

ABSTRACT

Title of Document: "MIXED USE" IN PEABODY HEIGHTS:
USING ORIGINAL DEVELOPMENT
PRINCIPLES TO RESURRECT A
BALTIMORE NEIGHBORHOOD

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Master of Historic Preservation, 2017

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Once strong, vibrant, primarily-residential neighborhoods, often interspersed with institutional, commercial, and industrial functions, many inner-city areas have been negatively transformed since WWII through substantive loss of urban fabric and change-of-use. These factors have had detrimental effects on the communities, including vacancy, reduction in the mix of uses and population, and the loss of property values and high-quality buildings, contributing to a depression in neighborhood morale, economics, and aesthetics. This is not an uncommon situation in urban communities throughout the nation. The PEABODY HEIGHTS section of Baltimore, Maryland, is an apt example of these urban conditions. This

paper investigates these conditions and proposes recommendations for their amelioration that grow out of the area's original development principles.

“MIXED USE” IN PEABODY HEIGHTS:
USING ORIGINAL DEVELOPMENT PRINCIPLES TO RESURRECT
A BALTIMORE NEIGHBORHOOD

By

Daniel FC Hayes, AIA

Final Project submitted to the Faculty of the
Historic Preservation Program of the
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Advisory Committee:
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Professor Donald W. Linebaugh, PhD

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Dedication

To the women and men who created PEABODY HEIGHTS:

Those who resided here with their families,

Those designers, architects and developers who orchestrated the built-environment,

Those financiers, who underwrote the projects and organizations,

Those civil servants, who undergirded the community through regulation and enforcement,

Those inventors and originators, whose inspiration provided utilities and labor-saving devices, and

Those property-owners, both residents and merchants or entrepreneurs, who originally invested in the salient and, recently, have persevered during rough times, and are struggling to rebuild their neighborhood,

I dedicate this report.

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Under the capable and consistent leadership of Donald W. Linebaugh, PhD,

Who graciously shared their knowledge, talents, and enthusiasm for Historic Preservation with me and my fellow classmates.

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And my undying appreciation to my parents, Warren H, MD (1924-2013) and Claire F. (née Seamans) Hayes (1923-2016), whose life-long dedication to self-improvement and education inspired me to undertake this effort.

Daniel FC Hayes, AIA

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Preface

Since I was introduced to PEABODY HEIGHTS as part of the *Old Goucher Neighborhood* HISP 650 Studio,¹ I discovered that this precinct blossomed in a relatively-short period at the turn of the 20th Century within a salient close to downtown. According to a then-common Baltimore development strategy, a rich mixture of urban land uses provided housing, employment, service, and commercial opportunities to a diverse agglomeration as the City's population expanded from the central core. Although some areas have disappeared, some structures are dilapidated or have been lost, and others are threatened, a substantial remnant exists. Through encouragement, investment, and continued use and occupation, the potential to communicate the area's story contributes to the rejuvenation of a valuable City resource.

As part of previous professional-education programs, I have been fortunate to live in Rome and Florence, each for a year. It was there that I imbibed the inherent values provided by an amalgam of live-work-play facilities and opportunities; journeys to other locales and cultures have only strengthened the lessons. Rome is unique, however, in that history, art, commerce, government, and culture are thoroughly intermixed: in no other place than the Centro Storico can one experience the accumulations of two-thousand years (passing from Etruscan to Republican to Imperial to Medieval Papal to Renaissance to Mannerism to Baroque to the

¹ This course in the University of Maryland *School of Architecture, Planning and Preservation* enables a small group of students in concert to investigate and provide solutions to an appropriate Historical Preservation problem in the Baltimore-Washington, DC Metropolitan area. The 2013 Studio focused upon a limited portion of the salient, containing the former Goucher College facilities. I believe that problems of this neighborhood are endemic to the whole salient, and without a cogent unified approach, solutions are less possible – author.

Unification to Fascist to Modern to contemporary periods and structures) simply by turning a corner in an easily-walkable city or contemplating the varied urban environment tableside at a café. Bath, London, and Paris access multiple eras, but most of their pre-18th Century past lies buried, or is represented in stories or plaques relating long-vanished people, events, and places; in Rome, the past (both cultured and barbaric) is all on the surface and you dwell among it, whether you choose to participate or not. This is a major reason why, I believe, that the retention of structures and neighborhoods is important, not in amber as a museum but rather malleable as lived-in diverse communities.

I have witnessed the deleterious effects of Post-WWII urban neglect and abandonment in my travels throughout the United States. Other than war-related damage, I have not seen similar maltreatment of urban areas during my foreign travel, and wondered how other urban inhabitants managed to avoid it.²

Some readers may query: ‘Why is “Mixed Use” relevant here?’ or ‘Why should it be applied to existing urban communities, when it was proposed as a remedy to low-density “Sprawl” beyond urban areas?’ To counter then-current “Urban Renewal” proposals and perceived deficiencies in single-use zoning, Jane Jacobs used her long-existing neighborhood of Greenwich Village as a foil. She proposed activating streets; the permeability of blocks; buildings of multiple ages, uses, and conditions of repair; a preference of density over sparseness; sidewalks as important transmitters of activity, safety, children, and neighborly contact; and a mixture of uses for all of the

² I exclude from this discussion the desperate over-crowded urban-poor and refugee communities found too often near major cities internationally; though proposing serious questions of their own, their circumstances of development and solution are beyond the scope of this limited study – author.

above.³ Her studies and propositions led others to compose the principles of Mixed Use, and the *Congress for the New Urbanism* (CNU) to formulate a code for urban planning based upon “villages” or “towns”, as discussed in Chapter 1. The concepts of Mixed Use in vogue at the Millennium obviously stem from qualities inherent in “good” urban conditions. Therefore, they are appropriate for re-application to urban areas in trouble, re-awakening or restoring lost qualities for the benefit of residents, fellow-citizens, and visitors alike.

Accompanying the current centennial commemorations of “The War to End All Wars,” the definition of the term “salient” is again recalled: a protuberance, conspicuous or prominent.⁴ All too frequently, from September, 1914 until November, 1918, trench combatants, support and medical crews, and their families received news that the lines of battle had suddenly shifted once again like aneurysms, creating salients exposing forward-rushing troops or yielding territory to invaders. The natural ravines south, west, and north of PEABODY HEIGHTS originally proved strong barriers to development, and even today designate a bulbous precinct west of Greenmount Avenue, composed of more-than-one neighborhood, so the word “salient” is chosen to classify and make inclusive this geographic area. The nouns “region”, “precinct”, or “area” are generic, and are used as synonyms where appropriate; “district” indicates a larger area with a distinct character (as when

³ Derived from Jane Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, (New York: Random House, 1961) – author.

⁴ Salient, 3rd definition (military): “projecting beyond a line, surface or level”; from sally: “rushing or bursting forth”; *Webster’s Seventh New Collegiate Dictionary*, (Springfield, Mass: GC Merriam Company, Publishers, 1970), 759.

associated with the District of Columbia); and “neighborhood” is restricted to a smaller, often tightly-knit, enclave.⁵

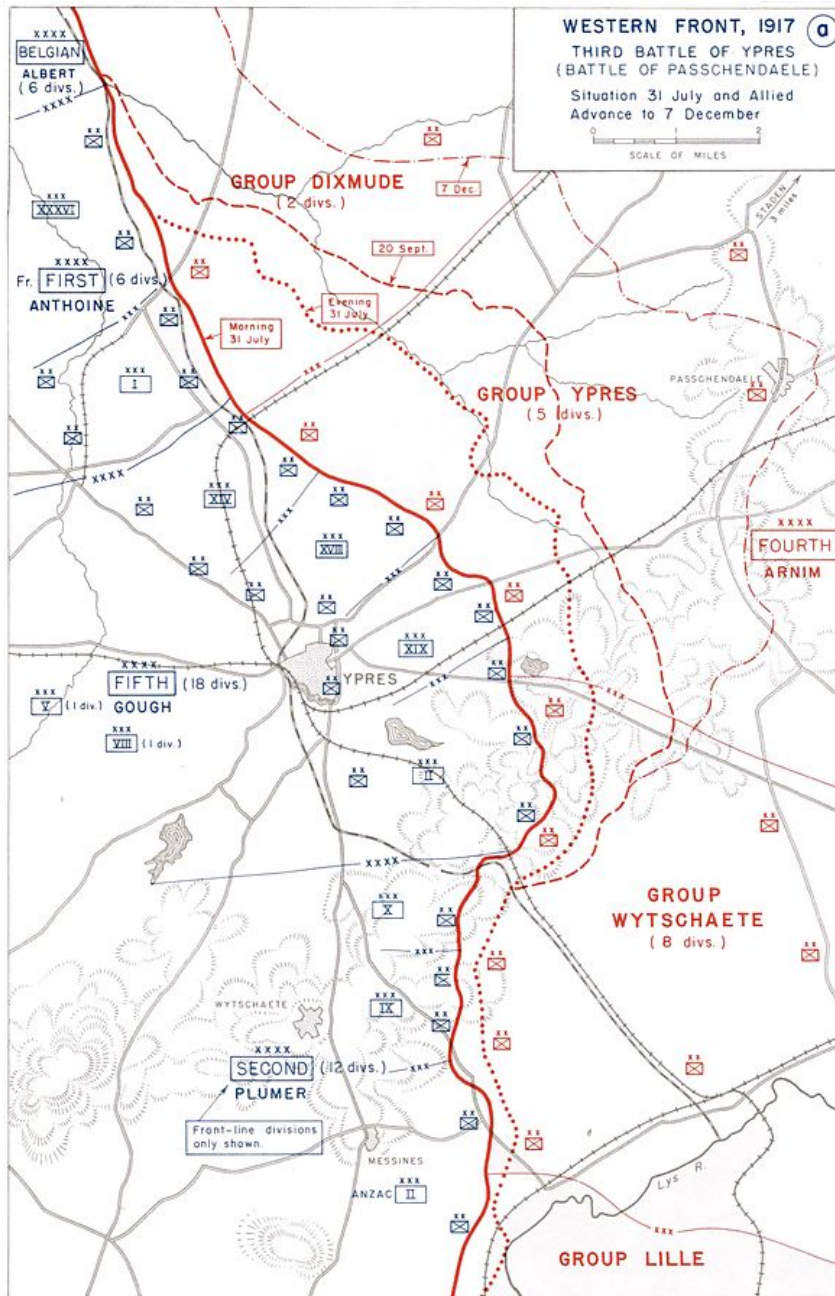


Figure P.1: “Salient”: Passchendaele, Belgium, 1917. USA declared war in April, 1917, and US troops provided support to British and French forces for the first time, at Ypres; red dotted or dashed lines indicate salients

⁵ Ibid, as indexed.

Chapter 1: Introduction

Many urban neighborhoods have slipped from public favor since their heyday. Loss of population or employment opportunities, social strife, increased mobility or desirability of other locales, and deteriorating facilities and infrastructure contribute to a make blighted city-segments an all-too-common phenomenon throughout the United States. A variety of economic, sustainability, developmental, and preservation solutions are proposed and tried. Some communities employ a mixed use approach, while others experiment with a series of (often) conflicting or contrasting strategies, to regenerate societal interest, boost property values, and maintain or replace eroded or atrophied urban fabric, but frequently the results are minimal, and the decline continues.

One such “neighborhood” is PEABODY HEIGHTS, created at the close of the 19th Century as a mixture of residential (including a then-prevalent Baltimore mix of affluent, merchant-professional, and laborer or “alley” homes), commercial, institutional, and industrial structures and uses, occupied by Baltimoreans and immigrants of a variety of races, creeds, and nationalities. Its rapid growth formed strong, vibrant in-town neighborhoods which were successful until the Postwar period, when city-wide loss of industry and local loss of its primary institution contributed to the shift of PEABODY HEIGHTS residents to the newly-generated exurbs, and the subsequent degeneration of area. The neighborhoods continue to be plagued with the loss of residential urban fabric (as buildings are still being demolished), conversion of the remaining rowhouses from residential to commercial uses, property

vacancy (both abandoned buildings and surface parking or empty lots), and depleted retail that signal distress and discourage investment. Additionally, “historic preservation” has been attempted through the redefinition of “neighborhoods,” and the creation of community associations, urban renewal plans, and historic districts each with overlapping boundaries and each with differing (and sometimes, conflicting) guidelines, which have taken “bites” out of the overall precinct to support the adjacent area’s needs. The causes of deteriorated conditions, their effects, and potential remedies for areas like PEABODY HEIGHTS are the subject of this study.

From the beginnings of “New World” settlement, a series of experiments were tried in the creation of cities, but until the end of the 19th Century, all generated a mixture of uses and peoples in close proximity. Americans relocated to newer (and often “posher”) neighborhoods, towns, and territories as cultural and financial opportunities arose, from the Colonial period to the present. Contemporaneously with the “Garden City” movement in England in the early-1900’s, attempts to remedy health and safety issues in urban areas resulted in segregated and grouped land use. These single-use typologies (residential, industrial, commercial) became incorporated into zoning codes throughout the US. The abandonment of public transit for the private automobile as the primary means of transportation in Mid-20th Century enabled greater distances to be created between residences and work- or shopping-places. Reaction to this sprawling “suburbia” (and its attendant problems) led to proposals to re-establish mixed “live-work-play” communities of heterogeneous populations (termed “Mixed Use”). This concept was further expanded by the *Congress for the New Urbanism* (CNU) which focused on the “village” as the ideal

development model. The Baltimore-Washington metropolitan area has seen the embodiment of all these experiments as both governmental and private agencies attempted to redress urban problems and encourage newly-proposed ideas, and **Chapter 2: Theories and Policies - An Overview** introduces the ideas upon which this Study's further analyses are derived.

Baltimore's progress and decline are discussed in **Chapter 3: Baltimore: Character and Development**, as they powerfully influenced the urban form and population of PEABODY HEIGHTS. **Chapter 4: PEABODY HEIGHTS: Character and Conditions** investigates its original mixture of land uses and peoples, and studies the impacts of negative societal measures (such as the implementation of zoning in the 1920's; the loss of the first generation of residents to age and relocation; Post-WWII modifications to neighborhood formation due to circulation, population replacement, and structure-removal changes; social upheaval in the 1960's and 1970's; and the splintering of the neighborhood into multiple redevelopment and historic districts since the 1950's), which have left the area in a less-than-desirable state.

Four sets of case studies are briefly reviewed and analyzed in **Chapter 5: Case Studies**, and the lessons learned are distilled into a set of recommendations which could be applied to neighborhoods in trouble, such as PEABODY HEIGHTS. The four sets were chosen based upon their proximity to PEABODY HEIGHTS, their proposed solution (using a variety of the theories and methodologies listed above), and the degree that the solution led to a "successful" resolution of the issues and problems studied. One set reviews conditions where much of the existing urban fabric was removed; one set compares village conditions; another set studies a

contemporaneously-developed, -failed, and -reviving neighborhood in Washington, DC; and the last set pursues four “New Town” situations and the policies and practices under which they developed. Each is evaluated through location, planning (including land use, mixtures of uses, circulation, and zoning), population, history and the effects of alterations, current conditions, and proposed remedies.

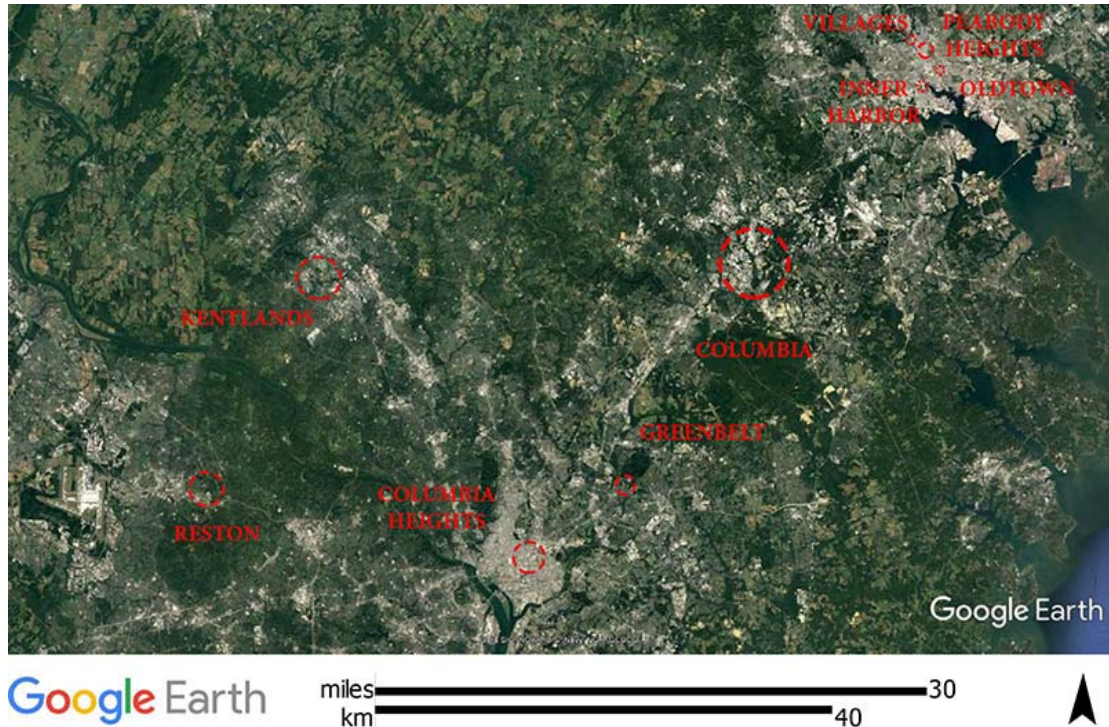


Figure 1.1: Case Study Locations

Chapter 6: Recommendations: Neighborhood Revitalization employs Urban Development and Historic Preservation theories, including Mixed Use methodologies and stratagems, derived through the case studies in the Baltimore and Washington, DC metropolitan area, to distill principles formulated upon Mixed Use concepts which can assist and encourage residents, both in Baltimore and across the country, to retain, improve, and strengthen threatened communities. These are further refined to specifically address PEABODY HEIGHTS’ issues and problems in

Chapter 7: Conclusions: PEABODY HEIGHTS.

Research Questions

- Can the use of Mixed Use functional and strategic principles and guidelines benefit communities struggling with the blight of urban and economic decay?
- What was the mix of functions as the PEABODY HEIGHTS area originally developed? Where were commercial, industrial, and institutional functions located and what were they? How did they affect local residency patterns (and vice-versa)?
- What were the commercial and societal forces which transformed this area from nearly-totally single-family residential in the 1880's to today's predominantly commercial multi-family mix?
- What were the impacts of institutional relocations and social changes?
- How are these relocations and changes expressed on the current urban fabric?
- How do the original principles of “mix of use, occupations, peoples” compare with currently-proposed Mixed Use concepts?
- Which of the original or current principles of Mixed Use can be strategically employed to strengthen and regenerate a neighborhood?
- How has the development of competing associations, renewal plans, and historic districts in adjacent communities or neighborhoods affected the greater PEABODY HEIGHTS area?
- How can the study of PEABODY HEIGHTS provide help to other neighborhoods in trouble?

Methodology

I began my investigations by repeatedly walking and bicycling or driving PEABODY HEIGHTS and the case study communities to gain an appreciation and understanding of their conditions and the factors which may have created or modified them.

I investigated written and electronic sources to broaden knowledge and understanding, and returned to the sites to verify the conclusions that the ideas presented. Histories of neighborhoods and communities, of significant people and events, and of technological progress were consulted. A variety of historic maps illuminated the urban development of Baltimore and Washington, DC, especially the *Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps* which helped me to determine successive land uses and construction typologies in key neighborhoods. The decennial US Census reports and the Baltimore *Blue Books* and city directories contributed information on population configurations and changes within society in the studied communities. Profession-related books, reports and brochures provided documentation for specific topics, such as Mixed Use. Among the sources I consulted are prior final projects pertaining to Baltimorean themes, including the HISP 650 Studio Project,⁶ pertaining to a portion of this study's area adjacent to the former Goucher College site, of which I was a contributing member in Autumn, 2013. All of these are further identified in the Bibliography and footnotes.

Armed with this physical and scholarly knowledge, I proceeded to contrast and compare similar features of PEABODY HEIGHTS and the case study neighborhoods to

⁶ Studio Team, *Old Goucher Neighborhood: Strengthening a Community Identity Through an Exploration of the Past*, (HISP 650 Studio report, University of Maryland School of Architecture, Planning and Preservation, Graduate Program in Historic Preservation, Autumn, 2013).

verify the original hypothesis and compose recommendations to be implemented as possible solutions to the stated urban design and historic preservation problems.

I discussed concepts, analyses, and options with colleagues, both within the Historic Preservation (HISP) program and fellow architects and other design professionals, and considered or incorporated comments by professor-advisors, to hone the final product.

Chapter 2: Theories & Policies - An Overview

“Without variety of function and humanity of scale, the city becomes monstrous and insupportable.”

— Ada Louise (née Landman) Huxtable (1921-2013), *The Times*, Feb. 12, 1968.

Urban Design

Utopian theories influenced the foundation of many US cities, and coupled with legitimate concerns for occupants’ health and safety, the rise of legal processes governing land use, and the nearly-total supremacy of the private automobile, have led to problematic urban growth patterns nationwide. “Urban Renewal” programs and suburban “Sprawl” precipitated Mixed Use principles which are touted as “new” remedies to many city ills.⁷

The Development of Cities in the USA

Large land-grants were awarded to the original proprietors, their friends and business-contacts by governments seeking control in the New World. These grants were later divided into smaller parcels and sold as the population expanded. From the beginning of European intervention in the Americas, urban areas were created as a signifier of the originating government and as a response to conditions in the home

⁷ Sprawl: Low-density land-use patterns that are automobile-dependent, energy and land consumptive, and require a very high ratio of road surface to development served. Haphazard growth or outward extension of a city resulting from uncontrolled or poorly managed development; Michael Davidson and Fay Dolnick, Editors, *A Planners Dictionary*, (American Planning Association, April 2004); *Planning Advisory Service* (PAS) report 521-522; 384 and <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zoning>.

country.⁸ Spain's *Law of the Indies* took into account geographic conditions (eg: prevailing winds, solar orientation, aesthetics), and restricted offal-producing activities.⁹ A public plaza was delimited for civic, military, and entertainment functions, dominated by governmental and ecclesiastical edifices, and formed by mercantile and wealthy-residential structures (often abutting each other) in each of their settlements.

Boston and New Amsterdam (New York) were built in an unplanned and haphazard condition expanding along earlier trails from a stockaded center; the New England village "Green" (with "meeting halls," taverns, and detached houses facing it) recalls town origins in Europe. Contrasting these two "organic" British village-based towns, William Penn designed Philadelphia as a wide-spreading grid with four quadrants, each with its own central square; but the square was to be a park for recreation in lieu of a commercial or governmental space. James Oglethorpe's Savannah followed suit, but in a more-constricted fashion, therefore repeatable beyond the original settlement. Francis Nicholson's Williamsburg, Virginia and Annapolis, Maryland plans expressed public relationships (church, state, education, residence) in a non-grid manner; mercantile concerns surrounded a port, or grew at intersecting streets. The *Land Ordinance of 1785* gridded most of the country and established a central "square" (often with courthouse) enclosed by church, retail, and residential structures as the typical US town organization.¹⁰

⁸ These ideas summarize concepts presented by Mark Girouard, *Cities & People, A Social and Architectural History*, (New Haven, Ct: Yale University Press, 1985); especially chapters 11, 16, 17.

⁹ Promulgated by Philip II of Spain in 1573; St Augustine, FL, Santa Fe, NM, and San Diego, Ca are representative examples.

¹⁰ Incorporated into the *Northwest Ordinance of 1789*.

Due to its pedestrian nature, and the need to reside near one's place-of-employment, early urban areas provided a mixture of residential, commercial, governmental, ecclesiastical, institutional, and industrial functions in close proximity. Similarly, a mixture of ethnicities, races, creeds, ages, incomes, and particularly in the South, slave and free African American populations, dwelt and labored cheek-to-jowl. Original land grant domains were established prior to the rise of towns, and required navigable waterways for intercommunication and commerce. Later plantations, estates, and farms, reachable by boat or carriage by those able to afford either, were established beyond town boundaries, but depended upon ease of transportation for the exchange of goods and services. The American penchant to expand into the seemingly-limitless "uncharted territory" seeking opportunity, liberation from societal restrictions or castigation, or cheap "available" land ("elbow room") led to continuous rapid formation of new communities, at the expense of the native inhabitants.

City problems, such as pollution, sanitation, epidemics, crime, and poverty, led to propositions to remedy them. Penn's plan for Philadelphia, produced contemporaneously with Sir Christopher Wren's redesign of London following the Great Fire of 1666, attempted to prevent another "London" in the colonies. Industrial towns, such as Lowell, Massachusetts (1822) and Pullman, Illinois (1880),¹¹ set precedents through the design of housing, community, and recreation facilities in park-like settings adjacent to factories (employment) and transportation. While the *City Beautiful* movement improved the organization and aesthetics of the urban core, a

¹¹ Lowell, Kirk Boott for Francis Cabot Lowell, and Pullman, Solon S Beman and Nathan F Barrett for George Pullman; Robert AM Stern and John Montague Massengale, *The Anglo-American Suburb*, (London and New York: AD Profile, Architectural Design 1981), 50, 52.

desire for nuclear-family-centered home-ownership, privacy and independence, the latest stylistic “fashions” and appliances or equipment, and a “rural” setting changed the residential tone and created the earliest “suburbs.” Alexander Jackson Davis,¹² followed by Frederick Law Olmstead Sr. and Calvert Vaux,¹³ proposed sinuous or serpentine developments of detached “cottages,” which followed the area’s topography to create a “naturalistic” environment in which to dwell; both restricted commercial activity to limited zones. Public transit (first railroads, then streetcars) enabled workers and managers to live at increasing distances from their work places, and developers created whole subdivisions to house an ever-growing population.¹⁴

A variety of urban design theories in the 19th Century fed Ebenezer Howard’s “Garden City” concept,¹⁵ where concentric residential and industrial areas were separated by greenswards of recreation areas and farms.¹⁶ *Hampstead Garden Suburb* (London, 1908) introduced the concept of a “suburb” and was neither self-contained nor self-supported, but rather “...set out to create a community of like-minded people and to provide them with shared social facilities.”¹⁷ Walter Burley Griffin (assisted by Marian Mahoney Griffin) won the 1912 Canberra, Australia competition by proposing self-contained “suburbs” of residences surrounding (within walking distance) commercial centers linked to each other and the national-governmental center (“civic”) by “trams” along four radial avenues; walkable

¹² Llewellyn Park, NJ, 1857, <http://www.llewellynpark.com/page/13266~93841/History>; Stern and Massengale, *The Anglo-American Suburb*, 21.

¹³ Riverside, IL, 1875, <http://www.riverside.il.us>; Stern and Massengale, *The Anglo-American Suburb*, 24.

¹⁴ Chestnut Hill, Pa (1854), Lake Forest, IL (1856), Garden City, NY (1869) from which Howard appropriated the name, Short Hills (Milburn), NJ (1874); Stern and Massengale, *The Anglo-American Suburb*, 22-26

¹⁵ Ebenezer Howard (1850-1928), *Tomorrow: A Peaceful Path to Reform*, retitled *Garden Cities of Tomorrow*, 1898; Girouard, *Cities & People*, 351

¹⁶ Employed at Letchworth (1899) designed following a competition win by R Unwin and B Parker (1904), and Welwyn (1919); Stern and Massengale, *The Anglo-American Suburb*, 58

¹⁷ Girouard, *Cities & People*, 352

subdivisions connected by transit would prevent the “...full surrender to the automobile...” as “...celebrated by other modernist architectural contemporaries such as LeCorbusier.”¹⁸ George E. Kessler (Kansas City, Missouri motorways, 1890, the “Paseo,” 1893, “Country Club District,” 1907) and John Nolen (Mariemont, Ohio, 1918) applied the automobile to the *City Beautiful* movement,¹⁹ and Frank Lloyd Wright articulated new planning principles generated by the auto (eg: clover leaves, shopping centers along arterial streets) in his proposal for *Broadacre City*.²⁰ Although earlier subdivisions grew along transit and rail routes immediately-adjacent to established communities, New Towns sprung up in agricultural areas where land was plentiful and cheap, regulations few, with mobility facilitated and distances expanded by the privately-owned automobile, subsequent to the Great Depression and WWII. The creation and inhabitation of sequentially-expanding rings of development fostered social and economic segregation, which eventually drained urban cores of population and business, leaving behind the poor and less-mobile in increasingly deteriorating and desolate environments.

Circulation and Transportation

Although land use is an obvious contributor to the form and pattern of the city, methods and speeds of locomotion determined the spread of urban areas, enabled the separation of uses, and flavored the expression of the fabric which was created.

¹⁸ Only one of the radials (without transit) was constructed; Cameron Gordon, *Planning for structural transit in low density environments: the Case of Canberra, Australia*, Australian Planner, volume 48, number 3, (September, 2011), 149

¹⁹ Stern and Massengale, *The Anglo-American Suburb*, 76-7, 81; Kessler (1862-1923), a German landscape engineer, also planned the *Roland Park* residential suburb of Baltimore in 1891 (often wrongly credited to FL Olmstead Sr; the younger Olmstead Brothers worked for the developers and Baltimore post-1897), 39; Nolan (1869-1937), the “first town and city planner,” returned to college at mid-career to receive an AM from Harvard University in 1905, the first USA Landscape Architecture program, directed by FL Olmstead, Jr.

²⁰ Stern and Massengale, *The Anglo-American Suburb*, 11, 86; Frank Lloyd Wright, *Broadacre City: a New Community Plan*, Architectural Record 77 (April, 1935), 243-254.

Pedestrian

Every journey, even by another means of transport, requires a pedestrian commencement and conclusion.²¹ Enabling people, especially the more-vulnerable (children and the infirm), to safely and sanitarily negotiate ever-increasing traffic conditions led to the creation of separate pathways for vehicles and people: streets became paralleled with sidewalks, and later, mode-crossings restricted to designated intersections.²² The City Beautiful and contemporary suburban movements injected a planting strip (a “verge” or “parkway”) between the pathways, improving safety and providing a visual respite of trees, lawns, and refreshing shade, throughout the urban condition. Compacted urban conditions allowed most city-dwellers (“citizens”) to easily navigate between living, working, and shopping environments, especially since these were often co-located. The slow pace of normal ambulation (humans walk an average of three to four miles / five kilometers per hour [mph / kmph],²³ or a quarter-mile in 5 minutes) placed limits on city expansion, but accentuated human interaction, encouraging commerce and sociability.

Animal-powered

Horses and mules provided the power for transport of matériel, merchandise, and increasingly, people in the Americas, until the second quarter of the 20th Century. They were supplemented by oxen for heavy loads or long-distance travel (eg: the wagon-trains of the Western Expansion). Moving at a sustained speed of eight to

²¹ “Pedestrian” includes movement by self-propelled or -controlled wheelchairs or other interior-exterior conveyances, for the purpose of this article – author.

²² Pompeii’s ruins demonstrate early examples of this principle, through raised walkways and stepping stone crossings at intersections – author.

²³ For comparison, a race-walker’s speed is 9 mph / 14 kmph for 12 miles / 20 kilometers (km), a marathon winner moves at an average of 5 mph for 26 miles, and a sprinter runs at 15 mph (the “four-minute mile”).
<https://blogs.scientificamerican.com/...in/cities-where-it-s-faster-to-walk-than-drive/>

twelve mph / thirteen to nineteen kmph (trotting),²⁴ they doubled the speed of humans as well as multiplied many times their portage capacity. Improvements in strength, speed, durability, and attractiveness led to the development of many of the breeds available today. Ridden or hitched singly, animals increased humans' travel range. A vehicle drawn by a matched set of animals (pairs, troikas, "four-in-hands," teams – up to twenty) created quite an image, contributed to the prestige of socially-climbing owners, and increased distance and speed goals. Feed, storage or housing, and equipment were comparatively costly,²⁵ restraining ownership to commercial entities (drays and hires or cabs) and the wealthy. Street cleaning (removal of manure and dead animals) was a large city-government expense,²⁶ and maltreatment of animals lead to the first humane societies and animal-welfare legislation by the 1880's.²⁷ Flies, rodents and other parasites, manure dust and odors, disease (both equine and human), and the din of hooves or metal horseshoes clattering on cobblestone or brick streets (one of Ben Franklin's complaints) were other continuing problems.²⁸

²⁴ A horse walks at 4 mph / 6 kmph, canters at 12-15 mph / 19-24 kmph, or gallops at 25-30 mph / 40-48 kmph for only one to two miles; a horse needs to rest (walk for 15 minutes) after 30-45 minutes trotting or cantering; oxen only walk.

²⁵ A horse requires (per day): 5-10 pounds of oats or grain and 10 pounds of hay, in addition to salt and molasses, and 5-15 gallons of water (consumed at 4-13 intervals), as well as 8-15 pounds of straw for bedding, <http://www.equusite.com/articles/basics/basicsFeeding.shtml>; the average life-span for a horse is 25-30 years, 40 is not uncommon, the oldest recorded was "Old Billy" who lived to be 62, <https://10mosttoday.com/10-longest-life-span-animals>

²⁶ For example, in 1900 there were 83,300 horses working the streets of Chicago, producing 2,100 tons of manure per day and in 1912, 10,000 horse carcasses were collected per year (28 / day), <http://www.banhdc.org/archives/ch-hist-19711000.html>; a horse produces 50 pounds of manure and 2 pints of urine per day, or 8.5 tons per year, <https://www.pubs.ext.vt.edu/406/406-208/406-208.html>; an average life span for a dray or horsecar animal was 3 years, Eric Morris, *From Horse Power to Horsepower*, Access, number 30, Spring, 2007, 2-9

²⁷ Eric Morris, *From Horse Power*; <http://www.banhdc.org/archives/ch-hist-19711000.html>

²⁸ <http://www.banhdc.org/archives/ch-hist-19711000.html>

Bicycle

The “bicycle craze” of the 1880’s and 1890’s, fed by similar urban-hygiene movements which brought sewer and clean water systems and the elimination of alley or substandard housing, contributed mightily to the urban condition: whereas animals could travel on any prepared surface, bicycle tires needed paved streets for ease-of-motion. Although the downward statistics of bicycle use paralleled those of animal-powered vehicles following WWI, the 1970’s witnessed a resurgence that continues unabated today: cities are providing dedicated bicycle lanes and facilities, often limiting motor vehicle environs in the process (“traffic calming” or “lane diets”). Improved citizen health, decreased pollution, and reduced congestion accompany contemporary bicycle use. Travel speeds, regularly ten to fifteen mph / eighteen to twenty-four kmph,²⁹ enable quickness along with sociability: the exposure of the cyclist allows interactions with other riders and pedestrians, and the maneuverability of the vehicle permits intermittent stops for shopping or communication. Parking requires little space, and is convenient to store, work, and residence entrances.

Transit: rail and bus

As cities grew, the transportation of multitudes (“mass transit”) became a priority. From their inception in the 1830’s, railroads connected isolated villages with cities, fostering the movement of people and goods which permitted the first separation of residential and work environments. Herdics and horse-drawn omnibuses,³⁰ which

²⁹ Racers’ and steep downhill speeds can reach between 20 and 30 mph / 40 - 48 kmph, but like horses, cannot be sustained.

³⁰ A Herdic is a one-horse 8-passenger side-seated, enter-from-the-rear omnibus patented by Peter Herdic (1824-88) of Williamsport, Pennsylvania in 1877; <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Herdic>
<https://www.chicagorailfan.com> <http://explorepahistory.com/hmarker.php?markerId=1-A-334>

shared the rutted streets with other animal-powered conveyances, were transformed into a smoother ride through the implementation of wheel-on-rails following the Civil War, and animals were universally replaced by cables then electricity by the turn of the 20th Century. Competing traction companies criss-crossed central business districts and extended lines into adjacent agricultural areas encouraging and supporting land speculation and the accompanying suburban development, primarily residential in nature. At sustained speeds of twelve to thirty mph / nineteen to forty-eight kmph in the city and up to sixty mph / ninety-six kmph in the country, intra- and inter-urban streetcars provided quick, clean, convenient, relatively inexpensive transportation for all classes, ethnicities, and races.³¹ Five to ten minute headways, “owl” service throughout nighttime, “breezer” open cars for pre-air conditioning summertime respites, amusement parks at line-terminals, and electrification plants supplying adjacent communities were benefits provided by the transit companies. Baltimore placed a 1¢ tax on each ride which supported the creation and maintenance of the city’s park system. As congestion grew, urban streetcars became trapped by traffic, and pedestrian access could be perilous as tracks and islands were frequently located in the middle of the street.³² As track infrastructure was expensive and challenging to relocate, the permanence of lines contributed stability to urban development, but failed to meet changing conditions. “Jitneys” and electric or

³¹ Baltimore’s nickel cost in the 1890’s roughly compares to current fares of \$2, and were far below the cost of other transportation options; George F Nixon, Curator, *Condensed History of Public Transportation in Baltimore 1844-1980*, or *Rapid Transit in Baltimore*, (Baltimore, Maryland: Baltimore Streetcar Museum, 1981)

³² The majority of streetcar injuries and fatalities occurred while alighting or departing vehicles. While streetcar-auto / carriage accidents were common, most were “fender-benders” with few casualties, and streetcar-streetcar collisions were rare enough to be headline-generating, but rarely involved more than a dozen injuries or a couple of deaths (usually to the motorman or driver). Statistically, streetcars provided a very safe method of transit. Peter C Kohler, *Capital Transit, Washington’s Street Cars: the Final Era 1933-1962*, (Colesville, Maryland: National Capital Trolley Museum, 2001), 399-403, 427-30.

gasoline buses started to encroach upon streetcar routes just before WWI as extensions of service or remedies to problem areas, but didn't jeopardize the system until WWII material restrictions were lifted and a more-"inexpensive" and -"convenient" method of serving the ever-expanding suburbs was provided. Financial considerations, investment pressures, and often legislation, led to the demise of most streetcar systems; routes were frequently replaced with less-frequent, more-polluting, and less-maintained ("dirtier" inside and out) buses. Since the 1960's, both Baltimore and Washington developed subway systems and have begun investing in "light rail" (current terminology for "streetcar") lines, both of which counter the social stigma associated with buses with speed between limited stations and attractive high-technological equipment.

Automobiles

The advent of the (steam, electric, or internal-combustion powered) motorcar radically transformed North American cities in countless ways. Pioneered at the turn of the 20th Century as a luxury toy for the wealthy, its use was expanded by Henry Ford's application of the assembly line to fabrication in 1909 (which lowered the cost of the "Model T" from multiples of the average annual income to a quarter of it by the mid-1920's).³³ The twin attributes of speed and accessibility (door-to-door convenience, in lieu of walking to and waiting for streetcars) appealed to most Americans, as did the hygienic aspect of the elimination of manure on streets. Sales exploded following the end of Depression and WWII restrictions, and vehicles flooded urban streets. Velocity and the increasing quantity of vehicles pre-WWI led

³³ In 1895, there were 300 automobiles in the US, in 1905, 75,000, and in 1915, 3 million (of which 895,000 were newly-sold), www.Tiimelines.ws/subjects/cars.html; <https://corporate.ford.com/history.html>.

to the first speed limits, safety campaigns for drivers and children (who had previously played in the streets), restrictions of pedestrians to sidewalks and crosswalks at intersections (in lieu of the commonplace use of streets by pedestrians and vehicles alike), traffic-policemen at intersections (originally supplied by the streetcar companies) and traffic signals (controlling both vehicular and pedestrian movements), the development of common driving conventions (such as left-turn principles and one-way streets), and time- and energy-consuming congestion. Regulation of traffic to enable smooth-flowing movement from suburb to central city (and return) contributed to the co-ordination of speed and traffic signals, which enabled drivers, isolated in their individual capsules, to by-pass shopping area and neighborhood stores, leading to their commercial demise. The interstate highway system, originated following WWI,³⁴ was dramatically extended during the Eisenhower administration,³⁵ accompanying Urban Renewal which cut swaths through often poorer or minority-occupied sectors of the nation's cities, in an effort to further-ease auto-transportation. Storage of unused vehicles, whether on-street parking (developed from hitching-post habits in the "parkway"), garages (private individual or public multi-vehicle structures originally in alleys, now accessing principle streets),³⁶ and shopping or business center lots,³⁷ consumes acres of land,

³⁴ *Federal Aid Road Act of 1916* (Bankhead-Shackleford Act – first major road reconstruction for automobile traffic), supported by the *Federal Aid Highway Act of 1921* (Phipps Act – created a national highway system), led to route numbering per AASHO report approved by US Department of Agriculture, November, 1925; US Highway System approved November, 1926; <https://www.fhwa.dot.gov/infrastructure/numbers.cfm>.

³⁵ *Federal-aid Highway Act of 1956* also known as the *National Interstate and Defense Highways Act*.

