplace	Birthplace Father	Birthplace Mother
39	212	McCarthy	Mary	W	F	50	Head	W	Keeping House				Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
39	212	McCarthy	Michael	W	M	27	Son	M	Stone Mason				Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
39	212	McCarthy	Thomas	W	M	19	Son	S	Store Clerk				Maryland	Ireland	Ireland
39	212	McCarthy	Mary	W	F	22	Daughter	S					Maryland	Ireland	Ireland
39	212	McCarthy	Maggie	W	F	12	Daughter	S		y			Maryland	Ireland	Ireland
41	214	Flynn	Michael	W	M	45	Head	M	Fireman				Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
41	214	Flynn	Mary	W	F	45	Wife	M	Keeping House		y	y	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
41	214	Flynn	Peter	W	M	18	Son	S	Store Clerk				Maryland	Ireland	Ireland
41	214	Flynn	Mary	W	F	14	Daughter	S		y			Maryland	Ireland	Ireland
41	214	Flynn	James	W	M	12	Son	S		y			Maryland	Ireland	Ireland
41	214	Flynn	John	W	M	8	Son	S		y			Maryland	Ireland	Ireland
43	216	Dunn	Anna	W	F	42	Head	W	Keeping House				Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
43	216	Dunn	James	W	M	16	Son	S	Gilder				Maryland	Ireland	Ireland
43	216	Dunn	Michael	W	M	13	Son	S					Maryland	Ireland	Ireland
45	218	Lyster	Michael	W	M	35	Head	M	Iron Moulder				Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
45	218	Lyster	Isabella	W	F	34	Wife	M	Keeping House				Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
45	218	Lyster	Catherine	W	F	18	Daughter	S	Dressmaker				Maryland	Ireland	Ireland
45	218	Lyster	Willis	W	M	15	Son	S	Printing Apprentice				Maryland	Ireland	Ireland
45	218	Lyster	Mary	W	F	12	Daughter	S		y			Maryland	Ireland	Ireland
45	218	Lyster	Annie	W	F	8	Daughter	S					Maryland	Ireland	Ireland
45	218	Lyster	Lizzie	W	F	8	Daughter	S					Maryland	Ireland	Ireland
45	218	Lyster	Patrick	W	M	4	Son	S					Maryland	Ireland	Ireland
45	218	Lyster	Johanna	W	F	3	Daughter	S					Maryland	Ireland	Ireland
47	220	Hart	Hugh	W	M	43	Head	M	Laborer				Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
47	220	Hart	Catherine	W	F	40	Wife	M	Keeping House				Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
49	222	Deinline	B	W	M	42	Head	M	Laborer		y	y	Bavaria	Bavaria	Bavaria
49	222	Deinline	Mary	W	F	44	Wife	M	Keeping House		y	y	Bavaria	Bavaria	Bavaria
49	222	Deinline	George	W	M	16	Son	S	Wagon Makers Apprentice				Bavaria	Bavaria	Bavaria
49	222	Deinline	John	W	M	13	Son	S		y			Maryland	Bavaria	Bavaria
49	222	Deinline	Kunigunde	W	F	11	Daughter	S		y			Maryland	Bavaria	Bavaria
49	222	Deinline	Mary	W	F	7	Daughter	S					Maryland	Bavaria	Bavaria
49	222	Deinline	Barbetta	W	F	5	Daughter	S					Maryland	Bavaria	Bavaria
51	224	Lawald	Mary	W	F	58	Head	W	Grocery Store Clerk				Bavaria	Bavaria	Bavaria
51	224	Lawald	Henry	W	M	25	Son	S	Iron Moulder				Maryland	Bavaria	Bavaria
51	224	Beister	Anton	W	M	27	Boarder	S	Laborer				Maryland	Prussia	Prussia
51	224	Chamblain	Maggie	W	F	14	Boarder	S					Maryland	England	England

House Number (old)	House Number (new)	Last Name	First Name	Race	Sex	Age	Relationship	Marital Status	Occupation	Attending School	Cannot read	Cannot Write	Birthplace	Birthplace Father	Birthplace Mother
53	226	Punter	Ella	W	F	36	Wife	M	Keeping House				Pennsylvania	Wurttemberg	Hessia
53	226	Punter	John	W	M	12	Son	S		y			Maryland	Maryland	Pennsylvania
53	226	Punter	Caspar	W	M	10	Son	S		y			Maryland	Maryland	Pennsylvania
53	226	Punter	Julia	W	F	5	Daughter	S					Maryland	Maryland	Pennsylvania
53	226	Punter	George	W	M	1	Son	S					Maryland	Maryland	Pennsylvania
55	228	Miller	Josephine	W	F	63	Head	W	Keeping House				Hessia	Hessia	Hessia
55	228	Miller	Julia	W	F	27	Daughter	S	Dressmaker				Maryland	Hessia	Hessia
55	228	Miller	Mary	W	F	25	Daughter	S	Dressmaker				Maryland	Hessia	Hessia
57	230	Preller	John	W	M	50	Head	M	Laborer				Bavaria	Bavaria	Bavaria
57	230	Preller	Julia	W	F	49	Wife	M	Keeping House				Bavaria	Bavaria	Bavaria
57	230	Preller	Mary	W	F	22	Daughter	S	Shoe Upper Maker				Bavaria	Bavaria	Bavaria
59	232	Herr	Michael	W	M	54	Head	M	Laborer				Bavaria	Bavaria	Bavaria
59	232	Herr	Theresia	W	F	53	Wife	M	Keeping House				Bavaria	Bavaria	Bavaria
59	232	Herr	Lizzie	W	F	19	Daughter	S	Vest Maker				Maryland	Bavaria	Bavaria
59	232	Herr	Mary	W	F	17	Daughter	S	Vest Maker				Maryland	Bavaria	Bavaria
59	232	Herr	Maggie	W	F	14	Daughter	S		y			Maryland	Bavaria	Bavaria
61	234	Herrmace	John	W	M	24	Head	M	Tailor				Bavaria	Bavaria	Bavaria
61	234	Herrmace	Annie	W	F	25	Wife	M	Keeping House				Maryland	Bavaria	Bavaria
61	234	Herrmace	Barbara	W	F	2	Daughter	S					Maryland	Bavaria	Bavaria
61	234	Alos	Kunigunde	W	F	40	Boarder	S	Tailoress				Bavaria	Bavaria	Bavaria
61	234	Alos	Katie	W	F	22	Boarder	S	Dressmaker				Maryland	Bavaria	Bavaria
63	236	Waldmiller	Lizzie	W	M	52	Head	M	Laborer				Bavaria	Bavaria	Bavaria
63	236	Waldmiller	Barbara	W	F	53	Wife	M	Keeping House				Bavaria	Bavaria	Bavaria
63	236	Waldmiller	Maria	W	F	18	Daughter	S	Factory Worker				Maryland	Bavaria	Bavaria
63	236	Waldmiller	Barbara	W	F	20	Daughter	S	Factory Worker				Maryland	Bavaria	Bavaria
65	238	Adams	George	W	M	60	Head	M	Peddler				Prussia	Prussia	Prussia
65	238	Adams	Helena	W	F	40	Wife	M	Keeping House				Prussia	Prussia	Prussia
65	238	Adams	Catherine	W	F	11	Daughter	S		y			Maryland	Prussia	Prussia
65	238	Adams	Theresia	W	F	7	Daughter	S					Maryland	Prussia	Prussia
65	238	Adams	Joseph	W	M	3	Son	S					Maryland	Prussia	Prussia
65	238	Smitt	Kunigunde	W	F	26	Boarder	M	Tailor				Maryland	Prussia	Bavaria
65	238	Smitt	Mary	W	F	5	Boarder	S					Maryland	Bavaria	Bavaria
65	238	Smitt	Johan	W	M	28	Boarder	M	Butcher				Bavaria	Bavaria	Bavaria
67	240	Schmidt	John	W	M	53	Head	M	Laborer				Bavaria	Bavaria	Bavaria
67	240	Schmidt	Elizabethte	W	F	40	Wife	M	Keeping House				Bavaria	Bavaria	Bavaria
67	240	Schmidt	Nicholas	W	M	6	Son	S					Maryland	Bavaria	Bavaria
67	240	Schmidt	Nicholas	W	M	3	Son	S					Maryland	Bavaria	Bavaria
67	240	Mainzeiger	Kate	W	F	45	Head	W	Keeping House				Bavaria	Bavaria	Bavaria
67	240	Mainzeiger	John	W	M	25	Son	S	Laborer				Maryland	Bavaria	Bavaria

House Number (old)	House Number (new)	Last Name	First Name	Race	Sex	Age	Relationship	Marital Status	Occupation	Attending School	Cannot read	Cannot Write	Birthplace	Birthplace Father	Birthplace Mother
69	242	Kraus	Andreas	W	M	35	Head	M	Carpenter				Bavaria	Bavaria	Bavaria
69	242	Kraus	Margaretha	W	F	40	Wife	M	Keeping House				Bavaria	Bavaria	Bavaria
69	242	Kraus	Michael	W	M	6	Son	S					Maryland	Bavaria	Bavaria
69	242	Kraus	George	W	M	4	Son	S					Maryland	Bavaria	Bavaria
69	242	Kraus	Johan	W	M	2	Son	S					Maryland	Bavaria	Bavaria
69	242	Schonberger	Rud	W	M	40	Head	M	Laborer				Bavaria	Bavaria	Bavaria
69	242	Schonberger	Mary	W	F	45	Wife	M	Keeping House				Hanover	Hanover	Hanover
69	242	Schonberger	Michael	W	M	6	Son	S					Maryland	Bavaria	Bavaria
69	242	Schonberger	Adam	W	M	3	Son	S					Maryland	Hanover	Hanover
71	244	Roth	Henry	W	M	40	Head	M	Laborer				Hessia	Hessia	Hessia
71	244	Roth	Margarette	W	F	44	Wife	M	Keeping House				Bavaria	Bavaria	Bavaria
71	244	Roth	Margarette	W	F	16	Daughter	S	Tailoress				Maryland	Hessia	Hessia
71	244	Roth	Charles	W	M	12	Son	S		y			Maryland	Hessia	Bavaria
71	244	Roth	Anna	W	F	7	Daughter	S		y			Maryland	Hessia	Bavaria
71	244	Roth	Maria	W	F	5	Daughter	S					Maryland	Hessia	Bavaria
71	244	Seinlein	Martha	W	F	69	Mother-In-Law	W					Bavaria	Bavaria	Bavaria
71	244	Seinlein	John	W	M	31	Brother-In-Law	S	Laborer				Bavaria	Bavaria	Bavaria
73	246	Bartling	Fred	W	M	34	Head	M	Laborer				Hanover	Hanover	Hanover
73	246	Bartling	Mary	W	F	35	Wife	M	Keeping House				Hanover	Hanover	Hanover
73	246	Bartling	Sophia	W	F	15	Daughter	S	Store Clerk				Maryland	Hanover	Hanover
73	246	Bartling	Fred	W	M	14	Son	S		y			Maryland	Hanover	Hanover
73	246	Bartling	Helena	W	F	8	Daughter	S		y			Maryland	Hanover	Hanover
73	246	Bartling	John	W	M	6	Son	S					Maryland	Hanover	Hanover
81	254	Laug	Caspar	W	M	58	Head	M	Grocery Store Clerk				Bavaria	Bavaria	Bavaria
81	254	Laug	Dorothea	W	F	58	Wife	M	Keeping House				Bavaria	Bavaria	Bavaria
81	254	Laug	George	W	M	26	Son	S	Laborer				Maryland	Bavaria	Bavaria
81	254	Laug	Annie	W	F	22	Daughter	S					Maryland	Bavaria	Bavaria
81	254	Laug	C	W	M	19	Son	S	Store Clerk				Maryland	Bavaria	Bavaria
81	254	Laug	Julia	W	F	15	Daughter	S					Maryland	Bavaria	Bavaria
81	254	Hedderich	N	W	M	48	Head	M	Tailor				Bavaria	Bavaria	Bavaria
81	254	Hedderich	Mary	W	F	46	Wife	M	Keeping House				Bavaria	Bavaria	Bavaria
81	254	Neissleice	Seb	W	M	21	Head	M	Music Teacher				Bavaria	Bavaria	Bavaria
81	254	Neissleice	Mary	W	F	22	Wife	M	Keeping House				Maryland	Maryland	Maryland
81	254	Scheller	Adam	W	M	40	Head	M	Laborer				Bavaria	Bavaria	Bavaria
81	254	Scheller	Era	W	F	40	Wife	M	Keeping House				Bavaria	Bavaria	Bavaria
81	254	Scheller	George	W	M	13	Son	S		y			Maryland	Bavaria	Bavaria
81	254	Scheller	Joseph	W	F	8	Son	S		y			Maryland	Bavaria	Bavaria
56	205	Maurer	Conrad	W	M	30	Head	M	Cooper				Darmstadt	Hessia	Hessia

House Number (old)	House Number (new)	Last Name	First Name	Race	Sex	Age	Relationship	Marital Status	Occupation	Attending School	Cannot read	Cannot Write	Birthplace	Birthplace Father	Birthplace Mother
56	205	Maurer	Regina	W	F	4	Daughter	S		y			Maryland	Darmstadt	Bavaria
56	205	Maurer	Magdalerca	W	F	2	Daughter	S					Maryland	Darmstadt	Bavaria
56	205	Champeress	T	W	M	36	Head	M	??? Dealer Agent				Maryland	England	England
56	205	Champeress	Mary	W	F	34	Wife	M	Keeping House				Maryland	Hessia	Hessia
56	205	Champeress	Maggie	W	F	14	Daughter	S					Maryland	Maryland	Maryland
56	205	Champeress	Robert	W	M	11	Son	S		y			Maryland	Maryland	Maryland
56	205	Champeress	Jenney	W	F	7	Daughter	S		y			Maryland	Maryland	Maryland
56	205	Champeress	Thomas	W	M	5	Son	S					Maryland	Maryland	Maryland
56	205	Champeress	Mary	W	F	1	Daughter	S					Maryland	Maryland	Maryland
58	207	Winsdson	Michael	W	M	30	Head	M	Laborer				Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
58	207	Winsdson	Kate	W	F	25	Wife	M	Keeping House				Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
58	207	Winsdson	Mattie	W	F	6	Daughter	S					Maryland	Ireland	Ireland
58	207	Winsdson	Hannah	W	F	4	Daughter	S					Maryland	Ireland	Ireland
58	207	Winsdson	Michael	W	M	2	Son	S					Maryland	Ireland	Ireland
60	209	Freimuth	Henry	W	M	27	Head	M	Stevedore				Bremen	Bremen	Bremen
60	209	Freimuth	Maria	W	F	29	Wife	M	Keeping House				Hamburg	Hamburg	Hamburg
60	209	Freimuth	Charles	W	M	1	Son	S					Maryland	Bremen	Hamburg
62	211	Ries	Adam	W	M	40	Head	M	Huckster				Hessia	Hessia	Hessia
62	211	Ries	Tina	W	F	36	Wife	M	Keeping House				Bavaria	Bavaria	Bavaria
62	211	Ries	Margaret	W	F	4	Daughter	S					Maryland	Hessia	Bavaria
62	211	Ries	John	W	M	6	Son	S					Maryland	Hessia	Hessia
62	211	Ries	Henry	W	M	0	Son	S					Maryland	Bavaria	Bavaria
64	213	O'Brien	Patrick	W	M	29	Head	M	Laborer				Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
64	213	O'Brien	Mary	W	F	30	Wife	M	Keeping House				Wurttemberg	Wurttemberg	Wurttemberg
64	213	O'Brien	Charlotte	W	F	2	Daughter	S					Maryland	Ireland	Wurttemberg
64	213	Hallowrun	Kate	W	F	43	Head	W	Keeping House				Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
64	213	Hallowrun	Ella	W	F	13	Daughter	S		y			Maryland	Maryland	Ireland
64	213	Hallowrun	Mary	W	F	8	Daughter	S		y			Maryland	Maryland	Ireland
66	217	Beckhaf	Henry	W	M	30	Head	M	Laborer				Maryland	Bavaria	Bavaria
66	217	Beckhaf	Susanna	W	F	20	Wife	M	Keeping House				Maryland	Bavaria	Bavaria
66	217	Beckhaf	Michael	W	M	1	Son	S					Maryland	Maryland	Maryland
66	217	Beckhaf	Kunigunde	W	F	4	Daughter	S					Maryland	Maryland	Maryland
66	217	Mandel	John	W	M	50	Head	W	Shoemaker				Bavaria	Bavaria	Bavaria
66	217	Mandel	Maggie	W	F	25	Daughter	S	Keeping House				Maryland	Bavaria	Bavaria
66	217	Mandel	Annie	W	F	20	Daughter	S					Maryland	Bavaria	Bavaria
66	217	Mandel	John	W	M	16	Son	S		y			Maryland	Bavaria	Bavaria
66	217	Mandel	Mary	W	F	12	Daughter	S		y			Maryland	Bavaria	Bavaria
70	219	Pretzel	Clement	W	M	30	Head	M	Tailor				Bavaria	Bavaria	Bavaria
70	219	Pretzel	Kunigunde	W	F	26	Wife	M	Keeping House				Maryland	Bavaria	Bavaria