³⁶ Early versions provided space for both vehicles and chauffeurs' waiting facilities, as well as repair shops, <http://ghostsofcdc.org/tag/14th-st-nw/>; *The Horseless Age*, New York, Volume 33, 1914, accessed through Google Books.

³⁷ Located in limited conditions in front of commercial rows in early shopping centers (1920's-60's), such as the Flower Avenue Center in Takoma Park, later large lots occupied whole blocks – author; http://www.icsc.org/uploads/research/general/US_CENTER_CLASSIFICATION.pdf; <http://www.montgomeryplanning.org/community/longbranch/documents/2FlowerShoppingCtrinventoryofhistoricproperties.pdf>.

compared with bicycle or transit opportunities. Pollution (exhaust, contaminated fluids poisoning creeks, the Chesapeake Bay, or oceans) is a major contributor to global environmental problems. Linked with the concepts of independence, individualism, self-reliance, expression of social status, and with the appearance of “inexpensive” convenience (often neither), the private single-occupant automobile is not likely to be eliminated, even though car-share programs in inner-cities provide alternative models of use (including ownership and quantities of vehicles) for some drivers.

Conclusion - Circulation and Transportation

Although animal-powered transport within most cities has been limited to specialized conditions (eg: tourist or wedding carriage rides, Baltimore’s “A-rabbers”), human- and motor-powered forms of movement evidence a strong urban presence as they struggle for control of circulation routes. The single-occupant automobile’s supremacy during the second half of the 20th Century has been increasingly challenged by the re-implementation of bicycle and a variety of transit systems. Acknowledgement of the universality of pedestrian portions of all trips emphasizes the social interaction component needed to build strong healthy communities.

Zoning

Zoning arrived with WWI in 1916, when New York City tried to regulate sun- and day-light restricting buildings adjacent to lower-height areas.³⁸ “Euclidean” zoning separated land uses by districts (“zones”) to prevent obnoxious or dangerous

³⁸ Davidson and Dolnick, *A Planners Dictionary*, introduction.

uses from being constructed near residential ones; it remains the primary method used throughout the country, even today.³⁹ “Performance” zoning sought to reduce the inflexibility and arbitrariness of the Euclidian model, by delineating the goals and review criteria for an area, and including potentials of discretionary activity by both the developer and the planning agency. “Incentive” zoning sought to encourage creative participation by developers in reaching planning goals through rewards or enticements beyond modest limitations. “Form-based” zoning restricts not land uses, but rather the form that the use may take, through relations to the street (eg: setbacks, height- or mass-limits), density, or accessibility to transit or other amenities. Amendments and “overlays” (new conditions or limits drawn as successive layers above the original zone restrictions) sought to redress localized problems within zones, or to “grandfather” (or allow existing or pre-zone uses, buildings, or forms) for the period of time pertaining to the exception. These alterations have led to conflicting requirements covering the same area in many cities, and rewriting the code to consolidate or modify the regulations into a clearer version is required.

APA: Definitions – Mixed use

As defined by the *American Planning Association* (APA), a “city” is labeled as: an incorporated place that has combined its governmental functions with a county or sub-county entity but contains one or more other incorporated places that continue to function as local governments within the consolidated government;⁴⁰ “town”: a center that has an urban density (over 1,000 persons per square mile) and interrelated mixed uses. This term does not necessarily refer to the form of incorporation of a

³⁹ Generated by the case of the *Village of Euclid, Ohio v Ambler Realty Co.* (1926).

⁴⁰ Davidson and Dolnick, *A Planner's Dictionary*, 111 (United States Census Bureau definition)

municipality (an incorporated city or town);⁴¹ “village”: a small, compact center of predominantly residential character but with a core of mixed-use commercial, residential, and community services. It often incorporates local-scale economic and social functions that are integrated with housing. A village typically has a recognizable center, discrete physical boundaries, and a pedestrian scale and orientation. This term does not necessarily refer to the form of incorporation of a municipality and is often smaller than a municipality;⁴² and “neighborhood”: the smallest subarea in planning, defined as a residential area whose residents have public facilities and social institutions in common, and generally within walking distance of their homes.⁴³

The APA recommends Mixed Use as a remedy for problems associated with single-use urban districts.⁴⁴ Although single use districts helped segregate dangerous, noisy, polluting, or health problem-generating components from residential neighborhoods, they also separated residents from work places and commercial areas, and decentralized urban centers, decreasing population and building density or land-use. This decentralization led to suburban sprawl with its attendant problems:

- The lack of easy, convenient access to transit,
- Increased reliance on automobiles (often, the single-occupant vehicle) and the attendant increase in the quantity of roads, speed limits, and the quantity of lanes required to allow smooth passage,

⁴¹ Ibid, 417

⁴² Ibid, 444

⁴³ Ibid, 280

⁴⁴ Planning Advisory Service, *PAS QuickNotes No. 6, Zoning for Mixed Uses*, American Planning Association, (2006).

- Continuous expansion of utilities and infrastructure (often at the expense of existing nearby residents rather than as a cost borne by the development),
- Redundancy of service and commercial elements (which contributed to the deterioration or abandonment of older centers as newer ones opened), and
- Racial and ethnic segregation (originally enforced through covenants and unscrupulous developer and realtor practices such as “red-lining,” later through propinquity: self-selection to live near “people like yourself”).

Late-20th Century attempts to correct flaws in single-use zoning often led to a cacophony of special zones or overlaid districts, each with its own design standards and permitted uses, which, in turn, thwarted beneficial, progressive integrated community development while encouraging widespread demolition of urban fabric, usually historic residential neighborhoods that became and remain pockmarked with empty lots or surface parking.

“Mixed use zoning sets standards for the blending of [compatible] residential, commercial, cultural, institutional, [public amenities and utilities,]⁴⁵ and where appropriate, industrial uses. Mixed use zoning is generally closely linked to increased density, which allows for more-compact development. Higher densities increase land-use efficiency and housing variety while reducing energy consumption and transportation costs. The mixed use buildings that result can help strengthen or establish neighborhood character and encourage walking and bicycling.”⁴⁶

Development using “Smart Growth”⁴⁷ principles encourages the creation of

⁴⁵ Howard Blackson, *Don't Get Mixed Up on Mixed-Use*, info@placemakers.com; <http://www.placemakers.com/2013/04/04/mixed-up-on-mixed-use>.

⁴⁶ Third paragraph, *PAS QuickNotes* No. 6, APA

⁴⁷ Building compact urban, suburban and rural communities with housing and transportation choices near jobs, shops and schools through walkable (pedestrian), transit-oriented, healthy, safe neighborhoods, and “Complete

transportation, housing, and retail options in walkable, inter-connected neighborhoods where people can work, shop or play near their homes, thereby reducing traffic congestion, especially at peak times (“rush-hours”). Accessibility to convenient, frequent transit options benefits able-bodied commuters as well as younger, older, or other less-mobile residents. Use of transit or shared automobiles equates to a need for less parking, both street-side and in surface lots or garages, benefiting residents, customers and shop-keepers, and developers, as well as the environment and aesthetics. Consolidation or shared-use of parking (eg: daytime by retail establishments, evening by restaurants, theatres, or residential), and its location behind buildings which maintains a vibrant occupied street-front, improves the perception and appearance of a neighborhood. An increased variety in housing types and sizes accommodates the residential compendium of family-units (from singles through multi-generational), ages, societal classes, incomes, ethnicities, and races, and encourages strengthened inter-relational understanding and ties among neighbors.

The APA offers guidance in rectifying single-use zoning problems through the revision of current zoning ordinances and the implementation of comprehensive planning (area or regionally) or *Planned Unit Development* (PUD).

Some of the more frequent mixed-use scenarios in the US are:

- Neighborhood commercial zoning – goods and services, such as convenience stores, are permitted in otherwise strictly-residential areas,

Streets”; <http://www.smartgrowthamerica.org>; “Complete Streets,” coined by *Smart Growth America*’s D Goldberg in 2003, are planned, designed, operated and maintained to be safe, convenient, comfortable, accessible to all regardless of ability, age, or mode of transportation; <http://www.smartgrowthamerica.org/tag/national-complete-streets-coalition>.

- Main Street residential / commercial – two to three-story buildings with residential units above and commercial units on the ground floor facing the street,
- Urban residential / commercial – multi-story residential buildings with commercial and civic uses on ground floor,
- Office convenience – office buildings with small retail and service uses oriented to the office workers,
- Office / residential – multi-family residential units within office building(s),
- Shopping mall conversion – residential and/or office units added (adjacent) to an existing standalone shopping mall,
- Retail district retrofit – retrofitting of a suburban retail area to a more village-like appearance and mix of uses,
- Live / work – residents can operate small businesses on the ground floor of the building where they live,
- Studio / light industrial – residents may operate studios or small workshops in the building where they live,
- Hotel / residence – mix hotel space and high-end multi-family residential,
- Parking structure with ground-floor retail, or
- Single-family detached home district with stand-alone shopping center⁴⁸

These current Mixed Use principles duplicate the conditions under which the PEABODY HEIGHTS neighborhood originally developed, without the problematic heavy-industrial uses which marred and later destroyed the western portion of the community.

⁴⁸ "Quality Growth Toolkit: Mixed-use Development," Atlanta Regional Commission. p.2.

Mixed Use - CNU

Reactions to the sprawl of a decentralized, auto-centric suburbia led architectural and urban theorists to study former development patterns and propose a new Mixed Use community structure. The *Congress for the New Urbanism* (CNU), founded by a consortium of Architects, Landscape Architects, Urban Designers and Planners,⁴⁹ and Progressive developers in 1990's, codified its beliefs in the *Charter of the New Urbanism*,⁵⁰ as expressed in the ten axioms of the *Principles of Intelligent Urbanism*.⁵¹ Among its missions are “the restoration of existing urban centers” and the reclamation of “our homes, blocks, streets, parks, neighborhoods, districts, towns, cities, regions, and environment.” Advocacy for “the restructuring of public policy and development practices,” diversity in “use and population,” multi-modal transportation (heavily-focused on the pedestrian, both in scale of the project and methods of movement), “accessible public spaces and community institutions” whose structures frame spaces and incorporate “local history, climate, ecology, and building practice” are hallmarks of the Charter. A “coherent and supportive physical framework” undergirding “economic vitality, community stability, and environmental health” will, together, work to solve the “social and economic problems” facing a community. Guiding principles to achieve the mission include:

⁴⁹ Led by Andreas Duany and Elizabeth Plater-Ziberk of DPZ, Peter Calthorpe, Elizabeth Moule, Stefanos Polyzoides, and Daniel Solomon.

⁵⁰ *Charter of the New Urbanism*, Congress for the New Urbanism, (1720 N Street NW Washington, DC 20036: 2001), cnuinfo@cnu.org.

⁵¹ Balance with Nature, Balance with Tradition, Appropriate Technologies, Conviviality (including: place for the individual, friendship, householders, neighborhood, communities, and city domain), Efficiency, Human Scale, Opportunity Matrix, Regional Integration, Balanced Movement, and Institutional Integrity; Christopher Charles Benninger, *Principles of Intelligent Urbanism*, (CNU: 2001).

- The respect for “historic patterns, precedents and boundaries,”⁵² and the “preservation and renewal of historic buildings, districts, and landscapes [which] affirm the continuity and evolution of urban society”;⁵³
- The blending of “a broad spectrum of public and private uses to support a regional economy that benefits people of all incomes”;⁵⁴
- The co-operative sharing of resources and revenues “to avoid destructive competition...and to promote rational co-ordination of transportation, recreation, public services, housing, and community institutions”;⁵⁵
- The creation of neighborhoods which are “compact, pedestrian friendly, and mixed-use,”⁵⁶ support “many activities of daily living...within walking distance, allowing independence,...especially [for] the elderly and the young.”⁵⁷ These neighborhoods provide a “broad range of housing types and price levels” encouraging diversity, social-interaction, and strengthened personal and civic bonds⁵⁸ in a dense arrangement which enables “public transit to become a viable alternative to the automobile.”⁵⁹ Compact neighborhoods embed “concentrations of civic, institutional, and commercial activity,” rather than isolating these activities “in remote, single-use complexes.”⁶⁰ Mixed-use neighborhoods disseminate parks, sports facilities, and gardens throughout the built fabric⁶¹ which forms the “physical definition

⁵² Principle # 6, CNU Charter, 2

⁵³ Principle #27, CNU Charter

⁵⁴ Principle #7, CNU Charter

⁵⁵ Principle #9, CNU Charter

⁵⁶ Principle #11, CNU Charter

⁵⁷ Principle #12, CNU Charter

⁵⁸ Principle #13, CNU Charter

⁵⁹ Principle #15, CNU Charter

⁶⁰ Principle #16, CNU Charter

⁶¹ Principle #18, CNU Charter

of streets and public spaces,”⁶² and together supply safety, security, comfort, visual interest,⁶³ and re-inforce “community identity and the culture of democracy.”⁶⁴

CNU-influenced architects, planners, and developers have created New Towns based upon “village” concepts (centralized shopping areas combined with office and residential functions, walkability to services, small individual yards and public parks or recreation spaces, automobiles relegated to off-street parking lots at the rear of buildings) throughout the country.⁶⁵ Although the principles are based upon urban models, none have been successfully applied to the deteriorating inner-city neighborhoods.

Finances

Financial considerations severely limited opportunities for families, property owners, and land-developers at the conclusion of the 19th Century. Wages and costs were relatively low. Except for the wealthy, food consumed nearly half of one’s pay, and products were available only on a seasonal basis as provided by local farms; housing claimed a quarter, and clothing another 15%, leaving ~20% for all other expenses (medical care, transportation, “luxuries”).⁶⁶ Clothing was often home-made, so most people owned few outfits, but store-bought items decreased in price as industry and sales rapidly expanded during these decades.⁶⁷ Triangle Shirtwaist

⁶² Principle #19, CNU Charter

⁶³ Principle #23, CNU Charter

⁶⁴ Principle #25, CNU Charter

⁶⁵ Seaside, Florida is perhaps the most commonly-recognized example – author.

⁶⁶ By comparison, in 2016 the average family spends 10% on food, 35% on housing, 5% on clothing, which leaves 50% for other expenses; <http://visualizingeconomics.com/blog/2013/11/18/100-years-of-family-spending-in-the-us>.

⁶⁷ Baltimore was the second producer of clothing, following NYC, Frank R Shivers, Jr, *Walking in Baltimore*, 167.

Factory workers earned \$7-12 for a nine-hour five-day plus a seven-hour Saturday (52-hours total) work-week (or roughly equivalent to \$171 to \$293 per week in 2016) at the time of the 1911 fire-tragedy;⁶⁸ Baltimoreans fared little better. As housework was difficult drudgery, anyone who could afford assistance hired them, often live-in domestics (ie: maid at \$25 / month, laundress at \$10 / month, or gardener at \$2 / month).⁶⁹ As new and more spacious homes were constructed in ever-widening rings around the City core, and developers included the latest labor-saving conveniences and equipment in new units, families found it easy to relocate, and did so, regularly. Utilities (potable water, sewerage and trash removal, power and lighting sources – coal, gas, electricity, and communications) often led the expansion of neighborhoods into former agricultural areas. Transit provided the ability to live in a more-sanitary environment than one's workplace, was plentiful and relatively inexpensive,⁷⁰ as the vast majority could neither afford vehicles nor horses in urban areas; automobiles provided a different story following WWI. Property purchase required a hefty down-payment, so it was not an option for most working families; although "savings and loan" facilities multiplied with increasing wages, mortgage insurance was not invented until the GI Bill and housing acts following WWII.⁷¹ Baltimore also had the peculiarity of land rent that accompanied the length of structure ownership. Financial panics, followed by major depressions, were regular occurrences, often wiping out

⁶⁸ This amounted to 13.5¢ to 23¢ per hour, or \$364 to \$624 per annum, in 1911;

<http://trianglefire.ilr.cornell.edu/primary/index.html>, <https://www.osha.gov/oas/trianglefactoryfire.html>.

⁶⁹ Includes room and board, (except for the gardener) <http://delong.typepad.com/sdj/2007/08/hoisted-from-ar.html>.

⁷⁰ Baltimore's 5¢ fare was roughly equivalent to today fares, ~\$1.35.

⁷¹ The *Servicemen's Re-adjustment Act of 1944* and associated legislation; <http://benefits.va.gov/gibill/>

financial gains nationwide.⁷² For all these reasons, a majority of Baltimoreans rented, rather than owned, residences.

Land development, while a regular investment opportunity for Land Grant holders and other wealthy citizens, enabled carpenter-contractors to grow their businesses from single or small-grouped structures to whole blocks and then neighborhoods by the 1890's. The Federal Government filled the gap of desirable housing created by the Depression's under-funding, with the creation New Towns in the 1930's; this gap was filled by private large-scale developers (eg: Levittown, NY, 1947-61) Post-WWII.

Sustainability

The amelioration of health, safety, and pollution problems accompanied the development of PEABODY HEIGHTS, as will be discussed more thoroughly in **Chapter 4: PEABODY HEIGHTS: Character and Conditions**. Overcrowding, substandard housing conditions, and lack of utilities were keystones in the rationale for Urban Renewal programs of the 1950's. Rachel Carson's seminal book *Silent Spring* identified the specter raised by indiscriminant use of insecticides, fostering the commencement of the Environmental Movement of the 1960's; simultaneously, the demolition of New York City's Pennsylvania Station, along with many "deteriorated" urban neighborhoods, triggered an expansion of Historic Preservation efforts. The 1970's Energy (oil and gasoline) Crises spurred attempts to adopt better building insulation practices and more-efficient vehicles (at least, temporarily). Even though

⁷² The *Long Depression* (called the *Great Depression* until the 1930's episode) started with the *Panic of 1873* and continued through the *Panic of 1893*, and included the *Great Railroad Strike of 1877*; grain, cotton, manufactured goods, railroads, banks, and construction were adversely affected, and wages fell by a quarter; the *Panic of 1901* was the first stock market crash; the *Panic of 1907*; <https://www.thoughtco.com/financial-panics-of-the-19th-century-17740> .

the creation of the Environmental Protection Agency and subsequent institution of many ecological programs contributed mightily to a cleaner, more healthy society, and some architectural schools and firms pursued energy-efficient design along with mixed use development, the movement appeared to be dormant in the 1980's. The term "Sustainability" (the ability to "sustain," or maintain, Earth's livability) expanded ecological concerns to economics and culture, seeking the balance of resource-use necessary to prolong Earth's inhabitation by humans. *Leadership in Energy and Environmental Design* (LEED),⁷³ a building-certification program initiated by the US Green Building Council (USGBC) at the Millennium, focuses on the environmental effects of a proposed building's construction and use, including demolition of previous structures on the project site, and the contribution of (sometimes, hazardous) waste to land-fills or trash dumps. Points are awarded pertaining to the level of a building's Sustainability throughout design, construction and operation; a higher quantity of points determines accomplishment of "certified, silver, gold, or platinum" ratings. The dictum "the 'Greenest' building is...one that is already built," links the USGBC model with Historic Preservation,⁷⁴ by recognizing the value of embodied energy expended to fabricate, as well as to disassemble, structures, even when æsthetic or historical values are negated.

⁷³ <http://www.usgbc.org/leed>

⁷⁴ Carl Elefante, AIA, LEED AP. *The Journal of the National Trust for Historic Preservation*, Volume 21, No. 4, Summer 2007, 26-38; 2017-18 President of the *American Institute of Architects*; concept developed from discussions at Elefante-Mallari Architecture, Washington, DC, 1993-6 – author.

Historic Preservation Approaches

Founded contemporaneously with the Civil War, and strengthened through the celebration of the country's Centennial, the creation of the landmarks and monuments legislation, and the formation of the National Park Service (NPS) in the first decades of the 20th Century, the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) focuses largely on buildings or places relating to significant persons, events, æsthetic merit, or the ability to convey new information (such as through archeology). Efforts to integrate areas of a community beyond individual structures or complexes (eg: districts or landscapes) have only been pursued since the final quarter of the Century. Properties can be nominated at the national (or state), and the local, level. The Maryland Historical Trust reviews nominations prior to submission to the NPS, as well as operations, maintenance, and proposed modifications to NRHP (if the changes involve federal or state funding, permits, assistance, or tax credits); historic preservation or planning commissions perform these services for locally-nominated properties. Local regulations may require approval for modifications or new construction for locally-designated properties and districts, thus providing protections which the honorific national designation does not.

Historic Districts

The Secretary of the Interior's standards define a "Historic District" as "the larger area or environment in which a historic property is located. It may be an urban, suburban, or rural neighborhood or a natural landscape in which buildings have been constructed. The relationship of buildings to each other, setbacks, fence patterns,

views, driveways and walkways, and street trees together create the character of a district or neighborhood.” The standards also set qualifications for the creation of a historic district based upon historical importance, use, describable character, integrity (completeness of discernible elements), and continuity of the area’s features.⁷⁵ Identification, retention, protection, stabilization, and maintenance (including repair and limited replacement) are the primary goals of the historic preservation guidelines.⁷⁶ Covering exterior elements of structures and their adjacent landscape, designation encourages the conservation and protection of enumerated surfaces and items through the use of tax credits, predominantly on commercial properties. Creation of a Historic District requires the acquiescence of the structures’ owner(s), and individuals or institutions may exercise their right to “opt out” of the district. Inclusion within a district does not guarantee preservation of the resource’s façade or bulk-massing, nor its interior surfaces or configuration, unless specifically delimited in the NRHP or local designation, and even then, the owner can apply for an exemption. The district’s creation and management is co-ordinated through city and state governmental agencies, and cities can determine the quantity or extent of district(s) or restrict their creation.

“Main Street” Programs

“The Main Street Four Point Approach” © is a program of the National Trust of Historic Preservation (NTHP) to assist local entities in their initiatives to revitalize communities through leveraging local assets. The four points - Organization,

⁷⁵ Kay D Weeks and Anne E Grimmer, *The Secretary of the Interior’s Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties with Guidelines for Preserving, Rehabilitating, Restoring & Reconstructing Historic Buildings*, (USA Department of the Interior, Washington, DC, 1995), 13, 54-5; <https://www.nps.gov/tps/standards/four-treatments/treatment-guidelines.pdf>

⁷⁶ Weeks and Grimmer, *The Sol’s Standards*, 19-20

Promotion, Design, Economic Restructuring - work to build a "...sustainable and complete revitalization effort."⁷⁷ There are eight principles which characterize Main Street programs: comprehensive; incremental; self-help or -actualized; public-private partnerships; identify and capitalize existing assets; quality of revitalization; change of attitude and practice; and implementation of visible work and complete projects.⁷⁸ The retention, diversification, and balance of components combine to help meet contemporary needs and build towards future success while retaining existing assets and character. Growing from a demonstration project started in 1977, the National Main Street Center was established in 1980 to disseminate information gained in the project and to assist communities in starting their own programs. Baltimore and Washington, DC launched citywide programs in the 1990's. The *National Main Street Center, Inc*, a non-profit subsidiary of the NTHP, was formed in 2013.⁷⁹

Conclusion - Theories

Originating and growing with a mixture of peoples and uses in tight proximity to transportation (ports or road junctures), cities in the US were transformed through the application of zoning regulations in the 20th Century. Ever-growing (through immigration or birth-rate- or childhood-survival increase) populations brought successive tides of expansion beyond the urban core. Transit, followed by the private automobile, enabled workers to dwell farther from the places of their employment. Often, these changes proved detrimental to city cores and the neighborhoods immediately enclosing them. Theories of Mixed Use and "New Urbanism" seek to

⁷⁷ <http://www.preservationnation.org/main-street/about-main-street/the-approach.html>.

⁷⁸ <http://www.preservationnation.org/main-street/about-main-street/the-approach/eight-principles.html>;
The National Trust for Historic Preservation, (2016).

⁷⁹ <http://www.preservationnation.org/main-street/about-main-street/the-center/history.html>.

redress cities' problems by addressing their causes in novel ways, but actually the solutions that they propose return to the conditions which originated the cities in the first place while limiting the health and safety issues which accompanied early growth. Sustainability principles have recognized the economic value in extant structures, and the cost of their removal. Historic preservation measures are meant to assist property owners and communities in the retention of urban fabric which help communicate the stories of important people, events, or movements. Different versions of these urban development theories have been attempted throughout the Baltimore-Washington DC Metropolitan area. Implementation has resulted in varying degrees of success, as illustrated in the PEABODY HEIGHTS salient and the case studies.

Chapter 3: Baltimore: Character and Development

Baltimore - A Brief Synopsis

In order to better understand the conditions and issues of the six portions of Baltimore addressed in this report, an abridged knowledge of the City's development would be beneficial.

Baltimore grew from a plantation port into one of the major manufacturing and trading centers of the East Coast, in addition to becoming the second-largest point of immigration into the United States. Many commercial, industrial, and social concepts originated or were prominently developed here. Baltimore's growth and subsequent decline significantly affected the PEABODY HEIGHTS neighborhoods.

Location, Topography, Physical Context

Baltimore rests upon gently rolling topography, descending from highlands in the Piedmont (north and west) to the Bay Shore marshes. Ridges have been appropriated for monuments⁸⁰ and landmark structures,⁸¹ and often, sections of town are discernible due to their elevation, or their elevation allows views over adjacent neighborhoods or geographic features.⁸²

⁸⁰ Eg: The *Washington Monument* at Mt Vernon Place.

⁸¹ Eg: the *Cathedral of the Assumption* or *Pennsylvania Station*, and the steeple of *Lovely Lane Methodist Church*..

⁸² Eg: *Druid Hill Park*, *Greenmount Cemetery*.



Figure 3.1: Baltimore City watersheds

Located northwest of the nearby juncture of the Patapsco River and the Chesapeake Bay, Baltimore City straddles the Fall Line⁸³ at its closest point to the shore.⁸⁴ The Patapsco forks into two branches creating a peninsula upon which, at the promontory near the point, Fort M^cHenry was erected to defend the harbor. The City originated on a series of berms⁸⁵ along the naturally-deep harbor's northern shore, necessitating the draining or filling of the marshlands in between to expand the settlements.⁸⁶ A center-city developed at the western end of the Northwest Branch harbor, marked by the intersection of two through-arteries bisecting the City: Charles

⁸³ The juncture of the Piedmont upper plateau and the Mid-Atlantic Coastal Plain is generally signified by an escarpment of land and a series of falls and rapids along streams and rivers. Fresh water predominates above this point, and tidal mixes of salty oceanic and clear alluvial flows permeates the plain. Flora and fauna can be noticeably different above and below the Fall Line, with a few species straddling both environments.

⁸⁴ Richmond, Va on the James River and Washington, DC on the Potomac are hundreds of miles inland, and dredging due to silting of their rivers has been a steady necessity throughout the 19th and 20th centuries.

⁸⁵ Locust Point, Jones Town (near the confluence of Jones Falls and the harbor, also called "OldTown"), and Fells Point; Sherry H Olson, *Baltimore, the Building of an American City*, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), 7-9

⁸⁶ One of the earliest City public works efforts was the leveling of hilly ground near the present center-city to create solid ground at Jones Falls, between Baltimore and Jones Town, in the 1760's; Olson, *Baltimore*, 12-14.

Street (running North-South) and Baltimore Street (East-West).⁸⁷ The majority of the City is organized by an orthogonal grid (due to the implementation of the *Poppleton Plan* of 1822),⁸⁸ but major deviations occur, where either the grid is shifted by 45° to match geographic features⁸⁹ or previous transportation routes,⁹⁰ or the grid is replaced by a curvilinear system of roadways following topographic conditions.⁹¹

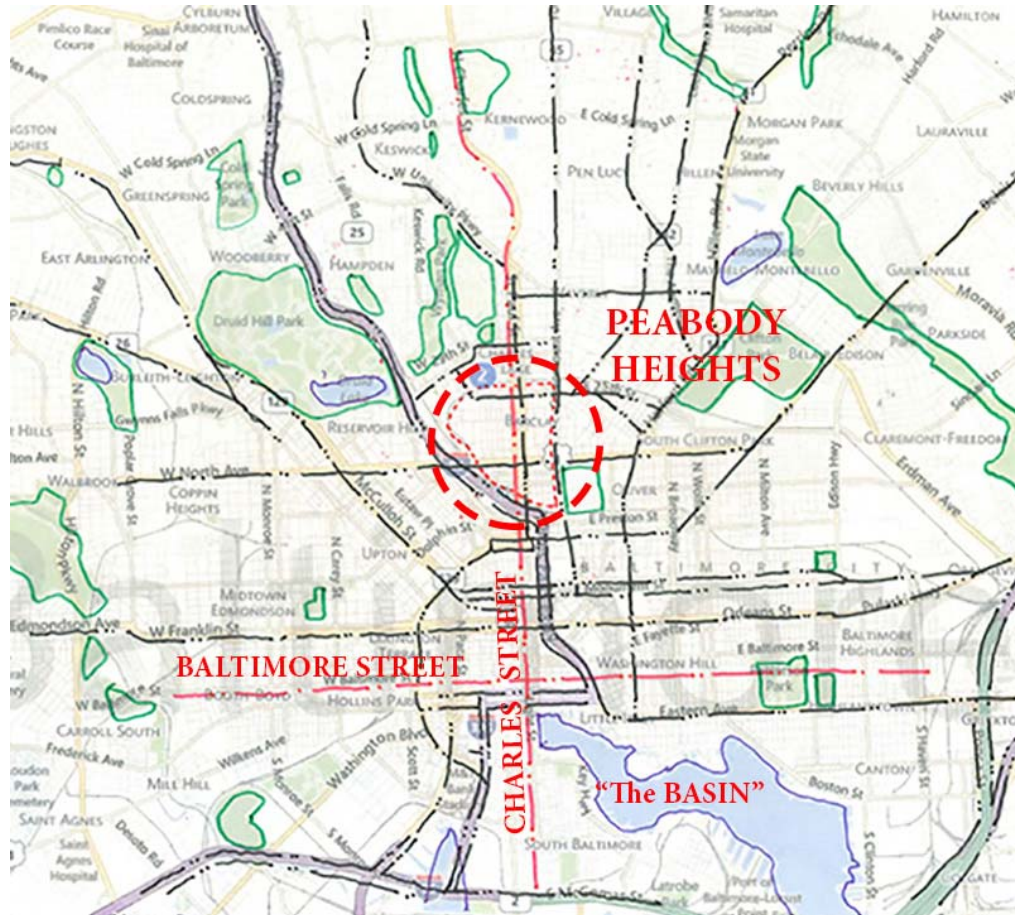


Fig. 3.2: PEABODY HEIGHTS location in Baltimore

⁸⁷ City business and residence numbering still is organized from these divisions: North and South of Baltimore Street, and East and West of Charles Street (originally called Forrest Street); however, the original major and ceremonial North-South route was Calvert Street; Baltimore Street (originally named Long Street then Market Street), was the business thoroughfare; Olson, *Baltimore*, 7

⁸⁸ Olson, *Baltimore*, 57; Thomas Holdsworth Poppleton (1765-1837) arrived in Baltimore in 1812 as a debtor, surveyed the rapidly expanding city of Baltimore and produced the first accurate map by 1822; he also indicated potential growth into new territories formed by the first city-boundary expansion of 1816, in a series of gridiron hierarchical street pattern neighborhoods; he also surveyed Lower Manhattan by 1817; <http://www.mdhs.org/underbelly/2015/12/17/thomas-poppletons-surveyors-map-that-made-baltimore-1822/>.

⁸⁹ Eg: *Mount Royal* follows Jones Falls to the northwest

⁹⁰ Eg: Harford Road or Washington Boulevard (formerly Columbia Avenue) were former trails.

⁹¹ The development of Druid Hill or Frederick Law Olmstead Jr's 1903 plans for *Roland Park*, for example.

At a time when Colonial settlements and residences were commonly located within 600 feet from the river banks,⁹² Charles Carroll, the Barrister, created a port adjacent to his estate *Mount Clare* to facilitate commerce in 1706. A town, surrounding the “Basin,”⁹³ was chartered by the General Assembly in 1729, incorporating harbor settlements.⁹⁴ Due to its location as the western-most ice-free port (providing year-round navigation), its position along the Fall Line, its connections to navigable portions of the Susquehanna River⁹⁵ as well as to the Atlantic Ocean through the Chesapeake Bay,⁹⁶ and overland routes developed from Native American trails north to York, Pennsylvania⁹⁷ and southwest to Washington, DC (which later evolved into railroad and highway linkages), Baltimore became an important industrial, commercial and shipping center, the largest on the East Coast between Philadelphia, Pennsylvania and Charleston, South Carolina.⁹⁸ The 260 feet drop in elevation of Jones Falls⁹⁹ provided water power for grist and flour mills, and later textile concerns, along its length starting in the 1780’s and lasting until the mills closed in the 1970’s.¹⁰⁰ As industry developed, residential communities were constructed adjacent to the mills: Remington, Hampden and Woodberry, located just

⁹² Ease of transportation of agricultural products and people, and the most readily-available and reliable sources of inter-communication among disparate habitations; Philip Curtin, Grace Brugh, George Fisher *Discovering the Chesapeake: the History of an Ecosystem*, (Baltimore, Maryland: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), 220.

⁹³ Re-named the “Inner Harbor” as part of a major Urban Renewal project in the mid-1970’s which transformed the once-active shipping port into an æsthetic recreational area - author.

⁹⁴ John Dorsey, James D Dilts, *Guide to Baltimore Architecture*, (Centerville, Maryland: Tidewater Publishers, 1997), 179.

⁹⁵ Trading with the rich anthracite coal fields of Northeastern Pennsylvania; Curtin et al, *Discovering*, 368.

⁹⁶ Connections to rich ports in the South, New England, the Caribbean, and Europe.

⁹⁷ Yorktown Turnpike first mentioned in 1780; Karen LaWand and Baltimore City Department of Planning and University of Baltimore, *North Baltimore from Estate to Development*, (Baltimore, Maryland: Department of Planning, 1989), 8.

⁹⁸ Curtin et al, *Discovering*, Introduction.

⁹⁹ LaWand, *North Baltimore*, 64.

¹⁰⁰ LaWand, *North Baltimore*, 65-71.

north of the PEABODY HEIGHTS area, are prime examples of this kind of development which still retain the characteristics of their village-origins.¹⁰¹

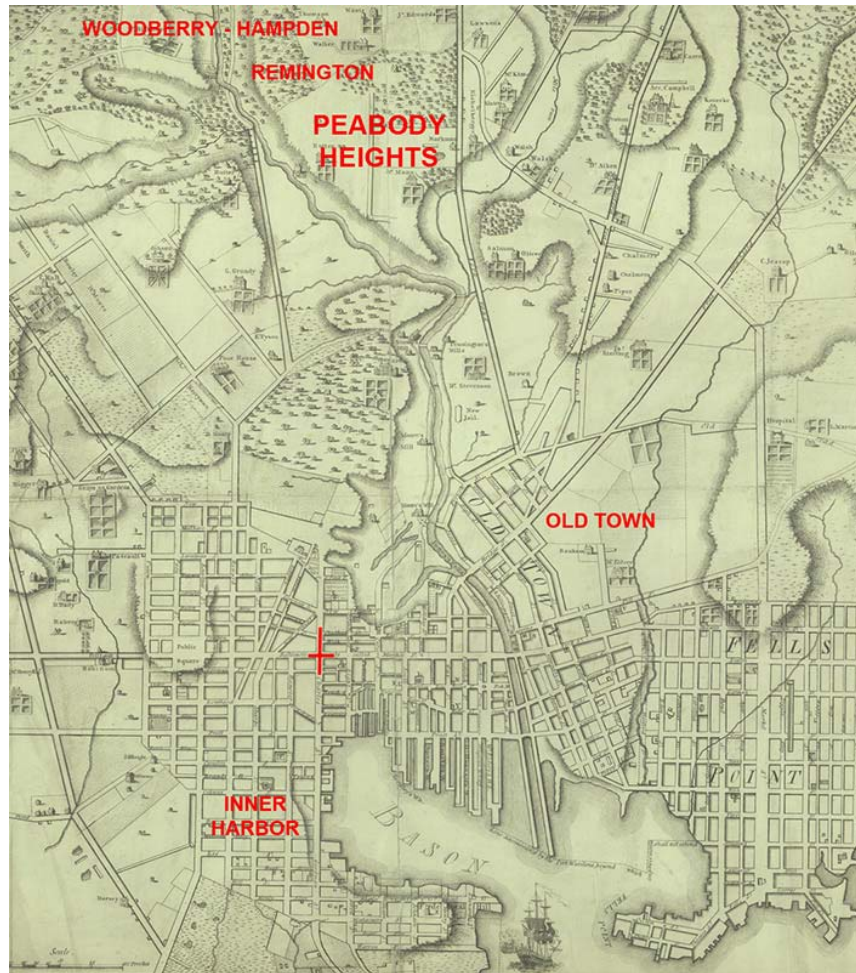


Figure 3.3: Baltimore in 1801: natural barriers to northern expansion

Hemmed in by the westward bend of north-bound Jones Falls, Baltimore's earliest urban expansion took the easiest and flattest routes: east, west, and south from the center; only after the Falls were bridged would development to the north be practical and economical.

Lack of efficient land transportation caused most Colonists to live close by their places of employment, and early Baltimore possessed an amalgamation of residents

¹⁰¹ Housing typologies, non-orthogonal street-grid plans, access to workplaces; LaWand, *North Baltimore*, 66-71.

of all ethnic, racial and class groups. The ubiquitous Baltimore “rowhouse” grew out of the need for housing workers, managers and owners alike on a limited quantity of suitable land near places of employment in the city-center, the harbor, or the mills.¹⁰² Wealthier citizens were able to sub-divide original Colonial land grant properties beyond the center-city into estates and plantations or “farms” where they could escape the City’s increasingly malignant conditions.¹⁰³ These “Summer Estates” were later developed into schools and other eleemosynary institutions,¹⁰⁴ residential enclaves,¹⁰⁵ or parkland;¹⁰⁶ the farms provided food and raw materials to city-dwellers.

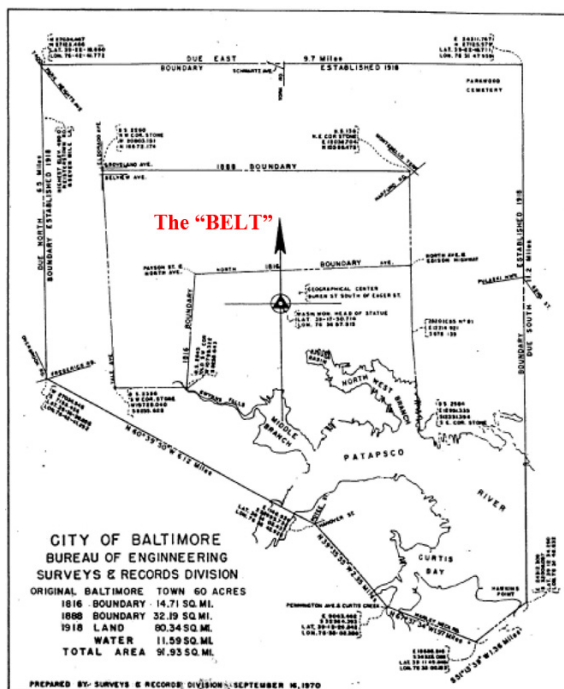


Figure 3.4: City of Baltimore boundary expansions

¹⁰² ME Hayward and C Belfoure, Chapter 1 The Walking City: 1790-1855 in *The Baltimore Rowhouse*, (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1999).

¹⁰³ Eg: pollution, noise, crime, disease.

¹⁰⁴ *Johns Hopkins University* from *Homewood*, (Charles Carroll of Carrollton’s son’s estate); Olson, *Baltimore*; Curtin et al, *Discovering*.

¹⁰⁵ PEABODY HEIGHTS near Waverly; LaWand, *North Baltimore*, 60; Clifton, Belair-Edison, Oakenshawe, Roland Park; Eric Holcomb, *City as Suburb: A History of Northeast Baltimore*, (Santa Fe, Center for American Places, Inc. 2005).

¹⁰⁶ *Druid Hill Park* from Col Nicholas Lloyd’s son Lloyd Nicholas Rogers, *Patterson Park* from William Patterson’s heirs, etc; Dorsey and Dilts, *Guide to Baltimore Architecture*, 296.

Prior to the Civil War, Baltimore expanded beyond its established boundaries as people moved east and west. A new boundary enclosing 13 square miles was established in 1816: Boundary (today's North) Avenue was a result. In 1888, after years of struggle between City and County citizens, the boundaries were expanded by two miles on the north and west sides (the "Belt" with an additional 18.8 square miles; east side residents rejected the proposed annexation at the polls) and in 1918 the boundaries were expanded to the current size, 92 square miles.

For Baltimore's population, choice of habitation was not static: as developments arose, Baltimoreans sought new surroundings, the latest technologies and building styles or fashions, a more country-like environment in which to raise their families. Until the pool of immigrants and industry-based wages evaporated, neighborhoods retained their value, even if they were no longer the front-runners of the community. "Building and Loan" (B&L) companies provided the mechanism for many laboring citizens and immigrants to afford to start businesses and purchase houses; 900 B&L's were chartered between the Civil War and 1917.¹⁰⁷

Population

Baltimore grew from 13,500 in 1790, to 170,000 in 1850, 509,000 in 1900, 950,000 in 1950 (the height of the City's population), and dropped to 651,000 in 2000.¹⁰⁸ From 1820 to 1924, immigration brought 2 million people to our shores through the nation's second-largest immigration-port; 40,000 entered in 1913 alone

¹⁰⁷ Hayward and Belfoure, *The Baltimore Rowhouse*, Chapter 3.

¹⁰⁸ USA Decennial Census data; <https://suburbanstats.org/population/maryland/how-many-people-live-in-baltimore>; <http://statisticalatlas.com/tract/Maryland/Baltimore-City/120600/Population>.

(the largest quantity). This immigration occurred in three successive waves: 4.5-million from the British Isles and Germany from 1830-60, twice as many from 1860-90 (again, British and Germans supplemented by Scandinavians and Chinese), and a third wave of 18-million in 1890-1924, predominantly from Southern and Eastern Europe; US restrictions to immigration in 1924 cut the flood to a trickle.¹⁰⁹ A small, but vibrant, “Chinatown” was established in the 1880’s; similarly a Jewish district formed in “OldTown.” The African American population grew to be the fourth largest in the US by 1920.¹¹⁰ The immigration numbers do not count the swell in population generated by the transference of farming families from southern rural areas in search of the City’s higher-paying industrial jobs since the Civil War.

As of 2010, the City’s population is still dropping (621,000) while the metropolitan area (including Baltimore County, Columbia, and Towson, Maryland) is growing (2.7 million, the Nation’s 21st-largest). 63% of the City’s population labeled themselves African American, 29% as Caucasian or of European heritage, 4% Hispanic, 2% as Asian, and less than 2% as other or combinations; 53% are female.¹¹¹ 90% of the population hold low-wage service jobs in 2010, which is a similar proportion to those having high-wage Industrial jobs in 1950.¹¹² In Metropolitan Baltimore, 58% are European, 29% are African American, 6% Asian, 5% Hispanic, and 2% other; 64% are aged 18-64, and 52% are female.

¹⁰⁹ Collin Woodward, *American Nations, a History of the Eleven Rival Regional Cultures of North America*, (New York: Penguin Books, 2012), 255.

¹¹⁰ HISP 650 report, *Old Goucher*, 28; quoting Hayward and Belfoure, *The Baltimore Rowhouse*, 235.

¹¹¹ <https://censusreporter.org/profiles/31000US12580-baltimore-towson-md-metro-area/>.

¹¹² USA Decennial Census data.

The City was rocked by the Great B&O Railroad Strike, and accompanying riots, of 1877.¹¹³ The last major epidemic to scourge Baltimore was Smallpox in 1882-3: disproportionately, those living in the lowland areas near the harbor, children (over 80% of fatalities), and the poor (of all races) were affected.¹¹⁴ This led to three major changes: a search for clean drinking water, the construction and operation of a new Johns Hopkins Hospital in 1889,¹¹⁵ and the flight from downtown to the cleaner atmosphere (and piped fresh water) of the new hill-top sub-divisions for anyone (regardless of race or class) who could afford to relocate.¹¹⁶ Other drawing cards for these developments included improved connections of streets, utilities, and services, streetcar transportation availability for all classes who were not able to afford the carriage-trade, and the perceptions of social connections to the genteel owners of the estates and farms surrounding the City.

Notable Educational Institutions

The Medical College of Maryland (predecessor of the University of Maryland - UMd) was formed in 1807 and housed in Davidge Hall since 1813;¹¹⁷ it was supplemented by schools of Law (1823, re-established in 1870), Dentistry (1840), Pharmacy (1841), and Nursing (1889), but the proposed School of Divinity was never formed, and the School of Arts and Letters was provided by merging with the

¹¹³ *Maryland Historical Chronology*, 1800-1999, <http://msa.maryland.gov/msa/mdmanual/01glance/chron/html/chron18.html>.

¹¹⁴ Global pandemics (eg: Spanish Influenza of 1918, AIDS, 1980's) are not included because they neither originated nor were localized in Baltimore – author.

¹¹⁵ Design was based upon the latest (though embryonic) understandings of germs and infection, and the value of ventilation, separation, and sterilization; Florence Nightingale had demonstrated these principles during her work in the Crimean War of 1853-6.

¹¹⁶ Olson, *Baltimore*, 235.

¹¹⁷ Named for its founder and dean, *Dr. John Beale Davidge*; <http://medschool.umaryland.edu/davidge.asp>.

Maryland State College of Agriculture in College Park (1920).¹¹⁸ St Mary's Seminary and University was founded in 1791;¹¹⁹ The Maryland Institute College of Art (MICA) in 1826; Loyola College in 1852;¹²⁰ Notre Dame of Maryland in 1873; Johns Hopkins University (JHU) in 1876,¹²¹ Hospital in 1889, and Medical School in 1893;¹²² and Morgan State College (now, University) in 1890.¹²³ All of these schools (except UMd) transferred from downtown locations to campuses on former estates within City boundaries in the 1920-50 era. Goucher College (1885) relocated to Towson in 1953.¹²⁴ Racial segregation impacted most programs (especially state-financed ones) until the 1950's. The Baltimore Hebrew University was founded in Park Heights in 1919.¹²⁵

Business

Undergirding the population and housing growth, and supporting the religious and benevolent institutions, were successful mercantile and industrial organizations.

Baltimore boasted a winning combination of location, capital, plentiful (and relatively cheap) labor, low cost and availability of raw materials and power sources, and convenient transportation, both to and from the interior, and via the harbor, throughout the world. Iron production and tobacco were among the first success

¹¹⁸ George H Calcott, *A History of the University Maryland*, (Baltimore, Maryland: Maryland Historical Society, Garamond / Pridemark Press, 1966).

¹¹⁹ The first Roman Catholic seminary in the US, operated by the Sulpician Fathers from France who fled the French Revolution; relocated to Roland Park in 1929; Elizabeth Ann Bayley Seton (first US-born saint) lived on the property, and two religious orders of women were founded and served here; http://www.stmarys.edu/sot/sot_first_seminary.htm

¹²⁰ Relocated to the Evergreen Campus in 1922; <http://www.loyola.edu/about/jesuitidentity/index.html>

¹²¹ Although it moved from Howard Street to its *Homewood Campus* in 1916; *Maryland Historical Chronology*.

¹²² *Johns Hopkins University* history; <http://www.jhu.edu>; women admitted to JHU in the same year, and to graduate programs in 1907; *Maryland Historical Chronology*, 1800-1999

¹²³ *Maryland Historical Chronology*, 1800-1999; patronage of John F Goucher enabled the inauguration of this school (originally: *Centenary Bible Institute*), as well as *Goucher College*, for the Methodist community; later renamed for Dr. Lyttleton F Morgan; specialized in African American education; LaWand, *North Baltimore*, 44.

¹²⁴ More information will be supplied in the next chapter – author.

¹²⁵ <http://www.towson.edu/cia/centers/baltimorehebrewinstitute>.

stories, prior to the American Revolution. By 1890, the garment industry was the City's largest employer, and fourth largest in nation, followed by canneries, packing houses, iron or steel production, and ship-building.¹²⁶ Rye whiskey and straw hat exportation was also led by Baltimore producers. Railroading started here, the first stations and repair yards developed west of the Harbor, and electrification by Westinghouse was inaugurated to solve local pollution issues. Spice production and packaging are still symbols of the City.

Circulation

In addition to the Bay, other routes and modes of transportation contributed to the growth of Baltimore as a commercial center. One of the first turnpikes in the City was Falls Road,¹²⁷ which paralleled Jones Falls and provided access along the waterway for early commercial transportation for the water-powered mills. Fees were assessed to travelers, with a heavier burden borne by shipping materials and goods.¹²⁸ Other still-extant early local routes include Yorktown Road¹²⁹ (now Greenmount Avenue from Hillen Street to Northern Parkway, and York Road north to Parkton, Maryland, the Mason-Dixon Line, and on to York, Pennsylvania) a former Native American Trail which ran along the Brittan Ridge (a low range of hills) and provided Pennsylvania farmers¹³⁰ access to City markets; Harford, Belair, Eastern, Baltimore-Washington Boulevard, Frederick, and Reisterstown roads, all radiating from the

¹²⁶ Hayward and Belfoure, *The Baltimore Rowhouse*, Chapter 3.

¹²⁷ Mentioned as early as 1788 as a trail; LaWand, *North Baltimore*, 8; *Falls Turnpike Co*: chartered in 1805, the first tollgate was located near the current site of the Baltimore Streetcar Museum near North Avenue; Ibid, 64; today's Maryland Route 25.

¹²⁸ LaWand, *North Baltimore*, 64.

¹²⁹ Mentioned in 1780; LaWand, Introduction, *North Baltimore*, 8; 1740, converted to a Maryland highway in 1910, paved (beyond Baltimore) in 1913-23, became US Route 111 in 1927, Maryland Route 45 in 1963 (when US Route 83 was commissioned); <http://www.ovrhs.org>.

¹³⁰ Some of the richest agricultural land east of the Mississippi River is located in the Lancaster-York valley.

City.¹³¹ The National Road¹³² connected Baltimore to West Virginia (and the Ohio River Valley) in 1818.

Highways

The original turnpike roads became highways with increased automobile traffic in the 1920's: US Route 1 (1926) overlays Washington Boulevard-North Avenue-Belair Road; the National Road and Orleans Street became US Route 40 (1926); and the others became Maryland state routes.¹³³ President Eisenhower proposed a national highway system in the 1950's, and the states instituted it. Combined with Urban Renewal programs, large gashes were cut into the built fabric of US cities, Baltimore included. The Jones Falls Expressway (JFX) / US Route 83, an elevated highway over both the stream and falls (which were channelized and buried from 1890-1912 to reduce flooding damage, with the Fallsway added in 1911; containment maintained the falls as a power-source for the mills)¹³⁴ and the railroad lines, was erected in the 1960's, and totally obliterates any visual appreciation of the Falls.¹³⁵ It parallels York Road running north through the City.

Street Grids and Blocks

The extension of the Poppleton Plan street-grid irrespective of topography allows the PEABODY HEIGHTS neighborhood to appear seamless with adjacent developments and the original City urban fabric.

¹³¹ Dorsey and Dilts, *Guide to Baltimore Architecture*, 36.

¹³² Currently: US Route 40.

¹³³ The *Maryland State Road Commission* was organized in 1908.

¹³⁴ Major floods in the late-1860's destroyed road and rail bridges and routes along the Falls, including the first bridge on Charles Street; Olson, *Baltimore*, 63 and 253.

¹³⁵ Contrary to what occurred in Washington, DC with *Rock Creek Park*, where at the turn of the 20th Century, the *McMillan Commission* prevented the creek's channelization and burial, and in the 1960's citizen groups prevented the installation of expressways through the residential portions of the District, including Rock Creek; <http://www.nps.gov/rocr/historyculture/index.htm>.

The one- or two-family house is the most common residential unit in Baltimore, and the masonry rowhouse is ubiquitous through the City (nearly two-thirds of all housing built between 1870 and 1930). Flats (or stacked single-floor residences) or apartment houses, popular in other cities and Europe, were never favored here, although residential hotels or clubs had a decent following. Corner units often contained shops (“corner stores”) with residential space (single-family or flats) above. Architectural trim and details were available from catalogues and local manufacturers, for both exterior and interior applications, but exterior wooden trim was outlawed in 1892 (leading to the use of iron or copper).¹³⁶

Baltimore developers transformed “unimproved” (that is: not urban) land into City fabric using three typical models: the “Baltimore Block” and the “Porchfront Block,” both on gridded streets, and a curvilinear pattern, usually following topographic features. Both the Porchfront Block and curvilinear patterns stressed the importance of being part of a “healthier” beyond-urban condition, where spaciousness, green lawns and trees, clean air and water, and “country living” (however limited, modified, or fabricated) were contrasted with grime, pollution, and congestion in marketing promotions.

Curvilinear patterns were originated by both Frederick Law Olmstead, Sr. and Jr. from ideas proposed by Alexander Jackson Downing, and first employed in Baltimore in the Roland Park community north of Druid Hill Lake post-1909. Detached- and row- houses conformed to serpentine drives following contours in the steeply-sloping neighborhood. In Post-WWII communities and New Towns, the curving patterns were overlaid on flatter pastures.

¹³⁶ Hayward and Belfoure, *The Baltimore Rowhouse*, Chapter 3

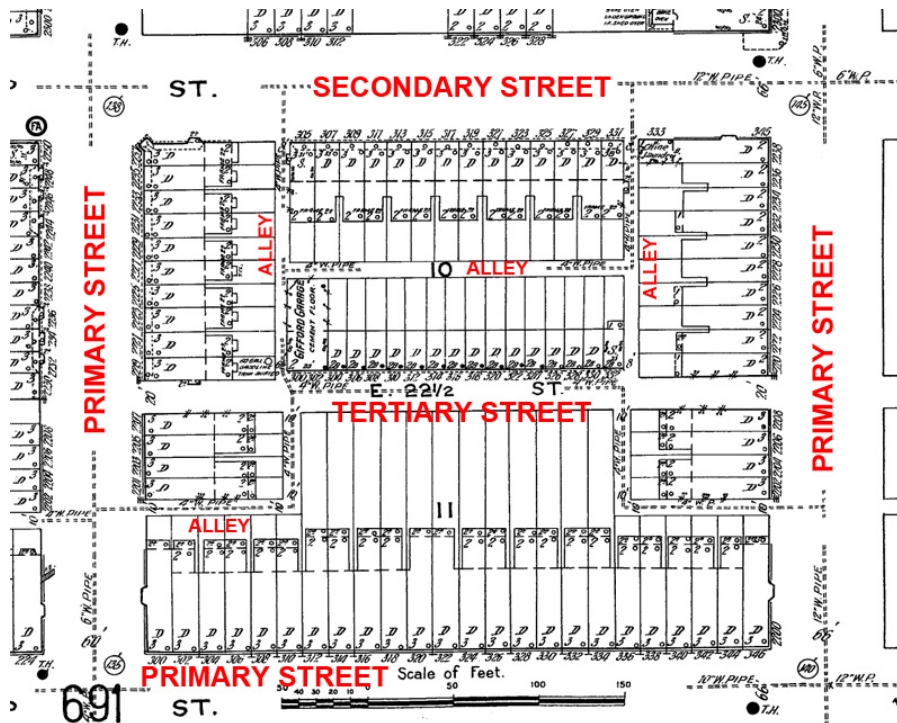


Figure 3.5: Baltimore Block

Baltimore’s original block pattern created an integrated mixture of incomes, occupations, races, ethnicities, and ages, whereas the other two models lent themselves to segregation and isolation. Detached or row houses were often erected along the property line, with no front or side yards. Each block had four attitudes corresponding to street-components (refer to Figures 4.6-4.11, page 84).

The side facing a major or Primary Street contained larger (3-4 story high, often with an “English” or habitable basement), wider (hall-and-chamber or hall-flanked-by-chambers plans), fancier (better and varied materials, more openings and trim), often individualistic residences, usually inhabited by wealthier professional or merchant families. Mansions fronted Primary Streets in neighborhoods such as Mount Vernon Place.



Figure 3.6: Baltimore Block – Primary Street (North Charles St and North Ave)

Secondary Streets intersected primary ones, and contained the secondary façades of buildings fronting the major street in addition to more-restrained primary façades of slightly-less important houses. Though often of equal height with those on the major street, these buildings were usually narrower and finished with less variety of materials. Rarely were houses on Secondary Streets unique expressions (ie: individually-designed structures), rather individuality was expressed through variations in window glazing, door types, or building trim. Less-successful or “up-and-coming” merchants and professionals, and plant managers, occupied these streets.

If not a Secondary Street, the lane parallel to the major street and some larger mid-block roads filled a Tertiary Street position: smaller (less wide and often, high), plainer, less-ornamented structures, and occupied by successful craftsman- or laborer-families. In the middle of the block, Alleys provided access to stables, light-industrial functions (eg: coal, wood distribution, construction offices, dairies), servant or laborer-family housing, and service functions (eg: privies, delivery and service entry

for residences on Primary or Secondary streets). These structures were usually two-stories in height, and one, two or three rooms deep, narrow in width, simply-constructed and ornamented, often with no yard, front or rear. Whereas the other street models might have been tree-lined, there were no trees provided in the Alleys. Poorer immigrant ethnic or racial minorities often started their Baltimore residency as renters in the alley-houses, and progressed to the other models as finances and opportunities allowed. City law prohibited houses on streets less than 40' wide (alleys) in 1908 following an exposé by the reformer Janet Kemp, who photographed and published squalid conditions in a vein similar to Jacob Riis in New York City.¹³⁷ Many alley houses and business were removed following the adoption of mandatory sewer connections in 1911 and city-wide zoning regulations in 1923.

Due to the Baltimore Block, most of the City provided homogeneous dwelling opportunities: a mixture of classes, races, ethnicities, and ages lived in close proximity, and near to places of employment. As a family climbed the income and social ladder, they could inhabit larger and more-prominent dwellings within their neighborhood, or relocate to newly-developed subdivisions in or beyond the Belt. Because of Baltimore's status as the second-largest port of immigration in the 19th Century, the City steadily grew, and there were always similarly-upward-moving (socially and financially) candidates waiting to occupy a former home when another relocated.

¹³⁷ Janet E Kemp, *Housing Conditions in Baltimore*, 1907, as mentioned in *Maryland Law Review*, volume 32, 296 <http://digitalcommons.law.umaryland.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=2498&context=mlr>

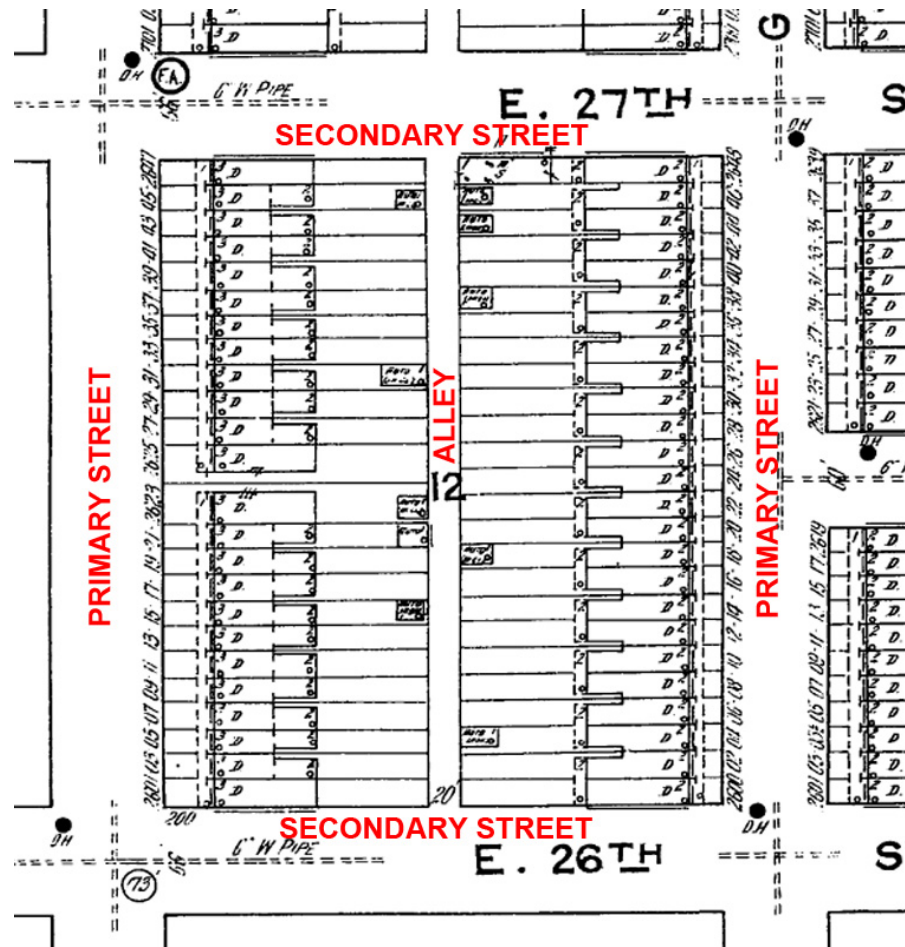


Figure 3.7: Porchfront Block

Porchfront Blocks offer an urban-exurban blend: suburban amenities, such as small front and rear lawns, thick tree-bordered streets with grass verges (or “parkways”), and an occupiable front porch,¹³⁸ are appended to the typical rowhouse, or a “Philadelphia-plan” or “Daylight” rowhouse.¹³⁹ The blocks aligned twin house rows parallel to the street, separated by rear yards and often a narrow alley accessing garages or service functions, but not other residences or commercial activity.

Subdivisions north of the Belt Line regularly employed this model.

¹³⁸ Larger than the previously-popular white marble steps and stoops – author.

¹³⁹ A typical Baltimore rowhouse plan was several rooms deep, with natural light and ventilation provided through narrow slots in the building fabric along property lines or narrow light courts; a “Daylight” plan limited the rowhouse depth to two rooms, so that both received bountiful natural light and ventilation, and was introduced to Baltimore post-1905, Eric Holcomb, *the City as Suburb*, p 188.



Figure 3.8: Porchfront Block (Guilford Avenue)

Porchfront Blocks eliminated residences facing secondary streets as well as the mid-block alley dwelling-potential in a more-square block, enabling easy separation of races, ethnicities, and classes. Racial- and ethnicity-based segregationist feelings sown in the 1890's, blossomed in 1911 due to Baltimore Ordinance 692 and extensive punitive restrictive real estate practices such as “protective” community associations, deed covenants, and “red lining” (mortgage denials based on property location).¹⁴⁰ Alley housing was seen to be undesirable and unhealthy. Immigration restrictions of the 1920's stemmed the tide of inexpensively-paid foreign employees, which exacerbated problems generated by the flow of unskilled rural former-farm (often African American) labor from the South. As inner-city neighborhoods became less desirable when the original occupants aged, died or relocated, and an ever-increasing

¹⁴⁰ George WF McMechan, sole and first graduate of Morgan College (now Morgan State University) in 1895, and Yale Law School in 1899, practiced in Baltimore, challenged the Baltimore Segregation Ordinance of 1910; <http://msa.maryland.gov/msa/stagser/s1259/121/6050/html/26170000.html>; four successive ordinances were passed between 1910 and 1911, which led to many other southern US cities' ordinances; all were declared unconstitutional, by unanimous Supreme Court decision (*Buchanan v Waverly* 245 US 60) in 1917; *Principles of Real Estate Practice by Realtors* reviewed, 318, mortgage practices, 318-19; *Maryland Law Review*, volume 42, 289-329, <http://digitalcommons.law.umaryland.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=2498&context=mlr>

supply of new housing, schools, and opportunities appeared in the exurbs following WWII, the proportion of poorer “minority” residents grew.

Transit

Public transportation enabled members of all classes to maneuver around the City speedily (compared with walking or horses), comfortably, and on a regular schedule, often extending late into the evening, or all night. As streetcars ran on tracks, the ride was smooth, not bumpy (caused by ruts in unpaved roads or cobblestone surfaces). Baltimore’s governing agencies set the street-rail gauge (or the distance separating the rails) at 5’-4½”, or the standard cart-wheel separation.¹⁴¹

Omnibuses made their Baltimore appearance in 1832, providing the first localized public transit, and in 1859¹⁴² the first horsecar¹⁴³ line began service. The City and Suburban Railway constructed the Oak Street Car barn in 1885, incorporated the Lake Roland Elevated Railway in 1895, and in 1897 joined the Baltimore Traction Company to become the Baltimore Consolidated Railway. The independent lines were consolidated in 1899 into the United Railways and Electric Company,¹⁴⁴ (UR&ECo) which proceeded to electrify, modernize and improve service and equipment, often placing the newest cars or services on lines serving the PEABODY HEIGHTS neighborhood.¹⁴⁵ The fare was a nickel, but 1¢ (or 20%) was a tax to support the City’s park system.¹⁴⁶ As track was laid, streets were paved with locally-fabricated and far-renowned paving-brick by the streetcar companies. Unlike other

¹⁴¹ Nixon, *Condensed History*; among the widest in the industry.

¹⁴² Also, the year of the first classes at the *Maryland Agricultural College*, fore-runner of the *University of Maryland* in College Park; Calcott, *A History of the University Maryland*, 142

¹⁴³ Carriage drawn on steel rails; Nixon, *Condensed History*, 2-3

¹⁴⁴ Nixon, *Condensed History*, 3

¹⁴⁵ Nixon, *Condensed History*, 4

¹⁴⁶ This tax was collected until the demise of the streetcar system in 1963; it has not been replaced for other forms of transit; Nixon, *Condensed History*, 2

Southern cities in the “Jim Crow” era, neither streetcars nor lines in Baltimore were segregated;¹⁴⁷ African Americans were prevented from becoming conductors and motormen by the transit union until the 1950’s.

Streetcars provided more than transportation to and from work: the City’s first amusement parks were owned and operated by the transit companies (often at the ends of routes and near lakes, reservoirs, or the Bay), and in pre-air conditioning times, rides into the country on open “breezer” cars cheaply provided an escape from Summer’s heat and humidity. Funeral and other special event cars were made available, and streetcars also participated in celebratory and political parades.¹⁴⁸

Transportation and utility infrastructure continued to spread throughout the City in the first quarter of the 20th Century, but changes were modest compared with the previous decades. Nearly 2,000 streetcars traveled on 400 miles of track by 1910; a half-hour’s journey connected the extremities with the City core.¹⁴⁹ Inter-urban lines connected Baltimore with Maryland towns, villages, and Washington, DC.¹⁵⁰ The UR&ECo constructed the Power Station on Pratt Street in 1901 adjacent to the Basin (Inner Harbor), producing electricity from coal; it was severely damaged in the Great Fire of 1904 and reconstructed. “Trackless Trolleys” (1938-59) and buses (1915-present) rounded out the City’s transit network through this period.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁷ Attempts at segregating African Americans by restricting them to the open upper sections of double-decker horsecars by Baltimore City Passenger Railway Company were declared unconstitutional in 1871; Gary Helton on behalf of the Baltimore Streetcar Museum, *Baltimore’s Streetcars and Buses*, (Charleston, SC: Images of America series, Arcadia Publishing, 2008), 13.

¹⁴⁸ Discussed frequently, in Helton, Nixon, Olson, etc, and streetcar websites and blogs

¹⁴⁹ Herbert H Harwood, Jr, *Baltimore Streetcars: the Postwar Years*, (Baltimore, Maryland: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003), VII

¹⁵⁰ The *Washington Baltimore and Annapolis* (1908-35), and *Baltimore & Annapolis Railroad* (1887-1950: passenger, -1968: freight) took an hour to travel between terminals, as compared with today’s hour-an-a-half to accomplish the same trip by roadways; Harwood, Jr, *Baltimore Streetcars*, 8, 166

¹⁵¹ Nixon, *Condensed History*, 8-9

Three factors caused the demise of electrified public transportation in Baltimore. First, although WWII brought a surge in use of transit to and from plentiful factory jobs, and older, “retired” machines were pressed into service to accommodate crowds, the Great Depression had prevented needed expenditures for equipment and maintenance, and reduced staffing.¹⁵² The UR&ECo declared bankruptcy following the Bank Holiday in 1933, and was re-organized as the Baltimore Transit Company (again, “BTC”) in 1935, but even WWII service didn’t bring profitability, and the public’s choice of automobile transport following the War seriously hampered BTC-finances while congesting the roads. Second, Henry Barnes, a “Traffic Engineer,” was hired in 1947 to remedy congestion problems in the City. His solution was to create a series of one-way streets to improve through-traffic speed, and the first to be modified were Calvert, St Paul, Charles streets and Maryland Avenue (among fourteen others), disrupting two-way streetcar service.¹⁵³ Third, American City Lines¹⁵⁴ bought a 30% interest in the BTC, elected representatives to the Board of Directors, and proceeded to eliminate streetcar service, replacing it with buses over the next 15 years.¹⁵⁵

The final streetcars ceased operations fifty years ago,¹⁵⁶ but Baltimore Light Rail has been re-installed on Howard Street connecting Baltimore-Washington International (BWI) Thurgood Marshall Airport, the Calvert Street Station, and

¹⁵² Two-person crews (motormen and conductors) were replaced with single operators; Nixon, *Condensed History*, 8

¹⁵³ Nixon, *Condensed History*, 8

¹⁵⁴ *American City Lines* (affiliate of *National City Lines* holding company funded by *Firestone Tire*, *Standard Oil of California*, *Phillips Petroleum*, and *General Motors*) acquired 30% of BTC stock; from 1936-50 acquired and dismantled 100 streetcar systems in 45 cities; Gary Helton, *Baltimore’s Streetcars and Buses*, 85.

¹⁵⁵ Nixon, *Condensed History*, 8-9.

¹⁵⁶ 3 November, 1963, Nixon, *Condensed History*, 8

Timonium in 1992.¹⁵⁷ Baltimore Metro Subway (BMS), operated by the Maryland Transit Administration (MTA), was originally envisioned in 1965 to have six rapid-transit lines; one was opened in 1983 and expanded in 1987, connecting center city with Owings Mills, northwest of the City in Baltimore County, Maryland, and in 1994 extended to the JHU Hospital in OldTown.¹⁵⁸ The BLR and BMS are not interconnected, but cross near the Lexington Market.

Railroads

Charles Carroll of Carrollton (1737-1832), last-surviving signer of the Declaration of Independence, was an early supporter of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad (B&O):¹⁵⁹ the company's major railyards and westward extensions of the line were located on his Mount Clare property.¹⁶⁰ The B&O was chartered in 1827, the Carrollton Viaduct¹⁶¹ and Mount Clare Station¹⁶² were national firsts, as was Peter Cooper's Tom Thumb race.¹⁶³ Camden Street Station opened in 1856. Rail lines soon transported raw materials to City industries and finished products to consumers inside and beyond Baltimore alike.

The Northern Central Railroad (NCRR)¹⁶⁴ first paralleled Falls Road with train service in 1831, and quickly usurped the Turnpike's shipping functions (leading to the Turnpike's bankruptcy in 1885, and assumption of care by the City in 1891);¹⁶⁵

¹⁵⁷ *Baltimore Light Rail* operated by the *Maryland Transit Administration*; <https://mta.maryland.gov/light-rail>

¹⁵⁸ <https://mta.maryland.gov/metro-subway>

¹⁵⁹ One of his last public acts was the ground-breaking for B&O's Carrollton Viaduct, 4 July, 1828; Olson, *Baltimore*, 89.

¹⁶⁰ The yards and repair shops bear the *Mount Clare* moniker to this day - author.

¹⁶¹ Stone bridge, 1829, it is still used; *Maryland Historical Chronology*, 1800-1999.

¹⁶² 1830; *Maryland Historical Chronology*, 1800-1999.

¹⁶³ Also, 1830; 1st American-made locomotive, beat horses at distance and speed, even if it lost the race due to running out of steam; *Maryland Historical Chronology*, 1800-1999.

¹⁶⁴ A subsidiary of the *Pennsylvania Railroad*; LaWand, *North Baltimore*, 65.

¹⁶⁵ LaWand, *North Baltimore*, 64.

NCRR major yards and shops were located in Woodberry and workers resided in that community.¹⁶⁶ The Maryland and Pennsylvania (nicknamed the “Ma and Pa”) Railroad also ran along the Falls,¹⁶⁷ providing rail service to York, Pennsylvania in competition with Yorktown Road, but although regularly used for local passenger as well as freight trips, longer-distance travelers usually took the Pennsylvania Railroad (PRR),¹⁶⁸ which utilized both the B&O and NCRR routes. The “Pennsy” constructed and operated the Union Station (1871 – replaced by the Pennsylvania (“Penn”) Station in 1912)¹⁶⁹ at the Charles Street Bridge over Jones Falls.

On-grade railroad lines were transferred to the Howard tunnel from Camden to Mount Royal stations in 1890-95.¹⁷⁰ The B&O constructed the “Belt Line,” which runs in a ravine or tunnel parallel to 26th Street, in 1893,¹⁷¹ continuing their northern route to Philadelphia and New York City.¹⁷² CSX operates trains along this route, at present. About the same time, the B&O extended service spur-lines to industries along Oak (now Howard) Street.¹⁷³

¹⁶⁶ LaWand, *North Baltimore*, 70.

¹⁶⁷ The “Ma and Pa” station was located at the level of the Falls near the intersection of Howard Street and North Avenue, and a prominent stairway extended from street to the station until the construction of the Howard Street Bridge removed the station; their railyards and repair shops are used for the *Baltimore Streetcar Museum*, and the roundhouse is currently used for Baltimore’s *Public Works Department* snow removal and salt storage: it is slated to be restored, and housing incorporated in the complex; *Baltimore Streetcar Museum* tour info, on-site, 12 October, 2013.

¹⁶⁸ A major competitor of the B&O; friction between the two led to tunnel construction and the major work along the Jones Falls, as well as delays in the erection of the Howard Street Bridge; Olson, *Baltimore*, 226.

¹⁶⁹ Olson, *Baltimore*, 159 and 198.

¹⁷⁰ Olson, *Baltimore*, 226.

¹⁷¹ Concurrent with the development of the neighborhood and the electrification of the streetcars.

¹⁷² The Baltimore Belt Railroad Company was a subsidiary of the B&O: the route was built to compete with the PRR’s route through Camden. The B&O completed a line connecting Baltimore with Philadelphia by 1886, and New York City by 1889, and needed a route through the City to connect with Washington, DC; the Howard Tunnel was constructed from 1890-95 as part of this overall strategy. Contemporaneously with these B&O efforts, the North Avenue Sewer project and Bridge, the channelization of Jones Falls, the re-alignment of the NCRR (PRR) Railroad tracks, grade and station were co-ordinated and constructed from 1890-1912; Olson, *Baltimore*, 226.

¹⁷³ As indicated on the Sanborn and Zoning maps, until the 1960’s; speaks of the heavily-industrial nature of the western portion of the area, both early and currently; Maryland Construction Company for B&O; Karen LaWand, *North Baltimore*, 57.

The quantity of smoke, noise, soot, and dust along the Jones Falls route led to the City's ordinance¹⁷⁴ precipitating electrified service in this corridor in 1893; the Belt Line construction as Baltimore's first electrified route is a direct response by the B&O to this condition.¹⁷⁵

Passenger railroad service has declined steadily since WWII,¹⁷⁶ while airline and automobile options have grown exponentially. All passenger service was combined into Amtrak in 1971,¹⁷⁷ and freight consolidated into ConRail in 1973,¹⁷⁸ eliminating competitive companies within the City.

Utilities

Baltimore was a pioneer in the use of many of the utilities we now take for granted and pioneered equipment which used them. Amazingly, one place where they lagged behind other cities was the removal of sewage.

In the post-Revolutionary period, power was provided primarily by water and steam¹⁷⁹ and heat supplied by burning wood or coal.¹⁸⁰ Gas lighting was demonstrated at Rembrandt Peale's Museum in 1816, and the Gas Light Company of Baltimore, first supplier of coal gas in the nation, was formed the following year.¹⁸¹

¹⁷⁴ Baltimore Ordinance 83-84, 14 May, 1890; *Annotated Cases: American and English* Pg 661-5; this neighborhood had a great deal to gain from this legislation, and it expresses the political will and power of the residents, coupled with the desirability of location, to force these conditions on the railroads.

¹⁷⁵ LaWand, *North Baltimore*, 60.

¹⁷⁶ Meanwhile, freight service remains healthy and vital; electrification was replaced by diesel engines in 1980's.

¹⁷⁷ *Railroad Passenger Service Act of 1970*, <http://history.amtrak.com/amtraks-history>

¹⁷⁸ Consolidated Rail Corporation (ConRail) formed in 1976; deregulation fostered the formation of six freight systems starting in 1981, including CSX (formerly the Chessie System: Chesapeake and Ohio, B&O, and several other smaller lines) which acquired most of ConRail assets in 1997, <http://www.american-rails.com/railroad-history.html>

¹⁷⁹ The first steam-powered mill in the country produced flour, and was originated by Isaac M^cKim in 1822; *Maryland Historical Chronology*, 1800-1999

¹⁸⁰ The Susquehanna River and Chesapeake Bay provided abundant and easy navigation to the coals fields in Northeastern Pennsylvania; Curtin et al, *Discovering*, 11

¹⁸¹ *History of Baltimore Gas and Electric Company*: www.fundinguniverse.com/company-histories/baltimore-gas-and-electric-company; *Maryland Historical Chronology*, 1800-1999

Samuel FB Morse sent the first telegraph message from the Supreme Court chambers in the US Capitol to Alfred Vail at Camden Street Station in Baltimore in 1844;¹⁸² two years later lines connected New York City with Washington, DC through Baltimore and Philadelphia.¹⁸³ The first telephone exchange in Baltimore was operational in 1879, just three years after the Alexander Graham Bell's patent and one year following the first national demonstration of an exchange in New Haven, Connecticut.¹⁸⁴ Electrification accompanied the streetcar system, which constructed large coal-burning power plants and provided service for transit, street lighting, and commercial, industrial, and residential use. Hydro-electric power was initiated from a new dam on the Susquehanna River at Holtwood, Pa, in 1908, and Baltimore established the Public Services Commission to regulate utilities in 1910.

The Baltimore Water Company was chartered in 1804, but most people still obtained water from wells and pumps which were becoming increasingly-polluted.¹⁸⁵ A series of fires and water-borne epidemics led to the creation of reservoirs along nearby streams throughout the 19th Century,¹⁸⁶ and plumbing was extended to residential and commercial properties, predominantly in new higher-ground estate-subdivisions. A major storm-water drainage system was installed in both the Druid Hill and PEABODY HEIGHTS neighborhoods, and co-ordinated with remedial projects along the Jones Falls, as mentioned earlier. The Great Fire of 1904 also spurred

¹⁸² The telegraph trial (9 April, 1844) sent messages between Washington, DC and *Riversdale*, the plantation home of the Maryland Agricultural College's (later evolved into the University of Maryland's College Park campus) patron, Charles Benedict Calvert, friend and supporter of Morse; http://www.pgiparks.com/places/eleganthistoric/riversdale_history.html

¹⁸³ *Maryland Historical Chronology*, 1800-1999

¹⁸⁴ *Maryland Historical Chronology*, 1800-1999; History wired: a few of our favorite things; telephone and telegraph, <http://historywired.si.edu/detail.cfm?ID=324>; Verizon (C&P Telephone of Baltimore) history: http://www.verizon.com/investor/DocServlet?doc=verizon_corp_history_2013_v2.pdf

¹⁸⁵ LaWand, *North Baltimore*, 54; Olson, *Baltimore*, 165.

¹⁸⁶ Lake Roland and Mt Royal Reservoir in 1858, Druid Hill Lake (1862), and Loch Raven Reservoir and Lake Montebello (1881), for example; Olson, *Baltimore*, 137, 165.

Baltimore to replace individual privy vaults¹⁸⁷ with a dual-pipe storm water and sanitary sewer system by 1915;¹⁸⁸ as part of this mammoth city-wide effort,¹⁸⁹ water, gas, and fire-suppression systems were improved and lines re-laid, creating a confusing tangle of below-grade systems. Also concurrent with this effort, a Paving Commission was established in 1911, and all City streets (including alleys) were paved by WWI.¹⁹⁰ Sanitation remained the province of privy vaults until 1915; with new sewer lines and filtration facilities, sewerage was no longer dumped in the Jones Falls or the harbor.¹⁹¹ Garbage collection was mandated by the City government in 1877.¹⁹²

In the final quarter of the 19th Century, Jones Falls continued to provide waterpower to operate the textile mills, but coal, gas and electricity made major inroads as power-sources throughout the City.¹⁹³ Street and residential lighting steadily were switched from kerosene and gas to electricity, and a forest of electrical poles supporting miles of wires sprouted up everywhere, bringing hazards to firemen and other citizens in storms and emergencies. By the turn of the 20th Century telephones were installed in institutions and houses of the wealthy, including the PEABODY HEIGHTS neighborhood.

¹⁸⁷ Estimated 80,000 privy vaults in 1880; Hayward and Belfoure, Chapter 3: 1875-1915 Artistic Period, *The Baltimore Rowhouse*, 128.

¹⁸⁸ *The Sewerage Enabling Act* of 1904, construction began in 1907 and was operational in 1915; <http://healthyharborbaltimore.org/state-of-the-harbor/history-of-the-sewer-system>.

¹⁸⁹ Financially supported by both State and City funding; Olson, Baltimore, 253.

¹⁹⁰ *Maryland Historical Chronology*, 1800-1999.