House Number (old)	House Number (new)	Last Name	First Name	Race	Sex	Age	Relationship	Marital Status	Occupation	Attending School	Cannot read	Cannot Write	Birthplace	Birthplace Father	Birthplace Mother
70	219	Pretzel	Julia	W	M	2	Son	S					Maryland	Bavaria	Maryland
72	221	Schuber	Michael	W	M	58	Head	M	Tailor				Bavaria	Bavaria	Bavaria
72	221	Schuber	Kunigunde	W	F	60	Wife	M	Keeping House				Bavaria	Bavaria	Bavaria
84	223	Frank	Joseph	W	M	59	Head	M	Shoemaker				Bavaria	Bavaria	Bavaria
84	223	Frank	Margaretha	W	F	50	Wife	M	Keeping House				Bavaria	Bavaria	Bavaria
84	223	Frank	Joseph	W	M	15	Son	S	Learning Trade				Maryland	Bavaria	Bavaria
86	225	Schaum	Keidren	W	M	44	Head	W	Laborer				Prussia	Prussia	Prussia
86	225	Schaum	Annie	W	F	22	Daughter	S	Keeping House				Maryland	Prussia	Prussia
78	227	Rostmeyer	Anton	W	M	51	Head	M	Laborer				Prussia	Prussia	Prussia
78	227	Rostmeyer	Kunigunde	W	F	51	Wife	M	Keeping House				Bavaria	Bavaria	Bavaria
78	227	Rostmeyer	Francis	W	M	21	Son	S	Cabinet Maker				Maryland	Prussia	Bavaria
78	227	Rostmeyer	John	W	M	13	Son	S		y			Maryland	Prussia	Bavaria
78	227	Rostmeyer	Maggie	W	F	6	Daughter	S					Maryland	Prussia	Bavaria
80	229	Thiemace	Mary	W	F	40	Head	W	Keeping House				Baden	Baden	Baden
80	229	Thiemace	Louis	W	M	7	Son	S		y			Maryland	Hanover	Baden
80	229	Thiemace	Maria	W	F	4	Daughter	S					Maryland	Hanover	Baden
80	229	Huforayd	Barbara	W	F	73	Head	W	Keeping House				Baden	Baden	Baden
94	231	Traubert	John	W	M	45	Head	M	Tailor				Bavaria	Baden	Baden
94	231	Traubert	Elizabeth	W	F	33	Wife	M	Keeping House				Baden	Baden	Baden
94	231	Traubert	Ferdinand	W	M	19	Son	S	Tailor				Maryland	Bavaria	Baden
94	231	Traubert	Damian	W	M	17	Son	S	Tailor				Maryland	Bavaria	Baden
94	231	Traubert	George	W	M	16	Son	S	Tailor Apprentice				Maryland	Bavaria	Baden
94	231	Traubert	Anton	W	M	13	Son	S		y			Maryland	Bavaria	Baden
94	231	Traubert	Henry	W	M	9	Son	S		y			Maryland	Bavaria	Baden
94	231	Traubert	Joseph	W	M	5	Son	S					Maryland	Bavaria	Baden
94	231	Traubert	Catherina	W	F	3	Daughter	S					Maryland	Bavaria	Baden
94	231	Traubert	John	W	M	3	Son	S					Maryland	Bavaria	Baden
96	233	Bickel	Joseph	W	M	46	Head	M	Laborer				Bavaria	Bavaria	Baden
96	233	Bickel	Annie	W	F	44	Wife	M					Bremen	Bremen	Bremen
96	233	Bickel	Annie	W	F	20	Daughter	S	Clothes Maker				Maryland	Bavaria	Bremen
96	233	Bickel	Kate	W	F	16	Daughter	S	??				Maryland	Bavaria	Bremen
96	233	Bickel	John	W	M	13	Son	S		y			Maryland	Bavaria	Bremen
96	233	Blueu	Joseph	W	M	33	Head	M	Mill Engineer				Maryland	Maryland	Maryland
96	233	Blueu	Marianne	W	F	33	Wife	M	Keeping House				Maryland	Maryland	Maryland
96	233	Blueu	Katie	W	F	11	Daughter	S		y			Maryland	Maryland	Maryland
96	233	Blueu	Joseph	W	M	5	Son	S					Maryland	Maryland	Maryland
96	233	Blueu	Annie	W	F	3	Daughter	S					Maryland	Maryland	Maryland
96	233	Blueu	Mary	W	F	0	Daughter	S					Maryland	Maryland	Maryland
100	237	Forn	Kate	W	F	43	Head	M	Keeping House				Bavaria	Bavaria	Bavaria

House Number (old)	House Number (new)	Last Name	First Name	Race	Sex	Age	Relationship	Marital Status	Occupation	Attending School	Cannot read	Cannot Write	Birthplace	Birthplace Father	Birthplace Mother
100	237	Forn	George	W	M	18	Son	S	Cooper				Maryland	Bavaria	Bavaria
100	237	Forn	Dora	W	F	14	Daughter	S					Maryland	Bavaria	Bavaria
100	237	Forn	Katie	W	F	6	Daughter	S					Maryland	Bavaria	Bavaria
100	237	Forn	Andrea	W	M	4	Son	S			y	y	Maryland	Bavaria	Bavaria
102	239	McCarr	Pat	W	M	54	Head	M	Laborer		y	y	Maryland	Ireland	Ireland
102	239	McCarr	Annie	W	F	54	Wife	M	Keeping House				Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
102	239	McCarr	Mary	W	F	22	Daughter	S	Laundress				Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
104	241	Heines	Mary	W	F	54	Head	W	Keeping House				Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
104	241	Heines	Patrick	W	M	23	Son	S	Car Driver				Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
104	241	Heines	Daniel	W	M	21	Son	S	Car Driver				Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
104	241	Flynn	Ellen	W	F	48	Boarder	W	Laundress				Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
104	241	McGee	Pat	W	M	47	Boarder	S	Laborer				Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
96	243	Doman	Kate	W	F	48	Head	W	Keeping House				Bavaria	Bavaria	Bavaria
96	243	Doman	Mary	W	F	20	Daughter	S	Tailoress				Bavaria	Bavaria	Bavaria
96	243	Doman	Augusta	W	F	17	Daughter	S	Tailoress				Bavaria	Bavaria	Bavaria
96	243	Doman	Christina	W	F	14	Daughter	S					Bavaria	Bavaria	Bavaria
96	243	Doman	Julia	W	F	10	Daughter	S		y			Bavaria	Bavaria	Bavaria
98	245	Buttoner	Maggie	W	F	45	Head	W	Tailoress				Bavaria	Bavaria	Bavaria
98	245	Buttoner	Andrew	W	M	15	Son	S	Learning Trade				Bavaria	Bavaria	Bavaria
98	245	Buttoner	Emma	W	F	11	Daughter	S		y			Bavaria	Bavaria	Bavaria
98	245	Werth	Martha	W	F	60	Head	W	Keeping House				Bavaria	Bavaria	Bavaria
98	245	Werth	Malina	W	F	20	Daughter	S					Maryland	Bavaria	Bavaria
98	245	Werth	Joseph	W	M	18	Son	S	Cart Driver				Maryland	Bavaria	Bavaria
100	247	Weinkanf	George	W	M	62	Head	M	Stevedore				Bavaria	Bavaria	Bavaria
100	247	Weinkanf	Annie	W	F	61	Wife	M	Keeping House				Hessia	Hessia	Hessia
100	247	Weinkanf	Maggie	W	F	25	Daughter	S	Tailoress				Maryland	Bavaria	Hessia

**Appendix D: 1900 US Census**

House Number	Last Name	First Name	Relationship	Race	Sex	Age	Marital Status	Birthplace	Birthplace Father	Birthplace Mother	Year of Immi-gration	Age at Immi-gration	Occupation	Attending School	Able to Read	Able to Write	Speaks English	Home Owned or Rented	Owned Free or Mortgage
212	McCarthy	Theo	Head	W	M	40	M	Maryland	Ireland	Ireland			Salesman		y	y	y	O	F
212	McCarthy	Lizzie	Wife	W	F	35	M	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland					y	y	y		
212	McCarthy	James	Son	W	M	16	S	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland			Printer		y	y	y		
212	McCarthy	Stella	Daughter	W	F	17	S	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland			Saleslady		y	y	y		
212	McCarthy	Mary	Daughter	W	F	7	S	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland					y	y	y		
212	Cooney	Patrick	Brother	W	M	48	M	Virginia	Ireland	Ireland			Can Maker		y	y	y		
212	Cooney	Mary	Sister-In-Law	W	F	40	M	Virginia	Ireland	Ireland					y	y	y		
214	Herold	Bertha	Head	W	F	40	W	Germany	Germany	Germany			Seamstress		y	y	y	R	
214	Herold	Charles	Son	W	M	20	S	Maryland	Germany	Germany			Machinist		y	y	y		
214	Herold	Annie	Daughter	W	F	18	S	Maryland	Germany	Germany			Servant		y	y	y		
214	Herold	Anthony	Son	W	M	14	S	Maryland	Germany	Germany			Salesman		y	y	y		
214	Herold	Lidy	Daughter	W	F	13	S	Maryland	Germany	Germany				y	y	y	y		
214	Herold	Christian	Son	W	M	11	S	Maryland	Germany	Germany				y	y	y	y		
214	Herold	William	Son	W	M	6	S	Maryland	Germany	Germany				y	y	y	y		
216	Dumbrosky	Dick	Head	W	M	28	M	Russia	Russia	Russia			Tailor		y	y	y	R	
216	Dumbrosky	Frances	Wife	W	F	28	M	Germany	Germany	Germany					y	y	y		
216	Dumbrosky	Adam	Son	W	M	8	S	Germany	Russia	Germany				y	y	y	y		
216	Dumbrosky	Frances	Daughter	W	F	1	S	Maryland	Russia	Germany									
218	Kunkel	Jon	Head	W	M	51	M	Germany	Germany	Germany			Carpenter		y	y	y	R	
218	Kunkel	Mary	Wife	W	F	31	M	Maryland	Germany	Germany					y	y	y		
218	Kunkel	Maggie	Daughter	W	F	14	S	Maryland	Germany	Maryland					y	y	y		
218	Kunkel	Lizzie	Daughter	W	F	9	S	Maryland	Germany	Maryland				y	y	y	y		
220	Micheal	John	Head	W	M	26	M	Maryland	Germany	Germany			Button Maker		y	y	y	R	
220	Micheal	Lizzie	Wife	W	F	24	M	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland					y	y	y		
220	Micheal	Maggie	Daughter	W	F	3	S	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland					y	y	y		
220	Micheal	Frank	Son	W	M	1	S	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland					n	n	y		
220	Micheal	Elsie	Daughter	W	F	1	S	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland					n	n	n		
220	Micheal	Martin	Son	W	M	2	S	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland					n	n	n		
222	Maxim	Stacy	Head	W	F	48	W	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland			Seamstress		y	y	y	R	
222	Kirby	Rob	Son-In-Law	W	M	29	M	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland			Can Maker		y	y	y		
222	Kirby	Kate	Daughter	W	F	23	M	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland					y	y	y		
222	Kirby	Arthur	Son	W	M	1	S	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland					n	n	n		
222	Showein	Chas A	Son	W	M	27	S	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland			Broom Maker		y	y	y		
222	Maxim	Emma	Daughter	W	F	14	S	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland					y	y	y		
222	Maxim	Mellie	Daughter	W	F	9	S	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland				y	y	y	y		
222	Maxim	Henry	Son	W	M	7	S	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland				y	y	y	y		
224	Snyder	Henry	Head	W	M	32	M	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland			Laborer		y	y	y	R	

House Number	Last Name	First Name	Relationship	Race	Sex	Age	Marital Status	Birthplace	Birthplace Father	Birthplace Mother	Year of Immi-gration	Age at Immi-gration	Occupation	Attending School	Able to Read	Able to Write	Speaks English	Home Owned or Rented	Owned Free or Mortgage
224	Snyder	John G	Son	W	M	9	S	Virginia	Maryland	Virginia				y	y	y	y		
224	Snyder	Howard	Son	W	M	2	S	Maryland	Maryland	Virginia				y	y	y	y		
224	Snyder	Oscar	Son	W	M	2	S	Maryland	Virginia	Maryland					n	n	y		
224	Snyder	Lizzie	Sister	W	F	25	S	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland					y	y	y		
224	Snyder	Howard	Brother	W	M	29	W	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland			Laborer		y	y	y		
226	Bonday	Jasper	Head	W	M	30	M	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland			Paper Carrier		y	y	y	R	
226	Bonday	Nina	Wife	W	F	23	M	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland					y	y	y		
226	Bonday	Beuhla	Daughter	W	F	3	S	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland					n	n	n		
226	Bonday	Jasper	Son	W	M	3	S	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland					n	n	n		
226	Bonday	George	Brother	W	M	21	S	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland			Paper Carrier		y	y	y		
228	Brodal	Elizabeth	Head	W	M	35	W	Germany	Germany	Germany	1880	15	???		n	n	y	R	
228	Brodal	Conrad	Son	W	M	11	S	Maryland	Germany	Germany				y	y	y	y		
228	Brodal	Maraget	Daughter	W	F	8	S	Maryland	Germany	Germany				y	y	y	y		
228	Brodal	Elizabeth	Daughter	W	F	7	S	Maryland	Germany	Germany				y	y	y	y		
228	Brodal	Buraba	Daughter	W	F	5	S	Maryland	Germany	Germany					n	n	n		
228	Fooks	George	Brother	W	M	28	S	Germany	Germany	Germany			Cabinet Maker		y	y	y		
230	Brella	John	Head	W	M	40	M	Germany	Germany	Germany	1860	0	Store		y	y	y	R	
230	Brella	Annie	Wife	W	F	40	M	Germany	Germany	Germany	1860	0			n	n	n		
232	Danzler	John	Head	W	M	35	M	Germany	Germany	Germany	1891	26	Laborer		n	n	n	R	
232	Danzler	Maggie	Wife	W	F	31	M	Germany	Germany	Germany	1892	23			n	n	n		
232	Danzler	John	Son	W	M	4	S	Maryland	Germany	Germany					n	n	n		
234	Hagelganz	Peter	Head	W	M	39	M	Maryland	Germany	Germany			Agent		y	y	y	R	
234	Hagelganz	Anna	Wife	W	F	41	M	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland					y	y	y		
234	Hagelganz	Fred	Son	W	M	8	S	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland				y	y	y	y		
234	Hagelganz	Henry	Son	W	M	5	S	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland					n	n	n		
234	Hagelganz	Edward	Son	W	M	3	S	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland					n	n	n		
236	Miller	Mrs	Head	W	F	77	W	Germany	Germany	Germany	1840	17			n	n	n	R	
236	Alandoff	Mr	Head2	W	M	49	M	Germany	Germany	Germany	1870	19	Laborer		n	n	n		
236	Alandoff	Mrs	Wife	W	F	46	M	Germany	Germany	Germany	1870	16			n	n	n		
238	Whitten	Linda	Head	W	M	32	M	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland			Can Maker		y	y	y	R	
238	Whitten	Mary	Wife	W	F	32	M	Maryland	Germany	Germany					y	y	y		
238	Whitten	Annie	Daughter	W	F	10	S	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland				y	y	y	y		
238	Whitten	George	Son	W	M	8	S	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland				y	y	y	y		
238	Whitten	Kate	Daughter	W	F	5	S	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland					n	n	n		
238	Whitten	John	Son	W	M	2	S	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland					n	n	n		
240	Bergman	George	Head	W	M	43	M	Germany	Germany	Germany	1882	25	Laborer		n	n	n	R	
240	Bergman	Lizzie	Wife	W	F	45	M	Germany	Germany	Germany	1884	29			n	n	y		
240	Bergman	Maggie	Daughter	W	F	18	S	Maryland	Germany	Germany				y	y	y	y		

House Number	Last Name	First Name	Relationship	Race	Sex	Age	Marital Status	Birthplace	Birthplace Father	Birthplace Mother	Year of Immigration	Age at Immigration	Occupation	Attending School	Able to Read	Able to Write	Speaks English	Home Owned or Rented	Owned Free or Mortgage
240	Bergman	Henry	Son	W	M	10	S	Maryland	Germany	Germany				y	y	y	y		
240	Bergman	Annie	Daughter	W	F	6	S	Maryland	Germany	Germany				y	y	y	y		
242	Greensfelder	John	Head	W	M	40	W	Maryland	Germany	Germany			Baker		y	y	y	R	
242	Greensfelder	Martin	Son	W	M	17	S	Maryland	Maryland	Germany			Baker		y	y	y		
242	Greensfelder	Ida	Daughter	W	F	16	S	Maryland	Maryland	Germany					y	y	y		
242	Greensfelder	Annie	Daughter	W	F	10	S	Maryland	Maryland	Germany				y	y	y	y		
242	Greensfelder	George	Son	W	M	4	S	Maryland	Maryland	Germany					n	n	n		
244	Scheller	Christine	Head	W	F	62	W	Germany	Germany	Germany	1866	28			n	n	y	R	
244	Scheller	Joseph	Son	W	M	25	S	Maryland	Germany	Germany			Baker		y	y	y		
246	Markert	Julia	Head	W	F	27		Maryland	Germany	Germany			Seamstress		y	y	y	R	
246	Markert	Clara	Daughter	W	M	6	S	Maryland	Germany	Maryland				y	y	y	y		
246	Markert	Pauline	Daughter	W	F	5	W	Maryland	Germany	Maryland					y	y	y		
246	Markert	Joseph	Son	W	F	2	S	Maryland	Germany	Maryland					n	n	n		
246	Markert	John	Brother-In-Law	W	F	26	S	Germany	Germany	Germany	1892	18	Plumber		n	n	n		
246	Markert	Lenis	Brother-In-Law	W	M	23	S	Germany	Germany	Germany	1892	15	Plumber		y	y	y		
246	Markert	Louisa	Sister	W	M	17	S	Germany	Germany	Germany	1892	9	Seamstress		y	y	y		
248	Bealtes	William	Head	W	M	52	M	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland			Can Maker		y	y	y	R	
248	Bealtes	Mary	Wife	W	F	40	M	Maryland	Ireland	Pennsylvania					y	y	y		
248	Bealtes	William	Son	W	M	17	S	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland					y	y	y		
248	Bealtes	Mary	Daughter	W	F	15	S	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland					y	y	y		
248	Bealtes	Fannie	Daughter	W	F	13	S	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland					y	y	y		
248	Bealtes	Ira	Daughter	W	F	11	S	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland					y	y	y		
248	Bealtes	Josephine	Daughter	W	F	8	S	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland					y	y	y		
248	Bealtes	Fred	Son	W	M	3	S	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland					n	n	n		
250	Deitzell	Conrad	Head	W	M	60	M	Germany	Germany	Germany	1883	43	Stevedore		y	y	y	R	
250	Deitzell	Mary	Wife	W	F	61	M	Germany	Germany	Germany	1865	26			y	y	y		
250	Deitzell	Henry	Son	W	M	39	S	Germany	Germany	Germany	1895	34	Laborer		y	y	y		
250	Deitzell	George	Son	W	M	28	S	Maryland	Germany	Germany			Stevedore		y	y	y		
250	Deitzell	Maggie	Daughter	W	F	24	S	Maryland	Germany	Germany			Sales Lady		y	y	y		
250	Deitzell	Lizzie	Daughter	W	F	22	S	Maryland	Maryland	Germany					y	y	y		
252	Battee	Lewis	Head	W	M	36	M	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland			Paper Hanger		y	y	y	R	
252	Battee	Marion	Wife	W	F	32	M	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland					y	y	y		
252	Battee	Irene	Daughter	W	F	13	S	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland				y	y	y	y		
252	Battee	Lewis	Son	W	M	10	S	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland				y	y	y	y		
252	Battee	Mabel	Daughter	W	F	8	S	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland				y	y	y	y		
252	Battee	Harold	Son	W	M	5	S	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland					n	n	n		
252	Battee	Samuel	Son	W	M	1	S	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland					n	n	n		
254	Griffin	Sam	Head	W	M	52	M	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland			Stevedore		y	y	y	R	
254	Griffin	Elizabeth	Wife	W	F	38	M	Maryland	Germany	Maryland					y	y	y		