¹⁹¹ Legislation in 1906, *Maryland Historical Chronology*, 1800-1999.

¹⁹² Baltimore City Council Proceedings: THE ICEBOAT ORDINANCE ... Reported for the Baltimore Sun *The Sun (1837-1987)*; May 3, 1877; ProQuest Historical Newspapers: Baltimore Sun, The (1837-1987) 4

¹⁹³ Competing gas suppliers were merged into the Consolidated Gas Company of Baltimore in 1880, the same year that electricity was demonstrated in the Sun Building; both were consolidated in 1906 and today's Baltimore Gas and Electric (BGE) is the grandchild of these mergers; History of Baltimore Gas and Electric Company <http://www.fundinguniverse.com/company-histories/baltimore-gas-and-electric-company>.

As all of these systems approach their (bi-, sesqui-) centennial of installation, appropriate concern for replacement or improvements is being expressed throughout the City.

Wireless telephone (or radio) service began in Baltimore in 1922,¹⁹⁴ as an amateur operator set up the first station in his shop downtown; the first Baltimore religious radio station, WCBM, started in 1924 at the *Seventh Baptist Church*, at 30 East North Avenue [at St Paul Street; later moved to its own studios at the Hotel Chateau, 2-4 West North Avenue, northwest corner of Charles Street (now demolished), in 1926].

Transfer of Economic Control

Although many inventions, companies, and organizations started in Baltimore, and investors amassed considerable prestige and wealth, by the conclusion of WWII, decision-making power had been drained from the City of Baltimore.

Economic and investment conditions produced wealth for upwardly-mobile Baltimoreans, leading younger and newer members of “Society” to relocate to new enclaves beyond the center-city. Baltimore was not immune to financial pressures and the panics which regularly engulfed the rest of the country between the Civil War and WWI, and by the close of this period local citizen-owners and companies had lost the control and responsibility of nearly all major businesses (banking, industries, railroads, utilities, etc) to nationwide conglomerates and monopolies through consolidations or purchase. This ownership change resulted in the transferral of

¹⁹⁴ Calman J. Zamoiski, Sr. created both station 3RM at home in November, 1921, and WKC at 19 North Liberty St (licensed in March, 1922); the first radio-concert: 20 March, 1922; Early Baltimore Wireless Telephone (Radio) Stations; *Charm City History Blog*, 2013.

primary decision-making and the siphoning of financial profits on many levels from the city.¹⁹⁵ The formation of labor unions, and the accompanying advocacy for increased safety, better working and housing conditions, sanitation and clean water, limits on women and child labor, and higher wages, improved the daily lives of most laborers and their families, but the gulf between rich and poor, and between and within racial and ethnic groups, widened significantly.¹⁹⁶

Following WWII, much of the industrial impetus which had created Baltimore transferred operations to the South or off-shore, creating high local unemployment. Passenger railroad and streetcar systems collapsed, while commercial railroading consolidated into entities headquartered outside of Baltimore.¹⁹⁷ Harbor facilities relocated to industrial areas south of the City. The result was a high ratio of abandoned property within city boundaries while suburban growth accelerated. Accompanying this relocation was the loss of substantial tax resources which supported schools, infrastructural repair and maintenance, relief efforts, and community projects.¹⁹⁸ The assassination of Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. sparked riots over Palm Sunday, in April, 1968. Following his funeral in Atlanta, struggling areas of the City were looted and burned, starting with *OldTown's* Gay Street near the *Belair Market*, spreading along Greenmount and North avenues, and consuming Pennsylvania Avenue in West Baltimore, striking fear into the hearts of middle-class residents of all races, and aggravating flight from the inner city to the suburbs.

Regeneration in most neighborhoods has been slow and painful. Riots again flared

¹⁹⁵ For further, detailed information, refer to Olson, *Baltimore*, Chapter 8, *Consolidation 1878-1899*, sub-chapter *Going, Going, Gone*, 237-244

¹⁹⁶ Olson, *Baltimore*, 267

¹⁹⁷ Now headquartered in Jacksonville, Florida; <http://csx.history.railfan.net/history/histbo.html>

¹⁹⁸ The penny tax on streetcar rides which supported the park system was abolished along with the streetcars, in 1962; Nixon, *Condensed History*, 2

along Pennsylvania Avenue and throughout West Baltimore, with limited occurrences near 25th Street and Greenmount Avenue,¹⁹⁹ in April, 2015, in response to inappropriate police behavior and the frustrations of poverty, drug abuse, and unemployment.

As the Center City adapts to service, tourist and entertainment industries, and people begin to re-inhabit derelict areas, the close-in neighborhoods again acquire desirability. Historic Preservation efforts, mural-painting or “beautification,” public neighborhood park and garden creation and maintenance, and street tree planting projects are contributing to the rebuilding of residents’ pride and care for the City, which substantially contributes to community value and enhances growth.

Historic Preservation in Baltimore

In concert with the growth of Historic Preservation efforts nationwide, Baltimore established the Commission for Historical and Architectural Preservation (CHAP) within the Baltimore Department of Planning.²⁰⁰ The CHAP mission is to “enhance and promote the culture and economy of Baltimore through the preservation of buildings, structures, sites and neighborhoods that have æsthetic, historic, and architectural value.” CHAP accomplishes its mission through programs which: Designate Baltimore City’s historic districts and landmarks; Review plans for landmarks and buildings in historic districts; Provide technical assistance and historical information to the public; Administer the Baltimore City Historic Restoration & Rehabilitation Tax Credit; Conserve and maintain City-owned outdoor

¹⁹⁹

<https://www.google.com/maps/d/u/0/viewer?mid=1n1xdjvN3DiuKoJxmnkJrFnxNkPs&ll=39.31813211762128%2C-76.6170677590332&z=14>

²⁰⁰ <http://chap.baltimorecity.gov/historical-architectural-preservation>

sculpture and monuments; Conduct historic resource surveys; Comply with Federal law to provide preservation recommendations for federal and state funded projects; Integrate historic preservation recommendations into City and neighborhood plans; and Administer permit review authority for over 12,000 properties in 33 local historic districts, as well as 182 local landmarks.

Due to funding limitations, a moratorium on the formation of CHAP districts was instituted with the Millennium. New Rules and Regulations were adopted in 2015.

Conclusion - Baltimore

Baltimore is the product of multiple, convoluted, and inter-woven physical, sociological, financial, and personal stories. From its beginnings at “the Basin,” it became one of the Country’s primary industrial, commercial, and shipping centers, drawing crowds of immigrants from foreign as well as rural origins. Its factory, utility, and transportation facilities provided benefits (employment, wages, profits, social standing, services, and products) and detriments (pollution, exploitation, abandonment, unemployment, and financial loss) which directly impacted residents and neighborhoods. Local and regional government supported the growth and development of urban fabric and corporations, as well as benevolent organizations, schools, and charitable institutions; government also fostered and compounded negative social expressions, such as segregation. Ethnic and racial communities banded together for self-assistance and -support when faced with bigotry and xenophobia, but continued exclusionary or repressive policies and practices by other groups brought frustrations which have cyclically exploded into violence. Opportunities elsewhere, fear and suspicion, and the rapid, prolonged loss of industry

and the multitude of jobs it sustained, led to a depopulation of the core and the deterioration of areas left behind. Transformation from an industrial into a service economy is slowly supporting the rehabilitation of some parts of the City, as the populace gradually reflows into emptied neighborhoods. Traditional events and existing buildings are being revived, as citizens with sensitivity to æsthetic and historic preservation issues help shape a character expressive of the amalgamation which created Baltimore.

Chapter 4: PEABODY HEIGHTS:

Character and Conditions

Introduction

As the final outgrowth of the initial Baltimore development pattern, PEABODY HEIGHTS developers transformed a naturally-formed “salient” of large estates and farms into a predominantly residential neighborhood with industrial facilities along the Jones Falls, and institutional (especially Goucher College) and small-scale commercial facilities scattered throughout. By 1900, these factors combined to form a robust, economically-stable, close-in neighborhood where laboring, merchant-professional, and affluent families of multiple ethnic, religious, and racial origins resided and worked. Societal pressures and zoning codes led to a deterioration of the neighborhood during the second half of the 20th Century, resulting in vacant properties due to loss of structures and inappropriate or unfulfilled urban remedies.

Topography

The PEABODY HEIGHTS salient comprises seven neighborhoods located on very-gently south-sloping terrain (part of the Piedmont Plain above the escarpment) between deep steep alluvial gashes at Jones Falls and the Belt Line railroad tunnel. Greenmount Cemetery occupies a natural rise above the lower plateau, east of the salient. The plateau atop the escarpment contributes to a cohesive sense of place for the precinct.

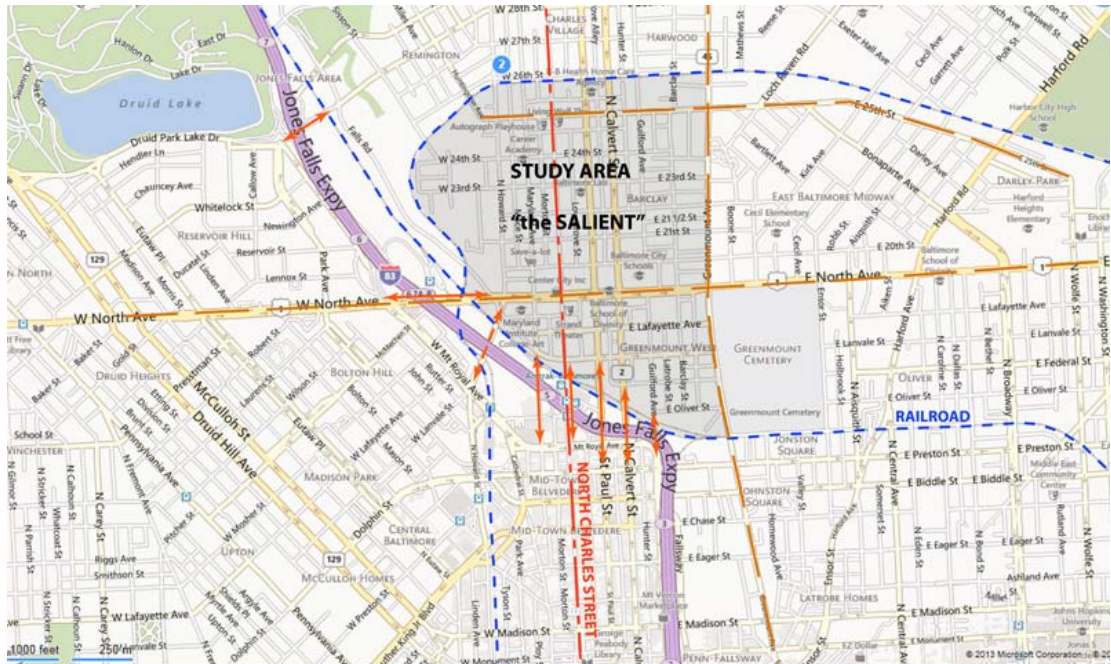


Figure 4.1: PEABODY HEIGHTS “The Salient” (arrows indicate bridge connections)



Figure 4.2: Jones Falls (North Avenue Bridge)



Figure 4.3: Belt Line tunnel (26th Street)

The recessed conditions of the Jones Falls and the Belt Line, with their maze of transportation barriers, delayed development for 150 years following the founding of the City; these formed, and continue to impose, natural boundaries on the north, west and south defining a larger area comprised of overlapping neighborhoods. An eastern

edge for this area could be assigned to Greenmount Avenue,²⁰¹ as the grid pattern skews by 45° (parallel to Harford Road in the East Baltimore Midway neighborhood to the northeast), and Greenmount Cemetery interrupts the grid south of North Avenue. Today, as when it was constructed, the northern and eastern neighborhood urban fabric remains strongly residential (most often rowhouses, either single or grouped, of similar stylistic, material, and height or massing features) supplemented with small-scale commercial concerns (eg: grocers, restaurants, entrepreneurs, offices) occupying originally-designed or recently-converted mostly-street-level space. North Avenue, formerly the pre-1888 Annexation boundary of the City, started as a residential street, but quickly became a major commercial thoroughfare (second to the downtown business district) and transfer point for all of the streetcar lines traversing the neighborhood.

In the areas west of Maryland Avenue and south, between Lanvale and 22nd Streets (including North Avenue), the residential character was mixed with industrial uses,²⁰² but has become depleted through loss of built-fabric as one approaches the Falls in both directions.

Streets

Extending the street-grid northwards brought connections to existing villages while opening rural areas to further residential development. The abundant streetcar network provided easy, relatively cheap, and very convenient access to and across

²⁰¹ Originally the *Yorktown Turnpike*, a major transportation route for Pennsylvania's farm products, Greenmount Avenue developed a commercial character early and retains it, as expressed by its heavily-used streetcar lines, frequent shopping nodes, and the quantity and extent of damage sustained during the 1968 riots.

²⁰² As noted in the Railroad section, in the previous chapter (page 59), industrial uses were served by rail from the 1890's; when a Zoning plan was developed in 1923, these areas were recognized as "Commercial" with "islands" of residential interspaced; this label has contributed to the loss of the residential fabric, which in turn, creates a less-than-desirable (or safe) feel to the area, leading to further losses – a vicious downward spiral!

town, bringing both commuters and recreation-seekers into and through the neighborhood, supporting local commercial entities.



Figure 4.4: PEABODY HEIGHTS – 2017 Aerial

The City annexed 18.8 square miles north and west of town, including PEABODY HEIGHTS, in the area between North Avenue and Cold Spring Lane (the Belt) in 1888, to accommodate the rapidly-growing population and provide safe drinking water and sewage, roads, and electricity.²⁰³ Following the Civil War, the orthogonal street-grid proposed by the Poppleton Plan supplanted a diagonal patchwork of estates and farms north of Jones Falls (refer to Figure 4.6), as they were sold and sub-divided, similar to its employment in previous urban expansion. Some early connectors, such as the Belvidere Covered Bridge (1804-1887)²⁰⁴ which diagonally connected the City with

²⁰³ Holcomb, *The City as Suburb*, 86, 122

²⁰⁴ Refer to: <http://www.mdcoveredbridges.com/belvidere.html>

John Eager Howard's Belvidere estate near the present-day Guilford Avenue Bridge, were not replaced.

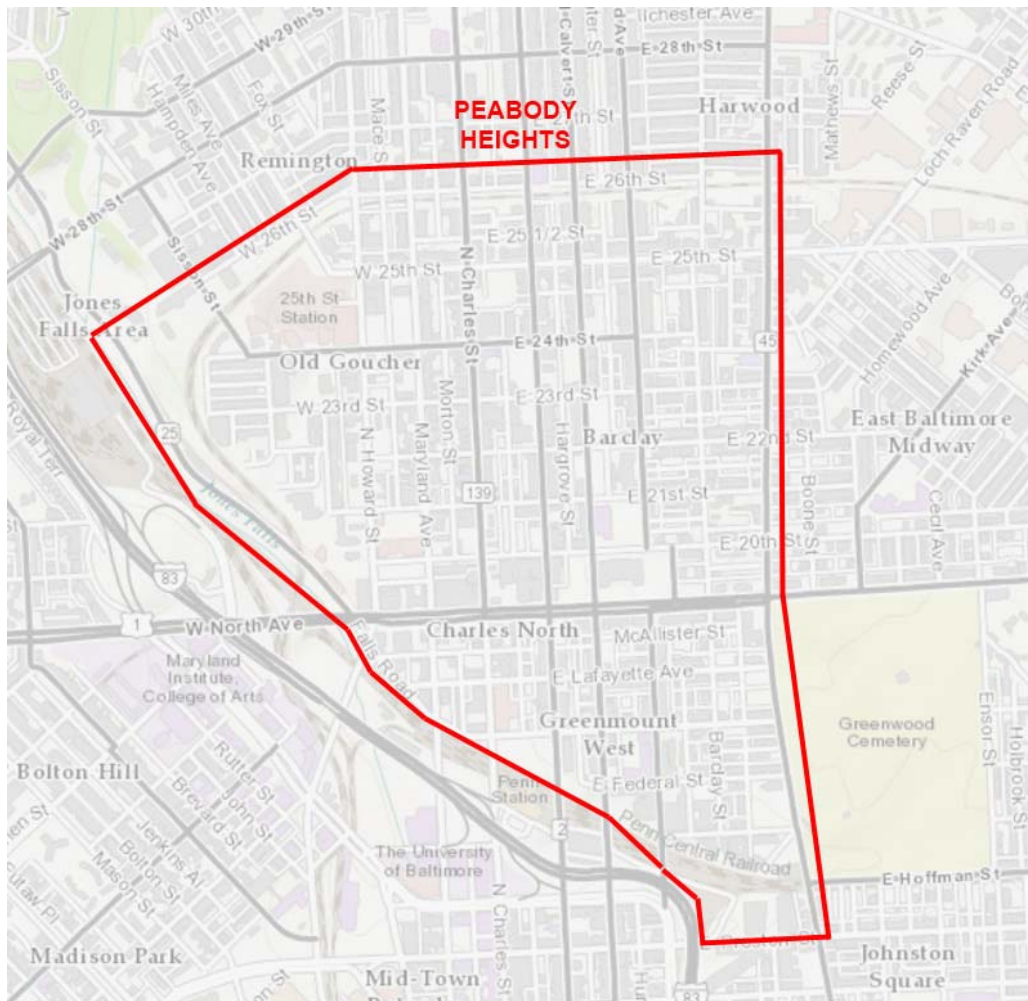


Figure 4.5: PEABODY HEIGHTS – 2017 Map

Most North-South streets in this area were extended from the center-city as bridges were erected or expanded throughout the 1880's, starting with the Baltimore bisector Charles Street (1854, replaced after the Great Flood of 1868, 1880, 1911),²⁰⁵ Maryland Avenue (originally "Decker Avenue"; 1878), Calvert Street (1882), St Paul Street (1882), and Guilford Avenue (originally "North Street," 1879, 1914, 1936).²⁰⁶

²⁰⁵ The original Charles Street Bridge of 1854 built by Augustus Bradford as a private connection to a proposed development was lost in the major 1868 flood, and replaced at City expense; LaWand, *North Baltimore*, 56

²⁰⁶ Many of these have been replaced in the 1930's-60's; www.Bridgebuilder.com

All of these routes received bridges over the Belt Line, too, as part of its construction in 1893.²⁰⁷

Howard Street shifted east to incorporate Oak Street with the erection of the Howard Street Bridge in 1938; it diverts to Charles Street and Wyman Park Drive at the Baltimore Museum of Art in Homewood at 31st Street; this was an attempt to solve pre-freeway North-South automobile traffic congestion, accompanied by the creation of one-way streets connecting with downtown.²⁰⁸ Greenmount Avenue (originally the “Yorktown Turnpike Road”) avoided the necessity of a bridge by skirting Jones Falls along its east flank. The majority of these streets continue northwards for about a mile until they reach Johns Hopkins University (JHU);²⁰⁹ only Charles and St. Paul Streets and Greenmount Avenue continue past University Parkway. Falls Road / Maryland Route 25 commences at Lanvale Street, descends to the level of the Falls until Hampden, and snakes its way north, paralleling the Jones Falls Expressway (JFX) / US Route 83 to the M^cKeldin Beltway / US Route 695.²¹⁰

All east-west orthogonal streets are diverted into northeast diagonal trafficways paralleling Harford Road soon after intersecting Greenmount Avenue, providing numerous connections eastward. Bridge-crossings of Jones Falls on the west side of the neighborhood are less frequent: North Avenue (originally “Boundary Avenue”)²¹¹ received a still-existing stone-arch bridge in 1894, which replaced an 1870’s steel truss span;²¹² the next Falls bridge-crossing doesn’t occur until 28th Street (or about

²⁰⁷ Refer to the Railroads sections, Chapters 2 & 3, in this article – author.

²⁰⁸ Howard St Bridge was designed by *John Edwin Greiner* of the PWA; www.Bridgebuilder.com

²⁰⁹ About ¾-mile, through PEABODY HEIGHTS.

²¹⁰ Further description under the Villages Case Studies, Chapter 5 – author.

²¹¹ Name change in 1908; LaWand, *North Baltimore*, 56.

²¹² Olson, *Baltimore*, 226.

½-mile north, beyond the salient).²¹³ Sisson / 24th Street (formerly “Sumwalt Street”) and Huntingdon Avenue / 25th Street (formerly, all of it was termed: “Huntingdon Avenue”) bridge the Belt Line and make connections to Remington diagonally.

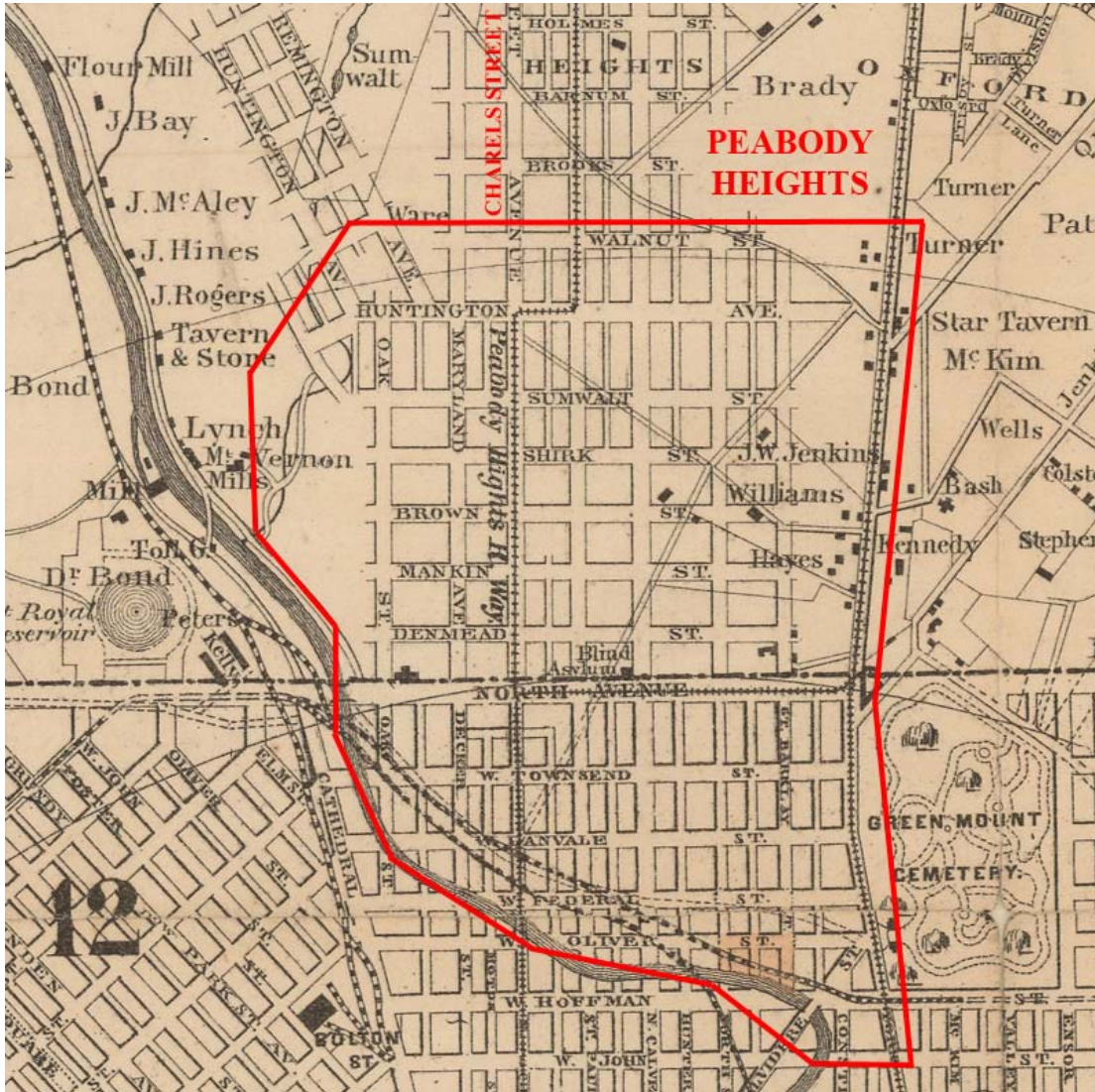


Figure 4.6: PEABODY HEIGHTS – 1873 F. Klemm map of Baltimore detail

Following the Annexation of 1888, the east-west street names throughout the PEABODY HEIGHTS neighborhood were changed to continue the numbering system of the City, in lieu of referencing former property owners or original developers.

²¹³ The 28th and 29th Street bridges (1937) connect with the JFX; Wyman Park Drive is next (about 2 blocks), but the next crossing of Jones Falls is at Union Avenue, 1 mile north.

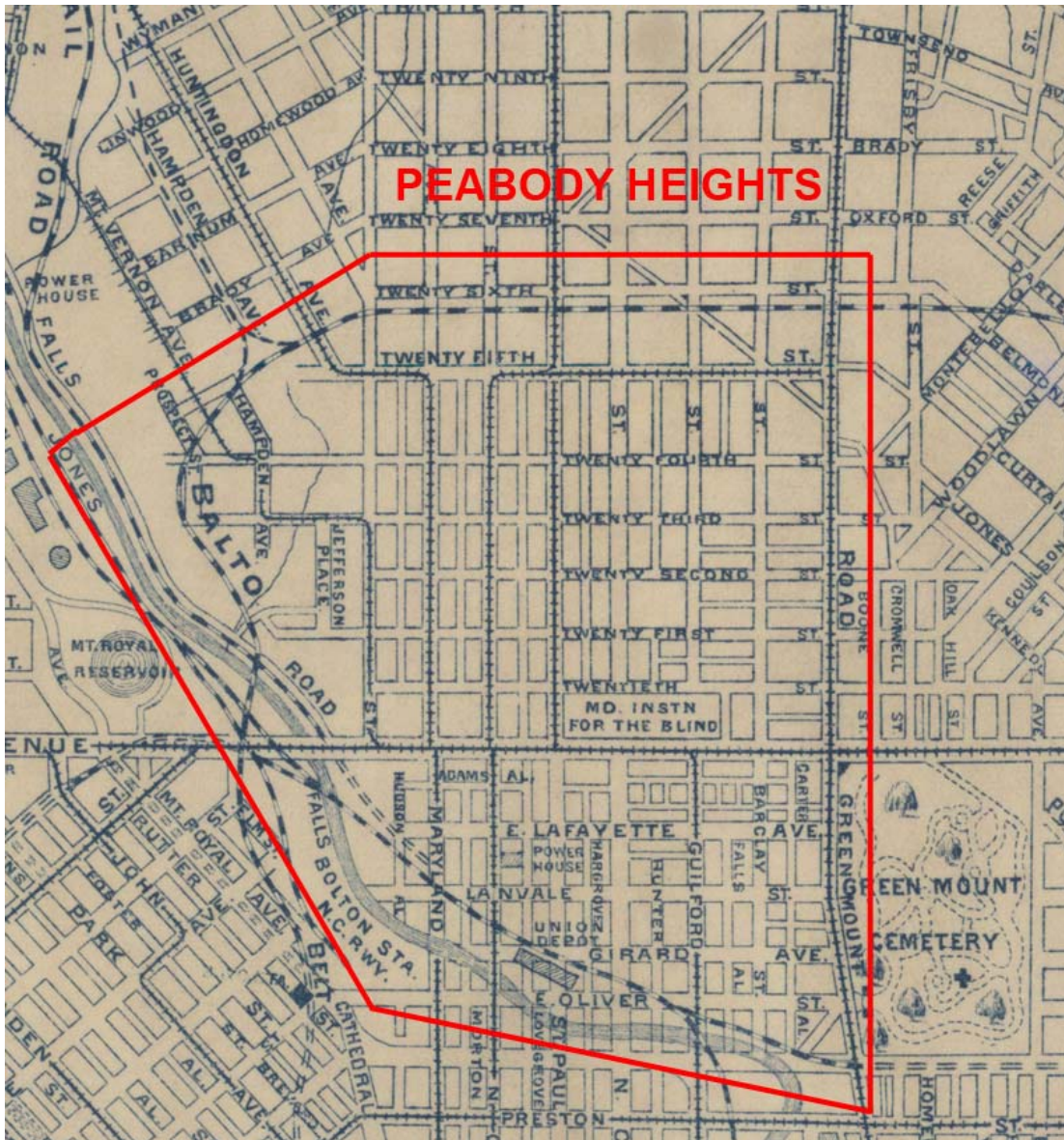


Figure 4.7: PEABODY HEIGHTS – 1893 A. Hoen Map: with Streetcar and Railroad routes

Circulation

The Baltimore-Peabody Heights + Waverly horsecar, initiated in 1872, was extended onto St. Paul Street and Maryland Avenue in the 1880's. Charles E Dickey constructed a carbarn at 31st Street and Waverly for the Peabody Heights and

Waverly Railroad (the “Dickey Line”, indicated in Figure 4.6) providing horsecar connections to the PEABODY HEIGHTS neighborhood and downtown from 1884-92.²¹⁴ Frank Sprague, of Richmond, Virginia, invented an electrified system using overhead wires in 1888.²¹⁵ This mode was first employed by the North Avenue Electric Railway Company in 1890, and this became prominent in Baltimore in the late-1890’s.²¹⁶

Larger streetcars were purchased and placed into service on each of the lines serving the PEABODY HEIGHTS neighborhood,²¹⁷ and with the shortage of manpower due to the country’s entry into WWI in 1918, women were hired for the first time as conductors on lines #17 St. Paul Street and # 29 Boulevard.²¹⁸

Post-WWI shifts in demand caused passenger confusion with a change in streetcar numbering,²¹⁹ and the purchase of the *Birney One-Man Safety Car* proved disastrous:²²⁰ they were quickly sold to smaller transit systems.²²¹ The “Birney’s” were introduced on the #30 Fremont line in 1920, traveling on North Avenue and through west Baltimore.²²² “Articulators” (double-cars, fabricated from older “Semi-Convertibles”) and *Peter Witt*-type cars were ordered in 1923 and 1930 respectively,

²¹⁴ LaWand, *North Baltimore*, 60

²¹⁵ Helton, *Baltimore’s Streetcars and Buses*, 9

²¹⁶ Nixon, *Condensed History*, 3

²¹⁷ Wooden JG Brill of Philadelphia 30’-long Semi-Convertible “BIG” cars (seating 44) replaced separate Summer and Winter cars; the “Pay As You Enter” collection boxes eliminated the need for conductors to traverse the vehicle collecting fares and started service in 1910 on the *Gilmore Street / Guilford Avenue* line #1, and enclosed platforms for motormen were instituted on the *St Paul Street* line #17 in 1917, for example; Nixon, *Condensed History*, 4.

²¹⁸ Both served the Old Goucher neighborhood; Nixon, *Condensed History*, 5

²¹⁹ Previously, the car number began with the line number: eg: 1701 was car 1 on the #17 line; change in routes were confusing to passengers (numbers didn’t match routes), so a new numbering system was instituted, beginning at 3800; Nixon, *Condensed History*, 6

²²⁰ Public access to the car was delayed at each stop due to poor entry / exit design (congestion at one narrow door) and riders sickened by the rocking motion of the car due to the single-truck system, Helton, *Baltimore’s Streetcars and Buses*, 51

²²¹ By 1929, Helton, *Baltimore’s Streetcars and Buses*, 51

²²² Nixon, *Condensed History*, 6

and found their way to use on most lines.²²³ The *Presidents' Conference Car* (PCC) was introduced in 1936 on the #25 Mt Washington line, north of the neighborhood: their color-scheme was chosen in a contest of MICA students.²²⁴

The streetcar lines which traversed PEABODY HEIGHTS provided direct access to downtown Baltimore's shopping and business centers on 10-minute headways. The #10 (Roland Park) and 25 (Mt Washington, Pimlico, Pikesville) lines led northwest through the villages of Remington, and Hampden; the #1, 17, and 29 north to Waverly and JHU, and the #8 to Towson. The #8 traveled south to Catonsville, and the 25 to Point Breeze in the southwest, near Camden's mills. The #13 traversed North Avenue to points east and west, and the 30 arced west to Pennsylvania Avenue prior to arriving at the "Basin" near today's sports stadiums. Each line made multiple connections with all the other lines in the city, and free transfers were included. With the disintegration of streetcar service in the 1950's, routes were subsumed by buses, which operate today; the #8 was the last streetcar line in service in 1963. The Baltimore Light Rail (BLR, inaugurated in 1992) provides service at North Avenue and Woodberry stations,²²⁵ as well as a shuttle to Penn Station at Charles Avenue. The Charles Street Trolley, from Otterbein to JHU / University Parkway, was proposed to re-introduce streetcars or light rail to the corridor in 2004, but has not been implemented.²²⁶ The Charm City Connector (Purple Line inaugurated in June,

²²³ Nixon, *Condensed History*, 7-8

²²⁴ Winner was George B Keester: *Alexandria Blue* body, red-orange stripe, *Picador Cream* window-band, and *Pearl Gray* roof; Nixon, *Condensed History*, 8

²²⁵ Using former *Washington Baltimore and Annapolis* and NCRR routes, <https://mta.maryland.gov/light-rail>

²²⁶ *Charles Street Trolley* information pamphlet and <http://charlesstreetrolley.org/planning.php>

2010) expanded free bus transit from Penn Station to 33rd Streets (JHU) from Federal Hill in 2015.²²⁷

Development

Proximity to downtown, the Jones Falls as a power-source, connections with northern villages and estates, early experiments in transit, and a continuous influx of population contributed to the growth of the PEABODY HEIGHTS neighborhoods.

PEABODY HEIGHTS development pattern can be viewed in four phases: Original land grants were parceled into estates or farms (of which all traces have been removed) in the first phase (pre-1860), and then these were acquired and consolidated by small developers in the second (1870-1900), forming residential properties (first, detached mansions of which a couple shared the newly-extended blocks and later, rowhouses conformed to the Baltimore Block prototype). The third (Post-WWI) witnessed the demolition of nearly all the large detached mansions and many institutional buildings for commercial entities, which have since fallen into disrepair. Demolition of many commercial and large quantities of rowhouses, especially in the southern and western portions of the salient characterize the fourth, or current, phase, and a fifth is being suggested by efforts to rehabilitate remaining urban fabric, and to add new as required to rejuvenate the salient.

²²⁷ *Charm City Circulator* information pamphlets and www.charmcitycirculator.com

Pre-WWII: Growth

In the early years of the Republic, enterprising property owners along Jones Falls and its tributaries harnessed this tremendous water-power source to operate grist and flour mills. The Mount Royal Mill and Forge were located beneath the future North Avenue Bridge, and operated until the Flood of 1858. Grain yielded to textiles following the Civil War, as water did to steam.²²⁸ Other manufacturing included cotton or textiles, beer, ice, and metalwork. A series of quarries operated along Jones Falls from North Avenue to Stoney Run throughout the 19th Century.²²⁹

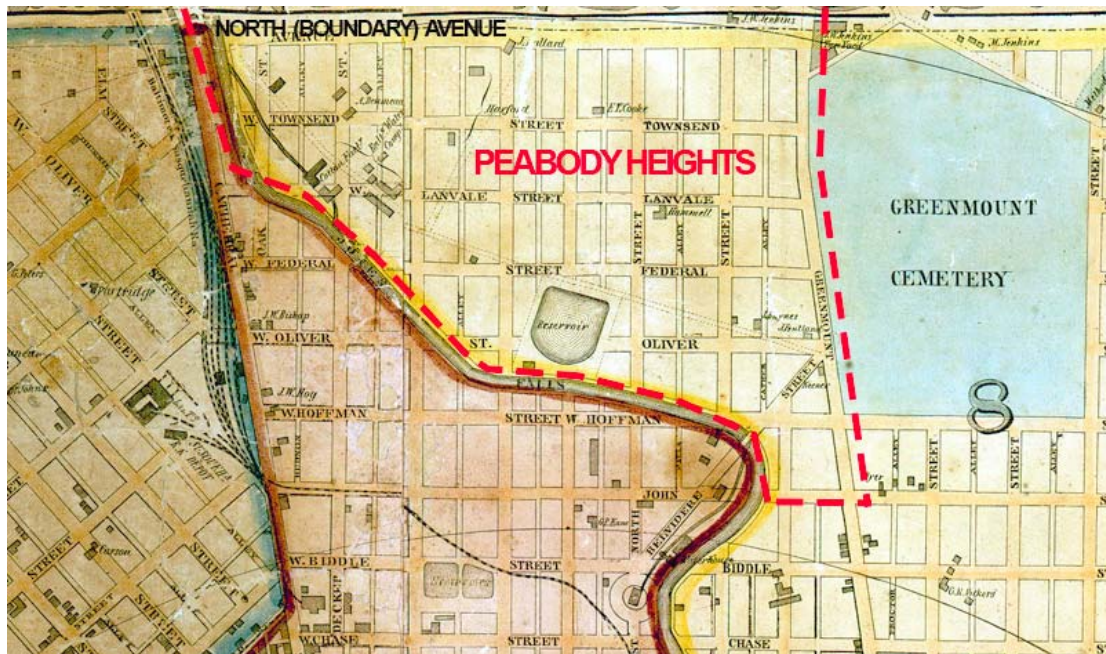


Figure 4.8: PEABODY HEIGHTS – 1851 Sydney & Neff / Van derVeer map

According to a *Plan of the City of Baltimore, Maryland* (1851),²³⁰ a cotton factory and Baltimore Water Company were adjacent to a canal-plume at Lanvale Street and Decker (Maryland) Avenue, a reservoir occupied the area bounded by East Federal

²²⁸ Kathleen C Ambrose, *Remington, the History of a Baltimore Neighborhood*, (Charleston, SC: The History Press, 2013), 14-25.

²²⁹ Ambrose, *Remington*, 31-5.

²³⁰ *Plan of the City of Baltimore, Maryland*, Sidney and Neff, published by Lloyd Van derVeer, 1851.

Street and Jones Falls, St Paul and North (Guilford) streets, and primary residences were identified between Townsend (Lafayette) Street and Boundary (North) Avenue: A. Denmead at Maryland (Decker), Harford and Ballard at St Paul, Cooke at Calvert, Hammell at North (Guilford) and Lanvale streets, and Baynes, Rutland, and Keener at Belvedere and Grenmount / York roads.

The Falls Turnpike Road Company was chartered in 1805 to provide a connection between these industries and the City.²³¹ Expansion of competing railroad companies filled the valley with successive tracks, yards, and stations, along with noise and soot, at least until the pollution was reduced through the introduction of electric-powered engines pioneered by the B&O in the 1890's.²³² The B&O's Belt Line (along 26th Street, 1893) and the PRR's Union Tunnel (south of Greenmount Cemetery) eased connections eastward, removed rail traffic from city streets, and eliminated hazardous grade-crossings.²³³ Spur lines connected factories west of Oak (now Howard) Street and south of North Avenue, delivering raw materials and redistributing finished products to the Harbor and points west. Major floods regularly wiped out infrastructure (bridges, mills, tracks) throughout the 19th Century, which led to the channelization of the Jones Falls between 1890 and 1912.

²³¹ Ambrose, *Remington*, 27-31.

²³² City legislation (Baltimore Ordinance 83, 14 May, 1890) required tunnels and remedial measures to eliminate the pollution which enveloped the salient, indicating the level of political power residents brought to bear on the railroad magnates; *American and English Annotated Cases*, volume 3, 660-68; legal cases (eg: Baltimore Belt Railroad Co et al v George William Sattler (100Md306) 12 January, 1905 – damage caused by vibrations, cinders, and soot) suggest that their power was persistent; the B&O introduced the first electric-propulsion locomotive and railroad on the Belt Line on 1 May, 1895; refer to footnotes 171-74.

²³³ These enterprises immensely benefitted the salient-neighborhood, and were supplemented by the through-city *Baltimore and Potomac Tunnel* system and the *Union Tunnel* of 1873 and the *Howard Tunnel* of 1895; www.bptunnel.com ; <http://msa.maryland.gov/msa/mdmanual/01glance/html/tunnels.html> .

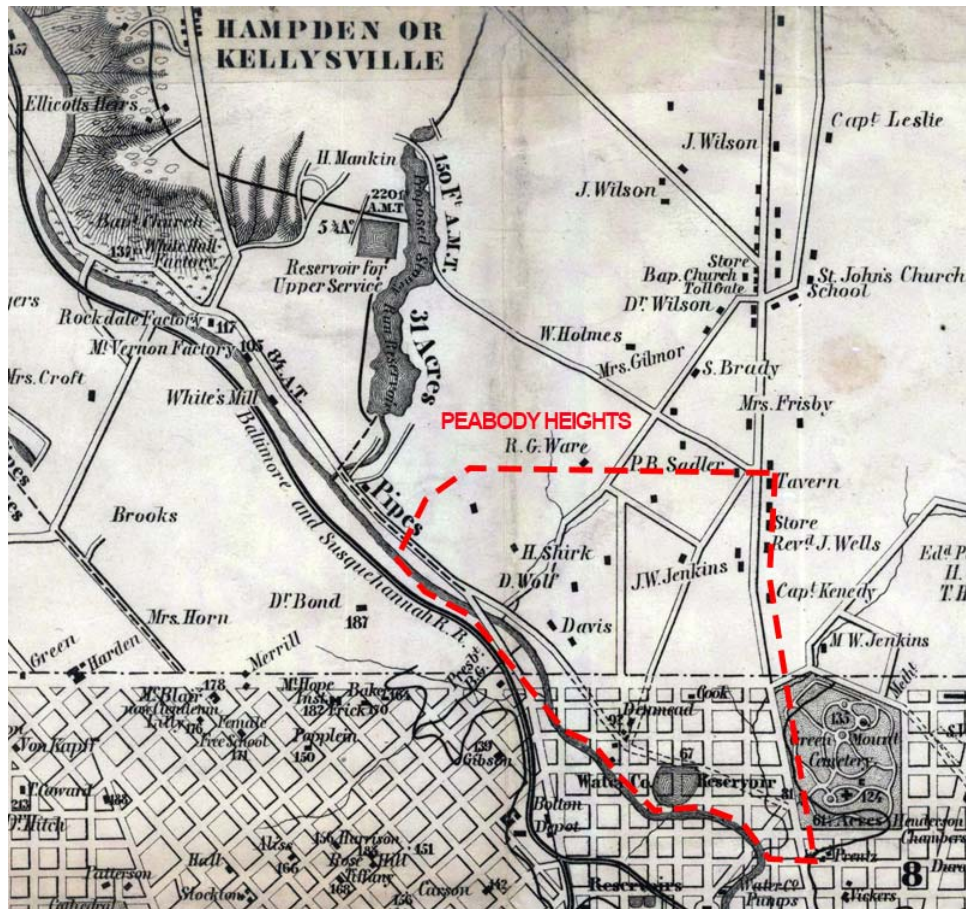


Figure 4.9: PEABODY HEIGHTS – 1853 Slade Map

Prior to the Civil War, scattered large estates (plantation-farms or summer-residences) covered the plateau above the escarpment. The grandest of these, Charles Carroll Jr. (occupied 1800-39)²³⁴ and Samuel Wyman's (1839-1902) Homewood, Johns Hopkins' Clifton (1840-73), John Work and Thomas Harrison Garrett's Evergreen (built c1854, 1878-1952),²³⁵ and the largest of them all (at 1,400 acres), John Work Garrett's Montebello (1871-84)²³⁶ occupied thousands of acres north and east of the salient; when acquired by the City or eleemosynary institutions, substantial

²³⁴ Son of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, who was the longest-living signer of the *Declaration of Independence*, early investor in the B&O, and, arguably, the wealthiest Colonial citizen (and largest slave-owner); <http://charlescarrollhouse.org/the-carrolls/personal-biography-2>

²³⁵ *National Register of Historic Places* nomination B-47, 1982, for *Evergreen House*, Baltimore; https://mhmt.maryland.gov/secure/medusa/PDF/NR_PDFs/NR-717.pdf

²³⁶ Originally, Gen. Samuel Smith built the house from 1796-99, it was later sold to the William Tiffany family in 1842; Eric Holcomb, *City as Suburb*, 20-25.

portions became parks or university campuses while the rest was developed into residential subdivisions.²³⁷ Proximity to these estates provided a powerful draw to merchants and professionals aspiring to the upper ranks of society, as well as generations of immigrants which successively swept from the city-core into increasingly far-flung residential sub-divisions. The Brady, Hayes, Jenkins, and Williams families owned polygonal-shaped properties north of Boundary Avenue before the implementation of the Poppleton Plan's grid (refer to Figure 4.6).

Charles Street was extended northwards from Boundary Avenue into Baltimore County as a toll road in 1854, and Augustus W. Bradford²³⁸ planned to develop high-end housing near the summer estates of Baltimore's elite, from 23rd Street to current-day Bellona Avenue, also along Charles Street, in 1854. 25th Street (originally "Huntingdon Avenue," or "6th Street" – the sixth street north of Boundary Avenue) was planned as a 100 feet-wide thoroughfare. During the Civil War, this property was appropriated by the Federal Government and "Camp Bradford" occupied the parcel; following the conflict, the property was again sold for development.²³⁹ Per the *City Atlas of Baltimore and Environs* (1876),²⁴⁰ there were a dozen major property owners (and numerous smaller ones) in the salient: Samuel Brady (northeast sector, along York Road above 25th Street), RJ Capon (south and northwest, "Fawcett"),

²³⁷ Eric Holcomb, *City as Suburb*, 105-18; Homewood became the site of *Wyman Park* and *Johns Hopkins University*; *Clifton* sprouted parks (1901, and retained the estate gardens), the swimming pool (1930), and the golf course (1916), Lake Montebello was created by damming Herring Run while the run became a naturalist park; *Morgan State University*, in 1917, transferred to Montebello property along its border with *Homewood*, 145-7, 215.

²³⁸ Later Governor of Maryland, 1862-66; LaWand, *North Baltimore*, 56

²³⁹ LaWand, *North Baltimore*, 56

²⁴⁰ *City Atlas of Baltimore and Environs*, (Philadelphia, Pa: GM Hopkins, 1876), 61, 68-9

Philip Sadler (northeast, south of Brady), and Henry Shirk (center, and northeast, intermingled with Capon) held the largest parcels.²⁴¹

Philip B Sadtler's nine children built homes on their father's land, mostly around the Charles and St Paul street intersections with 25th Street, after he died in 1860.²⁴²

In the 1870's, developer Henry Shirk (1804-91)²⁴³ constructed the first bridge crossing the Falls at Decker (now Maryland) Avenue,²⁴⁴ and built large, single-family detached houses (two or three per block along Maryland Avenue between 25th Street and North Avenue) for wealthy professionals and merchants.²⁴⁵ Shirk, an early Methodist, donated an acre of his twenty-five-acre property to Dr. John F. Goucher for the relocation of Lovely Lane Church and the founding of the Women's College of Baltimore City (now Goucher College, dedicated to Dr. and Mrs. Goucher in 1910).²⁴⁶ Shirk's home was at 2133 Maryland Avenue, later occupied by his son, Isaac.

Samuel, David and Joshua Sumwalt were granite quarrymen with property (including an ice pond) in "Fawcett".²⁴⁷ Samuel resided on a street named for his family (later renamed "24th Street"), and David, ice house businessman, lived closer to Homewood.²⁴⁸

²⁴¹ Others included: Samuel and George Appold, *Belvidere Land Co* (of John Eager Howard), James Brown *, A Denmead *, Charles Dickey (started the streetcar line, and his home remained past 1900), JM Eppley, Daniel Sumwalt *, HL Whiteridger, Lloyd W Williams, Hiram Woods and BF Bennett; * = had streets named for the family until 1898

²⁴² HISP 650 report, *Old Goucher*, 110-1.

²⁴³ Arrived in 1829 from Lancaster, Pennsylvania; LaWand, *North Baltimore*, 57

²⁴⁴ Rebuilt by the City; LaWand, *North Baltimore*, 56

²⁴⁵ Former-Confederate General Robert E Lee and family sojourned in one of these (replaced by the North Avenue Market) post-Civil War; <https://explore.baltimoreheritage.org/items/show/57#.WX4M9FGQzcs>.

²⁴⁶ HISP 650 report, *Old Goucher*, 156; he accompanied this with bequests totaling \$200,000, Clayton Coleman Hall, *Baltimore: Biography*, (1912), 609-10, <https://books.google.com/books?id=escLAAAAIAAJ> .

²⁴⁷ Named for laborers' housing along Fawcett Street, west of Howard (formerly Oak) Street, near the Belt tunnel – author; discussed further in Remington section, Chapter 5: Case Studies.

²⁴⁸ HISP 650 report, *Old Goucher*, 113.

The Peabody Heights Company,²⁴⁹ named for George Peabody (1795-1869),²⁵⁰ acquired 400 acres and commenced construction of substantial row house residences on the east side of St. Paul Street between 27th and 29th streets in 1894, advertising that high ground equates to breezes, cooler conditions than downtown, views of downtown Baltimore, and locations near the wealthier-citizens' summer estates.



Figure 4.10: Turrets and “Swell-fronts”



Figure 4.11: Marble stoops, imminent front yards

Between Maryland and Guilford Avenues and along Greenmount Avenue, the final two decades of the 19th Century witnessed the complete transformation from farms into a residential enclave: no discernible evidence of earlier residential or agricultural structures remains. Individually-designed and -built detached or rowhouses were joined by rows of triples to half-dozens, and later whole blocks, as housing development progressed eastwards. Most of these were variations of flat, turreted or “Swell-front” Italianate, Queen Anne, or Richardsonian Romanesque, (according to changing stylistic tastes) built in red brick or local gray stone per

²⁴⁹ One of the first land development companies in Baltimore (organized in 1870) transformed 400 acres of estates (Hailes Addition and Edwards Lot; LaWand, *North Baltimore*, pg 56) into a “Philadelphia Porch-front” row house community with small front yards (stressing its “rural” nature), bay windows, and modest prices, designed by John R Forsythe and Jacob Gerwig from 1905-14; Hayward and Belfoure, *The Baltimore Rowhouse*, Chapter 3: 1875-1915 *Artistic Period*

²⁵⁰ Donated the *Peabody Institute of Music* in 1886; LaWand, *North Baltimore*, 60; the investors chose the name to align themselves with philanthropist, even though his family was not connected with the company; Charles Village Civic Association, <http://charlesvillage.net/about.php>

traditional Baltimore multi-room-deep models following the City's Baltimore Block Primary-Secondary-Tertiary-Alley Street pattern. Between Guilford and Greenmount and north of 23rd Street (site of the Union Baseball Park until 1899), blocks of Porchfront Houses with abbreviated front and rear yards were introduced early in the 20th Century, but followed the multi-room-deep model.²⁵¹ Architects practicing in the neighborhood included locals R.S. Andrews, C.L. Cassell, B.F. Bennett, A.J. Gorter, J.E. Speery, J. Appleton Wilson, and J.B.N. Wyatt.²⁵² Stanford White, of McKim Mead & White, designed the Goucher Residence (1890, the first Neo-Classical house in Baltimore),²⁵³ Lovely Lane Church (Romanesque Revival - 1885), and Bennett Hall (1889) of Goucher College. Major developers George Blake, John T. Donohue, John R. Forsythe, Edward R. Gallagher, Sr. and Jr, Jacob Gerwig, and Walter Westphal ("you can own for what you pay in rent" campaign) built many rowhouses throughout PEABODY HEIGHTS.

The northern reaches of Charles and St. Paul streets (near Goucher College) received the highest quality housing; shops were banished to side-streets, and alley houses and businesses were absent. Throughout the rest of the residential area, purpose-built "corner" stores (often grocers or druggists with flats or family housing above) are common (though originally accounted for less than 10% of the buildings constructed), and the alleys have housing, purpose-built "corner" stores, and

²⁵¹ "True" *Daylight Houses* (two rooms wide by two rooms deep) made their appearance north of the Belt Line and in *Roland Park*, Olsen, *Baltimore*, Chapter 8.

²⁵² www.BaltimoreArchitecture.org

²⁵³ And only seven years after his first Neo-Classical masterpiece, the Villard houses, in New York City, 1884, www.nyc-architecture.com/MID/MID010.htm; according to Donald W. Linebaugh, PhD, this house was lit by a Springfield Gas Machine, as discussed in his book: *The Springfield Gas Machine: Illuminating Industry and Leisure, 1860's-1920's*, (University of Tennessee Press, 2012).

commercial (often stables, construction-related firms, breweries, dairies, or small industry) activity.²⁵⁴

North Avenue and 25th Street were accorded greater width than adjacent roads per their original designs, and became major contributors to the east-west transportation network when bridges across Jones Falls were completed in the 1870's.²⁵⁵ Both streets connected with Harford and Belair roads to the northeast, and southwards along Broadway, Wolfe, and Washington streets to the Harbor at Fells Point. Both also started as residential streets, which were converted to commercial thoroughfares by the first quarter of the 20th Century; North Avenue, in particular, lost much of its housing stock to retail properties.²⁵⁶ Although Calvert, St. Paul, Charles, and Maryland streets were major north-south connectors, their original development was almost completely residential, as were the cross-streets. As was common throughout Baltimore, home and property ownership was high, but rentals predominated among all social and economic classes.²⁵⁷

The factories (such as mills, quarries, ice houses, dairies, or breweries) along Jones Falls built or encouraged the provision of smaller rowhouses for employees among their properties, populating "Fawcett" streets like Glen Edwards Avenue, alternately known as "Good Husbands Row" or "ABC Row."²⁵⁸ "Corner" stores included saloons as well as grocers, in these sections.

²⁵⁴ These alleys are usually named, and often possess their own internal block hierarchy - author's site observation.

²⁵⁵ www.Bridgebuilder.com; North Avenue became part of US Route 1 in 1926; <http://www.oyrhs.org>.

²⁵⁶ An Armory replaced two large detached homes and their gardens at Maryland and North Avenues in 1915, it was replaced by the *North Market* in 1928; the Aurora, Parkway, Peabody, and Center theatres; and Security Storage Company; Sanborn maps of Baltimore, 1915, 1928, "Insurance Maps of Baltimore, Maryland - 1901." Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps, 1867-1970. (New York, NY: Sanborn-Perris Map Co, 1915, -28).

²⁵⁷ Olsen, *Baltimore*, Chapter 7

²⁵⁸ Its houses were lettered, not numbered, Ambrose, *Remington*, 41; "Fawcett" is an neighborhood east of Oak / Howard streets, discussed in the next chapter - author.



Figure 4.12: Primary Street (North Calvert)



Figure 4.13: Secondary Street (E Lanvale)



Figure 4.14: Tertiary Street (Barclay)



Figure 4.15: Alley (Morton)



Figure 4.16: Corner Store (N Charles)



Figure 4.17: Tertiary Street ("Fawcett")

Population

A mixture of races, ethnicities, ages, occupations, and incomes filled the PEABODY HEIGHTS neighborhood from its inception.²⁵⁹

John Franklin and Mary Cecelia (née Fisher) Goucher joined approximately 200 higher-society families who resided in the neighborhood, as indicated in the Baltimore's *Blue Book* of 1890 through 1920.²⁶⁰ ²⁶¹ The largest concentrations dwelt near North Avenue and 25th Street, on Lanvale, LaFayette, and 20th Streets, and along Calvert, St. Paul, Charles, Maryland, and Oak streets.²⁶² Consistently, in this period, 85% of their neighbors were of "native-born" (predominantly) or immigrant European stock, 10-15% were African Americans, and less than 1% were Asians or other races. Germans constituted the largest immigrant minority throughout the neighborhood, but large Irish and Italian constituencies lived in the smaller houses on the west and south portions (near Jones Falls and their jobs).²⁶³ Home-owners occupied one-third of the residences; double that number rented. African American families often rented, originally in Alley houses, and later along Oak (now Howard) Street (near the AME Church, built two blocks west of its progenitor, along 24th Street). Unfortunately, as the proportion of African American residents grew along

²⁵⁹ I am indebted to my HISP Studio 650 classmates for their demographic analysis of the neighborhood, from which I extracted the conclusions, presented here, HISP 650 report, *Old Goucher*, Appendix F.

²⁶⁰ Approximately 4,000 are listed in each volume; The *Society Visiting List* (commonly referred to as the *Blue Book*, for its cover's color) derived from similar New York City volumes generated from Mrs William B (née Caroline W Schermerhorn, mère: *Titanic's* John Jacob, IV) Astor's "The 400" (the quantity who could be hosted at her dinner-soirées); whereas Mrs Astor's list did not include doctors, politicians, artists (other than John Singer Sargent, of prominent family) or others whose presence could detract from polite conversation, and arrivistes, Baltimore's list (starting in 1888) was not so limited; Miss Caroline P Remington, the *Society Visiting List*, (Baltimore: Thomas Lycett & Company, 1889, or Lucas Brothers, 1905-20)

²⁶¹ Interestingly, neighborhood founding-families Sadtlers, Shirks, and Sumwalts are not listed in the 1890 volume, but the Moale's are; Remington, the *Blue Book*, 1889-90; two Sadtlers (on 25th and 26th streets) and Isaac Shirk appear in later editions (eg: 1905).

²⁶² Oak, Lanvale, and Townsend (now LaFayette) street *Blue Book* residents were definite surprises to the author, as much of the housing is missing, and these streets are close to industrial properties.

²⁶³ "Little Italy" Op cit, Ambrose, p 71; quantities are from the *US Decennial Census*, 1900, 1910, 1920.

Oak Street and Maryland Avenue, Baltimore's first "Protective Association" of homeowners was formed to limit access to the neighborhood by racial and economic minorities in PEABODY HEIGHTS.²⁶⁴ The quantity of houses occupied by multiple families increased (by 20%) by the Depression, while the quantity with borders remained constant. Interestingly, a constant 15% of the neighborhood was composed of widows.

The current population of PEABODY HEIGHTS (Charles Village) is 11,600 (in 2010 census),²⁶⁵ of whom 43% are of African American descent, 39% European, 10% Asian, 4% Hispanic, and 4% other or mixed race.

Institutions

A variety of churches, with attendant schools, orphanages, and asylums, and Goucher College occupied prominent locations, often at Primary Street intersections.

Goucher College was founded in 1885 by the Baltimore Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church.²⁶⁶ Rev. Dr. and Mrs. Goucher, and Rev. Dr. John B. Van Meter, convinced the Conference to create a college for women, solicited funds and property, constructed the first buildings, and opened the school in 1888.²⁶⁷ It grew from two to thirty major buildings (stretching along 23rd Street from Calvert to Howard streets) accompanied by residences owned, rented, or boarded by the professors, and collegian-supported shops, and was the largest entity in the neighborhood. Its cachet remains strong enough that its name is readily-recognizable

²⁶⁴ Hayward and Belfoure, *The Baltimore Rowhouse*, 239

²⁶⁵ <http://statisticalatlas.com/neighborhood/Maryland/Baltimore/Charles-Village/Race-and-Ethnicity>

²⁶⁶ The foundation of Goucher and Morgan (now Morgan State University) colleges accompanied the relocation of Lovely Lane Church as part of the Centennial celebrations of the *American Methodist Episcopal Church* in 1884, Dorsey and Dilts, *A Guide to Baltimore Architecture*, 308

²⁶⁷ HISP 650 report, *Old Goucher*, Appendix G, p 172.

by Baltimoreans and is appended to a Historic District, sixty years after it departed the scene. A dozen denominations operated churches in the area, in addition to the relocated First (now Lovely Lane United) Methodist Church, adjacent to Goucher College. Oak Street AME Church, one of the first in Baltimore and an off-shoot of Lovely Lane Methodist, built its sanctuary in 1897; it still remains and a plaque indicating its history adorns its front façade. Other congregations included: Ebenezer, Mt Carmel, Seventh, Huntingdon Avenue, and Trinity Baptist; St. Michael and All Angels Episcopal; St. Mark's Lutheran; Guilford Methodist Episcopal; North Avenue and Maryland Avenue Presbyterian; St. Stephen's Reformed; and Second Universalist; two Roman Catholic parishes, St. Anne and Sts. Philip and James were located across the PEABODY HEIGHTS border at Greenmount Avenue and 22nd Street, and 27th and St. Paul streets, respectively. A couple of small hospitals, two large orphanages, and a half-dozen schools also located in the neighborhood, the most prominent of which were St. Paul's Orphanage [School for Girls] (1799, circa 1870-1929),²⁶⁸ the Convent of Our Lady and St. Francis (circa 1900-present),²⁶⁹ Girl's Latin School (1890-1914; then as Goucher's Catherine Hooper Hall until 1954),²⁷⁰ the Home for the Incurables (circa 1890, became the site for the Maryland Department of Motor Vehicles in 1928), and the Baltimore Polytechnic Institute (relocated and replaced the former Institute for the Blind facilities at North Avenue and Calvert

²⁶⁸ *Benevolent Institutions 1904*, Bureau of Census Special Report, (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1905), 78

²⁶⁹ Operated by the *Sisters of the Third Order of St Francis* (Franciscans) Baltimore and the *Oblates of Providence* (the nation's first religious order of African American nuns) for African American orphan girls; <http://www.oblatesisters.com/History.html> , *St Paul's Orphanage* by Episcopalians housed African American girls who were educated elsewhere; Frank R Shivers, Jr, *Walking in Baltimore: An Intimate Guide to the Old City*, Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 1965; both were adjacent to Goucher's facilities - author

²⁷⁰ Founded as a preparatory school of *Goucher College* until 1909; moved to 1217 St Paul Street in 1914, and 10 Club Road in Roland Park in 1927; closed in 1951; Ellen Unger Bowditch, *Growing Up in Baltimore*, Images of America, (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2001), 47.

Street in 1913).²⁷¹ The Enoch Pratt Free Library opened one of the original six branches on St Paul Street north of 25th Street in 1896; after it was closed in 1997, local residents restored the building, and today it houses the library and computer center of the Village Learning Place. Classroom facilities were installed across the street in 2011, for after-school and summer programs.²⁷² Social events sponsored by local institutions were scattered throughout the calendar. Perhaps the largest were *Goucher College*'s annual commencement ceremonies and Baltimore's Easter Parade (on St Charles Street from Mt Vernon Square to *Homewood*).²⁷³

Industrial and Commercial Land Uses

The original residential nature of this area did not exclude other uses. Along the west and south edges (abutting Jones Falls) major heavy-industrial complexes predated, and operated contemporaneously with, residential and institutional development. Other "light"-industrial uses were located on primary streets and in alleys. As noted previously, small shops provided daily commodities and opportunities for local social interaction in structures designed as part of the original urban fabric; these included unspecified stores (16 in 1890, 65 in 1901, hundreds following WWI), tailors, 3 cobblers, 2 funeral establishments, a half-dozen pharmacies, and a dozen saloons (1901, many more by 1920, went "underground"

²⁷¹ Founded in 1883, integrated in 1952, and transferred to Cold Spring Lane in 1967, when the facility was repurposed as Baltimore's *Dr Alice G Pinderhughes Administration Building / Department of Education* headquarters; http://www.bpi.edu/apps/pages/index.jsp?uREC_ID=291751&type=d; the *Maryland School for the Blind* was founded in 1853 as one of the nation's first to teach Braille, and relocated to the North Avenue campus in 1868; it moved to the Taylor Avenue, Parkville campus in 1908, along with the *Maryland School for the Colored Blind and Deaf Mutes* which occupied a separate building, due to segregation practices of the time; <http://www.marylandschoolfortheblind.org/about-us/history>

²⁷² The Village Learning Place, <http://www.villagelearningplace.org/our-story/>.

²⁷³ From the turn of the 20th Century until the 1950's, Ambrose, *Remington*, 89; *Retro Baltimore*. Copyright 2013–2016 *The Baltimore Sun*. <http://retrobaltimore.tumblr.com/post/83002864234/baltimores-bygone-easter-parades>.

with Prohibition). Dozens of small private stables and a half-dozen larger “public” stables, three bakeries and three laundries, an ice cream manufacturer and a dairy (with its own stable), coal and lumber storage and distribution, animal feed distribution, and numerous construction-related shops filled alley locations by 1901.²⁷⁴ Three streetcar barns fronted Charles and 25th streets;²⁷⁵ and Fire Engine #8 was housed on Lanvale Street. Larger factories (six foundries and machine shops, Sisson’s and Greenmount Marble quarries and stone yards, a nursery, Bergen’s Brewery, two ice houses (including Sumwalt’s and the American Ice Plant in “Fawcett”), the American Can Company, Crown Cork and Seal, HF Miller & Son Tin Box and Can Manufacturing Plant, and John Stack and Sons Lumber yard) and railyards (B&O, “Ma & Pa,” NCCR, and PRR maintenance shops) bordered the salient west and south, providing employment for neighboring residents.

The railroads also provided sidings to multiple businesses (eg: cement and lime producers, a series of coal distributors, the City Supply yard, electrical generation and transmission yards) west of Oak Street. Union Baseball Park operated at Guilford and 25th Streets from 1883-89 and 1892-99; it was later (1905) replaced with the by-then stylish Porchfront houses subsequent to the minor league teams’ relocation to Oriels Park (1890-1, 1901-15) and Terrapin Park (1916-44) at 29th and 33rd (Waverly) streets (prior to the ballpark fire which necessitated the construction of Memorial Stadium, for both baseball and football: 1944-97).²⁷⁶

²⁷⁴ Determined from Sanborn maps of Baltimore: 1890, 1901, 1915, 1928.

²⁷⁵ Charles, Oak Street, and Huntingdon Avenue carbarns, Sanborn, 1901.

²⁷⁶ <http://www.baltimoresun.com/features/retro-baltimore/bs-fe-retro-union-park-orioles-0526-story.html>; https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_baseball_parks_in_Baltimore



Figure 4.18: "Light" industrial (private stable)



Figure 4.19: Former stable



Figure 4.20: Former public stable



Figure 4.21: Proximity: residence and factory



Figure 4.22: Industrial (converted to school)



Figure 4.23: Former Crown Cork & Seal

Post-WWII: Decline

Although much of the salient's urban fabric was constructed and occupied between 1880-95, the area retained its stable, predominantly-residential nature until the conclusion of WWI.²⁷⁷ Residents witnessed, with growing concern, rowhouses, which had been owned or rented by single families (even if they took in borders), being converted to flats or commercial spaces in the Interwar period.²⁷⁸ Following WWII, a series of events combined to negatively transform the area.

Most of the remaining 1880's-vintage large houses and properties and institutions were replaced by industrial, commercial, or rowhouse residential facilities; many of these were demolished Post-WWII. North Avenue witnessed major changes, as its larger detached houses near Maryland Avenue were replaced by an armory (1915) and then the North Avenue Market (1928-74). The Aurora Théâtre (1910-78),²⁷⁹ the Peabody Théâtre (1910's-74),²⁸⁰ the Parkway Théâtre (1915-56),²⁸¹ and the Center Théâtre (1939-58)²⁸² were constructed, and failed by the last quarter of the Century. North Avenue lost commercial concerns including banks and hotels to car

²⁷⁷ As summarized in the 1921-52 *Neighborhood in Transition* chapter, HISP 650 report, *Old Goucher Neighborhood*, 28-38.

²⁷⁸ The Sanborn Insurance maps indicate a substantial growth in the "S" store designation on existing structures throughout the salient, particularly along Charles and 25th streets, Greenmount and North avenues; "saloons" went "underground" (but many did not cease operation) due to Prohibition – author's observations; Sanborn maps of Baltimore.

²⁷⁹ Legitimate cinema until 1974, pornographic films to 1984, converted to *Solid Rock Free Will Baptist Church*, still intact. <http://cinematreasures.org/theaters/5564>

²⁸⁰ Next door to the Aurora, it was later a cafeteria and then *Center Stage*, burned in 1974, now a parking lot <http://cinematreasures.org/theaters/5564>

²⁸¹ Originally designed by OB Wight, and opened in October, 1915; closed in 1978, lobby and foyer converted into a grocery store, but the auditorium was left intact; undergoing rehabilitation as a théâtre (*Stavros Niarchos Foundation Parkway Film Center*) for MICA and JHU, due to re-open in 2017; www.parkwaycampaign.org#the-snf-parkway-film-center; Mitchel and Moe Mark opened the first "Movie Palace" (the Strand) in NYC in 1914, as well as Baltimore's Hippodrome (1914), designed by Thomas W Lamb (who also designed the Tivoli in DC, as discussed in Chapter 5, note 402).

²⁸² An Art Moderne structure, renamed the Film Center 1954-9, later a bank and car dealership, rehabilitated, 2013. <http://cinematreasures.org/theaters/5564>

dealerships, liquor stores, and later less-reputable businesses, which round out the transformation observed today.

After WWII, newly one-way (from two-way) north- or south-bound streets facilitated traffic flow through the neighborhood, connecting suburbanites with downtown jobs or attractions, but failed to encourage interaction with local areas or facilities. This also adversely affected streetcar routes. Lines through PEABODY HEIGHTS were among the first to be replaced by buses after 1947; the Oak Street Carbarn was closed in 1947 and was transformed into an automobile dealership;²⁸³ the Charles Street carbarn became the Famous Ballroom prior to its conversion into the Charles Théâtre in 1998.²⁸⁴ Bus lines #3, 11 and 61 (Charles Street), 8, 12, 48 (York Road, Towson), 13 (North Avenue), and 27 (Howard Street) serve PEABODY HEIGHTS, connecting the further-north suburbs with downtown, as did the streetcars.²⁸⁵ Baltimore Light Rail opened a station at the west end of the North Avenue Bridge in 1992, and a Charles Street Trolley was proposed in 2004 to connect Otterbein with JHU / 33rd Street (but has yet to be implemented).²⁸⁶ The newest bus entry in transit is the Charm City Circulator,²⁸⁷ which provides free shuttle service on a loop connecting tourist attractions near the Inner Harbor with JHU.

Goucher College realized the limitations of its location (hemmed in by residences and other institutions) and in 1921 it bought 421 acres in Towson, Maryland, joining

²⁸³ The building still exists as a automobile dealership - author.

²⁸⁴ Erected in 1892 by the *Baltimore City Passenger Railway Company*, converted to the ballroom, bowling alley, and théâtre in 1939, a cinema from 1951-68; NRHP in 1998; <https://npgallery.nps.gov/AssetDetail/NRIS/98001156>

²⁸⁵ MTA bus info; www.mta.maryland.gov

²⁸⁶ The name indicates a lack of appreciation of terminology: Southern Cities (eg: Baltimore, New Orleans, and especially Washington, DC) used the term “streetcars” whereas Northern cities used “trolleys,” which actually refers to the electrical connection-mechanism to overhead wires – author; <http://charlesstreetrolley.org/planning.php>

²⁸⁷ The Purple Line was inaugurated in June, 2010, and expanded from Penn Station to 33rd Street in October, 2015; www.charmcitycirculator.com

the exodus of higher educational institutions to larger campuses on former estate-farms by the 1950's.²⁸⁸ Although a variety of governmental agencies or non-profit organizations adopted the former academic buildings, and the residence halls were transformed into apartments, the loss of the institution, which had provided a source of community identity and pride, hit hard. The neighborhood hospitals and orphanages joined forces with similar institutions, and vacated the area; new school facilities replaced older ones, and Baltimore's largest vocational school's building remains, but is now the headquarters of the City's school district.

The Federal Land Bank and Fidelity Storage Company built high-rise structures, the first ones to compete with church steeples above a four-story roof height.²⁸⁹ A high-rise (seventeen-story) structure supporting subsidized housing for the elderly (now predominantly Asians) was erected on the rear portion of North Market (following a major fire in 1968),²⁹⁰ and high-rise housing has appeared along 25th Street near Guilford Avenue, and north of the Belt Line.²⁹¹



Figure 4.24: North Avenue Market
(Senior-housing beyond)



Figure 4.25: Charles Théâtre
(former Charles Street streetcar barn)

²⁸⁸ *Johns Hopkins University* moved to Carroll's and Wyman's *Homewood*, *Loyola University* and the *College of Notre Dame of Maryland* occupied Thomas Garrett's *Evergreen*, *Morgan State University* transferred to JW Garrett's *Montebello*, following WWI; determined from each institution's webpage - author.

²⁸⁹ HIPS 650 report, *Old Goucher Neighborhood*, 29

²⁹⁰ J Van Story Branch Senior Apartments, <https://explore.baltimoreheritage.org/items/show/57#.WRh2Pdy1vcs>

²⁹¹ Brentwood Public Housing.

Zoning

The adoption of the first Zoning Code in 1923 categorized most of the area west of Oak and south of Lanvale streets as “Second Commercial” (orange on map, below), and the large area between Lanvale and 25th streets (including both) and Greenmount Avenue and Oak Street (with the exception of small pockets: Barclay-Lovegrove, 20th to 24th streets, and 22nd to 24th streets along Maryland Avenue – Goucher College’s property) as “First Commercial” (blue on map; white indicates residential). Zoning revisions in 1958 modified much of the “pocketed area” from “Residential” to the less-restrictive “Residential and Office” category.

The 1971 *Zoning or Land Use Plan* indicates the whole salient as “Business” and “Commercial”; “Office-residential” borders Barclay or above 25th Street; “residential” is limited to areas north of the Belt Line.

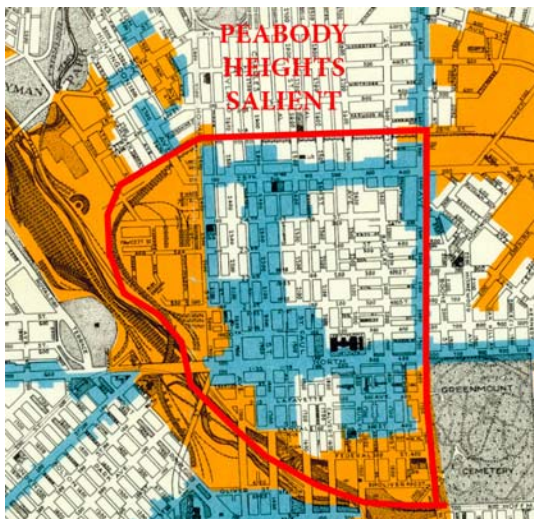


Figure 4.26: Baltimore Zoning Map: 1948

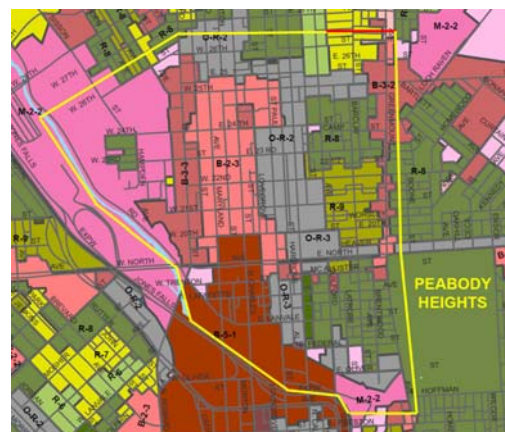


Figure 4.27: Baltimore Zoning Map: 2015

The 2015 Plan is much more fine-grained in its approach, but still includes most of the salient in “Commercial” zones (reds), with “Residential” (greens) ones limited along the east and north edges (and “Fawcett”). While the zoning labels were built upon interpretations of existing conditions, their imposition led to the gradual, and in some places nearly complete, lack of protection for and subsequent removal of residential facilities; notably, this included the mixed-use industry-residential area west of Maryland Avenue and south of 22nd Street along Jones Falls.²⁹² The mills, quarries and railroad maintenance facilities closed, but other (mostly construction-related) entities opened along Howard Avenue.

Recent Conditions

The Riots of April, 1968 struck the fringes of PEABODY HEIGHTS, close enough to terrify residents. Greenmount and North avenues and 25th Street degenerated into shabby commercial corridors, as their major facilities (cinemas and the Market) ceased operations. As the population shifted to the exurbs, most rowhouses were converted into apartments, with commercial spaces at first and grade levels. Professional offices (architectural, interior design, engineering, construction, real estate), advertising firms, art galleries and studios entered this affordable neighborhood in the early-1970’s, but departed by the 1990’s as the area further deteriorated.²⁹³ In an effort to make use of close-in buildings, the City governmental agencies concentrated social-rehabilitation (substance-abuse) centers in the Maryland Avenue corridor: this has brought along drug-related crime.

²⁹² <http://archive.baltimorecity.gov/Portals/0/Charter%20and%20Codes/Code/Art%2000%20-%20Zoning.pdf>; the 2015 Baltimore Zoning Code; HISP 650 report, *Old Goucher Neighborhood*, Present Context, 50-65.

²⁹³ Amy C Johanson and Melanie Butler, *The Commercial Development of Old Goucher*, Academic: HP 202, Baltimore City Planning Department, courtesy Eric Holcomb.

The rear portion of the vacated Market was demolished, and replaced with high-rise subsidized housing. Demolition of rowhouses, which had been sporadic (limited to the removal of obsolete facilities, such as orphanages, or alley structures) in earlier decades, reached a feverish pace in the last 50 years. Whole blocks of residences along Howard Street, and many sections of Maryland Avenue, Calvert, Lanvale, St. Paul, LaFayette, 20th and 25th streets were lost;²⁹⁴ most have not been replaced, and vacant or parking lots occupy their sites.

Recent articles indicate that removal, not rehabilitation, is still a city policy for vacant properties.²⁹⁵ The same is true west of Howard Street, and south of North Avenue west of Charles Street. In other places, short-sighted development of single-story shops or convenience stores or gas stations surrounded by surface parking lots fill former residential or industrial blocks. The Rococo park north of Pennsylvania Station, visible in early-period photos, has been replaced by surface parking.

Since the Millennium, a resurgence of interest in older, close-to-downtown neighborhoods is causing derelict areas to blossom. As adjacent neighborhoods have sought to regenerate themselves, most have taken chunks of PEABODY HEIGHTS as parts of their community associations.

²⁹⁴ A total of 34 block-long segments are devoid of previously-existing urban fabric – author’s observations

²⁹⁵ <http://greatergreaterwashington.org/post/29455/baltimore-will-tear-down-whole-blocks/>; 27 January, 2016

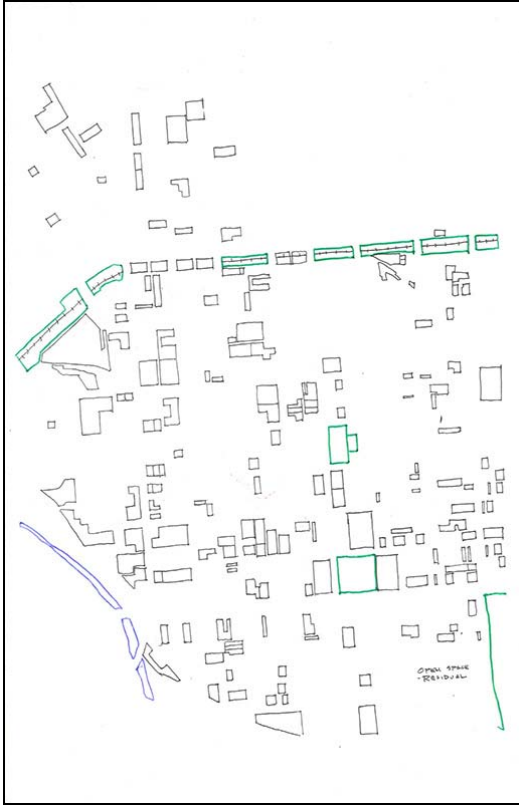


Figure 4.28: PEABODY HEIGHTS
– boxes indicate voids in urban fabric



Figure 4.29: Parking Lot (20th Street)



Figure 4.30: Parking Lot at Penn Station

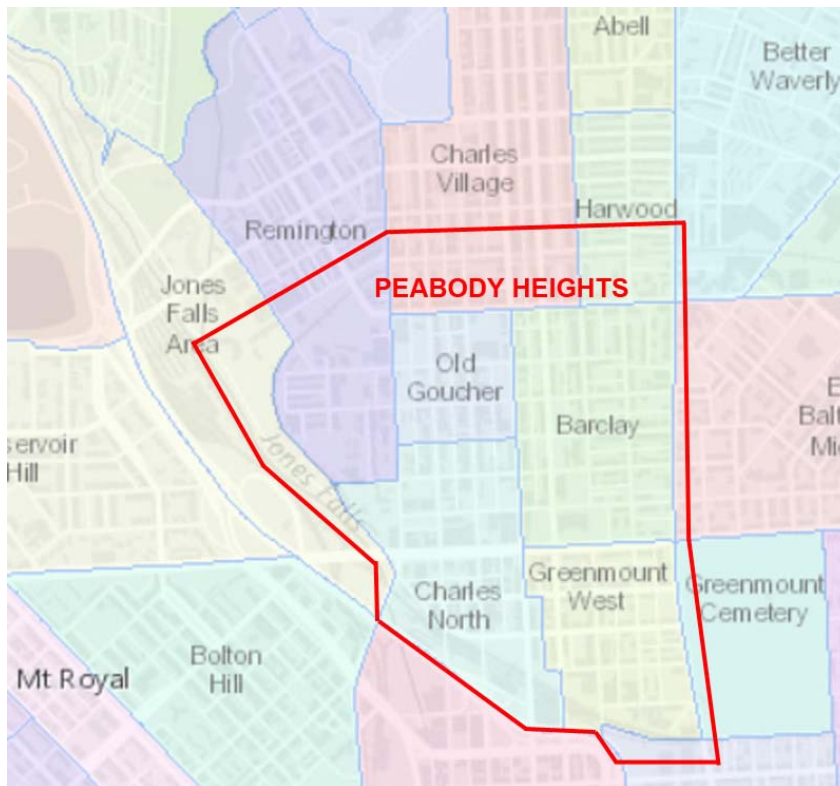


Figure 4.31: Adjacent neighborhoods claim parts of PEABODY HEIGHTS

Charles Village covers most of the original PEABODY HEIGHTS area, both north (where the residential association originated) and south of the Belt Line. Greater Greenmount and Barclay approach from the east, while Remington claims “Fawcett” (west of Howard Avenue), and Greenmount West, Charles North and Station North Arts District converge from the south.