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254	Griffin	Sam H	Son	W	M	12	S	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland			At School		y	y	y		
254	Smith	Mollie	Boarder	W	F	18	S	Delaware	Delaware	Delaware					y	y	y		
254	Warner	Sophia	Boarder	W	F	22	S	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland			Labeler		y	y	y		
256	Nopel	Hense	Head	W	M	60	M	Germany	Germany	Germany	1864	24	Ship Ceiler		y	y	y	R	
256	Nopel	Elinore	Wife	W	F	53	M	Maryland	Germany	Germany	1864	17			y	y	y		
256	Nopel	Charles	Son	W	M	28	S	Maryland	Germany	Germany			Enameler		y	y	y		
256	Nopel	Ameil	Son	W	M	29	S	Maryland	Germany	Germany			Brewer		y	y	y		
256	Nopel	Fred	Son	W	M	18	S	Maryland	Germany	Germany			Driver		y	y	y		
256	Miller	William	Boarder	W	M	33	S	Germany	Germany	Germany	1882	15	Carpenter		y	y	y		
247	Burke	William	Head	W	M	39	M	Denmark	Denmark	Denmark	Unk		Seaman		y	y	y	O	F
247	Burke	Lizzie	Wife	W	F	40	M	Maryland	Germany	Germany					y	y	y		
247	Burke	Jolon	Son	W	M	9	S	Maryland	Denmark	Maryland				y	y	y			
247	Burke	Lizzie	Daughter	W	F	6	S	Maryland	Denmark	Maryland				y	n	n			
247	Burke	Maggie	Daughter	W	F	4	S	Maryland	Denmark	Maryland					n	n			
247	Burke	Edward	Son	W	M	3	S	Maryland	Denmark	Maryland					n	n			
247	Burke	Clara	Daughter	W	F	1	S	Maryland	Denmark	Maryland					n	n			
247	Descawitch	John	Boarder	W	M	53	S	Austria	Austria	Austria			Seaman		y	y	y		
245	Herman	John	Head	W	M	44	M	Germany	Germany	Germany	1872	16	Carpenter		y	y	y	O	F
245	Herman	Annie	Wife	W	F	44	M	Maryland	Germany	Germany					y	y	y		
245	Herman	Barbara	Daughter	W	F	21	S	Maryland	Germany	Maryland			Vestmaker		y	y	y		
245	Herman	Lawrence	Son	W	M	17	S	Maryland	Germany	Maryland			Salesman		y	y	y		
245	Herman	Andrew	Son	W	M	14	S	Maryland	Germany	Maryland			Cake Baker		y	y	y		
245	Herman	Maggie	Daughter	W	F	10	S	Maryland	Germany	Maryland				y	y	y			
243	Weichert	Chris	Head	W	M	23	M	Maryland	Maryland	Germany			Stevedore		y	y	y	R	
243	Weichert	Lucy	Wife	W	F	23	M	Maryland	England	Virginia					y	y	y		
243	Weichert	George	Son	W	M	5	S	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland					n	n			
243	Weichert	Joseph	Son	W	M	3	S	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland					n	n			
241	Shuhardt	Henry	Head	W	M	26	M	Germany	Germany	Germany	1888	14	Laborer		y	y	y	R	
241	Shuhardt	Annie	Wife	W	F	24	M	Maryland	Germany	Germany					y	y	y		
241	Shuhardt	John	Son	W	M	6	S	Maryland	Germany	Maryland				y	y	y			
241	Shuhardt	William	Son	W	M	4	S	Maryland	Germany	Maryland					n	n			
241	Shuhardt	Edward	Son	W	M	2	S	Maryland	Germany	Maryland					n	n			
241	Johnson	Raymond	Boarder	W	M	34	S	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland			Laborer		y	y	y		
239	Rettner	John	Head	W	M	41	M	Maryland	Germany	Germany			Broom Maker		y	y	y	R	
239	Rettner	Annie	Wife	W	F	40	M	Maryland	Ireland	Ireland					y	y	y		
239	O'Bryan	Ellen	Son-In-Law	W	F	38	S	Maryland	Ireland	Ireland			Shirt Maker		y	y	y		
239	O'Bryan	William	Nephew	W	M	19	S	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland			Sail Maker		y	y	y		
239	O'Bryan	Mary	Niece	W	M	10	S	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland				y	y	y			
237	Kaufman	Dohn	Head	W	M	40	M	Maryland	Unknown	Unknown			Tinner		y	y	y	R	

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237	Kaufman	Frank	Son	W	M	17	S	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland			Box Maker		y	y	y		
237	Kaufman	Mamia	Daughter	W	F	13	S	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland					y	y	y		
237	Kaufman	Kale	Daughter	W	F	11	S	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland				y	y	y	y		
237	Kaufman	John	Son	W	M	9	S	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland				y	y	y	y		
237	Kaufman	Annie	Daughter	W	F	8	S	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland				y	y	y	y		
237	Kaufman	Daniel	Son	W	M	6	S	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland					n	n	n		
237	Kaufman	Leo	Son	W	M	4	S	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland					n	n	n		
237	Kaufman	Vincent	Son	W	M	2	S	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland					n	n	n		
235	Bunch	William	Head	W	M	32	M	Maryland	Germany	Maryland			Laborer		y	y	y	R	
235	Bunch	Lizzie	Wife	W	F	30	M	Maryland	Maryland	Germany					y	y	y		
235	Bunch	Annie	Daughter	W	F	10	S	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland				y	y	y	y		
235	Bunch	William	Son	W	M	6	S	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland				y	n	n	y		
235	Bunch	Lizzie	Daughter	W	F	3	S	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland					n	n	y		
233	Zeiger	Otto	Head	W	M	49	M	Germany	Germany	Germany	1891	40	Shoemaker		y	y	y	R	
233	Zeiger	Fredericka	Wife	W	F	41	M	Germany	Germany	Germany	1891	32			n	n	y		
233	Zeiger	Otto	Son	W	M	11	S	Germany	Germany	Germany	1891	2		y	y	y	y		
233	Zeiger	Nina	Daughter	W	F	9	S	Germany	Germany	Germany	1891	0		y	y	y	y		
231	Trabard	John	Head	W	M	66	M	Germany	Germany	Germany	1860	26	Tailor		y	y	y	O	F
231	Trabard	Lizzie	Wife	W	F	52	M	Germany	Germany	Germany	1850	2			y	y	y		
231	Trabard	Anthony	Son	W	M	32	W	Maryland	Germany	Germany			Engineer		y	y	y		
231	Trabard	Henry	Son	W	M	28	S	Maryland	Germany	Germany			Clerk		y	y	y		
231	Trabard	Kate	Daughter	W	F	22	S	Maryland	Germany	Germany					y	y	y		
231	Trabard	John	Son	W	M	20	S	Maryland	Germany	Germany			Laborer		y	y	y		
231	Trabard	Barbara	Daughter	W	F	16	S	Maryland	Germany	Germany			Vestmaker		y	y	y		
231	Trabard	Phillip	Son	W	M	13	S	Maryland	Germany	Germany				y	y	y	y		
231	Trabard	John	Son	W	M	13	S	Maryland	Germany	Germany				y	y	y	y		
229	King	Peter	Head	W	M	50	M	Maryland	Germany	Germany			Stevedore		y	y	y	R	
229	King	Emma	Wife	W	F	35	M	Maryland	Pennsylvania	Maryland					y	y	y		
229	King	Maggie	Daughter	W	F	12	S	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland					y	y	y		
229	King	Charles	Son	W	M	7	S	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland				y	n	n	y		
229	King	George	Son	W	M	6	S	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland					n	n	y		
229	King	Frances	Daughter	W	F	5	S	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland					n	n	y		
229	King	Frederick	Son	W	M	2	S	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland					n	n	y		
227	Miller	Albert	Head	W	M	47	M	Maryland	Holland	Maryland			Foreman		y	y	y	R	
227	Miller	Rose	Wife	W	F	42	M	Maryland	Germany	Germany					y	y	y		
227	Miller	Albert	Son	W	M	18	S	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland			Baker		y	y	y		
227	Miller	Henry	Son	W	M	14	S	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland				y	y	y	y		
227	Miller	Eva	Daughter	W	F	12	S	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland				y	n	n	n		
227	Miller	John	Son	W	M	8	S	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland					y	y	y		

House Number	Last Name	First Name	Relationship	Race	Sex	Age	Marital Status	Birthplace	Birthplace Father	Birthplace Mother	Year of Immigration	Age at Immigration	Occupation	Attending School	Able to Read	Able to Write	Speaks English	Home Owned or Rented	Owned Free or Mortgage
225	Schumm	John	Son	W	M	18	S	Maryland	Germany	Germany			Butcher		y	y	y		
225	Fritsch	Annie	Daughter	W	F	24	M	Maryland	Germany	Germany					y	y	y		
225	Kline	Mary	Daughter	W	F	23	M	Maryland	Germany	Germany					y	y	y		
225	Kline	Lizzie	Daughter	W	F	5	S	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland					n	n	y		
225	Kline	John	Grandchild	W	M	3	S	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland					n	n	y		
225	Kline	Lamis	Grandchild	W	M	2	S	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland					n	n	y		
225	Kline	Mary	Grandchild	W	F	1	S	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland					n	n	y		
225	Thieman	Louis	Son	W	M	26	S	Maryland	Germany	Germany			Shoemaker		y	y	y		
223	Evers	William	Head	W	M	49	M	Maryland	Germany	Ireland			Salesman		y	y	y	O	F
223	Evers	Jennie	Wife	W	F	47	M	Canada	Canada	Canada					y	y	y		
223	Evers	Julia	Daughter	W	F	22	S	Maryland	Maryland	Canada					y	y	y		
223	Evers	James	Son	W	M	17	S	Maryland	Maryland	Canada			Salesman		y	y	y		
223	Evers	Emma	Daughter	W	F	14	S	Maryland	Maryland	Canada					y	y	y		
223	Evers	Henry	Son	W	M	10	S	Maryland	Maryland	Canada					y	y	y		
223	Evers	Jennie	Daughter	W	F	8	S	Maryland	Maryland	Canada				y	y	y			
223	Evers	Louis	Son	W	M	2	S	Maryland	Maryland	Canada					n	n	y		
223	Evers	Willard	Brother	W	M	44	S	Maryland	Germany	Germany			Salesman		y	y	y		
221	Litchkey	Herman	Head	W	M	37	M	Maryland	Germany	Germany			Laborer		y	y	y	R	
221	Litchkey	Sara	Wife	W	F	40	M	Maryland	Maryland	Ireland					y	y	y		
221	Litchkey	John	Son	W	M	9	M	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland				y	y	y			
221	Litchkey	Herman	Son	W	M	7	S	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland					n	n	y		
221	Litchkey	Albert	Son	W	M	2	S	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland					n	n	y		
221	Litchkey	George	Son	W	M	1	S	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland					n	n	n		
221	Barton	Annie	Sister-In-Law	W	M	25	S	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland					y	y	y		
217	Welch	Matthew	Head	W	M	23	M	Maryland	Ireland	Ireland			Baker		y	y	y	R	
217	Welch	Emma	Wife	W	F	19	M	Maryland	Maryland	Pennsylvania					y	y	y		
217	Welch	Matthew	Son	W	M	1	S	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland					n	n	n		
215	Byrnes	Maurice	Head	W	M	55	M	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland			Seaman		y	y	y	R	
215	Byrnes	Mary	Wife	W	F	54	M	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland					y	y	y		
213	Gary	Michael	Head	W	M	45	M	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland			Laborer		y	y	y	R	
213	Gary	Nora	Wife	W	F	45	M	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland					y	y	y		
213	Gary	Bridget	Daughter	W	F	17	S	Maryland	Ireland	Ireland					y	y	y		
211	McGinn	Robert	Head	W	M	53	M	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland			Seaman		y	y	y	O	F
211	McGinn	Mary	Wife	W	F	55	M	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland					y	y	y		
211	McGinn	John	Brother	W	M	50	S	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland			Seaman		y	y	y		
207	Welch	Kate	Head	W	F	40	W	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland					y	y	y	O	F
207	Welch	Matthew	Son	W	M	24	S	Maryland	Ireland	Ireland			Laborer		y	y	y		
207	Welch	Hannah	Daughter	W	F	21	S	Maryland	Ireland	Ireland			Cigar Maker		y	y	y		
207	Welch	Myrtte	Daughter	W	F	19	S	Maryland	Ireland	Ireland					y	y	y		

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207	Cummins	Nora	Mother	W	F	70	W	Maryland	Ireland	Ireland					y	y	y		
207	Nordila	Mary	Aunt	W	F	62	S	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland					y	y	y		
207	Welch	Mary	Daughter	W	F	15	S	Maryland	Ireland	Ireland			Cigar Maker		y	y	y		
207	Ritz	Louis	Boarder	W	M	32	M	Maryland	Germany	Germany			Seaman		y	y	y		
207	Ritz	Alice	Boarder	W	F	48	M	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania					y	y	y		

## Appendix E: 1910 US Census

House Num.	Last Name	First Name	Relationship	Sex	Race	Age	Mar. Stat.	Birthplace	Birthplace Father	Birthplace Mother	Year of Immi-gration	Age at Immi-gration	Speaks English	Occupation	Industry	Type of Employment	Able to Read	Able to Write	Atten. School	Home Owned or Rented	Owned Free or Mortg.
212	Cooney	Harry	Head	M	W	51	M	Virginia	Ireland	Ireland			y	Laborer	Street Work	W	y	y		R	
212	Cooney	Margaret	Wife	F	W	51	M	Maryland	England	England			y				y	y			
212	McCarthy	Mary	Mother-In-Law	F	W	83	W	England	England	England	1857	30	y				y	y			
216	Einwich	Joseph	Head	Head	M	20	M	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland			y	Bookkeeper	Ice House	W	y	y			
216	Einwich	Maril	Wife	Wife	F	19	M	Maryland	Germany	Maryland			y				y	y			
216	Einwich	Joseph	Son	Son	M	1	S	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland											
218	Rahley	John	Head	M	W	48	M	Maryland	Germany	Germany			y	Boilermaker	Ship Yard	W	y	y			
218	Rahley	Rosina	Wife	M	W	44	M	West Virginia	Virginia	Germany			y				y	y			
218	Rahley	Augusta	Son	F	W	20	S	Maryland	Maryland	West Virginia			y	Laborer	Cooper Shop	W	y	y	n		
218	Rahley	Charles	Son	M	W	18	S	Maryland	Maryland	West Virginia			y	Apprentice	Stove Moulding	W	y	y	n		
218	Rahley	Rosina	Daughter	M	W	15	S	Maryland	Maryland	West Virginia			y				y	y	n		
218	Rahley	Mary	Daughter	F	W	13	S	Maryland	Maryland	West Virginia			y				y	y	y		
218	Rahley	Ella	Daughter	F	W	11	S	Maryland	Maryland	West Virginia			y				y	y	y		
218	Rahley	Lillian	Daughter	F	W	6	S	Maryland	Maryland	West Virginia											
218	Rahley	Christina	Daughter	F	W	3	S	Maryland	Maryland	West Virginia											
218	Rahley	Catherine	Daughter	F	W	2	S	Maryland	Maryland	West Virginia											
220	Rozycki	Wladyslaw	Head	M	W	37	M	German Poland	German Poland	German Poland	1898	25	y	Interpreter	Hospital	W	y	y		R	
220	Rozycki	Stanslaw	Wife	F	W	42	M	German Poland	German Poland	German Poland	1896	28	y				y	y			
220	Rozycki	Bogumil	Son	M	W	10	S	Illinois	German Poland	German Poland			y				y	y	y		
220	Rozycki	Adam	Son	M	W	9	S	Illinois	German Poland	German Poland									y		
220	Rozycki	Miron	Son	M	W	6	S	New York	German Poland	German Poland											
220	Rozycki	Rrystyna	Daughter	F	W	4	S	Maryland	German Poland	German Poland											
220	Rozycki	Irena	Daughter	F	W	2	S	Maryland	German Poland	German Poland											
220	Rozycki	Tadeuse	Son	M	W	1	S	Maryland	German Poland	German Poland											
222	Hagan	Peter	Head	M	W	38	M	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland			y	Fireman	Public Building	W	y	y		R	
222	Hagan	Mary	Wife	F	W	37	M	Maryland	England	Ireland			y				y	y			
222	Hagan	Ellan	Daughter	F	W	7	S	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland							y	y	y		
224	Listz	Roberk	Head	M	W	48	W	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland			y	Lumber Worker	Saw Mill	W	y	y		R	
224	Thompson	Mary	Foster ???	F	W	69	W	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland	1863	22	y				y	y			
228	Libewski	Frank	Head	M	W	59	M	Germany	Germany	Germany	1885	34	y	Stevedore	Boat	W	y	y		O	M
228	Libewski	Augusta	Wife	F	W	50	M	Germany	Germany	Germany	1885	25	y				n	n			
230	Fuchs	Annie	Head	F	W	50	W	Germany	Germany	Germany	1860	0	y	Saleslady	Grocery Store	W	y	y		O	F
230	Fuchs	Girad	Son	M	W	17	S	Maryland	Germany	Germany			y	Printer	Print Shop	W	y	y	n		
230	Fuchs	George	Son	M	W	15	S	Maryland	Germany	Germany			y	Errand Boy	Dept Store	W	y	y	n		
230	Fuchs	Frederich	Son	M	W	10	S	Maryland	Germany	Germany			y				y	y	y		
232	Denzlein	John	Head	M	W	46	M	Germany	Germany	Germany	1890	26	y	Laborer	Stable	W	y	y		O	F
232	Denzlein	Margarett	Wife	F	W	46	M	Germany	Germany	Germany	1890	26	y				y	y			