The Old Goucher Historic District incorporates the former college properties primarily between 21st and 25th streets, Guilford and Maryland avenues; adjacent NRHP-listed properties include Lovely Lane United Methodist Church and the James Hooper House.

The Charles North Historic District lies between North Avenue, Greenmount Cemetery, and Jones Falls, and the Charles Village-Abell Historic District lies north of 25th Street. The American Ice Company Baltimore Plant #2 and the Charles Théâtre are individual NRHP-designated structures within PEABODY HEIGHTS.²⁹⁶ Charles Street was declared a National and Maryland Scenic By-way in 2009, due to its historic character and visual qualities.²⁹⁷

In spite of the desolation expressed by empty lots, much of the Baltimore Block urban pattern remains throughout the salient, and is available to support the precinct’s rejuvenation. The variety of housing sizes and types, corner stores, light industry in the block’s interiors, and recognizable primarily-residential areas and commercial arteries still provide the framework of a potentially-vibrant neighborhood. A half-dozen “pocket” parks and a similar quantity of community gardens have sprouted in derelict plots. Four elementary schools have been constructed since the 1980’s. The

²⁹⁶ NRHP nominations, <https://mht.maryland.gov/secure/medusa/PDF/BaltimoreCity.pdf>

²⁹⁷ America's Byways <http://www.byways.org>

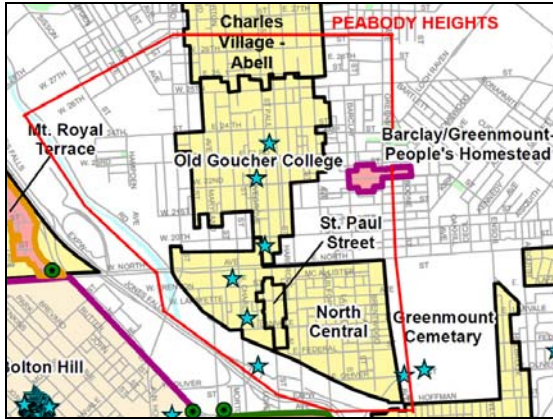


Figure 4.32: Historic Districts within Salient (2016)

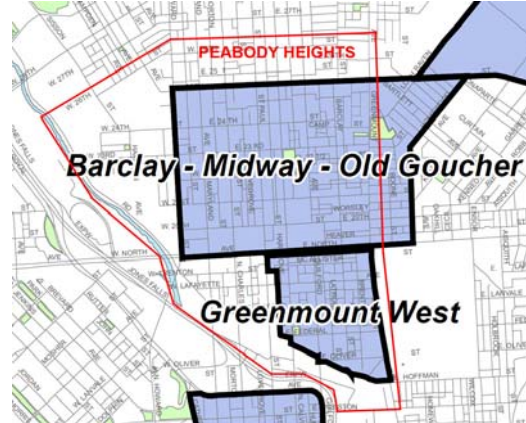


Figure 4.33: Area Master Plans

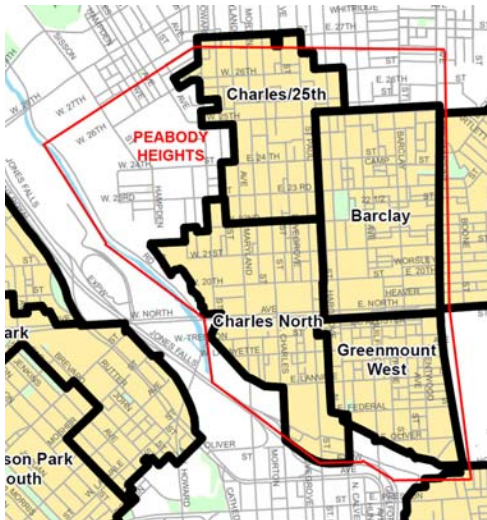


Figure 4.34: Urban Planning Areas

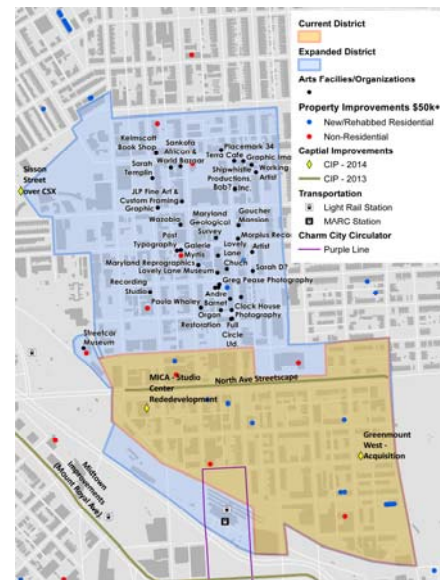


Figure 4.35: Station North Arts District - Proposed expansion

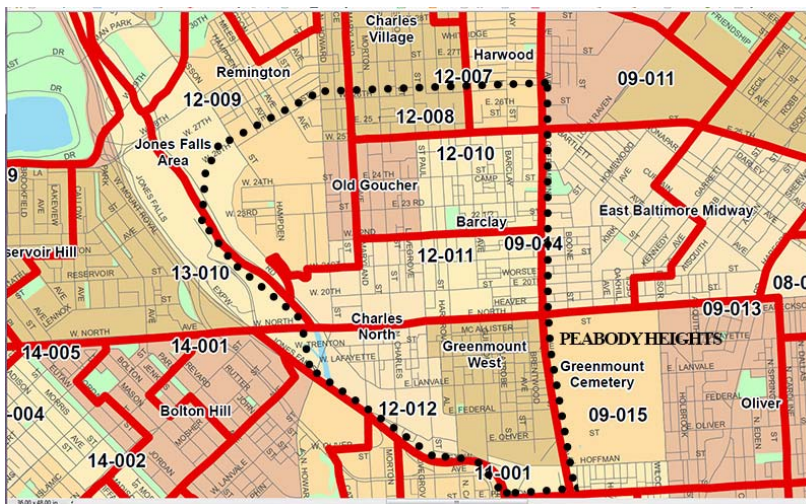


Figure 4.36: Electoral Ward boundaries



Figure 4.37: New housing (Barclay)

Baltimore Lab School (which occupies the former Goucher Hall) joins MICA, JHU, and the Baltimore Design School in adapting former industrial and commercial buildings for educational purposes.

During the past decade, blocks of abandoned rowhouses along Greenmount and Barclay avenues have been demolished and properties transformed with new multi-unit housing complexes, with integral neighborhood community centers; unfortunately, ground-level spaces are not provided for commercial uses, and live-work units do not seem to have been supplied. Individual residences are being renovated throughout the salient; a few are being returned to single-family use (albeit with accessory apartments in “English Basements”). Restaurants and shops are continuing to occupy lower levels of previously-converted rowhouses; new commercial uses regularly replace defunct entities. Factory and warehouse structures

are being adapted for commercial and institutional use south of North Avenue,²⁹⁸ and the Parkway Théâtre and Center Théâtre on North Avenue and the Autograph Playhouse²⁹⁹ on 25th Street are being rehabilitated for art-performance spaces. The 25th Street Station project on the Anderson Automotive site, with its suburban-style Wal-Mart and adjacent surface parking, which looked imminent in 2013, appears to have fizzled.³⁰⁰ Baltimore has engaged artists and other design professionals to paint murals (both pure graphics and to communicate neighborhood or city stories) and install parks in conjunction with neighborhood groups: site-specific signage communicates the people, event or group involved, and the date of installation.

Observations - PEABODY HEIGHTS

Drawing on the stories, issues, and conditions presented in the Baltimore and PEABODY HEIGHTS articles and applying the principles generated through the Urban Design and Mixed Use theories, a few observations that summarize this section and will contribute to recommendations for both general and specific guidance are submitted for your consideration.

- From a 21st Century perspective, it is easy to view the era immediately prior to WWI as the “golden” period of the neighborhood: most buildings were built within the previous twenty years, and housing and jobs were stable. Electrification removed steam railroad-generated soot; streetcars were regular, frequent, relatively cheap, and provided connections everywhere; streets were

²⁹⁸ MICA, JHU, and UMB are renovating buildings for expansion of their programs – author, from on-site investigations, and college websites.

²⁹⁹ Formerly the *Homewood Théâtre* (1946-51), *Playhouse Théâtre* (1951-85), live stage, (headliners included Louis Armstrong and Billie Holiday), re-opened: 2010-3; currently: vacated; <http://abilliety.wix.com/the-autograph-playhouse>

³⁰⁰ HISP 650 report, *Old Goucher Neighborhood*, 61; Ambrose, *Remington*, 109-11

two-directional, and automobile (and horse) traffic was “light.” Goucher College was a successful, benign presence, contributing to the intellectual life of the community. However, it is easy to ignore the “aromas” of factory air- and water-pollution, railroads (pre-electrification), privy pits, and horses (in stables and streets). We forget the amount of turbulence generated by rapid rowhouse construction, the replacement of “older” (pre-1880, followed by pre-1920) facilities, and street construction following utility installation.

- The Baltimore Block, with its amalgamation of housing types, sizes, and costs, along with commercial, institutional, and light industrial entities on hierarchically-organized streets, provides a recognizable structure ensuring an urban mixture of land use, population and employment diversity, accessibility and walkability fostering social contact, and visual and cultural variety.

Although this pattern has been lost in many parts of Baltimore, it still exists as a primary determinant of the urban fabric of PEABODY HEIGHTS, and should be re-employed in the rejuvenation of neighborhoods, both in the salient and throughout Baltimore.

- A dynamic mix of uses, population, and opportunities helped the neighborhoods to grow into a successful predominantly-residential in-town precinct.
- City agency proposals (eg: zoning, street-direction, drug rehabilitation center placement) made without appropriate and continuous local citizen input are not sustainable.

- Evidence (articles and site visits) of the City agencies' continued policies encouraging demolition rather than rehabilitation of vacant properties indicates a severe lack of appreciation of both the built environment and the history of neighborhoods under attack.
- Large, and even small, scale projects that propose suburban-style building isolation from the street, "seas" of surface parking, asphalt in preference to parks, and removal or continued loss of residential urban fabric, do not benefit an in-town neighborhood.
- Underestimation of the trauma caused by racial and economic segregation policies and practices, fear and distrust generated by social unrest, and hopelessness bred from repeated negative economic cycles, property devaluation, and vacancies also color our perceptions.
- The presence of thriving institutional facilities and events brings City-wide notice and supports neighboring residential and commercial attitudes (pride, commitment, accomplishment).
- Although parts of the salient have been appropriated into four different Historic Districts (Old Goucher, Charles Village, North Charles, and Remington) and overlapping community association boundaries, excluded sectors and the edges receive the brunt of conflicting regulations and guidelines. Restrictions on the formation of *Commission for Historical and Architectural Preservation* (CHAP) districts stymie conservation efforts. Also, areas which have seen massive urban fabric removal are not included in preservation plans, which contribute to further erosion of the neighborhood.

- Lack of mechanisms to communicate a neighborhood's story (signage, graphics, tours, gatherings) equates to loss of memories and value as the stories are forgotten.
- The collection of oral histories from current and former residents and shop-owners, Goucher College staff and students, and former employees of salient-based industries will help to perpetuate knowledge of the precinct's growth, decline, and rejuvenation.
- The generally high-quality residential urban fabric contributes to the neighborhood's "sense of place," is highly desirable, and therefore valuable: it should be retained to the greatest extent possible. Rehabilitation, renovation, or adaptive use strategies are preferable to demolition.
- The presence of shade trees, plantings, co-ordinated street fixtures (street lights, benches and other furnishings, banners, signage, etc) and sidewalk materials, limited on-street parking and other traffic calming strategies, mural and park installations, and other amenities help ameliorate and transform an area.
- Vacant properties (either abandoned structures or lots or surface parking), burned-out buildings, "deferred maintenance" (from peeling paint to collapsing porches, rotted or missing cornices, broken windows, or graffiti), or dead trees combine to present a message that the neighborhood is lacking hope or value to visitors and residents. Desolation signals despair and a neighborhood in trouble.

Table 1**PEABODY HEIGHTS - Mixed Use**

Characteristic			1900	2000
Pattern				
	Grid		•	•
	"Baltimore Block"	Square	•	•
	"Porchfront Block"	Rectangle	•	•
	Curvilinear - Serpentine			
	Cul-de-Sac			
Means of Transport				
Pedestrian	"Walkable" Neighborhood		•	•
	Along roads / with verge		•	•
	Separate from roads			
Bicycle	In road		•	•
	Separate from roads			•
Transit	Streetcar		•	-
	Bus	Intra-urban	o	•
		Interurban		o
	Railroad - Subway - Light Rail		•	-
Motor Vehicle	Roadways	Low-speed	•	•
		"Collectors"	•	•
		Highway		•
	Parking	Along Street	•	•
		Public Garages		•
		Surface Lots		•
Historic	Building(s)			•
	District(s)			•
Governance	Developer			
	Community Associations			•
	City		•	•

Legend

- Present, continuing
- + Improvement
- Diminution
- o Absent
- Not Applicable

Table 1

PEABODY HEIGHTS - Mixed Use

Characteristic			1900	2000
Land Uses				
	Residential	Detached	•	-
		Rows	•	•
		Flats	•	•
	Institutional	Churches, etc	•	•
		Schools	•	•
		Collegiate	•	-
	Neighborhood Public Services	Fire / Police	•	•
		Hospital	•	-
		Orphanage	•	-
		Theatre / Cinema	•	•
		Library	•	•
		Parks	•	-
		Recreation	•	+
		"Green Space"	•	•
		Gardens		+
		Sports / stadium	•	-
	Mercantile	Local shopping	•	•
		Market-house	•	-
		Shopping center		+
		Mall		o
	Office / Business / Commercial		o	•
	Industrial	Light / "clean"	•	-
		Heavy	•	-
Buildings	Single Use		•	•
	Multiple Uses		•	+
Zoning	Single Use			•
	Mixed Use		(•)	•



Figure 4.38: Stages of alteration (E Lanvale)



Figure 4.39: Abandonment (Greenmount)



Figure 4.40: Remnant rowhouse (Maryland)



Figure 4.41: "Ghost" of a past neighbor



Figure 4.42: Missing corner unit



Figure 4.43: Ornament removed (North Avenue)

Conclusion - PEABODY HEIGHTS

The turn-of-the-century PEABODY HEIGHTS neighborhood provides a textbook example of a successful mixture of uses (residential, commercial, institutional, industrial) and society (class, economic, ethnicity, race, religious, age, and occupational variety) in a contained area. Evidence of this success can be gleaned from multiple sources: high-quality building construction (from the Nation's Centennial through WWII); Baltimore Block mixture of residence sizes and occupant-classes, mercantile concerns, and light-industrial firms spread uniformly throughout the salient; commercial development (corner stores, Charles and 25th streets and later, North Avenue shopping and business corridors); Goucher College and other thriving institutions, religious communities and places-of-worship, schools, and a public library; parks, community gardens, and privately-owned but publicly-accessible "green space"; industrial concerns with nearby laborers' housing; multiple transit-line options and destinations; walkability to employment, services, shopping, and transit; retention of *Blue Book* residents (and their single-family houses) until the Depression; and community pressure which influenced the development of the electrification of railroads to eliminate soot and the construction of the Belt Line tunnel (and others) to eradicate dangerous at-grade intersections.

Following WWII, the relocation of Goucher College, the general abandonment of Baltimore by industry, and the designation of much of the neighborhood as "commercial" or "industrial" (in comparison with adjacent neighborhoods' "residential") zoning, destabilized the area. The rapid growth of the outer suburbs in the 1950's and 1960's, and the fear generated by the April, 1968 riots, drained non-

working class families from the inner-city, including this neighborhood. Commercial venues were vacated or transformed into convenience markets or liquor stores.

Single-family residences were split into apartments, converted to office or commercial uses, or lost to arson or neglect. Whole rows and blocks are still being demolished, as are unoccupied industrial structures,³⁰¹ contributing to a sense of a “moonscape” of deserted emptiness.

Since the Millennium, neighboring communities have formed community-improvement or historic preservation districts, and claimed choice portions (but not all) of the salient, to their benefit, but also to the detriment of the remainder (especially where edges abut, or along the Jones Falls). City administrators have determined that there should be a limitation of the formation of additional CHAP districts, so this neighborhood cannot avail itself of formalized historic preservation protections. The City has encouraged arts programs involving the inhabitants; MICA, JHU, and UMd have established programs in the community; and developers are starting to build replacement rowhouses on empty lots (especially along Barclay Street and the eastern part of the area), but “big box” stores-surrounded-by-“seas”-of-parking (continuing an unsustainable suburban model) are vying for the former industrial properties in the west. Proposed revisions to the City’s Zoning regulations still identify much of the area as “industrial” or “commercial,” not benefitting the sizable remnant of pre-1900 residential structures, and neighborhood cohesion.

As this brief review of the multiple, convoluted, and inter-woven financial, physical, sociological, and personal stories indicates, neighborhoods in the PEABODY HEIGHTS salient are the product of the myriad forces acting throughout Baltimore

³⁰¹ Article, <http://greatergreaterwashington.org/post/29455/baltimore-will-tear-down-whole-blocks>

over the most-recent centuries. Although current conditions sometimes appear dire, the Baltimore Block urban structure has been retained to a large extent, and with an increased appreciation of its history (and that of its residents and entrepreneurs) to fortify commonly-agreed-upon goals and objectives, the PEABODY HEIGHTS community can again flourish and prosper. The case studies representing other communities in the city and region investigate similar development conditions and issues, and provide options and recommendations which could be applied to PEABODY HEIGHTS.

Chapter 5: Case Studies

Current concepts of Mixed Use are assessed and compared with the original principles which contributed to the formation of the PEABODY HEIGHTS neighborhood to determine definitions and values which could be tailored to the revitalization of both PEABODY HEIGHTS and other communities.

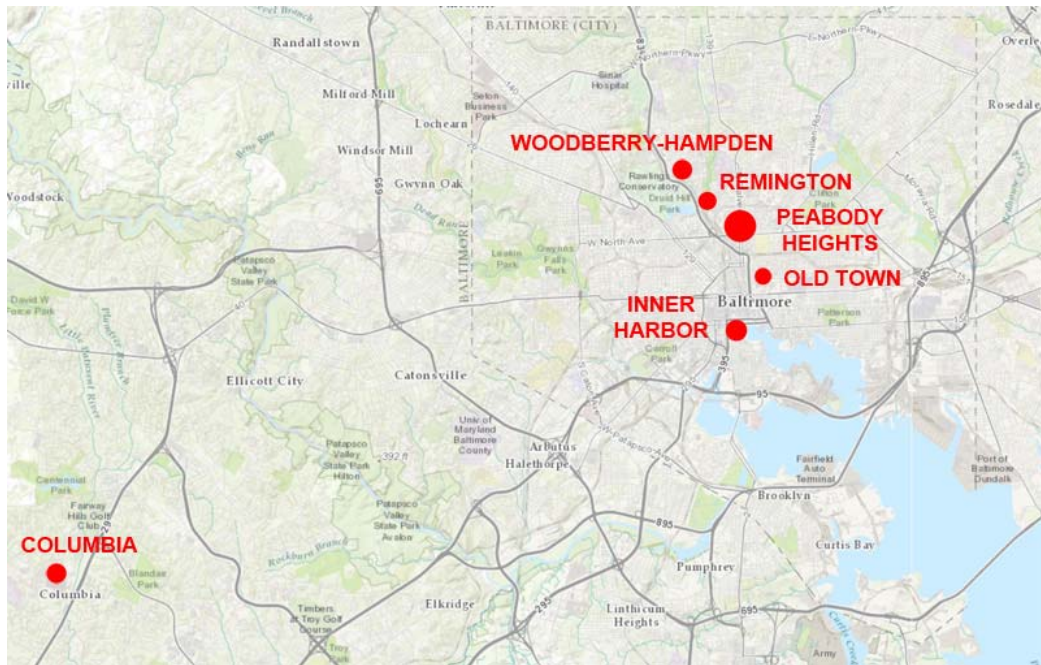


Figure 5.1: Baltimore Metropolitan Area: Case Study locations

Other parts of Baltimore, and regional cites, have attempted to address similar urban fabric and use problems in a variety of ways. Included here are: Baltimore's Inner Harbor (a neighborhood was removed and replaced), OldTown (a neighborhood was removed and not replaced), and three mill-based villages (neighborhoods fell on bad times, but were retained and are being rehabilitated); Washington, DC's Columbia Heights (abandoned, but retained, structures being rehabilitated); and four "New Towns" in the Baltimore-Washington, DC region (new construction beyond

city limits, built in accordance with “Mixed-Use” and other “contemporary” principles).

Baltimore’s Inner Harbor

The **Inner Harbor** surrounds the naturally-deep Northwest Branch of the Patapsco River (originally called “the Basin”), and was the site of the original settlements from which Baltimore sprang (refer to Figure 3.3).³⁰² Bordered by Pratt Street (north), the Jones Falls Expressway (JFX) / US Route 83 on the east, Federal Hill (south), and Light Street (west), this amenity zone is adjacent to “Little Italy” (east), the Downtown business district (north), and the Otterbein (1983),³⁰³ Federal Hill (1970, addition: 2003), and “Pigtown” (2006) NRHP residential historic districts.³⁰⁴ The Baltimore Convention Center (1979), west along Pratt Street, connects Oriole Park at Camden Yards (baseball, 1992), and M&T Bank Stadium (football, Baltimore Ravens, 1998) with the Harbor.³⁰⁵ The stadiums are located on “redevelopment land” (that is, original settler and port neighborhoods) bounded by Pratt Street (north), Howard Street (US Route 395, east), Ostend Street (south) and Russell Street (Maryland Route 295, west), and are separated by Martin Luther King Jr. Boulevard.

Baltimore has employed two different strategies to generate a resurgence of interest and pride in the city: one that retains urban fabric, and one that replaces it.

³⁰² Harborplace resulted from a referendum in 1978, and the first sections opened in 1980, developed by the Rouse Companies, who also created Cross Keys in Baltimore, and Columbia, Maryland.

³⁰³ <https://www.google.com/#q=otterbein+baltimore+md>

³⁰⁴ https://mht.maryland.gov/secure/medusa/PDF/NR_PDFs/NR-1435.pdf

³⁰⁵ *Camden Yards* (by HOK and RTKL, 1992) replaced former B&O railyards and their laborers’ residential neighborhoods, butchers’ shops and residences, adjacent to “Pigtown”; *M&T Stadium* (*Populous*, 1998) replaced the *William Knabe & Company* piano factory complex (1860-1930, demolished 1990’s) and other factories; <http://www.citylab.com/design/2015/09/meet-the-man-who-saved-camden-yards>; <http://baltimorehistorybits.blogspot.com/2011/09/wm-knabe-co-piano-forte-factory.html>

North of the Downtown business district, selected sites of historic, æsthetic or tourist merit are emphasized within a neighborhood milieu that maintains much of the adjacent urban fabric. The Washington Monument and Mount Vernon Place, with its mansions and park by Carrère and Hastings,³⁰⁶ Latrobe's Basilica of the Assumption and other churches, musea, and noted libraries remain set in a context of contemporaneous structures, even though most are not used for their original purpose. The story of Baltimore's architectural legacy is on display for both the traveler passing by on the way toward other destinations, and the studious visitor.

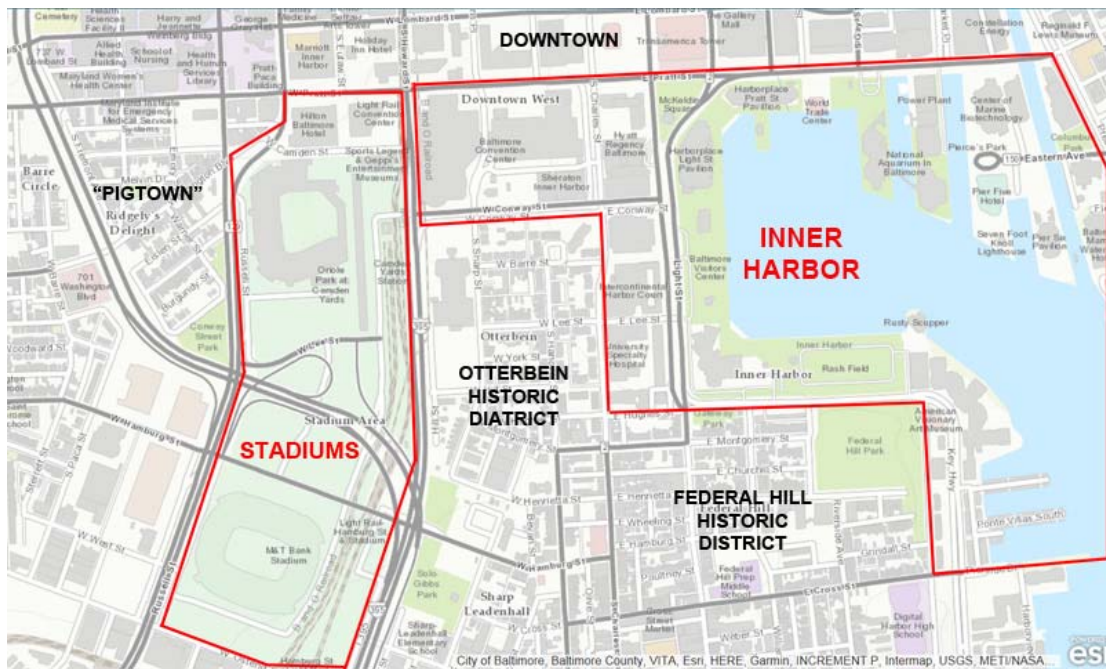


Figure 5.2: Baltimore – Inner Harbor: 2017 plan

The Inner Harbor and Camden Yards represent the other approach. Selected structures (eg: UR&EC's Power Plant adjacent to the harbor, and Camden Station and the B&O Warehouses astride Oriole Park) suggest the areas' industrial use prior to redevelopment. George H. ("Babe") Ruth (1895-1948) was born nearby on Emory

³⁰⁶ Replaced a *Picturesque* design by FL Olmstead, Sr (1876) in 1910; Dorsey and Dilts, *A Guide to Baltimore Architecture*.

Street in “Pigtown” (the Babe Ruth Birthplace Museum) and lived on West Camden Street (currently in the stadium’s Center Field), above his father’s saloon, until he was 7. The Rouse Company’s highly successful Harborplace pavilions and plazas accommodate crowds throughout the year for special events or to visit the National Aquarium, the Baltimore Maritime Museum, the Top of the World, the Maryland Science Center, or the USS Constellation.

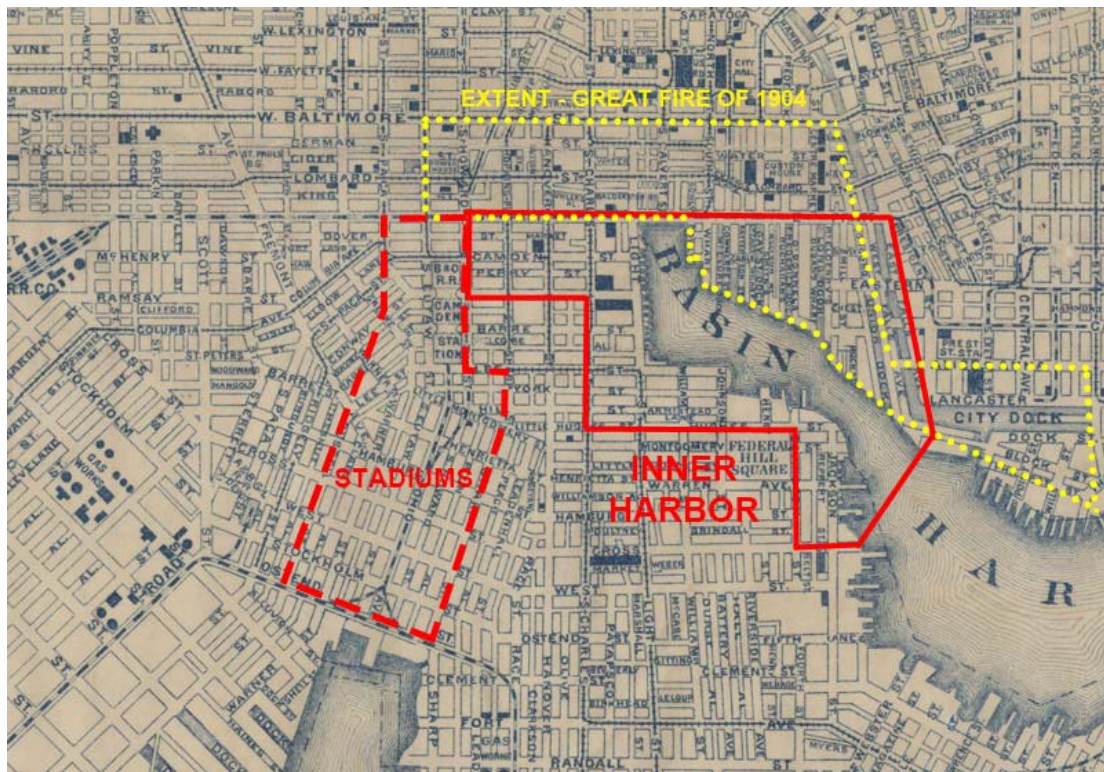


Figure 5.3: Inner Harbor: 1893 Plan: Previous conditions

The Inner Harbor Marina and day-trip cruise docks are filled with pleasure craft, but gone, however, are all traces of the port which, from Charles Carroll the Barrister’s tobacco shipments through WWII, enabled Baltimore’s industry to be seriously competitive with New York, Philadelphia, and Boston. The success of the Inner Harbor spurred major construction projects throughout the adjacent business district,

but at the cost of earlier commercial structures.³⁰⁷ Similarly, Camden Yards sports stadiums sit in super-blocks between Howard and Russell streets, surrounded by surface and garage parking lots, where formerly railyards, factories, and their laborers' neighborhoods once thrived. Spanning the two in part of the former laboring-class Otterbein neighborhood (site of Baltimore's first homesteading project,³⁰⁸ beginning in 1975) sits the Baltimore Convention Center.³⁰⁹ These locales bring valued tourists (and their wallets or pocketbooks), and are a great source of civic pride. However, equally valuable opportunities to understand Baltimore's history (the present built on the past) have not been seized. The stratagem of nearly-total replacement of urban fabric is not one recommended for the PEABODY HEIGHTS or any existing urban area; the recognition of previous strata of occupation in the midst of new construction would go far to achieve the instructive goal.

Observations - Inner Harbor

The Inner Harbor presents a glowingly-successful revitalization of Baltimore's relationship with Chesapeake Bay as a massive set of public-function civic facilities. It re-establishes "the Basin" as the heart of the City with contemporary charm and activities, but references to the port which enabled Baltimore to be so successful have been removed.

³⁰⁷ Much of the Downtown business district (140 acres / 80 blocks from Howard Street to Jones Falls, Fayette Street to the Basin) was lost in the *Great Fire of 1904*. Many blocks of post-1904 commercial structures have been replaced by new entertainment- and recreation-related structures and corporate headquarters; <http://collections.digitalmaryland.org/cdm/landingpage/collection/mdbf> and the author's observations

³⁰⁸ The neighborhoods had been acquired in the 1950's and '60's as part of the Baltimore Urban Renewal process; some blocks had been demolished by 1973, when a strategy of encouraging redevelopment of 104 existing structures through their individual purchase from the City for \$1 with the proviso that the owner would then renovate it, was employed. Design standards were generated and followed. These neighborhoods have become prime examples of high-end eminently-desirable center-city housing; http://www.baltimorehousing.org/home_center ; <http://www.baltimoresun.com/news/maryland/baltimore-city/bs-md-ci-kelly-column-otterbein> .

³⁰⁹ http://www.theotterbein.org/wp/?page_id=139 .

- A seminal, large-scaled redevelopment project by a noted development team can successfully transform a whole community.
- Encroachments, caused by large-event activities nearby (such as sporting or civic functions, and their attendant traffic, parking, and fueling) must be prevented from invading and destroying neighborhood livability without serious restriction of pedestrian visitor activity.
- Lack of visual and geographic clues as to previous use and history of the area deprives visitors of information needed to appreciate the diversity and basis of Baltimore's successes.
- Although many pedestrians use the Inner Harbor or Camden Yards facilities, distances are greater than comfortably traversed by many: shuttling is required. Closer proximity could help the walker, as well as mimic the original urban condition.
- Although adjacent residential neighborhoods have been retained and some hotels occupy prominent positions, there is no substantial residential presence at the Inner Harbor or Camden yards precincts.
- The simultaneous retention of the Otterbein (portions) and Federal Hill residential neighborhoods through the use of the homesteading process demonstrates a conservation and financial success story, accompanied by infrastructural improvement, which could be employed elsewhere in the city.

OldTown Mall

“**OldTown**” is located between Monument (north) and Orleans / US Route 40 (south) streets, and Caroline Street and the Johns Hopkins Medical Campus (east) and the JFX / US Route 83 (west). Sited east of Jones Falls, where the street-grid runs parallel to the Falls and canted 45° to the orthogonal typical of the Poppleton Plan, the Mall is inserted on a portion of Gay Street north of Orleans Street, where Gay Street (interrupted for a half-mile) veers into Ensor on its way to joining Hillen Street to become one of Baltimore’s earliest northeastern connectors, Harford Avenue / Maryland Route 147.³¹⁰ A residential neighborhood surrounded a commercial corridor along Gay Street; both developed from “Jones Town” early in Baltimore’s history, and although saved from the Great Fire of 1904, were devastated by the Riots of April, 1968.³¹¹ Much of the western part of the neighborhood is still occupied by surface parking lots.

Jonestown was one of the original settlements which were combined into the City of Baltimore when it was consolidated in 1747. Rowhouses were built throughout the area north of the junction of Jones Falls and the “Basin”: the commercial port of the City. The houses along North Gay Street accommodated commercial functions on their first floors following the construction of the Belair Markets in 1871.³¹² A thriving mixed-ethnic and -racial working-class neighborhood evolved, with shop-owners living above their workplaces throughout the 19th and early-20th centuries.

³¹⁰ Gay Street, originally called “Bridge Street” in this neighborhood, connected downtown with Belair Road / US Route 1 (originally called “Perry-hall Road”) until its interruption following the riots; *Warner and Hanna’s Plan of the City and Environs of Baltimore*, 1801.

³¹¹ The first crowds assembled, and incidents of violence occurred, in the 400-block of Gay Street.

³¹² Founded in 1813; http://articles.baltimoresun.com/2002-09-07/features/0209070234_1_market-belair-baltimore

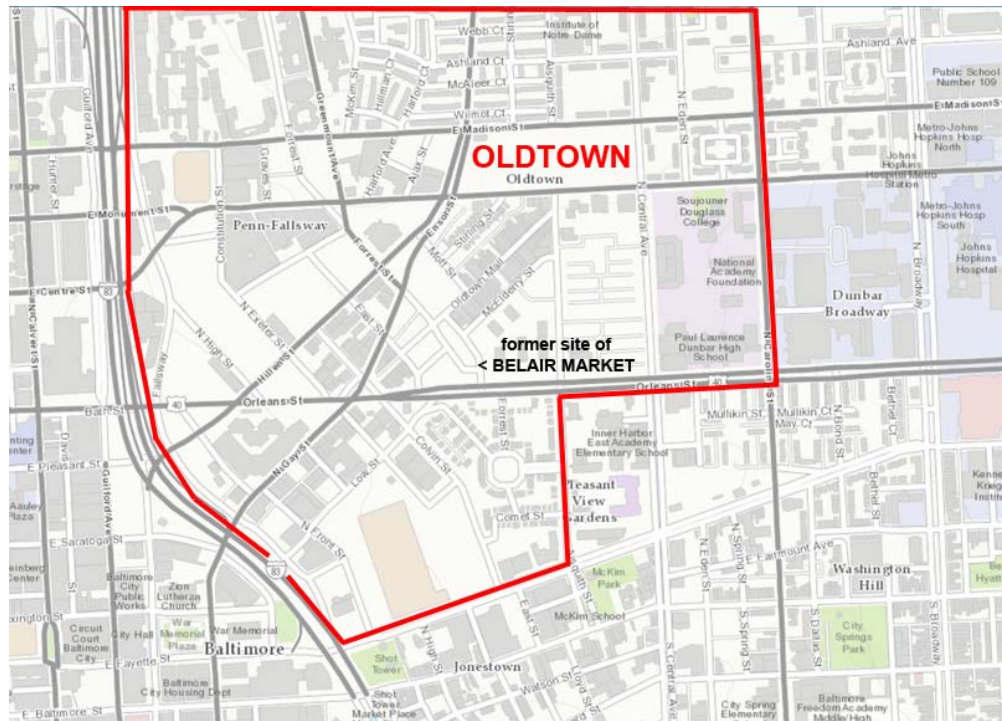


Figure 5.4: Baltimore – OldTown: 2017 plan

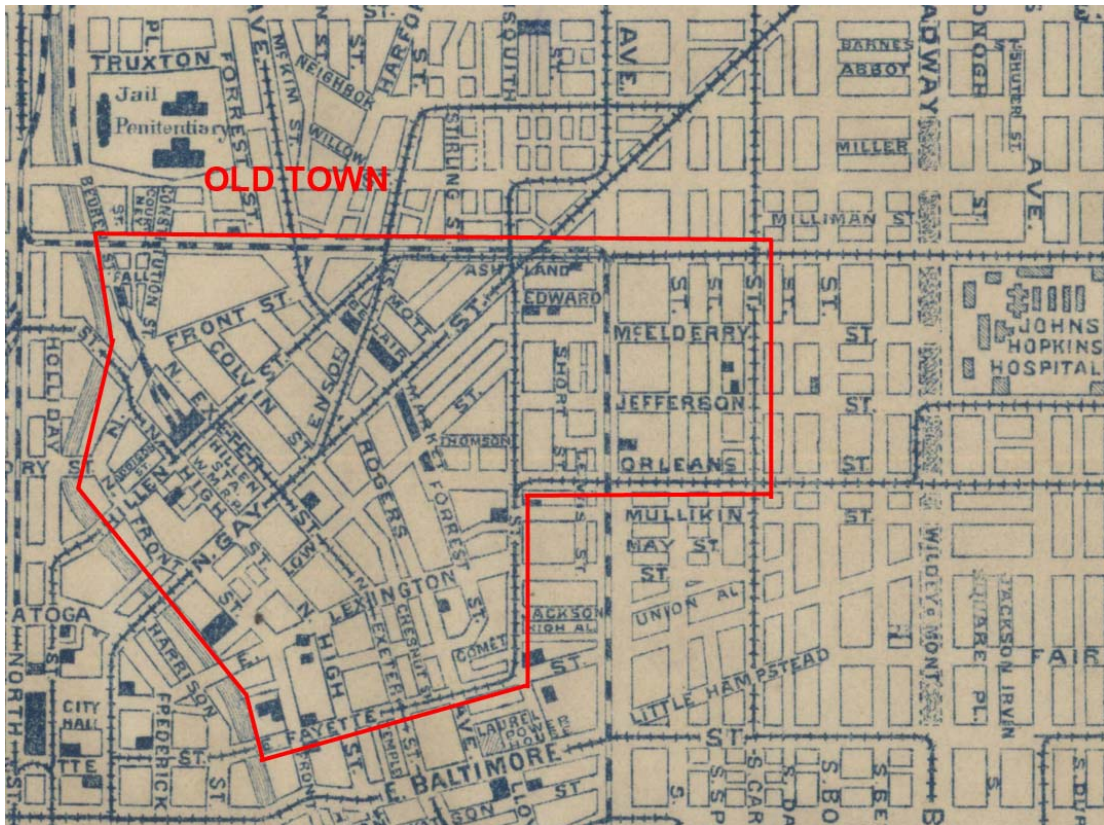


Figure 5.5: Old Town: 1893 Plan: Previous conditions

As the predominantly Eastern- European (largely-Jewish) immigrant population moved from the inner-city to suburban environs throughout Baltimore, and the immigration tide was stemmed by Federal policy in the 1920's, the area became predominantly African American residentially, while maintaining its mixed-population commercially. The expansion of the Maryland State Penitentiary and Baltimore City Detention Center correctional campus in the north adjacent area,³¹³ and the installation of large, high-rise segregated public housing projects alongside the economical existing rowhouses, contributed to the transformation of the neighborhood into one of the poorest in the city by the 1960's.³¹⁴

The 1970 *OldTown Urban Renewal Plan* altered the neighborhood by closing the 400-500 blocks of North Gay Street to vehicular traffic to become the OldTown Mall (1976), renovating the Belair Markets, creating surface parking lots to facilitate shoppers, and building additional “affordable housing” on a 90-acre parcel. 50% of the adjoining area's structures were demolished. These efforts led to moderate commercial success, but the Mall had fallen into disrepair by 1990's. Six high-rise housing projects were demolished in 1995, displacing residents who did not return, which created a lack of a customer economic base. The historic Belair Markets were demolished in 2002 to make way for a grocery store which failed to materialize, generating more vacant land (and loss of a significant historic and identifying presence).

³¹³ A city jail was erected here in 1801, reconstructed in 1858 and 1959, combined with Maryland Department of Public Safety and Correctional Services in 1991, <https://www.dpscs.state.md.us/locations/bccc.shtml>

³¹⁴ Jenna Dublin, *Community Activism, Public Memory, and the Right to Urban Space: An Examination of Equitable Development in Baltimore's OldTown Historic District*, (UMd HISP 711, 2014); Jenna delves more thoroughly into the causes and repercussions of the development of the Mall in 1970's and current (2010) proposals; her conclusions, as they pertain to the PEABODY HEIGHTS discussion, inform and contribute to the recommendations section of this paper - author.

The OldTown Historic (CHAP) District (500-block of Gay Street) was designated in 2004,³¹⁵ and advocates retention of physical integrity through re-use and interpretation of the remaining structures. The 2010 OldTown Mall Redevelopment Plan proposes to anchor new development around the OldTown Mall and Baltimore City Old Engine Company # 6 (1853-1976; since then: the Baltimore City Fire Museum),³¹⁶ providing housing, shopping and cultural centers, and collegiate facilities,³¹⁷ while encouraging local entrepreneurship. In a series of attempts to help resurrect the OldTown neighborhood, Baltimore planners have solicited development help from outside of the local community, as was successful at Harborplace, but failed in two previous attempts in Oldtown, where local community support wasn't solicited.

Observations - OldTown

In striking contrast with the successful first case study, OldTown presents the cautionary tale: failure to include residents' opinions, hopes and dreams, to respect and value extant historic urban fabric, to acknowledge and disseminate neighborhood stories telling of diversity and struggle, to balance City and neighborhood needs and visions, to encourage co-operation among developers, design professionals, city agency representatives, and the local populace to produce viable plans with phases that sustain them through economic downturns leads to loss and project disaster.

- Failure to involve the neighborhood community in decision-making leads to less-than-successful involvement in the final product.

³¹⁵ <https://baltimoreheritage.org/issue/old-town-mall/#.WRiHx9y1vcs>

³¹⁶ <http://www.preservationmaryland.org/maryland-historic-fire-houses>

³¹⁷ *Sojourner Douglass College* and *Johns Hopkins Hospital* campuses are adjacent to OldTown; Dublin, *Community Activism*, 20, 33.

- Although outside-of-the-community intervention by large developers might have transformed the largely commercial and industrial Inner Harbor into civic and recreational uses successfully, proposed solutions cannot be imposed on existing residential neighborhoods.
- Retention of the historic Old Engine Company # 6 is warranted, as a source of identity as well as connection to the neighborhood's and City's past; it joins the Phoenix Shot Tower in illuminating area history for residents and visitors.
- The Jewish Museum of Maryland, the RE Lewis Museum of Maryland African American History and Culture, and Stratford University ³¹⁸ can contribute mightily to understanding the vibrant changing nature (populations, employment, and occupancy) of this section of the City.
- Wholesale demolition of historic urban fabric, and the accompanying removal of residents and commercial entities, decreases the value (both historical and monetary) of the area. Long-term abandonment of vacant properties, and the creation of vast surface parking lots or cleared urban blocks and street grid, generates the impression that no one cares for the area, inhabits it, or desires to invest in it (the direct opposite of the encouragement of homesteading and "incubator" efforts).
- The destruction of the historic Belair Markets, rather than their rehabilitation, was a tragic mistake because historic fabric and opportunities to relate the area's story were lost, an additional gap of vacant lots was created, and the commercial benefits of reclaiming a once-vibrant early center were forfeited.

³¹⁸ Stratford University acquired *Baltimore International College* (culinary arts and hospitality management) in 2011 and *Sojourner Douglas College* (nursing and health-management) in 2015, www.Stratford.edu.

- “Green” sustainability concepts (eg: “Smart Growth,” “Complete Streets,” and adaptive use), supported by neighboring inhabitants and governmental and developer entities, could work together through a charrette process to help regenerate ideas to be applied to this blighted area.

Villages

Another type of urban growth is that of the village which became enmeshed in the tide of urban expansion: nearby Baltimore subdivisions of **Hampden-Woodberry** and **Remington** are prime examples. Working-class communities of Remington (founded in 1811), Woodberry (1815), and Hampden (1865) were developed by textile industrialists along Jones Falls,³¹⁹ which used water-power to operate the original flour mills. The residential and industrial street grid patterns followed the alignment of Jones Falls (45° northwest) rather than oriented directly north. Additional industrial uses of the Jones Falls valley included quarries for gneiss and gravel, as well as the “marble” trim for which the City is noted.³²⁰ The loss of the manufacturing firms which employed neighboring residents who inhabited these villages devastated their economies, but fortunately many residents continued to support their villages, and have rebuilt them into proud Baltimore activity centers.

³¹⁹ Carroll, Gambrell, and Hooper families, maintained ownership and operation until 1970’s; *Remington* grew from Charles Jessop and Josias Pennington’s grist mill near present-day 29th Street in 1789 – remained water-powered until 1931; Hugh Sisson, the “Marble King” owned much of the land in 1880’s; *Woodberry* developed around Elisha Tyson’s *Woodberry Flour Mill* in 1790; town of *Hampden* developed by General Henry Mankin on his estate in 1865; LaWand, *North Baltimore*, 65-71

³²⁰ LaWand, *North Baltimore*, 64

Remington, a linear community along Jones Falls, sprang from the grist and flour mills located on the estate-farms of the second generation of Baltimore's property-owners.³²² These individual mills were supplanted with larger manufacturing complexes,³²³ stone quarries,³²⁴ and railroad yards³²⁵ throughout the 19th Century. Housing and small shops, supporting laborers and management, arose in clumps near the quarries and other work-places; quarry-owners lived further up-hill.³²⁶

Remington Avenue traversed a ridge diagonally (southeast to northwest), paralleled Jones Falls through the community, and set the street pattern skewed to the orthogonal of adjacent developments. Most of the commercial activity of Remington occurs along its length, particularly near 28th and 29th streets. Sisson Street abutted the factories adjacent to the Falls, and bridged the Belt Line to "Fawcett." Both streets crossed Stoney Run at conveniently-narrow locations by the 1890's, and are still bridged today. Huntingdon Avenue (and a half-dozen other narrower small-residential lanes) paralleled them providing street frontage for larger rowhouses; most of these still exist, although some of them have been converted to commercial uses.

³²²Jones Falls provided a substantial, consistent water-power source from the Revolution until the Civil War; property owners who subdivided the original Calvert Land Grants included: Nicholas Haile and Charles Merryman, then Joseph Ensor and Jonathan Hanson, followed by Josias Pennington, the Jessop brothers, the Hollingsworth's, Henry White, John Tinamus (father of the mayor), James and Jane Bay, and Elisha Tyson; mill names: Rock Merchant, Union, Laurell Merchant, Mount Royal (and its forge), and Hollingsworth's (later White's); Hollingsworth's dam still impedes Jones Falls. Abolitionists Tyson and Ellicott dissuaded other mill-owners from using slave labor. Ambrose, *Remington*, Chapter 1.

³²³Elisha Tyson owned the Mount Vernon Mill complex, and was instrumental in forming the *Falls Turnpike Road Company* from Hampden to Baltimore, Ambrose, *Remington*, 29

³²⁴Mount Royal Mill operated a quarry, as did John Harris, Isaac H Peddicord, and James H Atkinson (who actually lived on Hampden Avenue); Hugh Sisson (the "Marble King of Baltimore") provided many of the building materials for the early rowhouse construction, in particular façades and the ubiquitous Baltimore stoop steps; John G Schwind (later a real estate developer in "Fawcett" and *Remington*); Irish and Italian immigrants, and African Americans, worked as laborers (unskilled) and stone masons; abandoned quarries later filled with runoff and became swimming holes and ice rinks; Ambrose, *Remington*, 31-38

³²⁵The *Northern Central* (part of the *Pennsylvania*) Railroad, and the *Maryland and Pennsylvania* ("Ma & Pa") ran north along the east side of Jones Falls, the *Western Maryland* and *Pennsylvania* railroads ran along the west; the *Baltimore and Ohio* (B&O) crossed the others on bridges, and built the Belt Line connections east; major railroad switching and repair yards filled the valley and provided employments; Ambrose, *Remington*, 38-43

³²⁶Ambrose, *Remington*, 87.

28th to 31st streets cross perpendicularly as they climb the hill, and are bordered by primarily-pre-1900, two-story, brick rowhouses. 28th and 29th streets span Jones Falls with relatively-new bridges, and were connected with the JFX / US Route 83 in the 1960's.³²⁷

The nation's first electrified streetcar route traversed Huntingdon Avenue in 1885 connecting the Oak Street car barn (at Howard and 25th Streets) with Hampden via the Remington Avenue Bridge;³²⁸ later UR&ECo built the Huntingdon Avenue (streetcar) Viaduct in 1887 and maintained it until 1949 when the tracks returned to Remington Avenue and the viaduct was removed.³²⁹ The line became the #10 to Roland Park in 1899;³³⁰ #25 to Mount Washington and Pimlico in 1897,³³¹ today it is served by the #27 bus line; the #98 bus line circulates from the MTA Baltimore Light Rail (BLR) station in Woodberry through Hampton and Remington.³³²

Exits from the JFX / US Route 83 connect the villages with downtown and the M^cKeldin (Baltimore) Beltway / US Route 695 at North Avenue, 28th or 29th streets, Falls Road, and Cold Spring Lane, since 1963 with positive and negative results.³³³ increased mobility and increased crime and access to illegal drugs and other activities.

The Marine Hospital was built for injured servicemen and retirees at the top of Remington Avenue (near the bridge) on William Remington's estate, about 1880, and

³²⁷ Ambrose, *Remington*, 46

³²⁸ Ambrose, *Remington*, 47; Helton, *Baltimore's Streetcars*, 17-18

³²⁹ Ambrose, *Remington*, 47

³³⁰ <http://www.btko.net/routes>; http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_Railways_and_Electric_Company

³³¹ <http://www.btko.net/routes>

³³²

http://free.mytransitguide.com/index.jhtml?partner=^BNH^xmd030&pkw=bus%20routes%20baltimore&adfi=&adti=aud-235863037684:kwd-33083681939&adm=e&adn=s&add=c&adc=51413790724&adt=&ada=&adap=1t1&adp=&gclid=CLmuxK_hhNQCFYaCswodK1oKhA

³³³ <http://www.mdroads.com/routes/is083.html>

replaced in 1934; it is now a medical clinic operated by Johns Hopkins University.³³⁴

Adjacent was the Convalescent Home for [Orphaned and] Crippled Colored Children from 1894 until the occupants were moved to the Children's Hospital School on Greenspring Avenue in 1914.³³⁵ Pastures, supporting dairies and dray horse stables,³³⁶ were common in the neighborhood until the 1920's.

The mills' closings following WWII caused much local unemployment, and as money became scarce, house repair and maintenance faltered. Poverty, drug-abuse problems, and building abandonment were part of Remington's deterioration. Post-Millennium home-buyers are helping to resuscitate this community, and a thriving commercial zone is re-awakening. Remington's population stands at 2,510, as of 2010; the racial composition of Remington-Hampden-Woodberry is 73% European extraction, 10% African American, 8% Asian, 5% Hispanic, and 4% other.³³⁷

Children attend Margaret Brent Elementary / Middle School at 26th and St Paul streets in Old Goucher neighborhood, or the GreenMount School (private, K-8) in the former Wyman Park Recreation Center on 30th Street or The Community School (private, academic mentoring high school) at Huntingdon and 30th streets; four Protestant churches are located on Huntingdon Avenue between 26th and 30th streets, but many other denominations have facilities in nearby neighborhoods.

Much of Remington is included within the recently-designated (January, 2017) Remington Historic District; the H.F. Miller and Son Tin Box and Can Manufacturing

³³⁴ Ambrose, *Remington*, 65-68

³³⁵ Ambrose, *Remington*, 78-70

³³⁶ *Western Maryland Dairy, City Dairy*, Schier's *Hygeia Dairy* ("Hy's"), along with Sisson's and Peddicord's quarries (for hauling stone), required these; Ambrose, *Remington*, 74

³³⁷ <http://statisticalatlas.com/neighborhood/Maryland/Baltimore/Hampden-Woodberry-Remington/Race-and-Ethnicity>

Plant stands at the southern entrance to the community (among other industrial buildings).³³⁸

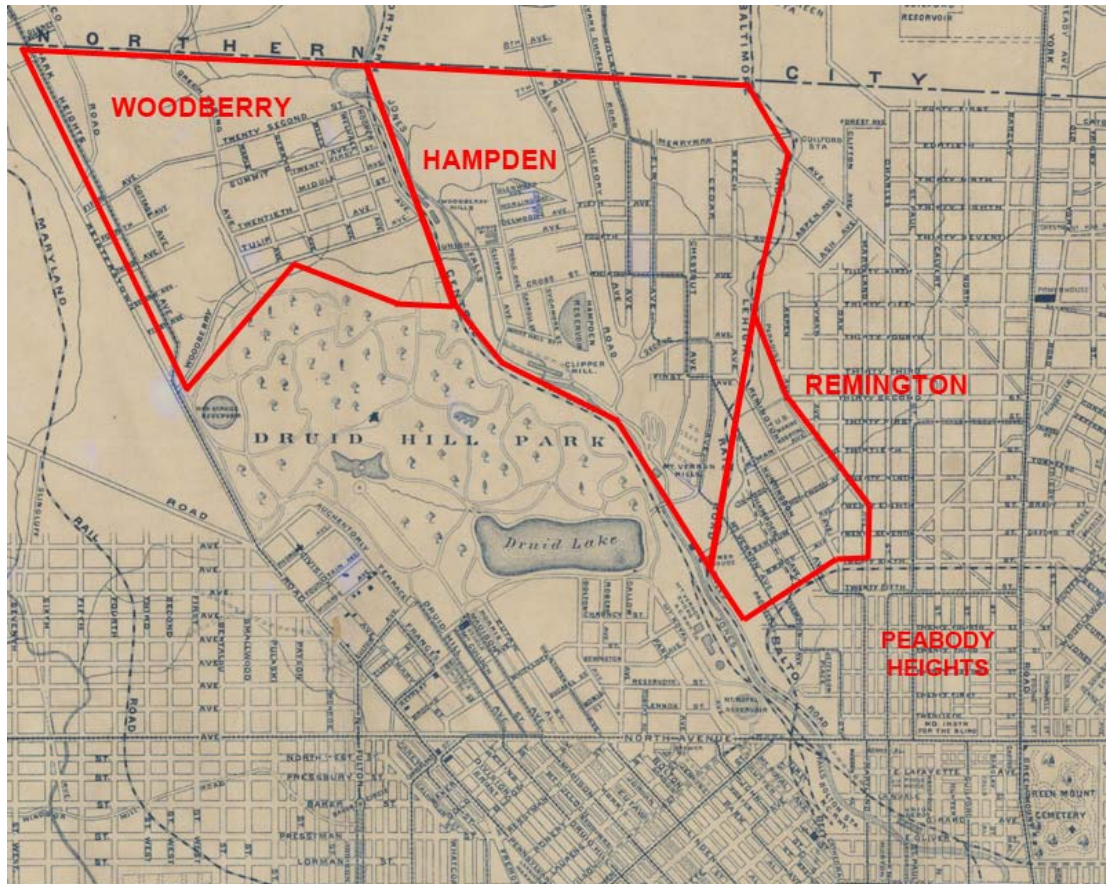


Figure 5.7: Remington-Hampden-Woodberry: 1893 Plan: Previous conditions

Hampden - Woodberry

Hampden, the largest of the three “mill-towns” along the Jones Falls, is located immediately north and west of Remington and Wyman Park, south of 40th Street.³³⁹ Evergreen (named for the Garrett estate)³⁴⁰ and Roland Park lie north of Hampden, and Johns Hopkins University is east, beyond Wyman Park. Hampden boasts 4,280

³³⁸ <https://npgallery.nps.gov/AssetDetail/NRIS/03001268>

³³⁹ Hampden was named for 17th C parliamentarian John Hampden,
<https://npgallery.nps.gov/AssetDetail/NRIS/04001405>

³⁴⁰ Given by John Work Garrett to his son, T Harrison and Alice Whitridge Garrett (1878-1920), inherited by John Work and Alice Warder Garrett (1920-42), donated to JHU;
<http://museums.jhu.edu/evergreen.php?section=collections&collection=the-garrett-family>

citizens in 2016.³⁴¹ Woodberry lies directly west, across Jones Falls north of Druid Hill Park, enclosed by Greenspring Avenue (west) and Cold Spring Lane (north), and is home to a light-rail station conveniently serving both communities, and the highest point in Baltimore, TV Hill. Woodberry is bordered by Park Circle or Forest Park (west) and Pimlico and Cylburn Arboretum (north).

Both communities developed as independent villages supporting nearby mills and foundries powered by Jones Falls in the early 1800's. Cotton fabric and materials, produced at the Mount Vernon and other mills,³⁴² sustained both communities until post-WWII, when the manufacturers left Baltimore.

In order to connect the grist mills with the harbor, the Falls Turnpike Road paralleled Jones Falls near stream-level until it ascended at Hampden, forming its western commercial street since 1805;³⁴³ some Second Empire-style mansions and Greek Revival churches still attest to the early importance of the road to the community. Falls Road bisects Hampden, with industry downhill or west and residences uphill or east; streets west of Falls Road and in Woodberry are canted 30° northwest (parallel to Jones Falls), while streets east of Roland Avenue return to the orthogonal.

The commercial center was along Hampden's "the Avenue," or West 36th Street, and rows of two-story brick "swell-front" laborers' housing (downhill) and larger stone managers' housing (uphill, Elm Avenue and Keswik -formerly Cedar Street-

³⁴¹ <http://statisticalatlas.com/neighborhood/Maryland/Baltimore/Hampden-Woodberry-Remington/Race-and-Ethnicity>

³⁴² The *Mount Vernon* and *Hooper* mills, and the *Poole & Hunt Foundry* (1843) were the largest USA machine manufacturing and looms; worker strikes by Baltimore's largest workforce in the 1900's and '20's for improved working conditions and wages raised the standard of living for employees, but ultimately led to the relocation of manufacturing away from Baltimore Post-WWII; Hampden and Woodberry NRHP info, <https://npgallery.nps.gov/AssetDetail/NRIS/03001326>; <https://npgallery.nps.gov/AssetDetail/NRIS/04001405>

³⁴³ Ambrose, *Remington*, 27-31

Road) met employees' needs. Leo Daft, a New Jersey professor, originated the nation's first electric-powered streetcar in Baltimore on the Hampden Line, originating at the Oak Street Car barn³⁴⁴ on 25th Street in 1885; the power was transmitted through an electrified third rail, but it was extremely hazardous if touched, and the system was dismantled in 1889 and returned to horsecars.³⁴⁵ Streetcars were electrified again in 1895, and traversed Chestnut and 36th streets, Roland Avenue (#10) or Falls Road (#25), connecting Lake Roland and Mount Washington communities with downtown; similarly-numbered buses follow the routes today; the BLR station at Union Avenue services both communities.

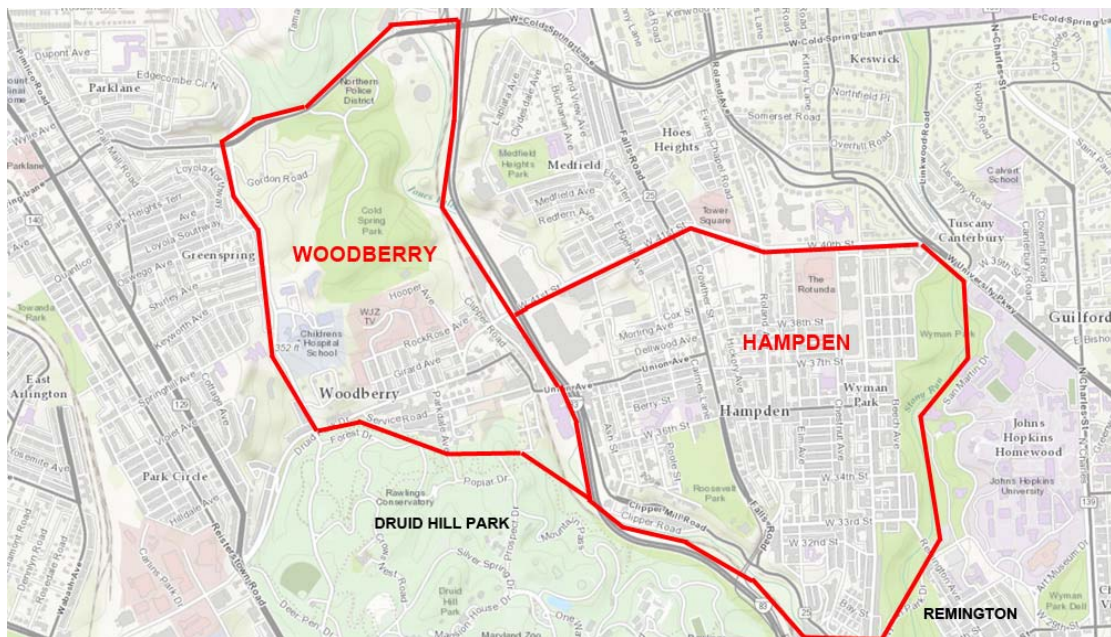


Figure 5.8: Baltimore – Hampden-Woodberry: 2017 Plan

Following a period of decay caused by the mills' closings and deep unemployment, the communities have regenerated as vibrant, residential neighborhoods proud of City-recognized annual festivals, including “HonFest”

³⁴⁴ 1885-1947 operational years; Helton, *Baltimore's Streetcars*, 32

³⁴⁵ Nixon, *Condensed History*, 3; Olson, *Baltimore*, 210

(celebrating all things Baltimorean), the “Miracle on 34th Street” Christmass event, and the “Hallowe’en House.”³⁴⁶ The Hamden Historic District is on the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP).³⁴⁷

Woodberry, a community of 3,750 residents,³⁴⁸ is joined with Hampden via the Union Avenue and 41st Street bridges. Former employee housing rides the crest of the hill (some of David Carroll’s original stone workers’ residences along Clipper Road have been renovated), while the mills step down the slopes to Jones Falls. Following a period of vacancy, the substantial mill structures (eg: the Mount Vernon and Clipper mills) have been converted to office, commercial or retail, théâtre- and studio-arts, and residential (condominium and apartment) use, and still provide visual landmarks throughout the valley.³⁴⁹ The Woodberry Historic District is joined by the Mount Vernon Mill #1, the Londontown Manufacturing Company (“London Fog” coats and jackets), and the Poole & Hunt Company Buildings (including the Clipper Mill) on the NRHP.³⁵⁰ BLR follows the west side of the valley (using the former NCRR route), and the Woodberry Station serves surrounding communities as well as the mill complexes.

Observations - Villages

Located immediately north of PEABODY HEIGHTS, these three village-communities display the resilience of Baltimore’s citizens. Perhaps part of their strength has evolved from the independence and self-reliance of their foundation and

³⁴⁶ “Hauntingdon” (at Hallowe’en, in *Remington*) preceded the “Nightmare before Christmass” festival in Hampden, both strive to out-do each other, and attract many Baltimoreans! Ambrose, *Remington*, 79

³⁴⁷ NRHP <https://npgallery.nps.gov/AssetDetail/NRIS/04001405>

³⁴⁸ <http://statisticalatlas.com/neighborhood/Maryland/Baltimore/Hampden-Woodberry-Remington/Race-and-Ethnicity>

³⁴⁹ *Woodberry Community Association*, <http://aboutwoodberry.com>, 2016

³⁵⁰ NRHP: <https://npgallery.nps.gov/AssetDetail/NRIS/73002188>

early histories, their struggles for better and safer working conditions, and their pride in their long-term association with Baltimore's industrial and transit successes. Perhaps their isolation caused by the parks containing Jones Falls and its tributaries contributed to their sense-of-place and identities. Without substantial outside assistance, they have brought about a renaissance for their "villages" which is renowned throughout the City.

- In smaller areas, sometimes containing just one neighborhood, citizens are more able to coalesce into a supportive community due to proximity, uniformity of class, ethnicity, religion, or race, or commonality of opinions, than can occur in more-diverse precincts.
- Tight-knit community groups can help a neighborhood weather difficult times. Cohesion and involvement are paramount. Consultation and inclusion in decision-making are vital to a neighborhood's success.
- Community pride can help re-animate a neighborhood; even a single "leader" or event can build recognition and appreciation which benefits the whole.
- Addressing community concerns on issues such as security, sanitation, shopping (eg: grocery and drug stores), and recreational facilities (parks, community centers, school fields) helps build confidence, understanding, and trust.
- Continuous occupation, even when routine maintenance is difficult, preserves structures, blocks, and therefore, the community. Extant livable structures enable low-overhead operations ("Mom and Pop" stores, start-ups, etc) a place to function and grow. These are the predecessors of the contemporary

phenomenon of “Incubators,” so popular at college campuses, but require far less investment capital.

- Recognition by inclusion on the NRHP as a *Historic District* indicates community awareness of the value of their built environment and encourages continued use and conservation of local structures and communities.

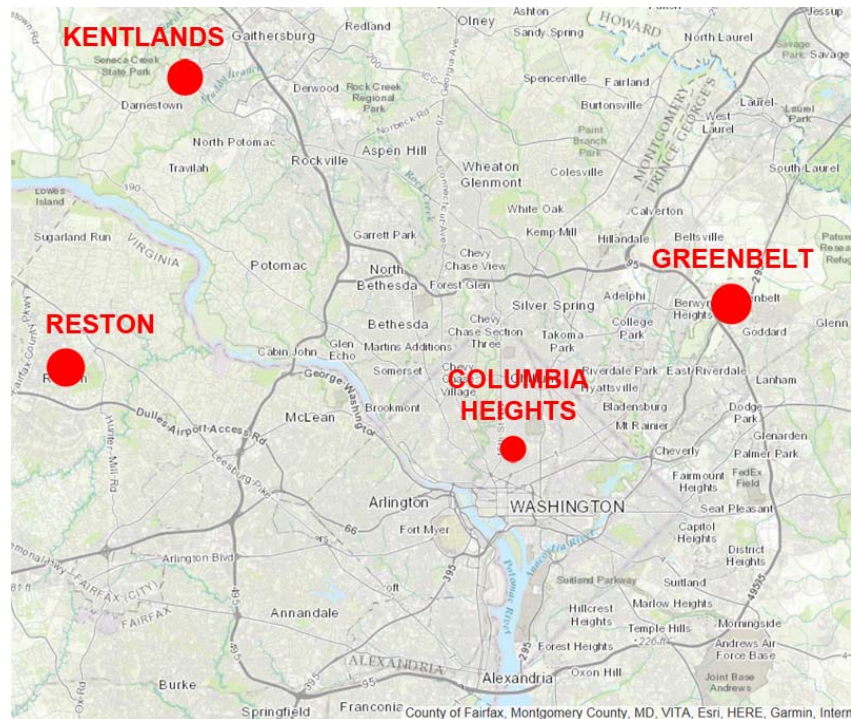


Figure 5.9: Washington, DC + New Town: Case Study locations

Washington, the District of Columbia: Overview and Development

Located about forty miles southwest of Baltimore along the Fall Line, the Nation’s Capital supplies the next case study: **Columbia Heights**, and strongly influenced the subsequent four case studies: the “New Towns” of **Greenbelt**, **Columbia**, and **Kentlands**, Maryland, and **Reston**, Virginia. The District of

Columbia's growth paralleled that of Baltimore, but whereas Baltimore was shaped by commercial and industrial forces, the District totally depended on the Federal Government, even for its operation and population growth.

Andrew Ellicott and Benjamin Banneker surveyed the ten mile square *District of Columbia* for the three commissioners appointed by President George Washington in 1791,³⁵¹ and produced maps of the L'Enfant Plan of 1791 by 1792. The Potomac was navigable as far as Great Falls (above Georgetown), and the Anacostia's primary port was Bladensburg, on the District's eastern border, until it was crippled by silt by 1800.³⁵² The Chesapeake and Ohio Canal sought to overcome transportation problems of the falls in 1828,³⁵³ but was quickly supplanted by the contemporaneous Baltimore and Ohio (B&O) Railroad, which purchased it. Turnpike roads traversed Maryland north and east from the District's inception, and the B&O commenced operations between the District and Baltimore in 1835.³⁵⁴

The siting of governmental installations at prominent geographical locations fostered early neighborhoods around the Capitol, White House, Central Market,³⁵⁵ and Navy Yard. Military preparations of the Civil War brought a tidal wave of speculators from throughout the States that transformed a docile Southern town into a noisy, vibrant city surrounded by a circuit of defensive forts, military encampments and hospitals. Governmental agencies multiplied. Former-slave encampments near military hospitals persisted after the War, and contributed African American

³⁵¹ Banneker, an educated "free black," worked for Ellicott (for whom Ellicott City was named); Thomas Johnson and Daniel Carroll of Duddington (Maryland) and David Stuart (Virginia) were the commissioners; *The City of Washington, an Illustrated History, by the Junior League of Washington*, Thomas Froncek, editor, (New York City, NY: Knoff, 1977); 48-9

³⁵² <http://www.anacostia.net/history/history.html>

³⁵³ Froncek, *Washington*, 146

³⁵⁴ Froncek, *Washington*, 161

³⁵⁵ At Eighth Street NW, mid-way between the Capitol and White House, as located by Pierre L'Enfant and Andrew Ellicott.

neighborhoods scattered throughout the District. Most of the District was characterized by mixes of incomes, ethnicities, ages, and races, but these were not homogenous, but rather, formed in isolated pockets, not unlike mortadella or capocollo.³⁵⁶ Following the War, military officers transferred their families to the District and residential enclaves quickly spread from existing neighborhoods to meet the housing demand. Local government, particularly that of Governor “Boss” Alexander Robey Shepherd (1835-1902),³⁵⁷ met the requirements of a burgeoning city through extensive water, sewer, street paving and lighting, park, and tree-planting projects.³⁵⁸

L’Enfant’s plan for the Federal City (later known as “Washington” in honor of the President) extended to the base of the escarpment, along Boundary (now Florida) Avenue; beyond were Georgetown and the villages in Washington County. The Virginia portion was retroceded in 1846.³⁵⁹ Through the Organic Act of 1871, the Federal city and county were combined, and a governmental body (presidentially-appointed governor and locally-elected assembly) was created; it was abolished in 1874 and replaced by a presidentially-appointed three-member commission.³⁶⁰ The subsequent Senate Park Commission produced the McMillan Plan of 1901,³⁶¹ which

³⁵⁶ Italian sausages with chunks of meat surrounded by interstitial meat-products or fat: though mixed, the adjacent groups often remained totally independent of each other – author; as mentioned by Kathryn Schneider Smith, Editor, *Washington at Home, An Illustrated History of Neighborhoods in the Nation’s Capital*, Second Edition, (Baltimore, Maryland: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010), 186.

³⁵⁷ Board of Works vice-chair 1871-2, governor 1873-4; Stephen A Hansen, *A History of DuPont Circle: Center of High Society in the Capital*, (Charleston, SC: The History Press, 2014), 30-7

³⁵⁸ \$6.25 million Comprehensive Plan, 1870, Hansen, *DuPont Circle*, 31

³⁵⁹ Froncek, *Washington*, 151

³⁶⁰ Hansen, *DuPont Circle*, 30-6; “Boss” Shepherd served as secretary, until his appointment as director in 1873.

³⁶¹ Named for the Chair of the *Senate Committee on the District of Columbia*, Senator James McMillan of Michigan, G Martin Moeller, *ALA Guide to the Architecture of Washington, DC*, 5th Edition, (Baltimore, Maryland, The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2012), 9; members included architects Daniel Burnham and Charles F McKim, landscape architect Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr, Charles Moore (Senator McMillan’s chief aide and secretary of the commission), and sculptor Augustus Saint-Gaudens, Froncek, *Washington*, 346

re-established L'Enfant's plan in the governmental center, and extended its alpha-numeric gridded streets throughout the District.³⁶²

WWI, the New Deal, and WWII brought further population-explosions, as citizens flooded into the Capital to serve the country (or profit therefrom). Increased wages, and the supremacy of the private automobile, generated suburban sprawl (with its attendant highway network connecting shopping and residential nodes), as well as “urban renewal” (ie: removal or demolition) of congested inner cities, notably the Southwest quadrant. Subsequent to WWII, the District's quadrants and the surrounding counties acquired discernible racial and economic characters: Northwest DC, Montgomery County, Maryland, and Northern Virginia suburbs became identified predominantly with more-wealthy European-heritage bureaucrats and professionals; Southwest DC transformed from laborers of a mixture of races and ethnographies to more-wealthy European-descended bureaucrats and professionals; Northeast, Southeast, and Anacostia DC, and Prince George's County, Maryland, as home to African American laborers and the urban poor; and Alexandria and Southern Virginia has pockets of urban poor or wealthy bureaucrats and professionals amid laborers of all races. Violence, resulting from poverty, over-crowding and demolition conditions, was expressed in the riots of 1968 and 1969, which signaled a stampede of middle-class (skilled-laborers, professionals, merchants, and bureaucrats) families (of all races and ethnicities) to the suburbs that effectively emptied the

³⁶² A narrow band of developments which were established between the *Civil War* and the turn of the 20th Century retained their abnormal street patterns, but the street names were revised to comply with the alpha-numeric system in 1904; this extended into the Maryland suburbs in 1941; <http://ghostsofdc.org/2012/04/18/old-columbia-heights-where-the-streets-have-new-names/>.

District of valuable taxpayers, killed many African American and ethnic small commercial enterprises, and decreased property values for decades.

Washington (city and county, but not Virginia) began with 8,150 residents in 1800; by 1850, the population rose to 51,690, and 20 years later it had grown to 131,700; 1900 saw 278,700 city-dwellers, 1950 peaked at 802,200, and by 2000 dropped to 572,059. With the Millennium, central-Washington population is finally rebounding, reversing the trend started in the 1950's. 2015 saw a gain of 100,000, but the quantity of children has decreased noticeably.³⁶³ Until 1950, the population's racial composition remained roughly the same: 60% of European and 30% African American heritage, with a smattering of other races comprising the final 10%. 1960 witnessed a flipping of the quantities, with 54% African Americans and 45% Europeans. In 1970, 71% and 28% figures were recorded, and 2000 reversed the 19th Century numbers: 60% African Americans to 30% Europeans. By 2014, the quantities had shifted to 49% African American, 38% European, 9% Hispanic, 3% Asian, and <1% Native American and others, 53% are female, and 35% of the population occupy the 18-34 age-bracket. The DC Metropolitan area is the sixth largest in the US, at a population of six million in 2014, of which 52% are European, 26% are African American, 14% Hispanic, 9% Asian, and 3% other; 65% are aged 18-64; 51% are female.³⁶⁴

Herdics,³⁶⁵ horsecars,³⁶⁶ and cable-cars met the incipient needs for public transit starting in the 1862,³⁶⁷ and all lines were electrified (in-ground "plows" within City

³⁶³ USA Decennial Census data, <https://matthewbgilmore.wordpress.com/district-of-columbia-population-history/>

³⁶⁴ <https://suburbanstats.org/population/how-many-people-live-in-washington-dc>

³⁶⁵ The original 16th Street NW route ran from 1877 until 1915; John Kelly, the *AnswerMan*, *Washington Post*, https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/when-a-herd-of-herdics-roamed-dc-streets/2012/01/05/gIQAlvMZhP_story.html

limits and above ground wires beyond) by 1900.³⁶⁸ The Washington Baltimore and Annapolis inter-urban connected these (and intermediate) communities from 1908-1935.³⁶⁹ There were 200 miles of track (100 of them within the City) by 1916.³⁷⁰ The first bus system commenced in 1921, and some of the streetcar companies added buses to their fleets in the 1920's. A dozen independent transit companies in the District, Maryland and Virginia were finally subsumed into a comprehensive regional electric streetcar system (known as Capital Transit) in 1933; the nation's first all-PCC fleet was installed in 1950.³⁷¹ Although streetcars were not segregated in the District and Maryland (despite repeated efforts by Southern Senators; but they were in Virginia, by law from Richmond), the first African American conductors and motormen were not hired until 1954, due primarily to Union resistance.³⁷²

Loop termini were installed in 1911, and three segments (north side of the Capitol, the 14th Street terminus at the Bureau of Engraving, and DuPont Circle's underpass) were placed underground in the 1940's.³⁷³ Transit companies were forced to divest their utility operations (including DC's PEPCo) by Congress in 1946.³⁷⁴

³⁶⁶ Omnibus from the Navy Yard to Georgetown via the Capitol and White House began in 1830; horse-drawn streetcars on rails started in 1862 along a similar route, and added routes to Boundary (Florida) Avenue along Georgia Avenue and 14th Street; these were changed to cable-cars in 1892-98; Leroy O King, Jr, *100 Years of Capital Traction*. (College Park, Md: Taylor Publishing, 1972).

³⁶⁷ The 14th Street route was originally part of a cable car system of three routes: the Capitol to Georgetown via the White House, the Navy Yard to Boundary Avenue via Georgia Avenue, and the Bureau of Engraving to Columbia Heights; Leroy O King, Jr, *Capital Traction*.

³⁶⁸ The elimination of horse-drawn vehicles and overhead wires was required by Congressional law in 1889, Leroy O King, Jr, *Capital Traction*.

³⁶⁹ Leroy O King, Jr, *Capital Traction*.

³⁷⁰ Leroy O King, Jr, *Capital Traction*.

³⁷¹ Previously, each company employed a variety of streetcar models with individual "livery" (colors and styles); the Presidents' Commission Cars (PCC) and turquoise-and-cream color for streetcars and buses standardized the system for the first time; Peter C Kohler, *Capital Transit, Washington's Street Cars: the Final Era 1933-1962*, National Capital Trolley Museum, Colesville, Maryland, 2001

³⁷² Peter C Kohler, *Capital Transit*; Leroy O King, Jr, *Capital Traction*.

³⁷³ Also, the first plans for the Metro system were proposed as an underground streetcar system in the center city in 1946; Peter C Kohler, *Capital Transit*,

³⁷⁴ Peter C Kohler, *Capital Transit*,

Capital Transit became DC Transit in 1955,³⁷⁵ which proceeded to dismantle the region's streetcar system (again, by Congressional mandate) from 1946 to 1962 in favor of buses, and with multiple Maryland-Virginia bus systems, was incorporated into WMATA in 1973,³⁷⁶ which created the Metro subway and bus system. The first Red, Blue and Orange line subway stations (including DuPont Circle) opened in 1977. Metro stations strengthened existing commercial nodes in which they were located, and generated new ones, encouraging a return to the City of younger and older government and contract workers, who were not as dependant on automobile and public education options. Their return salvaged many blighted communities, and combined with new developments and the expansion of public and private entities, has reversed the decline of population and expectations.³⁷⁷

The Capital region has continued to grow with the exponential explosion of governmental agencies and their dependant organizations, regardless of which political party was in office (either presidential or congressional) since WWII. Many groups shifted to the exurbs, filling the area within the Washington Beltway / US Route 95 / 495 and beyond, for a 20-mile radius in both Maryland and Virginia, with both residential and commercial (office or retail) suburbs. The villages of Greenbelt, Laurel, Rockville, Gaithersburg, Maryland and Vienna, Reston, and Woodbridge,

³⁷⁵ Following a paralyzing strike of streetcars and buses in Summer, 1955, and the "looting" of the system's coffers (dividends paid to investors outstripped receipts, and depleted reserves for maintenance and equipment replacement) by Louis Wolfson starting in the 1940's; Peter C Kohler, *Capital Transit*,

³⁷⁶ *Washington Metropolitan Area Transit Authority*, timeline, http://www.wmata.com/about_metro/docs/history.pdf.

³⁷⁷ <http://www.neighborhoodinfo.dc.org/censusabstract/census.html>

Virginia are now swallowed into the metropolitan region, and Chantilly, Herndon, Leesburg, Virginia and Annapolis, Maryland are at a 25-mile radius.³⁷⁸

Columbia Heights

Columbia Heights developed, grew, and failed in a similar fashion to PEABODY HEIGHTS. Its renewal has been fostered through a comprehensive charrette process and the implementation of objectives and guidelines with governmental and popular sponsorship and support.