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232	Denzlein	John	Son	M	W	10	S	Maryland	Germany	Germany			y				y	y	y		
232	Denzlein	Michael	Son	M	W	6	S	Maryland	Germany	Germany									y		
234	Buedel	Elizabeth	Head	F	W	46	W	Germany	Germany	Germany	1880	16	y	Dressmaker	At Home	OA	y	y		O	F
234	Buedel	Conrad	Son	M	W	21	S	Maryland	Germany	Germany			y	Salesman	Grocery Store	W	y	y	n		
234	Buedel	Margaret	Daughter	F	W	19	S	Maryland	Germany	Germany			y	Seamstress	Factory	W	y	y	n		
234	Buedel	Elizabeth	Daughter	F	W	17	S	Maryland	Germany	Germany			y	Seamstress	Factory	W	y	y	n		
234	Buedel	Barbara	Daughter	F	W	15	S	Maryland	Germany	Germany			y	Seamstress	Factory	W	y	y	n		
234	Buedel	Anna	Daughter	F	W	10	S	Maryland	Germany	Germany			y				y	y	y		
236	Reidel	John	Head	M	W	43	M	Maryland	Germany	Germany			y	Laborer	Railroad	W	y	y		R	
236	Reidel	Louise	Wife	F	W	41	M	Maryland	Germany	Germany			y				y	y			
236	Reidel	Norman	Son	M	W	4	S	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland											
238	Pasterfield	William	Head	M	W	54	M	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland			y	Laborer	Odd Jobs	W	y	y		R	
238	Pasterfield	Mary	Wife	F	W	46	M	Maryland	Germany	Germany			y				y	y			
238	Pasterfield	William	Son	M	W	24	S	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland			y				n	n			
238	Pasterfield	Gertrude	Daughter	F	W	22	S	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland			y	Operator	Shirt Manufacturer	W	y	y			
238	Pasterfield	Molly	Daughter	F	W	20	S	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland			y	Operator	Shirt Manufacturer	W	y	y	y		
238	Pasterfield	Matilda	Daughter	F	W	19	S	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland			y				y	y	y		
238	Pasterfield	Paulinem	Daughter	F	W	13	S	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland			y				y	y	y		
240	Rabbelt	Joseph	Head	M	W	41	M	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland			y	Driver	Lumber Wagon	W	y	y		R	
240	Rabbelt	Annie	Wife	F	W	34	M	Maryland	Maryland	German			y				y	y			
240	Rabbelt	Margaret	Daughter	M	W	11	S	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland			y				y	y	y		
240	Rabbelt	Charles	Son	M	W	14	S	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland			y	Laborer	Box Manufacturer	W	y	y	y		
240	Rabbelt	Frank	Son	M	W	9	S	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland									y		
240	Rabbelt	August	Son	M	W	5	S	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland									n		
242	Weglein	Valtine	Head	M	W	33	M	Maryland	Germany	Maryland			y	Mailer	Box Manufacturer	W	y	y		R	
242	Weglein	Sophia	Wife	F	W	35	M	Maryland	Germany	Maryland			y				y	y			
242	Weglein	Katie	Daughter	F	W	10	S	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland			y				y	y	y		
242	Weglein	William	Son	M	W	8	S	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland									y		
242	Weglein	Edward	Son	M	W	5	S	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland									y		
242	Weglein	Marie	Daughter	F	W	2	S	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland											
246	Smith	John	Head	M	W	29	M	Maryland	Germany	Germany			y	Fireman	???	W	y	y		R	
246	Smith	Julia	Wife	F	W	37	M	Maryland	Germany	Germany			y				y	y			
246	Smith	Anna	Daughter	F	W	2	S	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland											
246	Smith	John	Son	M	W	0	S	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland											
246	Markest	Clair	Stepchild	F	W	16	S	Maryland	Germany	Maryland			y	Operator	Shirt Manufacturer		y	y	y		
246	Markest	Pauline	Stepchild	F	W	15	S	Maryland	Germany	Maryland			y	Operator	Shirt Manufacturer		y	y	y		
246	Markest	Joseph	Stepchild	M	W	12	S	Maryland	Germany	Maryland			y				y	y	y		

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248	Stone	Jos	Grandchild	M	W	27	S	Maryland	Maryland	Virginia			y	Electrician	Oil Worker	W	y	y			
248	Stone	Henry	Grandchild	M	W	2	S	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland											
248	Chirveral	Beuluk	Grandchild	F	W	19	M	Maryland	Virginia	Virginia			y	Dipper	Candy Factory	W	y	y	n		
248	Chirveral	Allen	Grandchild	M	W	3	S	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland											
248	Hulbott	Estella	Grandchild	F	W	17	S	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland			y	Dipper	Candy Factory	W	y	y	n		
250	Ditzell	Conard	Head	M	W	70	M	Germany	Germany	Germany	1863	23	y	Laborer	Builder	W	y	y		R	
250	Ditzell	Marie	Wife	F	W	71	M	Germany	Germany	Germany	1865	26	y				y	y			
250	Ditzell	Henry	Son	M	W	48	S	Germany	Germany	Germany	1867	5	y	Grinder	Spice Manufacturing	W	y	y			
250	Ditzell	Margaret	Daughter	F	W	34	S	Maryland	Germany	Germany			y	Forlady	Drug House	W	y	y			
250	Ditzell	Elizabeth	Daughter	F	W	32	S	Maryland	Germany	Germany			y				y	y			
252	Pugh	Josephine	Head	F	W	35	W	Maryland	Germany	Germany			y								
252	Pugh	Frank	Son	M	W	18	S	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland			y	Stevedore	Wharf	W	y	y	n		
252	Pugh	William	Son	M	W	16	S	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland			y	Helper	Box Manufacturer	W	y	y	n		
252	Pugh	John	Son	M	W	13	S	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland			y				y	y	y		
252	Pugh	Margaret	Daughter	F	W	10	S	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland			y				y	y	y		
252	Lelen	Ferdinand	Boarder	M	W	30	S	Maryland	Germany	Germany			y	Fireman	???	W	y	y	y		
254	Boehlein	Frank	Head	M	W	48	M	Germany	Germany	Germany	1861	-1	y	Capper	Packing House	W	y	y		R	
254	Boehlein	Fran	Wife	F	W	39	M	Virginia	Virginia	Virginia			y	Oyster Peddler	Street Work	OA	n	n			
254	Boehlein	Kerrigunde	Daughter	F	W	2	S	Maryland	Germany	Virginia			y				y	y			
254	Boehlein	Bergard	Son	M	W	0	S	Maryland	Germany	Virginia											
254	Parker	Rita	Stepchild	F	W	18	S	Florida	Virginia	Virginia			y	???	???	W	y	y	n		
254	Parker	Rob	Stepchild	M	W	14	S	Virginia	Virginia	Virginia			y	???	???	W	y	y	n		
247	Burke	W A	Head	M	W	49	M	Germany	Germany	Germany	1880	19	y				y	y		O	
247	Burke	Elizabeth	Wife	F	W	50	M	Maryland	Germany	Germany			y				y	y			
247	Burke	John	Son	M	W	18	S	Maryland	Germany	Maryland			y	Bookkeeper	Foundry	W	y	y	y		
247	Burke	Elizabeth	Daughter	F	W	17	S	Maryland	Germany	Maryland			y	Forelady	Packing House	W	y	y	y		
247	Burke	Marie	Daughter	F	W	16	S	Maryland	Germany	Maryland			y	Cook	Packing House	W	y	y	y		
247	Burke	Edward	Son	M	W	14	S	Maryland	Germany	Maryland			y	Helper	Chain Factory	W	y	y	y		
247	Burke	Virginia	Daughter	F	W	9	S	Maryland	Germany	Maryland			y						y		
245	Herrmann	John	Head	M	W	54	M	Germany	Germany	Germany	1872	16	y	Driver	Carpenter	W	y	y		R	
245	Herrmann	Anna	Wife	F	W	55	M	Maryland	Germany	Germany			y				y	y			
245	Herrmann	Andrew	Son	M	W	25	S	Maryland	Germany	Maryland			y	Carpenter	House	W	y	y			
245	Herrmann	Margaret	Daughter	F	W	21	S	Maryland	Germany	Maryland			y	Operator	???	W	y	y	n		
243	Roehrer	Barbara	Head	F	W	67	W	Germany	Germany	Germany	unk		y							R	
243	Roehrer	Fredich	Son	M	W	30	S	Maryland	Germany	Germany			y	Mailer	Dry Goods Store	y	y				
243	Roehrer	Kate	Daughter	F	W	45	S	Maryland	Germany	Germany			y	Seamstress	Shirt Manufacturer	y	y				
243	Roehrer	Mary	Daughter	F	W	42	S	Maryland	Germany	Germany			y	Seamstress	Shirt Manufacturer	y	y				

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243	Roehrer	Lennie	Daughter	F	W	32	S	Maryland	Germany	Germany			y			y	y				
241	Caulfield	Anthony	Head	F	W	32	W	Germany	Germany	Germany	1888	10	y				y	y		R	
241	Caulfield	Joseph	Son	M	W	5	S	Maryland	Ireland	Germany							y	y			
241	Caulfield	Anna	Daughter	F	W	10	S	Maryland	Ireland	Germany			y						n		
241	Caulfield	Marie	Daughter	F	W	7	S	Maryland	Ireland	Germany							n	n	y		
241	Busher	Joseph	Father	M	W	70	M	Germany	Germany	Germany	1888	48	y	Laborer	City Work	W	n	n			
241	Busher	Pauline	Mother	F	W	65	M	Germany	Germany	Germany	1888	43	y				n	n			
239	Whatmough	George	Head	M	W	46	M	England	England	England	1882	18	y	Laborer	Odd Jobs	W	y	y		R	
239	Whatmough	Lillia	Wife	F	W	38	M	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland			y				y	y			
239	Whatmough	Marie	Daughter	F	W	11	S	Maryland	England	Maryland			y				y	y	y		
239	Whatmough	Lloyd	Son	M	W	9	S	Maryland	England	Maryland									y		
239	Whatmough	Wilfred	Son	M	W	5	S	Maryland	England	Maryland									y		
239	Whatmough	Hariet	Daughter	F	W	3	S	Maryland	England	Maryland											
237	Meyer	Wiliam	Head	M	W	26	M	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland			y	Plumber	New Builder	W	y	y		R	
237	Meyer	Emma	Wife	F	W	24	M	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland			y				y	y			
237	Meyer	Julia	Daughter	F	W	4	S	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland											
237	Meyer	William	Son	M	W	2	S	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland											
237	Meyer	Emily	Daughter	F	W	0	S	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland											
235	Pick	William	Head	M	W	33	M	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland										R	
235	Pick	Frederica	Wife	F	W	36	M	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland			y	Machinist	Machine Shop	W	y	y			
235	Pick	John	Son	M	W	5	S	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland			y				y	y			
235	Pick	William	Son	M	W	0	S	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland									n		
231	Lohnchart	Henry	Head	M	W	46	M	Germany	Germany	Germany	1880	16	y	Miller	Mill Work	W	y	y			
231	Lohnchart	Anna	Wife	F	W	35	M	Maryland	Germany	Germany			y				y	y			
231	Lohnchart	John	Son	M	W	16	S	Maryland	Germany	Germany			y	Miller	Mill Work	W	y	y	n		
231	Lohnchart	William	Son	M	W	15	S	Maryland	Germany	Maryland			y	Miller	Mill Work	W	y	y	n		
231	Lohnchart	Eddie	Son	M	W	13	S	Maryland	Germany	Maryland			y	Miller	Mill Work	W	y	y	n		
231	Lohnchart	Marie	Daughter	F	W	9	S	Maryland	Germany	Maryland									y		
231	Lohnchart	Edna	Daughter	F	W	11	S	Maryland	Germany	Maryland			y				y	y	y		
231	Lohnchart	Carl	Son	M	W	6	S	Maryland	Germany	Maryland									y		
231	Lohnchart	Harry	Son	M	W	4	S	Maryland	Germany	Maryland									y		
231	Lohnchart	George	Son	M	W	2	S	Maryland	Germany	Maryland											
231	Withig	Remder	Boarder	M	W	65	W	Germany	Germany	Germany	1870	25	y	Laborer	City	W	y	y		R	
229	Siegmund	Charles	Head	M	W	46	M	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania			y	Clerk	???	W	y	y			
229	Siegmund	Margarte	Wife	F	W	33	M	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland			y				y	y			
229	Siegmund	Catherine	Daughter	F	W	12	S	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland			y				y	y	y		
227	Weglein	John	Head	M	W	31	M	Maryland	Maryland	Unknown			y	Box Maker	Box Manufacturer	W	y	y		R	
227	Weglein	Julia	Wife	F	W	32	M	Maryland	Maryland	Canada			y				y	y			
227	Weglein	John	Son	M	W	8	S	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland									y		
227	Weglein	Louis	Son	M	W	2	S	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland											

House Num.	Last Name	First Name	Relationship	Sex	Race	Age	Mar. Stat.	Birthplace	Birthplace Father	Birthplace Mother	Year of Immi-gration	Age at Immi-gration	Speaks English	Occupation	Industry	Type of Employ-ment	Able to Read	Able to Write	Atten. School	Home Owned or Rented	Owned Free or Mortg.
225	Shumm	Mary	Head	F	W	71	W	Germany	Germany	Germany	unk		y				y	y		O	F
225	Shumm	Louis	Son	M	W	37	S	Maryland	Germany	Germany			y	Edge Setter	Shoe Factory	W	y	y			
225	Shumm	John	Son	M	W	28	S	Maryland	Germany	Germany			y	Salesman	Meat Store	W	y	y			
223	Evers	William	Head	M	W	59	M	Maryland	Maryland	Ireland			y	Produce Dealer	Market	OA	y	y		O	F
223	Evers	Jennie	Wife	F	W	58	M	Canada	Canada	Canada	1862	10	y				y	y			
223	Evers	Henry	Son	M	W	21	S	Maryland	Maryland	Canada			y	Produce Dealer	Market	OA	y	y	y		
223	Evers	Jinnie	Daughter	F	W	18	S	Maryland	Maryland	Canada			y				y	y	y		
223	Evers	Louis	Son	M	W	12	S	Maryland	Maryland	Canada			y				y	y	y		
221	Zeiger	Otto	Head	M	W	51	M	Germany	Germany	Germany	1891	32	y	Shoemaker	Own Shop	OA	y	y		O	M
221	Zeiger	Fredericka	Wife	F	W	51	M	Germany	Germany	Germany	1891	32	y				n	n			
221	Zeiger	Otto	Son	M	W	21	S	Germany	Germany	Germany	1891	2	y	Conductor	Street Car	W	y	y	n		
221	Zeiger	Ida	Daughter	F	W	19	S	Germany	Germany	Germany	1891	0	y	Seamstress	Overall Factory	W	y	y	n		
219	Stapleton	Margaret	Head	F	W	29	S	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland	1884	3	y	Decorator	Pottery	W	y	y		R	
219	Stapleton	Patrick	Brother	M	W	25	S	Maryland	Ireland	Ireland			y	Shade Maker	Window Shade Manufacturer	W	y	y			
217	Dorn	Barbara	Head	F	W	58	W	Germany	Germany	Germany	1872	20	y				y	y		R	
217	Dorn	Frank	Son	M	W	19	S	Germany	Germany	Germany			y	Carpenter	Street Car	W	y	y			
213	Missington	James	Head	M	W	32	M	Maryland	Germany	Germany			y	Capper	Can Factory	W	y	y	n	R	
213	Missington	Dora	Wife	F	W	34	M	Maryland	Germany	Germany			y				y	y			
213	Missington	George	Son	M	W	4	S	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland											
213	Zimsun	Albert	Brother-In-Law	M	W	43	S	Maryland	Germany	Germany			y	Capper	Can Factory	W	y	y			
211	McGinn	Robert	Head	M	W	76	M	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland	1833	-1	y	Own income			y	y		O	F
211	McGinn	Mary	Wife	F	W	76	M	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland	1834	0	y				y	y			
209	Airey	Sondain	Head	M	W	58	M	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland			y	Carpenter	Ship Yard	W	y	y		R	
209	Airey	Eugenia	Wife	F	W	48	M	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland			y				y	y			
209	Airey	Eugene	Son	M	W	23	S	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland			y	Pipefitter	Ship Yard	W	y	y			
209	Airey	Laura	Daughter	F	W	20	S	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland			y				y	y	n		
209	Airey	George	Son	M	W	17	S	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland			y	Machine Hand	Furniture Factory	W	y	y	n		
207	Walter	Maggie	Head	M	W	50	W	Maryland	Unknown	Maryland			y	Servant	Private Family	W	n	n		R	
207	Walter	Conard	Son	M	W	21	S	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland			y	Laborer	Manufacturing Plant	W	y	y	n		
207	Lee	James	Boarder	M	W	44	S	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland			y	???	Odd Jobs	OA	y	y			
205	Mark	Herman	Head	M	W	49	M	Germany	Germany	Germany	1888	27	y	Stevedore	Boat	W	y	y		O	F
205	Mark	Christion	Wife	F	W	48	M	Germany	Germany	Germany	1896	34	y				y	y			
205	Mark	Karie	Daughter	F	W	21	D	Maryland	Germany	Germany			y				y	y	n		
205	Mark	Edward	Son	M	W	11	S	Maryland	Germany	Germany			y				y	y	y		
205	Mark	George	Son	M	W	9	S	Maryland	Germany	Germany									y		
205	Mark	August	Son	M	W	1	S	Maryland	Germany	Germany											
205	Lohamer	Gustave	Boarder	M	W	16	S	Maryland	Germany	Germany			y	Laborer	Can Factory		y	y	n		

## Appendix F: 1920 US Census

House Num.	Last Name	First Name	Relationship	Home Own or Rent	Free or Mortg.	Sex	Race	Age	Marital Status	Year of Immi-gration	Age at Immi-gration	Attn. School	Able to Read	Able to Write	Birthplace	Mother Tongue	Birthplace Father	Mother Tongue Father	Birthplace Mother	Mother Tongue Mother	Speaks English	Occupation	Industry	Type of Employment
212	Distefano	Seagis	Head	O	M	M	W	35	M	1908	23		yes	yes	Italy	Italian	Italy	Italian	Italy	Italian	yes			
212	Distefano	Josephine	Wife			F	W	34	M	1908	22		yes	yes	Italy		Italy	Italian	Italy	Italian	no			
212	Distefano	Lafaiskas	Son			M	W	10	S			yes	yes	yes	Maryland		Italy	Italian	Italy	Italian	yes			
212	Distefano	Thomas	Son			M	W	9	S			yes	yes	yes	Maryland		Italy	Italian	Italy	Italian	yes			
212	Distefano	Sadie	Daughter			F	W	6	S			yes			Maryland		Italy	Italian	Italy	Italian				
212	Distefano	Annie	Daughter			F	W	5	S			no			Maryland		Italy	Italian	Italy	Italian				
212	Distefano	Mary	Daughter			F	W	3	S						Maryland		Italy	Italian	Italy	Italian				
212	Distefano	Maime	Daughter			F	W	3	S						Maryland		Italy	Italian	Italy	Italian				
214	Romeo	Samuel	Head	R		M	W	34	M	1903	17		yes	yes	Italy	Italian	Italy	Italian	Italy	Italian	yes	Barber	Barber Shop	W
214	Romeo	Laura	Wife			F	W	33	M	X			yes	yes	Maryland		Italy	Italian	Maryland	Italian	yes			
214	Romeo	Josephine	Daughter			F	W	13	S			yes	yes	yes	Maryland		Italy	Italian	Maryland		yes			
214	Romeo	Mary	Daughter			F	W	11	S			yes	yes	yes	Maryland		Italy	Italian	Maryland		yes			
214	Romeo	Leo	Son			M	W	9	S			yes			Maryland		Italy	Italian	Maryland					
214	Romeo	Margaret	Daughter			F	W	6	S			yes			Missouri		Italy	Italian	Maryland					
214	Romeo	Frank	Son			M	W	3	S						Maryland		Italy	Italian	Maryland					
214	Romeo	Samuel	Son			M	W	1	S						Maryland		Italy	Italian	Maryland					
216	Cronin	Annie	Head	R		F	W	48	W				yes	yes	Maryland		Ireland	Gaelic	Ireland	Gaelic	yes			
216	Cronin	Daniel	Son			M	W	26	S				yes	yes	Maryland		Maryland		Maryland		yes	Riveter	Shipyards	W
216	Cronin	John	Son			M	W	21	S			no	yes	yes	Maryland		Maryland		Maryland		yes			
216	Cronin	Katharine	Daughter			F	W	16	S			no	yes	yes	Maryland		Maryland		Maryland		yes	Press Hand	Flour Bag Factory	W
218	Dumphy	Thomas	Head	R		M	W	46	M				yes	yes	Maryland		Ireland	Gaelic	Ireland	Gaelic	yes	Oiler	Pumping Station	W
218	Dumphy	Mary	Wife			F	W	47	M				yes	yes	Maryland		Germany	German	Maryland		yes	Housework		
218	Dumphy	Mary	Daughter			F	W	15	S			no	yes	yes	Maryland		Maryland		Maryland		yes	Counter	Paper Bag Factory	W
218	Dumphy	Madeline	Daughter			F	W	14	S			yes	yes	yes	Maryland		Maryland		Maryland		yes			
218	Dumphy	John	Son			M	W	12	S			yes	yes	yes	Maryland		Maryland		Maryland		yes			
218	Dumphy	Thomas	Son			M	W	10	S			yes	yes	yes	Maryland		Maryland		Maryland		yes			
220	Sevandoska	Zag. ?	Head	O	M	M	W	34	M	1891	5		yes	yes	Poland	Polish	Poland	Polish	Poland	Polish	yes	Grinder	Foundry	W
220	Sevandoska	Helisa	Wife			F	W	30	M	X			yes	yes	Maryland		Austria	Polish	Maryland		yes			
220	Sevandoska	Anna	Daughter			F	W	11	S			yes	yes	yes	Maryland		Poland	Polish	Maryland					
220	Sevandoska	Francis	Daughter			F	W	8	S			yes			Maryland		Poland	Polish	Maryland					
220	Sevandoska	Frank	Son			M	W	5	S			yes			Maryland		Poland	Polish	Maryland					
220	Sevandoska	Brigtie	Daughter			F	W	2	S						Maryland		Poland	Polish	Poland					
220	Sevandoska	Talena	Mother			F	W	67	W	1891	38		yes	no	Poland	Polish	Poland	Polish	Poland	Polish	no			
222	Jacqkoski	Stanley	Head	O	M	M	W	37	M	1892	9		yes	yes	Poland	Polish	Poland	Polish	Poland	Polish	yes	Moulder	Foundry	W
222	Jacqkoski	Stefanie	Wife			F	W	32	M	1914	26		yes	yes	Poland		Poland	Polish	Poland	Polish	no			
222	Jacqkoski	Gukerie	Daughter			F	W	15	S			no	yes	yes	Maryland		Poland	Polish	Poland	Polish	yes	Ironing Shirts	Shirt Factory	W
222	Jacqkoski	Adam	Son			M	W	13	S			yes	yes	yes	Maryland		Poland	Polish	Poland	Polish	yes			

House Num.	Last Name	First Name	Relationship	Home Own or Rent	Free or Mortg.	Sex	Race	Age	Marital Status	Year of Immigration	Age at Immigration	Attn. School	Able to Read	Able to Write	Birthplace	Mother Tongue	Birthplace Father	Mother Tongue Father	Birthplace Mother	Mother Tongue Mother	Speaks English	Occupation	Industry	Type of Employment
222	Jaczkoski	John	Son			M	W	4	S						Maryland		Poland	Polish	Poland	Polish				
222	Jaczkoski	Sigmund	Son			M	W	2	S						Maryland		Poland	Polish	Poland	Polish				
222	Jaczkoski	Staniskus	Son			M	W	0	S						Maryland		Poland	Polish	Poland	Polish				
224	Barrett	Thomas	Head	R		M	W	48	M				yes	yes	Maryland		Ireland	Gaelic	Ireland	Gaelic	yes	Wharf Builder	Machine	W
224	Barrett	Minnie	Wife			F	W	37	M				yes	yes	Maryland		Germany	German	Germany	Germany	yes			
224	Barrett	Richard	Son			M	W	17	S			no	yes	yes	Maryland		Maryland		Maryland		yes	Dockhand	Tugboat	W
224	Barrett	Madeline	Daughter			F	W	15	S			yes	yes	yes	Maryland		Maryland		Maryland		yes			
224	Barrett	Anna	Daughter			F	W	12	S			yes	yes	yes	Maryland		Maryland		Maryland		yes			
224	Barrett	Jerome	Son			M	W	9	S			yes			Maryland		Maryland		Maryland					
224	Barrett	Mildred	Daughter			F	W	8	S			yes			Maryland		Maryland		Maryland					
224	Barrett	Evelyn	Daughter			F	W	5	S			no			Maryland		Maryland		Maryland					
226	Sinlesa	Felip	Head	O	M	M	W	29	M	1908	17		yes	yes	Poland	Polish	Poland	Polish	Poland	Polish	yes	Laborer	Shipyard	W
226	Sinlesa	Stella	Wife			F	W	23	M	1913	16		yes	yes	Poland	Polish	Poland	Polish	Poland	Polish	yes			
226	Sinlesa	Mary	Daughter			F	W	8	S			yes			Maryland		Poland	Polish	Poland	Polish				
226	Sinlesa	William	Son			M	W	5	S			yes			Maryland		Poland	Polish	Poland	Polish				
226	Sinlesa	Francis	Daughter			F	W	4	S						Maryland		Poland	Polish	Poland	Polish				
226	Sinlesa	Ginnie	Daughter			F	W	3	S						Maryland		Poland	Polish	Poland	Polish				
226	Sinlesa	James	Son			M	W	2	S						Maryland		Poland	Polish	Poland	Polish				
228	Siblinski	Franz	Head	O	F	M	W	59	M	1882	21		yes	yes	Germany	German	Germany	German	Germany	German	yes	Laborer	Copper Factory	W
228	Siblinski	Augusta	Wife			F	W	60	M	1882	22		no	no	Germany	German	Germany	German	Germany	German	no	Sweeper	Telephone Office	W
230	Fuchs	Anna	Head	O	F	F	W	60	W	1861	1		yes	yes	Germany	German	Germany	German	Germany	German	yes	Grocery Store	at home	OA
230	Fuchs	George	Son			M	W	27	S				yes	yes	Maryland		Germany	German	Germany	German	yes	Shipfitter	Shipyard	W
230	Fuchs	Frederick	Son			M	W	20	S			no	yes	yes	Maryland		Germany	German	Germany	German	yes	Driver	Bakery Wagon	W
232	Wacker	Frederick	Head	O	M	M	W	26	M				yes	yes	Maryland		Germany	German	Maryland		yes	Boxmaker	Box Factory	W
232	Wacker	Mary	Wife			F	W	30	M	1890	0		yes	yes	Maryland		Russian Poland	Poland	Germany	German	yes			
232	Wacker	Francis	Daughter			F	W	7	S			yes			Maryland		Maryland		Maryland					
232	Wacker	John	Son			M	W	5	S			yes			Maryland		Maryland		Maryland					
232	Wacker	William	Son			M	W	3	S						Maryland		Maryland		Maryland					
234	Sewandeski	Edward	Head	O	M	M	W	38	M				yes	yes	Russian Poland	Polish	Russian Poland	Polish	Russian Poland	Polish	yes	Laborer	Foundry	W
234	Sewandeski	Mary	Wife			F	W	32	M						Maryland		Russian Poland	Polish	Austrian Poland	Polish	yes			
234	Sewandeski	Adam	Son			M	W	11	S			yes	yes	yes	Maryland		Russian Poland	Polish	Maryland		yes			
234	Sewandeski	Frank	Son			M	W	9	S			yes			Maryland		Russian Poland	Polish	Maryland					
234	Sewandeski	Joseph	Son			M	W	6	S			yes			Maryland		Russian Poland	Polish	Maryland					
234	Sewandeski	Eva	Daughter			F	W	3	S						Maryland		Russian Poland	Polish	Maryland					
236	Stagorski	Jessie	Head	O	M	M	W	25	M	1913	18		yes	yes	Poland	Polish	Poland	Polish	Poland	Polish	yes	Stevedore	Wharf	W
236	Stagorski	Catherine	Wife			F	W	35	M	1890	5		yes	yes	Poland	Polish	Poland	Polish	Poland	Polish	yes			

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236	Stagorski	Frank	Stepchild			M	W	15	S				no	yes	yes	Maryland		Poland	Polish	Poland	Polish	yes	Errand Boy	Tailor Shop	W
236	Stagorski	Michael	Stepchild			M	W	13	S				yes	yes	yes	Maryland		Poland	Polish	Poland	Polish	yes			
236	Stagorski	Mary	Stepchild			F	W	11	S				yes	yes	yes	Maryland		Poland	Polish	Poland	Polish	yes			
236	Stagorski	Walter	Son			M	W	8	S				yes			Maryland		Poland	Polish	Poland	Polish				
236	Stagorski	Rose	Daughter			F	W	7	S				yes			Maryland		Poland	Polish	Poland	Polish				
236	Stagorski	Helen	Daughter			F	W	3	S							Maryland		Poland	Polish	Poland	Polish				
236	Stagorski	Jessie	Son			M	W	2	S							Maryland		Poland	Polish	Poland	Polish				
236	Stagorski	Raymond	Son			M	W	1	S							Maryland		Poland	Polish	Poland	Polish				
238	Dombrowski	Frank	Head	O	F	M	W	35	M							Maryland		Poland	Polish	Poland	Polish	yes	Engineer	Launch	W
238	Dombrowski	Carrie	Wife			F	W	30	M							Maryland		Poland	Polish	Poland	Polish	yes			
238	Dombrowski	Marie	Daughter			F	W	10	S				yes	yes	yes	Maryland		Maryland		Maryland					
240	Hagar	Peter	Head	R		M	W	48	M					yes	yes	Maryland		Ireland	Gaelic	Maryland		yes	Laborer	Shipyard	W
240	Hagar	Mary	Wife			M	W	47	M					yes	yes	Maryland		Ireland	Gaelic	Ireland	Gaelic	yes			
240	Dumphy	Ella	Boarder			M	W	24	M				no	yes	yes	Maryland		Maryland		Maryland		yes			
240	Dumphy	Buster	Boarder			M	W	22	M					yes	yes	Maryland		Maryland		Maryland		yes	Cabinetmaker	Factory	W
242	Fisher	Charles	Head	O	M	M	W	37	M					yes	yes	Maryland		Maryland		Maryland		yes	Worker	Gas & Electric Co	W
242	Fisher	Catherine	Wife			F	W	34	M					yes	yes	Maryland		England	English	Maryland		yes			
242	Fisher	Charles	Son			M	W	10	S					yes	yes	Maryland		Maryland		Maryland		yes			
242	Fisher	John	Son			M	W	7	S					yes		Maryland		Maryland		Maryland		yes			
242	Fabergack	Roonitt	Orphan			F	W	4	S							Maryland		Maryland		Maryland		yes			
244	Powell	Grover	Head	R		M	W	35	M					yes	yes	Maryland		Maryland		Maryland		Yes	Laborer	Shipyard	W
244	Powell	May	Wife			F	W	29	M					yes	yes	Maryland		Maryland		Maryland		Yes			
244	Powell	Grover	Son			M	W	8	S				yes			Maryland		Maryland		Maryland					
244	Powell	Robert	Son			M	W	6	S				yes			Maryland		Maryland		Maryland					
244	Powell	Leonard	Son			M	W	3	S							Maryland		Maryland		Maryland					
246	Lewondoski	James	Head	O	M	M	W	42	M	1890	12		yes	yes		Russian Poland	Polish	Russian Poland	Polish	Russian Poland	Polish	Yes	Laborer	Oilworks	W
246	Lewondoski	Mary	Wife			F	W	36	M	1900	16		no	no		Russian Poland	Polish	Russian Poland	Polish	Russian Poland	Polish	Yes			
246	Lewondoski	Antonia	Son			M	W	16	S				yes	yes	yes	Maryland		Russian Poland	Polish	Russian Poland	Polish	Yes	Laborer	Newspaper Plant	W
246	Lewondoski	Vanda	Daughter			F	W	14	S				yes	yes	yes	Maryland		Russian Poland	Polish	Russian Poland	Polish	Yes			
246	Lewondoski	Francis	Daughter			F	W	10	S				yes	yes	yes	Maryland		Russian Poland	Polish	Russian Poland	Polish	Yes			
246	Lewondoski	John	Son			M	W	7	S				yes			Maryland		Russian Poland	Polish	Russian Poland	Polish				
246	Lewondoski	Ida	Daughter			F	W	6	S				yes			Maryland		Russian Poland	Polish	Russian Poland	Polish				
246	Lewondoski	Mary	Daughter			F	W	3	S							Maryland		Russian Poland	Polish	Russian Poland	Polish				
246	Lewondoski	Virginia	Daughter			F	W	0	S							Maryland		Russian Poland	Polish	Russian Poland	Polish				
248	Pascal	John	Head	R		M	W	41	M					yes	yes	Maryland		Maryland		Maryland		Yes			
248	Pascal	Mary	Wife			F	W	36	M					yes	yes	Maryland		Maryland		Maryland		Yes			

House Num.	Last Name	First Name	Relationship	Home Own or Rent	Free or Mortg.	Sex	Race	Age	Marital Status	Year of Immigration	Age at Immigration	Attn. School	Able to Read	Able to Write	Birthplace	Mother Tongue	Birthplace Father	Mother Tongue Father	Birthplace Mother	Mother Tongue Mother	Speaks English	Occupation	Industry	Type of Employment
248	Ely	Wilson	Orphan			M	W	7	S			yes			Maryland		Maryland		Maryland					
252	Rochel	Christopher	Head	R		M	W	29	M				yes	yes	Maryland		Germany	German	Germany	German	Yes	Laborer	Shipyards	W
252	Rochel	Ilvesta	Wife			F	W	29	M				yes	yes	Maryland		Maryland		Maryland		Yes			
252	Rochel	Joseph	Son			M	W	13	S			yes	yes	yes	Maryland		Maryland		Maryland		Yes			
252	Rochel	John	Son			M	W	12	S			yes	yes	yes	Maryland		Maryland		Maryland		Yes			
254	Runsheimer	John	Head	R		M	W	74	W	1870	24		yes	yes	Germany	German	Germany	German	Germany	German	Yes	Paper Box Maker	Box Factory	W
254	Runsheimer	Elizabeth	Daughter			F	W	37	W				yes	yes	Maryland		Germany	German	Germany	German	Yes			
254	Jubb	Mary	Daughter			F	W	35	W				yes	yes	Maryland		Germany	German	Germany	German	Yes			
254	Mullen	Harry	Nephew			M	W	20	S			no	yes	yes	Maryland		Maryland		Maryland		Yes			
254	Runsheimer	Marie	Grandchild			F	W	12	S			yes	yes	yes	Maryland		Maryland		Maryland		Yes			
256	Jones	Edward	Head	R		M	W	33	M				yes	yes	Maryland		Maryland		Maryland		Yes	Laborer	Can Factory	W
256	Jones	Estelle	Wife			F	W	30	M				yes	yes	Maryland		Maryland		Maryland		Yes			
256	Jones	William	Son			M	W	12	S			yes	yes	yes	Maryland		Maryland		Maryland		Yes			
256	Jones	Emma	Daughter			F	W	11	S			yes	yes	yes	Maryland		Maryland		Maryland		Yes			
256	Jones	Charles	Son			M	W	7	S			yes			Maryland		Maryland		Maryland					
247	Marciszewski	Frank	Head	O	M	M	W	33	M	1905	18		no	no	Russian Poland	Polish	Russian Poland	Polish	Russian Poland	Polish	Yes	Stevedore	Uplands Ship	W
247	Marciszewski	Carola	Wife			F	W	32	M	1905	17		yes	yes	Russian Poland	Polish	Russian Poland	Polish	Russian Poland	Polish	Yes			
247	Marciszewski	Francis	Daughter			M	W	9	S			yes			Maryland		Russian Poland	Polish	Russian Poland	Polish				
247	Marciszewski	Raymond	Son			M	W	7	S			yes			Maryland		Russian Poland	Polish	Russian Poland	Polish				
247	Marciszewski	Shona	Daughter			F	W	5	S			no			Maryland		Russian Poland	Polish	Russian Poland	Polish				
247	Marciszewski	Andrew	Son			M	W	1	S						Maryland		Russian Poland	Polish	Russian Poland	Polish				
245	Stapleton	Patrick	Head	O	F	M	W	33	M				yes	yes	Maryland		Ireland	Gaelic	Ireland	Gaelic	Yes	Laborer	Municipal	W
245	Stapleton	Margaret	Wife			F	W	30	M				yes	yes	Maryland		Germany	German	Maryland		Yes			
245	Stapleton	Andrew	Son			M	W	4	S						Maryland		Maryland		Maryland					
245	Stapleton	Margaret	Daughter			F	W	2	S						Maryland		Maryland		Maryland					
245	Stapleton	Anna	Daughter			F	W	0	S						Maryland		Maryland		Maryland					
245	Harrmann	Anna	Mother-In-Law			F	W	64	W				yes	yes	Maryland		Germany	German	Germany	German	Yes			
243	Hollins	William	Head	O	M	M	W	37	M				yes	yes	Maryland		Maryland		Maryland		Yes	??	Oyster House	W
243	Hollins	Mamie	Wife			W	W	27	M				no	no	Maryland		English	English	Maryland		Yes			
243	Hollins	Bertha	Daughter			W	W	14	S			yes	yes	yes	Maryland		Maryland		Maryland		Yes			
243	Hollins	??	Son			M	W	7	S			yes			Maryland		Maryland		Maryland					
241	Caulfield	Antoinette	Head	R		F	W	42	W	1910	32		yes	yes	Germany	German	Germany	German	Germany	German	Yes			
241	Caulfield	Martha	Daughter			F	W	16	S			no	yes	yes	Maryland		Scotland	Scotch	Germany	German	Yes	Office Worker	Shoe Factory	W
241	Caulfield	James	Son			M	W	14	S			yes	yes	yes	Maryland		Scotland	Scotch	Germany	German	yes			
241	Caulfield	Margaret	Daughter			F	W	12	S			yes	yes	yes	Maryland		Scotland	Scotch	Germany	German	yes			
241	Rusker	Joseph	Father			M	W	79	M	1888	47		no	no	Germany	German	Germany	German	Germany	German	yes	Laborer	Junk Shop	W

House Num.	Last Name	First Name	Relationship	Home Own or Rent	Free or Mortg.	Sex	Race	Age	Marital Status	Year of Immigration	Age at Immigration	Attn. School	Able to Read	Able to Write	Birthplace	Mother Tongue	Birthplace Father	Mother Tongue Father	Birthplace Mother	Mother Tongue Mother	Speaks English	Occupation	Industry	Type of Employment
239	Smith	Andrew	Head	O	F	M	W	58	M				yes	yes	Maryland		Germany	German	Germany	German	yes	Boilermaker	Boiler Shop	W
239	Smith	Minnie	Wife			F	W	59	M				yes	no	Maryland		New York		Ireland	Gaelic	yes			
239	Dun	Mary	Daughter			F	W	22	M				yes	yes	Maryland		Maryland		Maryland		yes			
239	Dun	John	Son-In-Law			M	W	31	M				yes	yes	Maryland		Germany	German	Germany	German	yes	Driver	Stove Factory	W
239	Dun	Andrew	Grandchild			M	W	1	S						Maryland		Maryland		Maryland					
237	Pauloski	Edward	Head	O	M	M	W	36	M				yes	yes	Maryland		Poland	Polish	Poland	Polish	yes	Laborer	Stove Foundry	W
237	Pauloski	Bessie	Wife			F	W	31	M				no	no	Maryland		Poland	Polish	Poland	Polish	yes			
237	Pauloski	Peter	Son			M	W	8	S			yes			Maryland		Maryland		Maryland					
237	Pauloski	Beney	Son			M	W	5	S			yes			Maryland		Maryland		Maryland					
237	Pauloski	Ida	Daughter			F	W	1	S						Maryland		Maryland		Maryland					
231	Schuhart	Henry	Head	O	F	M	W	55	W	1890	25		yes	yes	Germany	German	Germany	German	Maryland		yes	Laborer	Saw Mill	W
231	Schuhart	John	Son			M	W	35	S				yes	yes	Maryland		Germany	German	Maryland		yes	Driver	Lumber Firm	W
231	Schuhart	Willie	Son			M	W	34	S				yes	yes	Maryland		Germany	German	Maryland		yes			
231	Schuhart	Edward	Son			M	W	22	S				yes	yes	Maryland		Germany	German	Maryland		yes	Driver	Lumber Firm	W
231	Schuhart	Marie	Daughter			F	W	19	S			no	yes	yes	Maryland		Germany	German	Maryland		yes			
231	Schuhart	Edna	Daughter			F	W	17	S			no	yes	yes	Maryland		Germany	German	Maryland		yes	Laborer	Paper Bag Factory	W
231	Schuhart	Carl	Son			M	W	15	S			yes	yes	yes	Maryland		Germany	German	Maryland		yes			
231	Schuhart	Mary	Son			M	W	13	S			yes	yes	yes	Maryland		Germany	German	Maryland		yes			
231	Schuhart	George	Son			M	W	11	S			yes	yes	yes	Maryland		Germany	German	Maryland		yes			
231	Schuhart	Jeannette	Daughter			F	W	9	S			yes			Maryland		Germany	German	Maryland					
231	Schuhart	Milton	Son			M	W	6	S			yes			Maryland		Germany	German	Maryland					
231	Schuhart	Catherine	Daughter			F	W	3	S						Maryland		Germany	German	Maryland					
229	Nassner	Samuel	Head	R		M	W	33	M				yes	yes	Maryland		Germany	German	Germany	German	yes	Pipefitter	Contractors	W
229	Nassner	Ella	Wife			F	W	29	M				yes	yes	Maryland		Germany	German	Maryland		yes			
229	Nassner	Bernardine	Daughter			F	W	8	S			yes			Maryland		Maryland		Maryland					
229	Nassner	Alverta	Daughter			F	W	6	S			yes			Maryland		Maryland		Maryland					
229	Nassner	Clarence	Son			M	W	0	S						Maryland		Maryland		Maryland					
229	Wacker	Henry	Father-In-Law			M	W	66	W	1869	15		yes	yes	Germany	German	Germany	German	Germany	German	yes	Laborer	Box Factory	W
227	Markouski	Alex	Head	R		M	W	28	M	1891	-1		yes	yes	Poland	Polish	Russian Poland	Polish	Russian Poland	Polish	yes			
227	Markouski	Anna	Wife			F	W	25	M				yes	yes	Maryland		Russian Poland	Polish	Russian Poland	Polish	yes			
227	Markouski	Mary	Daughter			F	W	5	S			yes			Maryland		Russian Poland	Polish	Maryland					
227	Markouski	Bertha	Daughter			F	W	0	S						Maryland		Russian Poland	Polish	Maryland					
227	Gauski	James	Boarder			M	W	28	S	1913	21		no	no	Poland	Polish	Poland	Polish	Poland	Polish	no	Laborer	Shipyard	W
225	Porterfield	Pauline	Head	R		M	W	56	W				yes	yes	Maryland		Germany	German	Germany	German	yes			
225	Porterfield	Gertrude	Daughter			F	W	32	S				yes	yes	Maryland		Maryland		Maryland		yes	Sewing Mach. Operator	Textile Factory	W

House Num.	Last Name	First Name	Relationship	Home Own or Rent	Free or Mortg.	Sex	Race	Age	Marital Status	Year of Immigration	Age at Immigration	Attn. School	Able to Read	Able to Write	Birthplace	Mother Tongue	Birthplace Father	Mother Tongue Father	Birthplace Mother	Mother Tongue Mother	Speaks English	Occupation	Industry	Type of Employment
225	Porterfield	Matilda	Daughter			F	W	29	S				yes	yes	Maryland		Maryland		Maryland		yes			
225	Porterfield	Pauline	Daughter			F	W	22	S				yes	yes	Maryland		Maryland		Maryland		yes	Seamstress	Sheet Factory	W
223	Evers	Ginnie	Head	R		F	W	66	W	1880	26		yes	yes	Canada	English	Canada	English	Canada	English	yes			
223	Evers	Louis	Son			M	W	22	S				yes	yes	Maryland		Canada	English	Canada	English	yes	Salesman	Shirt Factory	W
221	Jeiper	Frederiska	Head	O	F	F	W	61	W	1891	32		yes	yes	Germany	German	Germany	German	Germany	German	yes			
221	Adams	Ida	Daughter			F	W	28	D	1891	-1		yes	yes	Germany	German	Germany	German	Germany	German	yes	Seamstress	Overall Factory	W
221	Adams	George	Daughter			M	W	6	S			yes			Maryland		Maryland		Germany	German				
219	Lisak	Frank	Head	O	M	M	W	30	M	1901	11		no	no	Russian Poland	Polish	Russian Poland	Polish	Russian Poland	Polish	no	Stevadore	Shipyards	W
219	Lisak	Felicia	Wife			F	W	30	M	1901	11		no	no	Russian Poland	Polish	Russian Poland	Polish	Russian Poland	Polish	no			
219	Lisak	Lily	Daughter			F	W	8	S			yes			Maryland		Russian Poland	Polish	Russian Poland	Polish				
219	Lisak	Jennie	Daughter			F	W	6	S			yes			Maryland		Russian Poland	Polish	Russian Poland	Polish				
219	Lisak	Stella	Daughter			F	W	3	S						Maryland		Russian Poland	Polish	Russian Poland	Polish				
219	Lisak	Francis	Daughter			F	W	1	S						Maryland		Russian Poland	Polish	Russian Poland	Polish				
217	Mauer	William	Head	R		M	W	38	M				yes	yes	Maryland		Germany	German	Maryland		yes	Laborer	Copper Factory	W
217	Mauer	Annie	Wife			F	W	33	M				yes	yes	Maryland		Maryland		Germany	German	yes			
217	Mauer	Nicolaus	Son			M	W	11	S			yes	yes	yes	Maryland		Maryland		Maryland		yes			
217	Mauer	John	Son			M	W	7	S			yes			Maryland		Maryland		Maryland					
217	Mauer	Robert	Son			M	W	2	S						Maryland		Maryland		Maryland					
213	Seitz	George	Head	R		M	W	63	S				yes	yes	Maryland		Germany	German	Germany	German	yes	Laborer	Oyster House	W
211	Lang	Joseph	Head	O	M	M	W	41	M				yes	yes	Maryland		Maryland		Washington DC		yes	Moulder	Brass Factory	W
211	Lang	Emma	Wife			F	W	40	M						Maryland		Maryland		Maryland		yes			
211	Lang	Francis	Daughter			F	W	11	S			yes	yes	yes	Maryland		Maryland		Maryland		yes			
211	Lang	Phillip	Son			M	W	8	S			yes			Maryland		Maryland		Washington DC					
211	Lang	Jerome	Son			M	W	4	S						Maryland		Maryland		Washington DC					
205	Branigan	Walter	Head	R		M	W	42	M				yes	yes	Maryland		Maryland		Maryland		yes	Laborer	Can Shop	W
205	Branigan	Jennie	Wife			F	W	31	M				yes	yes	Maryland		Maryland		Maryland		yes			
205	Branigan	Estelle	Daughter			F	W	8	S			yes			Maryland		Maryland		Maryland					
205	Branigan	Sarah	Daughter			F	W	2	S						Maryland		Maryland		Maryland					
205	Branigan	Michael	Son			M	W	1	S						Maryland		Maryland		Maryland					
205	Ebberts	Jacob	Father-In-Law			M	W	65	M				yes	yes	Maryland		Maryland		Maryland		yes	Laborer	Can Shop	W
205	Ebberts	Francis	Mother-In-Law			F	W	59	M				yes	yes	Maryland		Maryland		Maryland		yes			
205	Ebberts	Mary	Sister-In-Law			F	W	29	S				yes	yes	Maryland		Maryland		Maryland		yes			

## Appendix G: 1930 US Census

House Num.	Last Name	First Name	Relationship	Value of Home	Monthly Rental	Radio Set	Sex	Race	Age	Marital Status	Attending School	Able to Read & Write	Birthplace	Birthplace Father	Birthplace Mother	Mother Tongue	Year of Immigration	Age at Immigration	Speaks English	Occupation	Industry	Employed	Vet.	War or Expdtn.
247	Zabawa	Francis	Head	1500			M	W	50	M	No	Yes	Poland	Poland	Poland	Polish	1903	23	Yes	Tailor	Own Shop	Yes		
245	Stapleton	Patrick	Head	1000			M	W	46	M	No	Yes	Maryland	Irish Free State	Irish Free State				Yes	Street Cleaner	City Street Cleaning	Yes		
245	Stapleton	Andrew	Son				M	W	14	S	Yes	Yes	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland				Yes					
245	Stapleton	Margaret	Daughter				F	W	12	S	Yes	Yes	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland				Yes					
245	Stapleton	Anna	Daughter				F	W	10	S	Yes	Yes	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland				Yes					
245	Hermann	Annie	Mother-In-Law				F	W	75	W	No	Yes	Maryland	Germany	Germany				Yes					
243	Eager	Michael	Head	1500		R	M	W	45	M	No	Yes	Maryland	Irish Free State	Irish Free State				Yes	Policeman	Ship Yard	Yes		
243	Eager	Frannie	Wife				F	W	40	M	No	Yes	Germany	Germany	Germany	German	1925	35	Yes	Seamstress	Clothing Mfg	Yes		
243	Eager	Amelia	Daughter				F	W	22	S	No	Yes	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland				Yes	Sales Lady	?? Store	Yes		
243	Eager	Mary	Stepchild				F	W	8	S	Yes	Yes	Germany	Germany	Germany	German	1925	3	No					
241	Caulfield	Antonette	Head		15		F	W	52	W	No	Yes	Germany	Germany	Germany	German	1888	10	Yes					
241	Caulfield	James	Son				M	W	25	S	No	Yes	Maryland	Scotland	Germany				Yes	Chauffeur	Transfer Co	Yes		
241	Caulfield	Margaret	Daughter				F	W	22	S	No	Yes	Maryland	Scotland	Germany				Yes	Machine Operator	Padding Co	Yes		
237	Ruth	John	Head	1200			M	W	33	M	No	Yes	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland				Yes	Solderer	Can Shop	No	Yes	WW
237	Ruth	Pearl	Wife				F	W	30	M	No	Yes	Maryland	New York	New York				Yes	Press Hand	Can Shop			
237	Ruth	Amanda	Daughter				F	W	9	S	Yes		Maryland	Maryland	Maryland									
237	Ruth	Margaret	Daughter				F	W	7	S	Yes		Maryland	Maryland	Maryland									
237	Ruth	William	Son				M	W	2	S	No		Maryland	Maryland	Maryland									
235	Rybezyk	John	Head	1500			M	W	38	M	No	Yes	Maryland	Germany	Germany				Yes	Laborer	Boiler Shop	Yes		
235	Rybezyk	Anna	Wife				F	W	36	M	No	Yes	Maryland	Germany	Germany				Yes					
235	Rybezyk	John	Son				M	W	10	S	Yes	Yes	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland				Yes					
235	Rybezyk	Michael	Son				M	W	8	S	Yes		Maryland	Maryland	Maryland									
233	Marko	Michael	Head	1750			M	W	40	M	No	No	Poland	Poland	Poland	Polish	1890	0	No					
233	Marko	Anna	Wife				F	W	50	M	No	No	Poland	Poland	Poland	Polish	1878	-2	Yes	Duster	Can Shop	Yes		
233	Marko	John	Son				M	W	17	S	No		Maryland	Poland	Poland				Yes	Laborer	Broom Factory	No		
231	Schuhardt	Henry	Head	2000		R	M	W	66	W	No	Yes	Germany	Germany	Germany	German	1879	15	Yes	Sawyer	Lumber Co	Yes		
231	Schuhardt	William	Son				M	W	33	M	No	Yes	Maryland	Germany	Germany				Yes	Mailer	Box Factory	Yes		
231	Schuhardt	Marie	Daughter				F	W	30	F	No	Yes	Maryland	Germany	Germany				Yes					
231	Schuhardt	Carl	Son				M	W	24	M	No	Yes	Maryland	Germany	Germany				Yes	Bailer	Bag Factory	Yes		
231	Schuhardt	Harry	Son				M	W	22	M	No	Yes	Maryland	Germany	Germany				Yes	Baker	Bakery	Yes		
231	Schuhardt	George	Son				M	W	21	M	No	Yes	Maryland	Germany	Germany				Yes	Press Operator	Bag Factory	Yes		
231	Schuhardt	Milton	Son				M	W	16	M	No	Yes	Maryland	Germany	Germany				Yes					
231	Schuhardt	Janette	Daughter				F	W	18	F	No	Yes	Maryland	Germany	Germany				Yes	Envelope Maker	Envelope Mfg	Yes		

House Num.	Last Name	First Name	Relationship	Value of Home	Monthly Rental	Radio Set	Sex	Race	Age	Marital Status	Attending School	Able to Read & Write	Birthplace	Birthplace Father	Birthplace Mother	Mother Tongue	Year of Immigration	Age at Immigration	Speaks English	Occupation	Industry	Employed	Vet.	War or Expdtn.	
229	Ratajcyak	Rose	Wife				F	W	28	M	No	Yes	Maryland	Poland	Poland										
229	Ratajcyak	Henry	Son				M	W	9	S	Yes		Maryland	Maryland	Maryland										
229	Ratajcyak	Bertha	Daughter				F	W	4	S	No		Maryland	Maryland	Maryland										
227	Kolb	Martin	Head	1700		R	M	W	38	M	No	Yes	Maryland	Poland	Maryland					Laborer	Gas & Electric Co	Yes			
227	Kolb	Frances	Wife				F	W	36	M	No	No	Poland	Poland	Poland	Polish	1914	20	Yes						
227	Kolb	Peter	Son				M	W	13	S	Yes	Yes	Maryland	Maryland	Poland										
227	Kolb	Andy	Son				M	W	11	S	Yes	Yes	Maryland	Maryland	Poland										
227	Kolb	Genevieve	Daughter				F	W	8	S	Yes		Maryland	Maryland	Poland										
227	Kolb	Marion	Son				M	W	6	S	No		Maryland	Maryland	Poland										
227	Kolb	James	Son				M	W	4	S	No		Maryland	Maryland	Poland										
225	Franzshowski	Anthony	Head	1500			M	W	30	M	No	Yes	Poland	Poland	Poland	Polish	1914	14	Yes	Repairer	Shoe Maker Shop	Yes	Yes	WW	
225	Franzshowski	Sophia	Wife				F	W	28	M	No	No	Poland	Poland	Poland	Polish	1909	7	Yes						
225	Franzshowski	Raymond	Son				M	W	8	S	Yes		Maryland	Poland	Poland										
225	Franzshowski	Jennie	Daughter				F	W	7	S	Yes		Maryland	Poland	Poland										
225	Franzshowski	Mary	Daughter				F	W	6	S	No		Maryland	Poland	Poland										
225	Franzshowski	Helen	Daughter				F	W	5	S	No		Maryland	Poland	Poland										
225	Franzshowski	Florence	Daughter				F	W	2	S	No		Maryland	Poland	Poland										
225	Franzshowski	Theodore	Son				M	W	1	S	No		Maryland	Poland	Poland										
221	Szmjda	Emma	Head	1500			F	W	55	W	No	Yes	Poland	Poland	Poland	Polish	1898	23	No						
221	Byer	Laura	Daughter				F	W	33	M	No	Yes	Poland	Poland	Poland	Polish	1898	1	Yes	Linker	Meat Packing Co	Yes			
221	Byer	Laura	Grandchild				F	W	11	S	Yes	Yes	Maryland	Poland	Poland										
221	Byer	George	Grandchild				M	W	9	S	Yes		Maryland	Poland	Poland										
219	Guralski	John	Head	1400			M	W	40	M	No	Yes	Poland	Poland	Poland	Polish	1910	20	Yes	Furnace Tender	Copper Works	Yes			
219	Guralski	Cassie	Wife				F	W	30	M	No	Yes	Poland	Poland	Poland	Polish	1911	11	Yes						
219	Guralski	James	Son				M	W	12	S	Yes	Yes	Maryland	Poland	Poland										
219	Guralski	Lottie	Daughter				F	W	10	S	Yes	Yes	Maryland	Poland	Poland										
219	Guralski	Jennie	Daughter				F	W	7	S	Yes		Maryland	Poland	Poland										
219	Guralski	Edward	Son				M	W	4	S	No		Maryland	Poland	Poland										
219	Guralski	Helen	Daughter				F	W	1	S	No		Maryland	Poland	Poland										
213	Seitz	George	Head	700			M	W	73	S	No	Yes	Maryland	Germany	Germany										
211	Lang	Jacob	Head	1000			M	W	51	W	No	Yes	Maryland	Germany	Germany				Yes	Brass Worker	Bell Foundry	Yes			
209	Nagrobaki	Martin	Head		14		M	W	35	M	No	Yes	Poland	Poland	Poland	Polish	1913	18	Yes	Laborer	Sugar Refinery Co	Yes			
209	Nagrobaki	Frony	Wife				F	W	30	M	No	Yes	Poland	Poland	Poland	Polish	1914	14	Yes						
209	Nagrobaki	Helen	Daughter				F	W	11	S	Yes	Yes	Maryland	Poland	Poland										
209	Nagrobaki	Stephen	Son				M	W	5	S	No		Maryland	Poland	Poland										
205	Webster	Earl	Head		12		M	W	40	M	No	Yes	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland				Yes	Carpenter	Oyster Shell Co	Yes			

House Num.	Last Name	First Name	Relationship	Value of Home	Monthly Rental	Radio Set	Sex	Race	Age	Marital Status	Attending School	Able to Read & Write	Birthplace	Birthplace Father	Birthplace Mother	Mother Tongue	Year of Immigration	Age at Immigration	Speaks English	Occupation	Industry	Employed	Vet.	War or Expdtn.
205	Webster	Earl	Son				M	W	12	S	Yes	Yes	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland				Yes					
205	Webster	Lillian	Daughter				F	W	9	S	Yes		Maryland	Maryland	Maryland									
239	Newlerasiski	Joseph	Head	1000			M	W	42	M	No	No	Poland	Poland	Poland	Polish	1914	26	No	Moulder	Copper Works	Yes		
239	Newlerasiski	Catherine	Wife				F	W	33	M	No	No	Poland	Poland	Poland	Polish	1914	17	No					
239	Newlerasiski	Helen	Daughter				F	W	11	S	Yes	Yes	Maryland	Poland	Poland									
239	Newlerasiski	Jennie	Daughter				F	W	9	S	Yes		Maryland	Poland	Poland									
223	Byer	Soltor	Head	1000			M	W	33	M	No	Yes	Poland	Poland	Poland	Polish	1914	17	Yes	Linker	Meat Packing Co	Yes		
223	Byer	Lorrie	Daughter				F	W	11	S	Yes	Yes	Maryland	Poland	Poland									
223	Byer	George	Son				M	W	9	S	Yes		Maryland	Poland	Poland									
223	Sorirder	Lena	Mother				F	W	64	W	No	No	Poland	Poland	Poland	Polish	1914	48	Yes					
207	Walstrum	Bertha	Head		12		M	W	38	M	No	Yes	Maryland	Pennsylvania	Maryland				Yes	Packer	Sugar Refinery Co	Yes		
207	Walstrum	David	Son				M	W	20	S	No	Yes	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania	Maryland				Yes	Laborer	Ship Yard	Yes		
207	Walstrum	Glois	Daughter				F	W	14	S	Yes	Yes	Maryland	Pennsylvania	Maryland				Yes					
217	Teller	Frank	Head				M	W	26	M	No	Yes	Maryland	Germany	Germany				Yes	Sawyer	Box Factory	Yes		
217	Teller	Helen	Wife				F	W	24	M	No	Yes	Maryland	Poland	Germany				Yes					
217	Teller	Francis	Son				M	W	2	S	No		Maryland	Maryland	Maryland				Yes					
212	Kowlewski	Eva	Head		20	R	F	W	42	M	No	Yes	Maryland	Poland	Poland				Yes					
212	Piker	James	Son				M	W	21	S	No	Yes	Maryland	Poland	Maryland				Yes	Laborer	Box Factory	Yes		
212	Piker	Marie	Daughter				F	W	20	S	No	Yes	Maryland	Poland	Maryland				Yes	Press Operator	Cork Factory	Yes		
212	Piker	Edward	Son				M	W	18	S	No	Yes	Maryland	Poland	Maryland				Yes		Cork Factory	Yes		
212	Piker	William	Son				M	W	16	S	No	Yes	Maryland	Poland	Maryland				Yes					
212	Piker	Bertha	Daughter				F	W	14	S	Yes	Yes	Maryland	Poland	Maryland				Yes					
212	Kowlewski	Frank	Son				M	W	11	S	Yes	Yes	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland				Yes					
212	Kowlewski	Frances	Daughter				F	W	9	S	Yes	Yes	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland									
212	Kowlewski	Reginia	Daughter				F	W	5	S	No		Maryland	Maryland	Maryland									
214	Hahner	Joseph	Head				M	W	55	M	No	Yes	Maryland	Germany	Germany				Yes	Laborer	Can Shop	Yes		
214	Hahner	Alexander	Son				M	W	21	S	No	Yes	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland				Yes	Laborer	Wholesale Grovery	Yes		
214	Hahner	George	Son				M	W	18	S	No	Yes	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland				Yes	Laborer	Soap Factory	Yes		
216	McGinnis	Andrew	Head		18		M	W	59	M	No	Yes	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland				Yes	Driver	Lumber Co	Yes		
216	McGinnis	Frances	Wife				F	W	43	M	No	Yes	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland				Yes					
216	McGinnis	Charles	Son				M	W	6	S	Yes		Maryland	Maryland	Maryland									
216	McGinnis	Loretta	Daughter				F	W	10	S	Yes		Maryland	Maryland	Maryland				Yes					
216	McGinnis	Barbara	Daughter				F	W	8	S	Yes		Maryland	Maryland	Maryland				Yes					
218	Dumphy	Mary	Head	2000			F	W	57	W	No	Yes	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland				Yes					
218	Dumphy	Madeline	Daughter				F	W	25	S	No	Yes	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland				Yes					
218	Dumphy	John	Son				M	W	22	S	No	Yes	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland				Yes	Insurance Clerk	Insurance Co	Yes		

House Num.	Last Name	First Name	Relationship	Value of Home	Monthly Rental	Radio Set	Sex	Race	Age	Marital Status	Attending School	Able to Read & Write	Birthplace	Birthplace Father	Birthplace Mother	Mother Tongue	Year of Immigration	Age at Immigration	Speaks English	Occupation	Industry	Employed	Vet.	War or Expdtn.
220	Warwick	Herbert	Head		20	R	M	W	24	M	No	Yes	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland				Yes	Electrician	Guano Factory	Yes		
220	Warwick	Helen	Wife				F	W	24	M	No	Yes	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland				Yes					
220	Warwick	Betty	Daughter				F	W	1	S	No		Maryland	Maryland	Maryland									
220	Plaine	Jesse	Brother-In-Law				M	W	23	S	No	Yes	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland				Yes	Car Operator	Guano Factory	Yes		
222	Boone	Charles	Head		20		M	W	46	M	No	Yes	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland				Yes	Laborer	Government Arsenal	Yes		
222	Boone	Maybell	Wife				F	W	46	M	No	Yes	Maryland	Germany	Maryland				Yes					
222	Warwick	Catherine	Stepchild				F	W	20	S	No	Yes	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland				Yes	Packer	Pickle Packing Co	Yes		
222	Warwick	Raymond	Stepchild				M	W	18	S	No	Yes	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland				Yes	Blacksmith	Guano Factory	Yes		
222	Warwick	Maybell	Stepchild				F	W	15	S	No	Yes	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland				Yes	Packer	Pickle Packing Co	Yes		
222	Warwick	Christoper	Stepchild				M	W	13	S	Yes	Yes	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland				Yes					
222	Warwick	Ida	Stepchild				F	W	10	S	Yes	Yes	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland				Yes					
222	Warwick	Alfred	Stepchild				M	W	3	S	No		Maryland	Maryland	Maryland									
224	Emkey	John	Head		20	R	M	W	44	M	No	Yes	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland				Yes	Engineer	Marina	Yes		
224	Emkey	Iva	Wife				F	W	37	M	No	Yes	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland				Yes					
224	Emkey	Louis	Son				M	W	19	S	No	Yes	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland				Yes	Dock Hand	Marina			
224	Emkey	Catherine	Daughter				F	W	8	S	Yes		Maryland	Maryland	Maryland									
228	Gorski	Joseph	Head	1400			M	W	33	M	No		Poland	Poland	Poland	Polish	1914	17	Yes	Stevedore	Wharves	No	Yes	WW
228	Gorski	Mary	Wife				F	W	28	M	No		Illinois	Poland	Poland				Yes					
228	Gorski	Agelina	Daughter				F	W	9	S	Yes		Maryland	Poland	Illinois									
228	Gorski	Joseph	Son				M	W	7	S	Yes		Maryland	Poland	Illinois									
228	Gorski	Stanley	Son				M	W	5	S	No		Maryland	Poland	Illinois									
228	Gorski	Milton	Son				M	W	4	S	No		Maryland	Poland	Illinois									
228	Gorski	Edward	Son				M	W	0	S	No		Maryland	Poland	Illinois									
230	Lockman	John	Head		22	R	M	W	38	M	No	Yes	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland				Yes	Mailer	Box Factory	Yes		
230	Lockman	Annie	Wife				F	W	40	M	No	No	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland				Yes					
230	Lockman	Billy	Son				M	W	21	S	No	Yes	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland				Yes	Cooker	Candy Mfg	No		
230	Lockman	Rose	Daughter				F	W	15	S	No	Yes	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland				Yes					
230	Simond	Philip	Son-In-Law				M	W	23	M	No	Yes	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland				Yes	Sheet Worker	Ship Yard	Yes		
230	Simond	Emma	Daughter				F	W	18	M	No	Yes	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland				Yes					
232	Kalwalska	Rosalia	Head	2000		R	M	W	66	W	No	Yes	Poland	Poland	Poland	Polish	1917	53	Yes					
232	Schmarklsy	Marie	Son-In-Law				F	W	29	M	No	Yes	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland				Yes	Foreman	Soap Factory	Yes		
232	Schmarklsy	Theresa	Daughter				F	W	30	M	No	Yes	Maryland	Poland	Poland				Yes	Press Operator	Clothing Mfg	Yes		
232	Schmarklsy	Dorothy	Grandchild				F	W	8	S	Yes		Maryland	Maryland	Maryland									
232	Schmarklsy	Mildred	Grandchild				F	W	5	S	No		Maryland	Maryland	Maryland									
232	Schmarklsy	Rita	Grandchild				F	W	1	S	No		Maryland	Maryland	Maryland									

House Num.	Last Name	First Name	Relationship	Value of Home	Monthly Rental	Radio Set	Sex	Race	Age	Marital Status	Attending School	Able to Read & Write	Birthplace	Birthplace Father	Birthplace Mother	Mother Tongue	Year of Immigration	Age at Immigration	Speaks English	Occupation	Industry	Employed	Vet.	War or Expdtn.
234	Levindowski	Edward	Head	2000		R	M	W	49	M	No	Yes	Maryland	Poland	Poland	Polish	1890	9	Yes	Laborer	Soap Factory	Yes		
234	Levindowski	Mary	Wife				F	W	41	M	No	No	Maryland	Poland	Maryland				Yes					
234	Levindowski	Adam	Son				M	W	21	S	No	Yes	Maryland	Poland	Maryland				Yes	Laborer	House Construction	Yes		
234	Levindowski	Frank	Son				M	W	19	S	No	Yes	Maryland	Poland	Maryland				Yes	Painter	Ship Yard	Yes		
234	Levindowski	Joseph	Son				M	W	16	S	No	Yes	Maryland	Poland	Maryland				Yes	Press Operator	Tailor Shop	Yes		
234	Levindowski	Eva	Daughter				F	W	14	S	Yes	Yes	Maryland	Poland	Maryland				Yes					
234	Levindowski	Walter	Son				M	W	9	S	Yes		Maryland	Poland	Maryland									
234	Levindowski	Albert	Son				M	W	6	S	No		Maryland	Poland	Maryland									
234	Levindowski	Marie	Daughter				F	W	3	S	No		Maryland	Poland	Maryland									
236	Pieczynski	Joseph	Head	2200			M	W	30	M	No	Yes	Maryland	Poland	Poland				Yes	Finisher	Furniture Co	No		
236	Pieczynski	Helen	Wife				F	W	27	M	No	Yes	Maryland	Poland	Maryland				Yes					
236	Pieczynski	Dorothy	Daughter				F	W	4	S	No		Maryland	Maryland	Maryland									
236	Pieczynski	Loretta	Daughter				F	W	1	S	No		Maryland	Maryland	Maryland									
238	Dombrowski	Frank	Head	2000			M	W	44	M	No	Yes	Maryland	Poland	Poland				Yes	Laborer	Wharf	No		
238	Dombrowski	Carrie	Wife				F	W	39	M	No	Yes	Maryland	Poland	Poland				Yes	Janitress	Telephone Co	Yes		
238	Dombrowski	Marie	Daughter				F	W	21	S	No	Yes	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland				Yes	Packer	Pickle Packer	Yes		
238	Dombrowski	Chase	Nephew				M	W	19	S	No	Yes	Maryland	Poland	Poland				Yes	Dock Hand	Marina	No		
238	Strogenski	Jesse	Nephew				M	W	12	S	Yes	Yes	Maryland	Poland	Poland				Yes					
238	Strogenski	Raymond	Nephew				M	W	11	S	Yes	Yes	Maryland	Poland	Poland				Yes					
242	Roberts	Charles	Head				M	W	38	M	No	Yes	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland				Yes	Laborer	Guano Factory	Yes		
242	Roberts	Mary	Wife				F	W	34	M	No	Yes	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland				Yes					
242	Roberts	Frances	Daughter				F	W	11	S	Yes	Yes	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland				Yes					
242	Roberts	Evelyn	Daughter				F	W	8	S	Yes		Maryland	Maryland	Maryland									
242	Roberts	Herman	Son				M	W	6	S	No		Maryland	Maryland	Maryland									
242	Roberts	Rita	Daughter				F	W	2	S	No		Maryland	Maryland	Maryland									
244	Green	Frank	Head		17	R	M	W	38	M	No	Yes	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland				Yes	Proprietor	Transfer	Yes		
244	Green	Teresa	Wife				F	W	32	M	No	Yes	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland				Yes					
244	Green	Dennis	Son				M	W	14	S	Yes	Yes	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland				Yes					
244	Reinback	George	Nephew				M	W	27	S	No	Yes	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland				Yes	Spring Maker	Bedding Co	No		
244	Reinback	Frank	Nephew				M	W	16	S	No	Yes	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland				Yes	Lineman	Can Shop	Yes		
246	Sutkiewicz	Benjamin	Head	1800			M	W	39	M	No	Yes	Poland	Poland	Poland	Polish	1919	28	Yes	Laborer	Ship Yard	Yes		
246	Sutkiewicz	Caroline	Wife				F	W	34	M	No	Yes	Poland	Poland	Poland	Polish	1918	22	Yes					
246	Sutkiewicz	Milton	Son				M	W	9	S	Yes		Maryland	Poland	Poland									
246	Sutkiewicz	Olga	Daughter				F	W	7	S	Yes		Maryland	Poland	Poland									
246	Sutkiewicz	Louise	Daughter				F	W	6	S	No		Maryland	Poland	Poland									

**Appendix H: 1940 US Census**

House Num.	Home Value	Monthly Rent	Last Name	First Name	Relationship	Sex	Race	Age	Marital Status	Highest grade completed.	Birthplace	At Work	Public Emerg. Work	Seeking Work	Other Work	Hours Worked	Weeks of Unemploy.	Occupation	Industry
247	900		Czajkowski	John	Head	M	W	36	M	3	Poland		No	No		28		Longshoreman	Shipping
247			Czajkowski	Mary	Wife	F	W	35	M	3	Poland		No					Vegetable Packer	Packing House
247			Czajkowski	Frank	Son	M	W	14	S	7	Poland		No						
247			Czajkowski	Rita	Daughter	F	W	13	S	6	Maryland		No						
245	1000		Stapleton	Patrick	Head	M	W	56	W	5	Maryland		No	No		40		Street Cleaner	Street Cleaning
245			Stapleton	Andrew	Son	F	W	25	S	9	Maryland		No	No		42		Bill Distributor	Public Utility
245			Stapleton	Anna	Daughter	F	W	20	S	9	Maryland		No						
245			Hermann	Anna	Mother-in-Law	F	W	84	W	8	Maryland		No						
243	800		Kahler	William	Head	M	W	40	M	5	Maryland		No	No		24		Pear Heater	Steel Mill
243			Kahler	Cecelia	Wife	F	W	36	M	3	Poland		No						
243			Kahler	William	Son	M	W	6	S	0	Maryland		No						
243			Kahler	Edward	Son	M	W	3	S	0	Maryland		No						
241		12	Caulfield	Anntoinette	Head	F	W	62	W	4	Germany		No						
241			Caulfield	Margaret	Daughter	F	W	32	S	5	Maryland		No	No		40		Sewing Machine Operator	Coat Pad Manufacturer
241			Rotunno	Martha	Daughter	F	W	36	D	8	Maryland		No	No		51		Auditor	Credit Office
241			Rotunno	Marie	Grandchild	F	W	13	S	5	Maryland		No						
241			Rotunno	Delores	Grandchild	F	W	9	S	3	Maryland		No						
237			Brannan	Elizabeth	Head	F	W	56	W	0	Maryland		No						
237			Brannan	James	Son	M	W	26	S	0	Maryland		No	Yes					
235	600		Rybarczyk	Anna	Head	F	W	44	W	3	Maryland		No						
235			Rybarczyk	John	Son	M	W	19	S	7	Maryland		No	No		40		Laborer	Chemical Manufacturer
235			Rybarczyk	Michael	Son	M	W	17	S	7	Maryland		No	No		40		Errand Boy	Belt Manufacturer
233			Marko	Anna	Head	M	W	64	W	4	Poland		No	Yes		18		Oyster Shucker	Packing House
233			Marko	Michael	Son	M	W	27	S	6	Mississippi		No				56	Laborer	Iron Foundry
231	700		Schuhart	Henry	Head	M	W	76	W	7	Germany		No						
231			Schuhart	William	Son	M	W	43	S	5	Maryland		No	No		24		Box Nailer	Box Factory
231			Schuhart	Marie	Daughter	F	W	40	S	7	Maryland		No						
231			Schuhart	Carn	Son	M	W	33	S	4	Maryland		No	No		60		Marine Fireman	Towing Ship Firm
231			Schuhart	Harry	Son	M	W	31	S	7	Maryland		No	No		48		Bakery	Retail Bakery Store

House Num.	Home Value	Monthly Rent	Last Name	First Name	Relationship	Sex	Race	Age	Marital Status	Highest grade completed.	Birthplace	At Work	Public Emerg. Work	Seeking Work	Other Work	Hours Worked	Weeks of Unemploy.	Occupation	Industry
231			Wacker	Marie	Grandchild	F	W	15	S	6	Maryland		No	No		34			
231			Schuhart	Mary	Grandchild	F	W	7	S	0	Maryland		No	No		40			
231			Schuhart	Helen	Grandchild	F	W	5	S	0	Maryland		No	No		24			
229	400		Ratajczak	Henry	Head	M	W	42	M	0	Maryland		No	No		40		Laborer	Copper Refinery
229			Ratajczak	Rose	Wife	F	W	40	M	0	Maryland		No					Chairwoman	Bank Office
229			Ratajczak	Henry	Son	M	W	19	S	6	Mississippi		No					Laborer	Ice Box Manufacturer
229			Ratajczak	Bertha	Daughter	F	W	15	S	7	Maryland		No						
227	500		Kolb	Martin	Head	M	W	49	M	2	Maryland		No	Yes		40		Pipe Fitter	Public Utility
227			Kolb	Frances	Wife	F	W	46	M	0	Poland		No						
227			Kolb	Marion	Son	M	W	16	S	7	Maryland		No				34	New Worker	
227			Kolb	Stanley	Son	M	W	14	S	7	Maryland		No						
225		15	Majka	Joseph	Head	M	W	32	M	4	Maryland		No	No		44		Shipping ????	Food Warehouse
225			Majka	Emma	Wife	F	W	24	M	8	Maryland		No						
225			Majka	Frances	Daughter	F	W	4	S	0	Maryland		No						
223	600		Evers	Henry	Head	M	W	50	M	2	Maryland		No	No		16		Huckster	Retail Produce
223			Evers	Lena	Wife	F	W	45	M	2	Maryland		No	No		44		Janitress	City Harbor Board
223			Evers	George	Son	M	W	21	S	4	Maryland		No	No		20		Huckster	Retail Produce
221			Szaimaida	Michalina	Head	M	W	72	W	0	Poland		No						
221			Marcinko	Lottie	Daughter	F	W	43	M	0	Poland		No						
221			Marcinko	Theresea	Grandchild	F	W	2	S	0	Maryland		No						
221			Bayer	Laura	Grandchild	F	W	20	S	8	Maryland		No	No		40		Sewing Machine Operator	Pants Manufacturer
221			Bayer	George	Grandchild	M	W	19	S	7	Maryland		No						
219	500		Goralski	Caroline	Head	F	W	40	W	8	Maryland		No						
219			Goralski	James	Son	M	W	22	S	7	Maryland		No	No		24		Window Cleaner	Hospital
219			Goralski	Jennie	Daughter	F	W	17	S	7	Maryland		No						
219			Goralski	Edward	Son	M	W	14	S	6	Maryland		No						
219			Goralski	Helen	Daughter	F	W	11	S	3	Maryland		No						
219			Goralski	Josephine	Daughter	F	W	8	S	0	Maryland		No						
217	800		Teller	Frank	Head	M	W	36	M	6	Maryland		No	No		40		Stevedore	Steamship Line
217			Teller	Helen	Wife	F	W	34	M	5	Maryland		No	No		26		Pickle Packer	Pickle Packers
217			Teller	Francis	Son	M	W	12	S	6	Maryland		No						
217			Teller	Irene	Daughter	F	W	8	S	2	Maryland		No						

House Num.	Home Value	Monthly Rent	Last Name	First Name	Relationship	Sex	Race	Age	Marital Status	Highest grade completed.	Birthplace	At Work	Public Emerg. Work	Seeking Work	Other Work	Hours Worked	Weeks of Unemploy.	Occupation	Industry
213	300		Evers	Henry	Head	M	W	28	M	3	Maryland		No	No		16		Huckster	Retail Produce
213			Evers	Margaret	Wife	F	W	26	M	5	Maryland		No	No		32		Pickle Packer	Pickle Packers
213			Evers	Johanna	Daughter	F	W	2	S	0	Maryland		No						
211	500		Nadolny	John	Head	M	W	39	M	5	Maryland		No	No		54		Tug Boat Fireman	Sand & Gravel Manufacturers
211			Nadolny	Viola	Wife	F	W	34	M	5	Maryland		No	No		34		Sewing Machine Operator	Underwear Manufacturer
211			Nadolny	Eleanor	Daughter	F	W	18	S	7	Maryland		No	No		42		Stamping Machine Operator	Shoe Manufacturer
211			Nadolny	Viola	Daughter	F	W	15	S	8	Maryland		No						
211			Nadolny	Edward	Son	M	W	11	S	5	Maryland		No						
211			Nadolny	Gilbert	Son	M	W	8	S	1	Maryland		No						
209		16	Jagelski	Walter	Head	M	W	31	M	5	Maryland		No	No		40		Insulator	Automobile Manufacturer
209			Jagelski	Mary	Wife	F	W	29	M	2	Maryland		No						
209			Jagelski	Dolores	Daughter	F	W	8	S	1	Maryland		No						
209			Jagelski	Constance	Daughter	F	W	6	S	0	Maryland		No						
209			Jagelski	Walter	Son	M	W	5	S	0	Maryland		No						
207	750		Leiben	John	Head	M	W	29	M	8	Maryland		No	No		40		Structural Painter	Steel Mill
207			Leiben	Bertha	Wife	F	W	30	M	6	Maryland		No	No		32		Specialty Painter	Tin Can Manufacturing
207			Leiben	Dolores	Daughter	F	W	7	S	1	Maryland		No						
205		12	Saierski	Frank	Head	M	W	38	M	7	Illinois		No	Yes			18	Painter	Paint Contractor
205			Saierski	Rose	Wife	F	W	27	M	5	Pennsylvania		No						
205			Saierski	Frank	Son	M	W	9	S	1	Maryland		No						
205			Saierski	Bertha	Daughter	F	W	7	S	0	Maryland		No						
205			Saierski	Evelyn	Daughter	F	W	5	S	0	Maryland		No						
205			Russo	Vincent	Lodger	M	W	31	M	7	Michigan		No	No		32		Scaler	Ship Yard
212		20	Michocki	Edward	Head	M	W	28	M	4	Poland		No	No		32		Spellhand	Steel Mill
212			Michocki	Hazel	Wife	F	W	27	M	7	Maryland		No						
212			Michocki	Richard	Son	M	W	6	S	0	Maryland		No						
214		11	Schmidt	Walter	Head	M	W	52	M	3	Poland		No	No		24		Stevedore	Shipping
214			Schmidt	Catherine	Wife	F	W	51	M	0	Poland		No						
214			Schmidt	Walter	Son	M	W	21	S	7	Maryland		Yes	No			104	Field Laborer	Federal Soil Conservation
214			Schmidt	Milton	Son	M	W	18	S	7	Maryland		No	Yes			96	Field Laborer	Federal Soil Conservation

House Num.	Home Value	Monthly Rent	Last Name	First Name	Relationship	Sex	Race	Age	Marital Status	Highest grade completed.	Birthplace	At Work	Public Emerg. Work	Seeking Work	Other Work	Hours Worked	Weeks of Unemploy.	Occupation	Industry	
214			Schmidt	Elizabeth	Daughter	F	W	15	S	10	Maryland		No							
214			Schmidt	Theresa	Daughter	F	W	11	S	3	Maryland		No							
214			Schmidt	Dolores	Daughter	F	W	10	S	3	Maryland		No							
214		11	Sienkie	Cecelia	Daughter	F	W	23	M	5	Maryland		No	No		40		Toothbrush Machine Operator	Toothbrush Manufacturer	
216		13	Kouneski	Alfred	Head	M	W	27	M	8	Maryland		No	No		48		Truck Chauffer	Freight Transportation	
216			Kouneski	Katherine	Wife	F	W	24	M	5	Pennsylvania		No							
216			Kouneski	Veronica	Daughter	F	W	7	S	0	Maryland		No							
216			Kouneski	Amelia	Daughter	F	W	5	S	0	Maryland		No							
216			Kouneski	Alfred	Son	M	W	4	S	0	Maryland		No							
216			Kouneski	Carroll	Son	M	W	3	S	0	Maryland		No							
216			Kouneski	Dominick	Son	M	W	7	S	0	Maryland		No							
218	800		Oleszczuk	Joseph	Head	M	W	41	M	3	Poland		No	No		35		Stevedore	Shipping	
218			Oleszczuk	Mary	Wife	F	W	35	M	5	Poland		No							
218			Oleszczuk	Irene	Daughter	F	W	14	S	8	Poland		No							
218			Oleszczuk	Cecelia	Daughter	F	W	7	S	1	Maryland		No							
218			Oleszczuk	Mildred	Daughter	F	W	4	S	0	Maryland		No							
218			Oleszczuk	Regina	Daughter	F	W	1	S	0	Maryland		No							
220		12	Fraczkowska	Stella	Head	F	W	53	M	0	Poland		No							
220			Fraczkowska	Zigmund	Son	M	W	23	S	6	Delaware		No	No		34		Suit Presser	Clothing Manufacturer	
220			Fraczkowska	Sophie	Daughter	F	W	18	S	6	Maryland		No	No		45		Suit Marker	Clothing Manufacturer	
220			Fraczkowska	Jennie	Daughter	F	W	15	S	6	Maryland		No							
220			Fraczkowska	Edward	Son	M	W	12	S	2	Maryland		No							
222	700		Fraczkowski	Adam	Head	M	W	31	M	6	Poland		No	No		16		Stevedore	Shipping	
222			Fraczkowski	Tillie	Wife	F	W	30	M	6	Maryland		No	No		30		Chairwoman	Office Public Utility	
222			Fraczkowski	Dolores	Daughter	F	W	8	S	1	Maryland		No							
222			Fraczkowski	Doris	Daughter	F	W	7	S	0	Maryland		No							
222			Guarilla	Eva	Sister	F	W	30	M	5	Poland		No	No		32		Shirt Presser	Shirt Manufacturer	
224		12	Kruszewski	Joseph	Head	M	W	56	W	0	Poland		No							
224			Kruszewski	Cecelia	Daughter	F	W	20	S	6	Maryland		No							
224			Kruszewski	Mary	Daughter	F	W	18	S	6	Maryland		No							
224			Kruszewski	John	Son	M	W	13	S	5	Maryland		No							
226	1000		Rykaczewski	Edward	Head	M	W	30	M	6	Maryland		No	No		55		Longshoreman	Shipping	
226			Rykaczewski	Frances	Wife	F	W	25	M	6	Maryland		No							

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226			Rykaczewski	Robert	Son	M	W	2	S	0	Maryland		No							
226			Rykaczewski	Doris	Daughter	F	W	8	S	0	Maryland		No							
228	800		Gorski	Joseph	Head	M	W	45	M	0	Poland		No	No		54		Longshoreman	Shipping	
228			Gorski	Mary	Wife	F	W	40	M	0	Illinois		No	No		11		Sewing Machine Operator	Pants Manufacturer	
228			Gorski	Joseph	Son	M	W	17	S	5	Maryland		Yes				52	Road Construction	Construction	
228			Gorski	Stanley	Son	M	W	15	S	9	Maryland		No							
228			Gorski	Milton	Son	M	W	14	S	6	Maryland		No							
228			Gorski	Victoria	Daughter	F	W	2	S	0	Maryland		No							
230		12	Kropfelder	John	Head	M	W	49	M	8	Maryland		Yes				48	Furniture Reconditioner	Federal Furniture Repair	
230			Kropfelder	Catherine	Wife	F	W	45	M	8	Maryland		No							
230			Kropfelder	Anna	Daughter	F	W	18	S	9	Maryland		Yes				43	Junior Service Worker	Nursery School	
230			Kropfelder	George	Son	M	W	17	S	8	Maryland		No							
232	700		Schmuckler	Morris	Head	M	W	39	M	9	Maryland		No	No		32		Floor Foreman	Soap Manufacturer	
232			Schmuckler	Theresa	Wife	F	W	42	M	8	Maryland		No							
232			Schmuckler	Dorothy	Daughter	F	W	17	S	9	Maryland		No	No		32		Cushion Cover Examiner	Cushion Cover Manufacturer	
232			Schmuckler	Mildred	Daughter	F	W	15	S	6	Maryland		No							
232			Schmuckler	Rita	Daughter	F	W	11	S	2	Maryland		No							
232			Schmuckler	Charlotte	Daughter	F	W	3	S	0	Maryland		No							
232			Kowalski	Rose	Mother-in-Law	F	W	73	W	8	Poland		No							
232			Ebert	Frederick	Stepchild	M	W	23	S	9	Maryland		No	No		40		Marine Painer	Shipyard	
234	700		Lewandowski	Ignatius	Head	M	W	59	M	3	Poland		No	Yes			2	Oyster Shucker	Oyster Packing House	
234			Lewandowski	Mary	Wife	F	W	51	M	0	Maryland		No	No		12		Vegetable Can Packer	Vegetable Packing House	
234			Lewandowski	Albert	Son	M	W	15	S	7	Maryland		No							
234			Lewandowski	Marie	Daughter	F	W	13	S	5	Maryland		No							
234			Lewandowski	Richard	Son	M	W	8	S	0	Maryland		No							
236	800		Pieczynski	Joseph	Head	M	W	38	M	3	Maryland		No	No		32		Furniture Refinisher	Furniture Upholstering	
236			Pieczynski	Helen	Wife	F	W	37	M	7	Maryland		No	No		16		Vegetable Can Packer	Vegetable Packing House	
236			Pieczynski	Dorothy	Daughter	F	W	14	S	7	Maryland		No							

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238	800		Dombrowski	Frank	Head	M	W	56	M	2	Maryland		No	Yes			2	Oyster Shucker	Oyster Packing House
238			Dombrowski	Caroline	Wife	F	W	50	M	3	Poland		No						
238			Dombrowski	Raymond	Son	M	W	21	S	9	Maryland		No	No		32		Furniture Upholster	Furniture Upholstering
238			Kilkowski	Marie	Daughter	F	W	31	M	5	Maryland		No	No		28		Sewing Machine Operator	Pants Manufacturer
238			Kilkowski	Bernardine	Grandchild	F	W	8	S	1	Maryland		No						
238			Kilkowski	Joan	Grandchild	F	W	2	S	0	Maryland		No						
240		10	Wiatrowski	Ignatius	Head	M	W	37	M	1	Maryland		No	No		40		Truck Chauffer	Asphalt Distributor
240			Wiatrowski	Margaret	Wife	F	W	29	M	4	Virginia		No						
240			Wiatrowski	Anna	Daughter	F	W	8	S	0	Maryland		No						
240			Wiatrowski	Dorothy	Daughter	F	W	7	S	0	Maryland		No						
240			Wiatrowski	Gloria	Daughter	F	W	5	S	0	Maryland		No						
240			Wiatrowski	Eugene	Son	M	W	3	S	0	Maryland		No						
240			Wiatrowski	Patricia	Daughter	F	W	2	S	0	Maryland		No						
240			Wiatrowski	Robert	Son	M	W	1	S	0	Maryland		No						
242	700		Roman	Stella	Head	F	W	48	W	0	Poland		No	No		32		Pickle Packer	Pickle Packers
242			Roman	Regina	Daughter	F	W	17	S	6	Pennsylvania		No	No		42		Chemical Bottler	Chemical Manufacturer
242			Roman	Leonard	Son	M	W	14	S	6	Pennsylvania		No						
244		15	Tremper	Herman	Head	M	W	29	M	4	Maryland		No	No		24		Apprentice Engineer	Excavating Mud and Dirt
244			Tremper	Marie	Wife	F	W	25	M	4	Maryland		No						
244			Tremper	Herman	Son	M	W	2	S	0	Maryland		No						
246	1100		Gniazdowski	Walter	Head	M	W	35	M	4	Louisiana		No	No		60		Marine Fireman	Towing Vessels
246			Gniazdowski	Augusta	Wife	F	W	33	M	4	Maryland		No						
246			Gniazdowski	Dolores	Daughter	F	W	11	S	4	Maryland		No						
246			Gniazdowski	Richard	Son	M	W	4	S	0	Maryland		No						