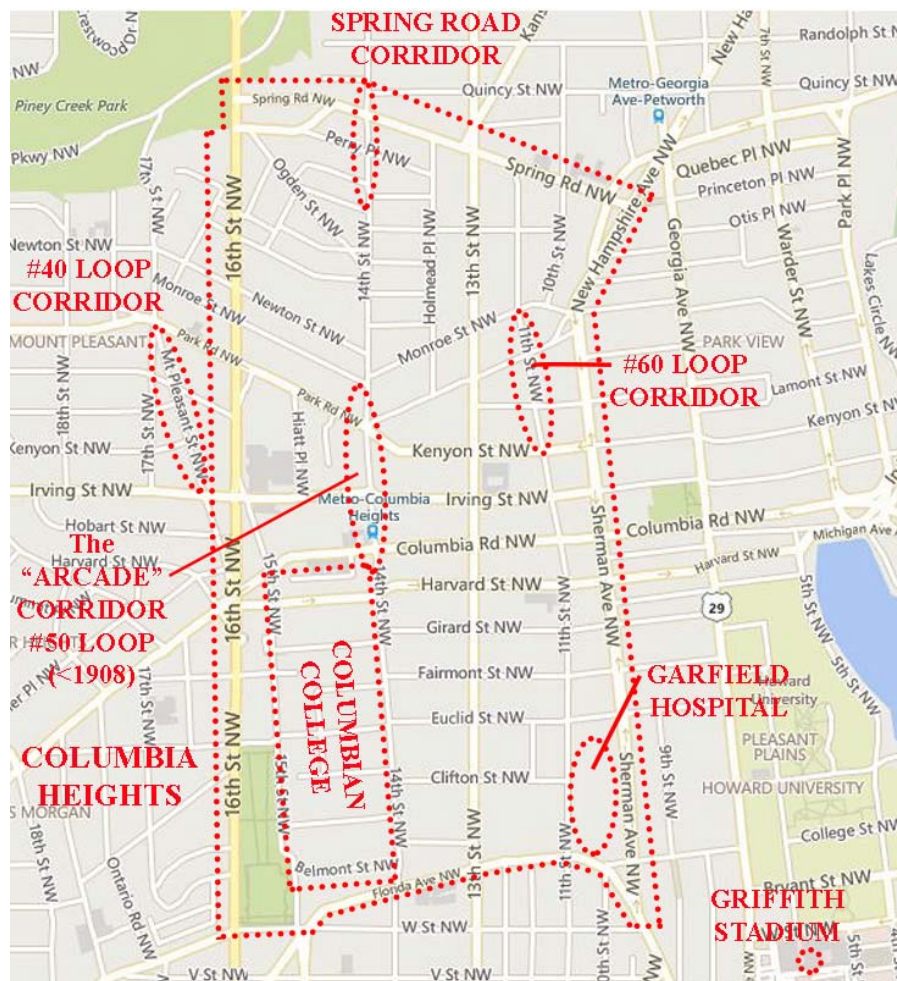


Fig. 5.10: Washington, DC – Columbia Heights: 2017 plan

³⁷⁸ Distance calculator, <http://www.distances-calculator.com/towns-within-a-radius-of.php?t=Nw%20Washington&c=DC>

Introduction & Comparison with PEABODY HEIGHTS

Columbia Heights is a neighborhood extending directly north from Florida Avenue to Spring Road, and from 10th / Sherman to 16th streets, in the Northwest quadrant of Washington, DC. It is bordered by primarily-residential 16th Streets Heights on the north, Pleasant Plains (incorporating Howard University) and Petworth (east), the U Street Corridor (south), and the 16th Street / Meridian Hill Corridor, Adams Morgan, and Mount Pleasant (west).

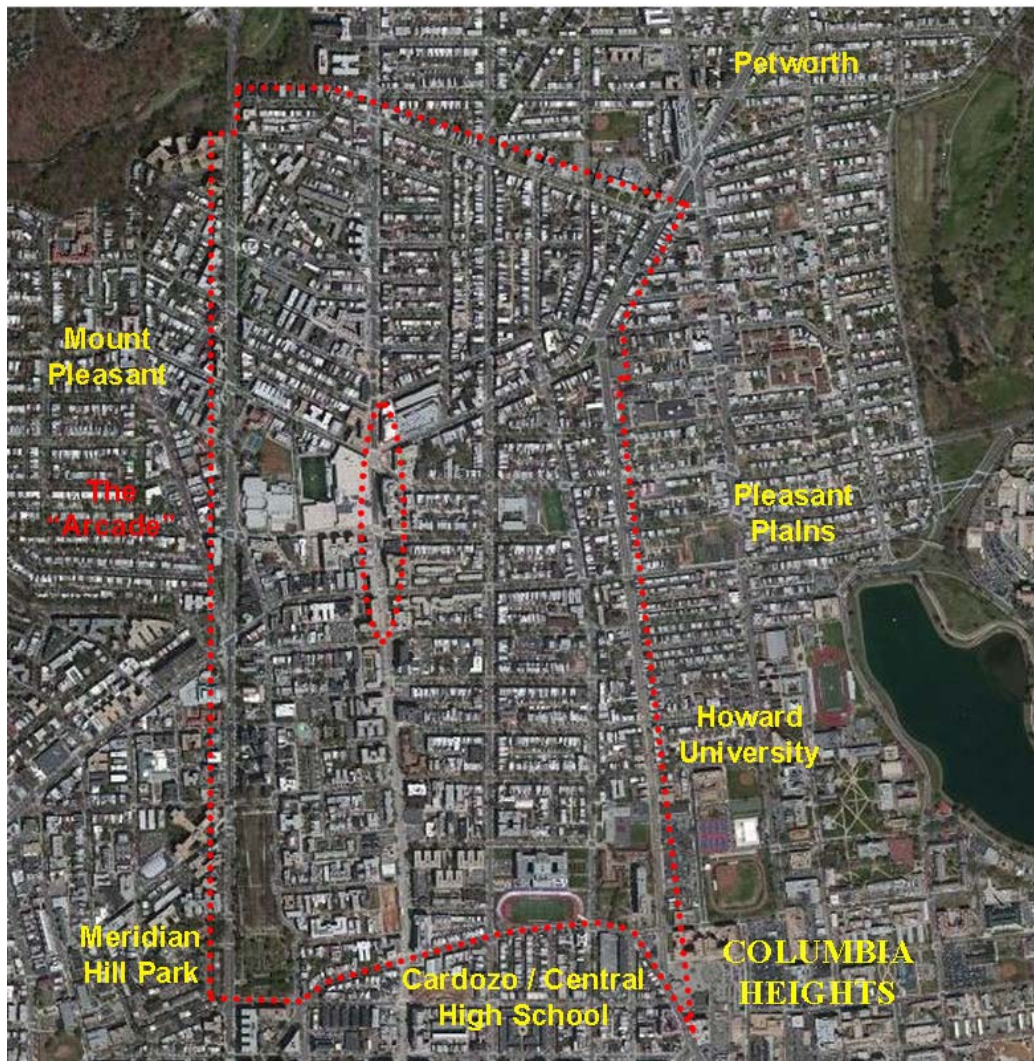


Figure 5.11: Columbia Heights – 2017 Aerial

As of 2010, Columbia Heights has 79,900 residents, of whom 44% are African American, 28% Hispanic, 23% European, 3% Asian, and 2% other; 51% are male.³⁷⁹

The Columbia Heights neighborhood of Washington, DC followed a similar trajectory as PEABODY HEIGHTS. Both are located on a gently upward-sloping plane atop the escarpment indicating separation of the Piedmont from the Mid-Atlantic Coastal Plain. Both occupied land just beyond the traditional city border which was later incorporated within the city boundaries. Both transformed large estate-farms derived from original Calvert land grants into a primarily-residential close-in urban suburb following the street-pattern of the adjacent city at the transition of the 19th and 20th centuries. Both transformations started with the installation of large, detached, single-family houses on spacious lots attracting the upper stratum of society, and later expanded to blocks of substantial masonry rowhouses aimed at professional and mercantile clientele. Both transformations were accompanied by similar primarily-residential developments to the east and west, in ever-expanding circles originating at the city-core; northern developments were almost-exclusively based upon the rowhouse model with limited nodes of retail, commercial or industrial activities. Both neighborhoods were influenced by the growth of a “major” collegiate facility early in its development, which later relocated elsewhere in the city.³⁸⁰ Both benefitted from the pioneering effects of streetcar transportation systems from their inception, and were among the final routes in service at the conclusion of the streetcar era (whose legacy continues in current intra-urban bus circulation network - right

³⁷⁹ <https://suburbanstats.org/population/how-many-people-live-in-washington-dc>

³⁸⁰ *Goucher College* at 24th Street and Charles and St Paul streets in PEABODY HEIGHTS, and *Columbian College* between 14th and 16th streets NW and Boundary Avenue and Columbia Road (named for the College) NW which gave the name to *Columbia Heights*. <https://www.gwu.edu/> <http://ghostsofcd.org/2012/04/18/old-columbia-heights-where-the-streets-have-new-names/>.

down to the route numbers). Both suffered from their proximity to the destructive social unrest following the assassination of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr, primarily through decades-long abandonment and neglect compiled upon immediate limited loss of urban fabric to fires and looting.³⁸¹ Both commenced their regeneration with the Millennium.

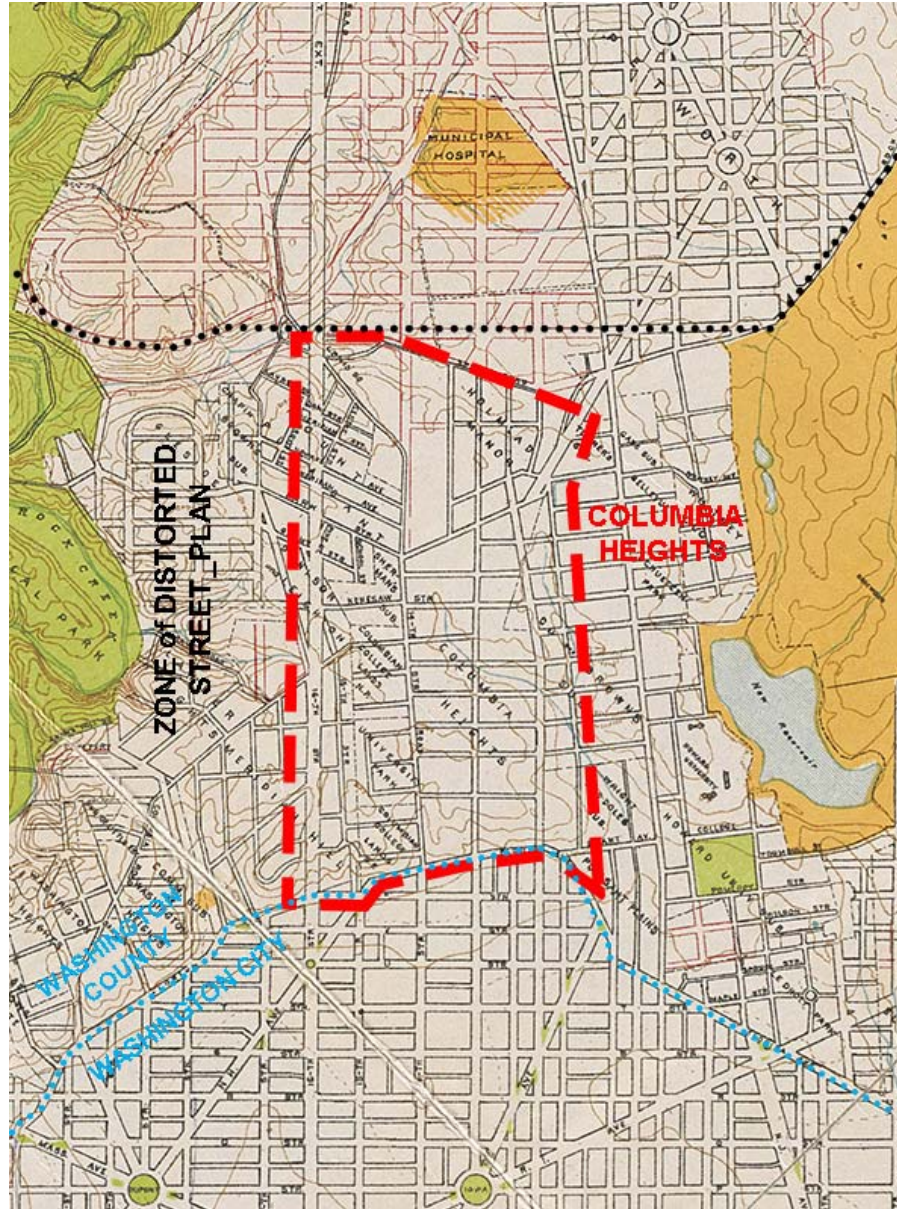


Figure 5.12: Columbia Heights – 1901 Plan: Previous conditions

³⁸¹ Riots of '68 and '69, <https://ggwash.org/view/8938/43-years-ago-today-dc-stopped-burning>;
<https://www.washingtonian.com/2008/04/01/people-were-out-of-control-remembering-the-1968-riots/>

Neither is the recipient of comprehensive historic district designation or protections, although specific buildings are nominated to the NRHP: Goucher College in Baltimore, and Tivoli Théâtre (1985), Riggs Bank / Tompkins Building (1983), and the geologist David White House (1976, also a National Historic Landmark, 1976) in Washington, DC.³⁸²

Columbia Heights developed its residential properties following a “Porchfront Block”-type of planning organization: parallel rows of housing with small front and rear yards, and private stables or garages on alleys between the rows; tertiary streets often contain only the side façades of houses fronting on the primary or secondary streets. Whereas Baltimore spread the Poppleton Plan of 1818-grid uniformly over the pre-existing agrarian landscape, the District of Columbia allowed the L’Enfant Plan-generated grid to be stretched and twisted to accommodate estates, farms and early roads beyond Boundary Avenue ³⁸³ until the re-implementation of the original grid north of Spring Road by Congressional action in 1893,³⁸⁴ supported by the McMillan Plan of 1901.³⁸⁵ Columbia Heights is situated completely in the zone of this distorted grid,³⁸⁶ permitting the attentive observer to discern missing elements, a concept which is totally absent when walking the PEABODY HEIGHTS or Baltimore plan. The former Columbian College property encouraged a street-naming convention based upon prominent colleges,³⁸⁷ and altered the development of the

³⁸² *National Register of Historic Places*, <https://npgallery.nps.gov/AssetDetail/NRIS/76002133>

³⁸³ Currently Florida Avenue

³⁸⁴ Smith, *Washington at Home*, 219

³⁸⁵ *The Report of the Senate Park Commission. The Improvement of the Park System of the District of Columbia*, Senate Park Commission, 1902; Froncek, *Washington*, 346.

³⁸⁶ Which accounts for the chevron street pattern at Park Road, the diagonal connecting with Rock Creek Park at Ogden Street, the skewed northern boundary along Spring Road, Holmead Street (mid-block between 13th and 14th streets NW), and disconnected streets (eg Harvard).

³⁸⁷ *Columbian College* was chartered by the USA Congress in 1821, erected its first building along 14th Street in 1822, became a University in 1873, changed its name to *George Washington University* in 1904, and relocated

southwest quadrant until the institution's relocation (downtown, to Foggy Bottom) in 1912, as evidenced by disconnected streets and a later housing stock.³⁸⁸ The discerning observer can detect four phases of development in Columbia Heights: the original land grant plantations (none of which exist) of the first were divided into smaller estates with substantial mansions and rows of attached houses (the majority of which still exist as single-family homes) in the second (Pre-WWI). The mansions were entirely replaced by large apartment or flat complexes,³⁸⁹ and smaller properties and churches along 14th Street NW were replaced by commercial establishments in the third (Post-WWI); these stores were eradicated during the 1968 Riots, and have been replaced by a shopping mall and high-rise apartment or condominium buildings with retail on their ground floors since the Millennium.

Similar to PEABODY HEIGHTS, large military hospital-camps were located within Columbia Heights during the Civil War, but a hospital was not part of the neighborhood's development.³⁹⁰ Churches,³⁹¹ schools, and residential asylums for the

to Foggy Bottom by 1912; George Washington University <https://www.gwu.edu/>; in 1905, street names (including Harvard, Princeton, and Yale) were changed to match Washington City's system per Congressional fiat of 1901 (McMillan Commission), <http://ghostsofcdc.org/2012/04/18/old-columbia-heights-where-the-streets-have-new-names/>

³⁸⁸ James M Goode, *Capital Losses, A Cultural History of Washington's Destroyed Buildings*, (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Books, 2003), 438-9

³⁸⁹ Approximately two dozen larger homes east of 14th Street NW; an additional two dozen occupied properties between 14th and 16th streets NW, of which none remain – most became church sites, per Sanborn map investigations by author

³⁹⁰ *Garfield Memorial Hospital* was built between 10th and 11th streets north of Boundary Avenue NW, in Pleasant Plains, in 1884; it became part of the *Washington Hospital Center* by Congressional mandate in 1946, and ceased operation in 1958; Mrs Millard (Eleanor) Tydings (wife of Sen. Tydings for whom Tydings Hall at UMD is named) was instrumental in this legislation and the formation of the hospital; <http://www.medstarwashington.org/our-hospital/media-center/media-kit/hospital-center-history/#q={ }>; *Washington Post*, the *AnswerMan*, <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2007/01/13/AR2007011301026.html>

³⁹¹ *St Stephen's Episcopal*, the *Shrine of the Sacred Heart*, and *Tiferenth Synagogue* relocated from 14th Street, but a dozen other sanctuaries are still in use, along with a half-dozen along 16th Street NW; deduced from Sanborn maps and visual inspection by author; Sanborn maps of Washington DC, 1903-16, 1928; "Insurance Maps of Washington, DC." Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps, 1867-1970. (New York, NY: Sanborn Map Co, 1903).

elderly,³⁹² indigent, or unwed mothers complete the local list of institutions, and most still occupy parcels throughout the area, although their uses may have changed.³⁹³

Pre-WWII: Development and Growth

James Holmead obtained a Calvert land grant in 1727, and named the area north of Columbia Road “Pleasant Plains”. Robert Peter owned “Mount Pleasant”, south of Columbia Road, with a house on the hill overlooking 14th Street. William Stone bought this land from Peter’s heirs, as a slave-worked plantation,³⁹⁴ and built a five-part country house circa 1840.³⁹⁵ Senator John Sherman of Ohio bought the property from Stone’s widow, Elizabeth, and coined the name “Columbia Heights” for his subdivision in 1881;³⁹⁶ his brother, General William T. Sherman of “the March to the Sea” fame, bought one of his lots on 14th Street. The Peter / Stone house was purchased by Senator (former General) John A. Logan (of Logan Circle) in the 1880’s; his family retained it until WWI.³⁹⁷ Sherman’s development partner Amzi L. Barber built the Belmont mansion nearby in 1883.³⁹⁸ Other prominent area residents included William Jennings Bryan (rented the Peter / Stone house), Chief Justice Melville Fuller, Justice John M. Harlan, Wisconsin Senator Robert LaFollette, Ralph

³⁹² Including the Jewish Home on Spring Road.

³⁹³ Nearby grew two large-property institutions which impacted community development: Clark C Griffith built the 14,000-seat stadium (later the site of *Howard University Hospital*), and *Howard University* spread along the escarpment between Georgia Avenue NW and the McMillan Reservoir – author’s observations.

³⁹⁴ Smith, *Washington at Home*, 242.

³⁹⁵ *Mount Pleasant*, Goode, *Capital Losses*, 42-3.

³⁹⁶ 121 acres, from Boundary Avenue to Park Road, 11th to 14th streets (across from the *Columbian College*); Smith, *Washington at Home*, 243; John Sherman was the author of the *Sherman Anti-Trust Act of 1890*.

³⁹⁷ Smith, *Washington at Home*, 243; it was replaced with *Wardman Court* (later *Clifton Terrace*) apartments and *Highview* apartments in 1925; Smith, *Washington at Home*, 246; Goode, *Capital Losses*, 42-3; Logan, of the GAR, proclaimed the first Memorial Day, 1868, http://www.usmemorialday.org/?page_id=2.

³⁹⁸ The house, by Theophilus P Chandler of Philadelphia, was raised in 1915, and the 10-acre estate replaced by three large and three smaller apartment houses, and many rowhouses along Clifton Street NW, and the newly-incised Belmont Street NW; Mrs Barber owned the first electric automobile (a *Columbia*) in both Washington and the nation, in 1897; Goode, *Capital Losses*, 117-19

Bunche,³⁹⁹ Smithsonian Secretary S.P. Langley, cinema-magnate Harry Crandall, authors Jean Toomer, Ambrose Bierce, and Sinclair Lewis, various bureau and police superintendents, and district commissioners. Edward K. “Duke” Ellington dwelt at 2728 Sherman (10th) Street (1918-22) in today’s Pleasant Plains neighborhood, and the Washington Senator’s star pitcher Walter Johnson dwelt at the Kenesaw Apartments, 3060 16th Street NW (1907?-16) and at 1843 Irving Street (1916-25) in the Mount Pleasant neighborhood.⁴⁰⁰



Figure 5.13: Columbia Heights – Porchfront Block

³⁹⁹ 1st African American Nobel Peace Prize awardee; for UN mediation in Palestine, 1950; http://www.nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/peace/laureates/1950/bunche-bio.html

⁴⁰⁰ https://books.google.com/books?id=8leSBRqU5CYC&pg=PA45&lpg=PA45&dq=walter+johnson+mount+pleasant&source=bl&ots=5YXU_jZK0s&sig=0iGCLaWKmil20LNrj1wb04r1F5M&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKewjzhYGAwPDLaHuDSCYKHZ6vCcMQ6AEILjAD#v=onepage&q=walter%20johnson%20mount%20pleasant&f=false; Mara Cherkasky, Mount Pleasant, Images of America series, (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publications, 2007), 45.



Figure 5.14: Wardman / Beers “Daylight” houses on a Porchfront Block (Otis Place, NW, 1909)

Harry Wardman, who started building multi-room-deep rowhouses in late-Victorian styles around 1900, hired Architect Albert H. Beers, who began designing “Daylight Houses” for Meridian Place NW on the old Mattingly / Holmead estate in 1906.⁴⁰¹ Wardman would eventually build 750 rowhouses in Columbia Heights in addition to his apartment buildings, hotels, and rowhouse developments in other parts of Northwest Washington.⁴⁰² Other developers followed suit, and an almost uniform blanket of “Daylight” rowhouses spreads from the Soldiers Home (east) to Rock Creek (west). Racial and religious deed covenants restricted home-ownership throughout Columbia Heights and Mount Pleasant, but these were not present in the Pleasant Plains or Petworth neighborhoods of similar-sized and -styled homes.

⁴⁰¹ Sally Lichtenstein Berk, *The Richest Crop: The Rowhouses of Harry Wardman (1872-1938)*, Washington DC Developer, (thesis, George Washington University, 1989), 86, 98-101; <http://ghostsofcdc.org/2012/04/18/plate42-1024x>.

⁴⁰² Smith, *Washington at Home*, 245; Berk, *The Richest Crop*, 98.

Mrs. John B. (née Mary N. Foote) Henderson encouraged the erection of foreign embassies along 16th Street NW between Florida Avenue and Columbia Road,⁴⁰³ as part of her vision for a grand “Avenue of Presidents” leading to the White House,⁴⁰⁴ most of the ambassadorial functions have relocated, but the housing remains (except hers),⁴⁰⁵ as does Meridian Hill or Malcolm X Park. The intersection of 16th and Euclid streets NW (at the top of the escarpment) was under consideration as the site for the proposed Lincoln Memorial along with the Mall location, prior to its construction in the 1920’s.⁴⁰⁶

Washington, as the home of the Federal Government, never developed a substantial industrial component, as did Baltimore, and the little that existed grew around the Georgetown and Alexandria docks, the Navy Yard and the Arsenal (later renamed Fort M^cNair), and the railyards along New York Avenue NE. Consistent with other District neighborhoods, industrial functions were limited to stabling animals, coal and fuel yards, dray and taxi services, and construction activities, all hidden along alleys in the middle of the blocks adjacent to the commercial corridor between 14th and 16th Streets south of Park Road.⁴⁰⁷ A major exception was the streetcar barn at the end of the 14th Street NW (#50’s) line at the southwest corner of Park Road from 1892 until 1908.

⁴⁰³ Columbia Heights’ western border.

⁴⁰⁴ She convinced Congress to change the name in 1913; she hired GO Totten to design a dozen mansions; she convinced Congress (1910) to build *Meridian Hill Park*, designed by HE Peaslee in 1914 and built by CH Thompson (Riggs-Thompson Building, footnote 418) from 1915-29, mosaic-pebble (exposed-aggregate) concrete designed and developed by John Joseph Earley (1881-1945), who also worked on the Dumbarton Bridge and the Franciscan monastery; Goode, *Capital Losses*, 130-1.

⁴⁰⁵ *Henderson’s Castle*, 1888-1949, Eugene C. Gardner (1888), T Franklin Schneider (1892), and GO Totten (1902), Goode, *Capital Losses*, 130-1.

⁴⁰⁶ John Russell Pope (1874-1937) considered two sites (Meridian Hill, and the Soldiers’ Home – near the Lincoln Cottage) in 1911, in addition to multiple designs for West Potomac Park, later site of Henry Bacon’s masterpiece; <http://www.history.com/news/the-lincoln-memorials-bizarre-rejected-designs>.

⁴⁰⁷ 15th Street NW veers west along *Meridian Hill / Malcolm X Park*, and joins with 16th Street at Irving Street NW, creating a large east-west blocks; *WT Warthen* (coal and wood), *GA Hundley* (wood) and *John H Green Livery* are among those who inhabited these alleys; Sanborn maps of Washington, DC, 1903-16.

Circulation: Transit

Regular, frequent, relatively-cheap transit provided access to or from governmental centers, and one of the original three routes (#50 / 14th Street NW) bisected the neighborhood by 1892.⁴⁰⁸ It was joined by another original route, the #70 (Georgia Avenue NW, horsecars - 1873, electrified – 1890-1960), #40 route (1873 to DuPont Circle, extended to Mount Pleasant and electrified - 1900-1961, loop installed - 1911) and the #60 route (11th Street NW corridor connecting Anacostia to Monroe Street, horsecars - 1875, electrified 1900-1961, loop installed - 1911); the #50 lines were among the final-operating lines in 1962; and all have been replaced by buses with similar numbers.⁴⁰⁹ The #H buses initiated cross-town east-west service in 1922, intersecting the north-south lines in the neighborhood, and today's WMATA Metro station, at Irving Street NW, and the S-4 (1921, direct to Silver Spring) and S-2 (1926, diverts along Alaska Avenue) buses replaced the Herdics on 16th Street.⁴¹⁰

Commercial and Mercantile

A compact, but vibrant, retail or commercial area formed around the Richardsonian Romanesque “Arcade,”⁴¹¹ which in 1910 transformed the streetcar barn into a multi-function facility supporting a 32-stall market-house, two grocers, four delicatessens, bakers and other shops on the ground level. A billiard hall,

⁴⁰⁸ A horsecar line traversed from the Treasury to Boundary (Florida) Avenue starting in 1862; it was converted to cable-car as one of three lines, extended to Park Road, and a carbarn erected in 1892, it was electrified in 1898 following the catastrophic loss of the main cable-powerhouse and offices (where the District Building stands today) in 1897, and extended in 1908 to Colorado Avenue and the Decatur Street carbarn, with later intermittent connections to Takoma Park starting in 1910; www.ChicagoRailFan.com, and John DeFerrari, *Capital Streetcars: Early Mass Transit in Washington, D.C.* (The History Press, 2015).

⁴⁰⁹ ChicagoRailFan.com, Peter C Kohler, *Capital Transit*, 164-191, 334-45.

⁴¹⁰ ChicagoRailFan.com.

⁴¹¹ Neighbor Emile Berliner, the inventor of the *Gramophone* and an airplane and helicopter pioneer, was an early investor; Smith, *Washington at Home*, 246

bowling alley, 2,600-seat auditorium, and ballroom, completed the complex on the second; a dance pavilion was located on the roof.⁴¹² The “Arcadia” was expanded in 1926 to include a gymnasium or arena seating 10,000 where Washington’s first professional basketball team Washington Palace 5 or “Laundrymen” performed and DC’s first professional indoor tennis tournament was held, featuring “Big Bill” Tilden.⁴¹³ A “chain” drug store and grocery followed the car-barn’s demolition in 1947, and remained until they were lost during the Riots of April, 1968.⁴¹⁴ The Tivoli Théâtre, a 1924 Mediterranean Revival complex with shops, offices, and a 2,500 seat cinema,⁴¹⁵ was the first built by Harry Crandall following the Knickerbocker tragedy,⁴¹⁶ on the former site of Sacred Heart Church at the northeast corner.⁴¹⁷ Corcoran and Riggs bank erected a commercial block in a Stripped Classical limestone building on the northwest corner, originally the site of the Berwick Hotel,⁴¹⁸ which later was expanded northwards to replace the Hotel Stratford,⁴¹⁹ and

⁴¹² The Arcade in Columbia Heights, “Washington’s Madison Square Garden” | <http://www.streetsofashington.com/2014/04/the-arcade-in-columbia-heights.html>; Smith, *Washington at Home*, 246

⁴¹³ The team was sponsored by the *Palace Laundry*, Smith, *Washington at Home*, 246; and owned by George Preston Marshall (later owner of the *Washington Redskins* football team); Harry Crandall was one of the investors; *the Arcade*.

⁴¹⁴ *Peoples Drug* (now CVS) and *Safeway*; *the Arcade*.

⁴¹⁵ Per societal conventions of the time, the TW Lamb-designed Tivoli was a segregated house, with 800 orchestra seats for European-Americans and 1,700 seats in double balconies for African Americans, two separate entries (orchestra on 14th Street and balcony on Park Road) both with lighted marquees; a full stage, orchestra pit, and théâtre-organ. Significantly, as a beloved high-quality cinema it escaped the fate of other 14th Street théâtres (some as close as a half-block south) – destruction by fire in the April, 1968 Riots; [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tivoli_Theatre_\(Washington,_D.C.\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tivoli_Theatre_(Washington,_D.C.)); <http://cinematreasures.org/theaters/761>; <http://historicsites.dcpreservation.org/items/show/599>.

⁴¹⁶ Washington’s largest loss of life in a single incident prior to the 9-11 attack on the Pentagon, Crandall’s relatively-new *Knickerbocker*, at 18th Street and Columbia Road NW in the heart of Adams Morgan, collapsed under the weight of the area’s deepest snowfall (the *Knickerbocker Storm*: 28” on 28 January, 1922), just as the orchestra launched into a comedy’s intermezzo; it was rebuilt by Crandall as the *Ambassador*, which remained until 1960; demolished and replaced by a bank and police station in 1978; the auditorium is marked by a plaza; <http://cinematreasures.org/theaters/7626>.

⁴¹⁷ The *Shrine of the Sacred Heart*, red brick chapel built in 1901, relocated one block west, to 16th Street and Park Road NW, in 1922, where it continues to serve the neighborhood - author.

⁴¹⁸ Bank designed by GN Ray, along with its branch in *DuPont Circle*, in 1922; Smith, *Washington at Home*, 246; erected by CH Tompkins as an early example of re-inforced concrete construction; the interior is largely unaltered from its 1922 appearance; Tompkins also constructed the exposed-aggregate concrete work at *Meridian Hill Park* (1916-29) (refer to footnote 404); NRHP nomination, 1987.

housed the first DC radio station for NBC.⁴²⁰ The retail corridor extended south from Park Road for three blocks, and provided higher-end shopping opportunities for neighboring segregated communities (Columbia Heights shopping district was in direct competition with DuPont Circle's, and F Street's multiple shops adjacent to the city's major department stores). J. Willard and Alice Marriott opened the first A&W Root Beer franchise in Washington, adding hot food to the menu thereby creating their "Hot Shoppes," on 14th Street NW near Irving Street in 1927.⁴²¹ Other smaller-scale commercial areas (shops at grade surmounted by residences, usually limited to two-stories in height) were developed at the streetcar loops at 11th Street / the #60⁴²² and Mount Pleasant / #40 lines, and along 14th Street NW in the blocks immediately north and south of Spring Road. The majority of Columbia Heights' land use was (and remains) Porchfront Block residential, except for the limited 11th and 14th street commercial corridors. Only ten corner stores with flats above were constructed among the neighborhood residences, and six of these are located along 10th / Sherman Street, one per intersection from Fairmont Street to Park Road NW; one single-story store was constructed at 13th Street and Park Road NW.⁴²³

⁴¹⁹ The Tompkins Building, 1922; Billiard Room addition, 1926; Riggs Bank addition for US Post Office, 1928; listed on NRHP, 1987, <https://npgallery.nps.gov/GetAsset/de77855b-78ff-44dc-b81b-ee5272d88534>

⁴²⁰ The *University of Maryland Glee Club* performed the University's first artistic radio show 18 March, 1924, as indicated in the Diamondback, 18 March, 1924; WRC's twin 100'-high transmission masts were erected with the building and remained until the 1950's, and WRC retained offices / studios here until 1930; NRHP Nomination, 1987.

⁴²¹ *Hot Shoppes* began delivering the first prepared food to airlines via (*Ronald Regan*) *National Airport* at *Herbert Hoover Field* in 1937; <http://www.marriott.com/about/culture-and-values/history.mi#earlyyears>

⁴²² 11th Street supported commercial only for three blocks on its west side at the loop, and its southern-most block lost its commercial buildings to demolition for the Harriet Tubman Elementary School in 1970, following the Riots of 1968; prior to 1907, Washington streetcar lines segregated by use-groups, with the 11th Street line serving African Americans parallel to the Georgia Avenue (#70) and 14th Street lines, and accessing development areas without racial restrictions or "covenants"; in general, segregation was prevented on streetcars in the District and the Maryland suburbs by local entities, in response to repeated efforts by Southern legislators – segregation in Virginia was permitted and regulated by Richmond; Leroy O King, Jr, *Capital Traction*. Peter C Kohler, *Capital Transit*.

⁴²³ Nearly-all of the rowhouses along 14th Street, between Monroe and Shepherd streets have been converted into shops with flats above; many are being demolished or "expanded" with additional floors – author.



Figure 5.15: 14th St NW: Corner store with flats above

Figure 5.16: Otis St: Converted corner store

Institutional

The similarity of Columbia Heights to PEABODY HEIGHTS is echoed in its institutions. Six public schools were located in the neighborhood: Central High School became Cardozo High School in 1949; the James Ormond Wilson Normal School #162 has been transformed into the Carlos Rosario International Public Charter School (for adults); Johnson Public School and the Charles F. Powell Junior High School were replaced by Bell Multicultural High School and Lincoln Multicultural Middle School in 2006; the John W. Ross Elementary School moved to R Street NW in 1935, and it's structure was replaced by the Harriet Tubman Elementary School in 1970; the Eugene Meyer Elementary School (closed in 2008) has become a temporary home of renovating schools, currently the Duke Ellington School for the Arts; and the Bruce School became the Cesar Chavez Public Charter School for Public Policy; Central Presbyterian Church (and the T. Woodrow Wilson Sunday School Building – he was a congregant) was transformed into the Capital City Charter School and the Barbara Chambers Children Center in 2012; Banneker

Academic High School and Raymond Elementary School lie just beyond the neighborhood's borders, as does the Sacred Heart Bilingual School.

Twenty-one church-buildings remain in the area, although many of them have changed congregations and denominations. None of the four denominations which had originally located on 14th Street are still there, but rather have relocated to 16th Street; a dozen other church-buildings have been replaced by residential or commercial buildings. Main-line and independent Protestant churches predominate, but Roman Catholic (Shrine of the Sacred Heart), Latter Day Saints-Mormon (Holmead Road), Unitarian (All Souls), and Unification (Sun Myung Moon, in the former Mormon national temple) churches are also represented; there is no longer a synagogue in the neighborhood.

Post-WWII: Decline

With the elimination of racial residential covenants throughout the 1940's, the re-allocation of separate-but-equal public schools following the Supreme Court *Brown v Board of Education* ruling of 1954,⁴²⁴ and the ever-expanding automobile suburbs providing detached home-ownership opportunities, the Columbia Heights demographics shifted racially and ethnically as its name changed to "Cardozo," but remained a haven for "white collar" government employees, until the Riots of 1968 and 1969. The neighborhood rapidly depopulated, as both residents (of all races and ethnicities) and institutions (such as the Jewish Home) decamped for the suburbs,

⁴²⁴ With a shrinking population supporting DC's finest educational campus at *Central High School* on Columbia Height's eastern border, and the grossly-overcrowded business-oriented *Cardozo High School*, the City decided to combine the facilities into an integrated *Cardozo High School* in 1950; Smith, *Washington at Home*, 251.

leaving their buildings vacant. The Tivoli closed in 1976.⁴²⁵ Blocks of fire-demolished shops were leveled by the City,⁴²⁶ and remained barren or used for temporary storage of the Green Line Metro tunnel spoils until the Millennium. 14th Street NW was excavated to access the tunnel, creating an impassible gash (except at Irving Street, and north of Park Road) dividing the community. Neighborhood religious groups sought city-funded or self-sponsored low-income housing along the escarpment throughout the 1970's and 1980's, but little else was constructed. Nob Hill, a long-term African American bar catering to Gay males, kept the 11th Street (former-streetcar terminus) corridor alive, when little else was functioning. Latin American immigrants filled the rowhouses as they spread east from Adams Morgan and Mount Pleasant in the 1990's.



Figure 5.17: “Allegro” 3300 block of 14th St NW
(Retail at grade, flats above, parking below)



Figure 5.18: “Tivoli Square” 1300 Monroe St NW
(Row and apartment housing at left, retail at right)

⁴²⁵ Smith, *Washington at Home*, 253; The City later assumed ownership, and removed its seating for the renovation of the *Lincoln Theatre* (one of the primary historic “Black Houses”) whose rebirth contributed to the revival of “Black Broadway” in the U Street NW corridor.

⁴²⁶ 14th Street NW businesses sustained the worst damage in the District; of 200 14th Street businesses in 1967, 35 remained in 1980. Smith, *Washington at Home*, 253; H Street NE, the 7th Street NW Corridor, U Street NW, and parts of 17th Street NW in Mount Pleasant also sustained looting and burning over two summers; <https://ggwash.org/view/8938/43-years-ago-today-dc-stopped-burning>; <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/metro/specials/mlk40/map/>; Morton’s Department Store in the northern portion of the Tompkins Building was also destroyed by fire and looting; op cit, NRHP nomination, 1987.

Millennium: Rebirth

Around the Millennium, the advent of WMATA's Metro Green Line completion to Fort Totten⁴²⁷ led to a community design charrette which formulated a plan and guidelines for redevelopment of the 14th Street NW commercial corridor. City government agencies compelled private developers to follow the guideline principles, resulting in a highly-successful Mixed Use complex of multi-story owned and rental residential units above street-level commercial, with below-grade parking. The re-application of the area's name "Columbia Heights" for the Metro Station corresponded to its application to the entire neighborhood by real estate agents, and re-adoption by the District's populace. The Tivoli's upper balcony was converted into the GALA Hispanic Theatre,⁴²⁸ while the rest of the building is used for retail and office space – remnants of the grand lobbies and the proscenium are traceable in street-level restaurants which occupy their former locations. Riggs Bank changed operators through the 1990's bank-merger processes, and the business block remains as retail below subsidized senior housing.⁴²⁹ The City's first in-town shopping mall, DC USA, has demonstrated that an urban model can successfully host "large box" retailers.⁴³⁰ Similarly, a major supermarket chain installed parking above a suburban-quality and -sized store,⁴³¹ leading other general and specialty grocers to transform or build their facilities, vastly improving the quality of food shopping throughout the

⁴²⁷ Opened in September, 1999; <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/local/daily/sept99/greenline17.htm>

⁴²⁸ *Grupo de Artistas Latino-Americano*, founded in 1976 by Hugo and Rebecca Read Medrano, relocated to the Tivoli in 2005 (its first permanent home); <http://en.galatheatre.org>

⁴²⁹ PNC bank occupies the Riggs space, and the Samuel Kelsey Senior apartments the former commercial space above; <http://www.winncompanies.com/washington/samuel-kelsey/>

⁴³⁰ "Urban" v "Suburban" model (with store surrounded by surface parking); metro access, easily-accessible parking; a major player in the revitalization of the neighborhood and improvement of shopping in the City; opened in 2008; 890,000 gsf / 83,000 m²; <http://www.shopdcusa.com>

⁴³¹ *Giant Food LLC* – 2004; first DC supermarket opened by *Giant* at Georgia Avenue and Park Road in 1936, <http://www.grocereria.com/store/regional-chains/giant-food-washington-dc>

District. The remainder of the “Tivoli Square” block and the former Giant supermarket’s location and street-facing parking lot were converted to residential sites:⁴³² 4-story “Traditional” rowhouse-flats at the former and the “Allegro” Apartments (5-story “Craftsman-Art Deco” with parking below grade) at the latter. The Dance Institute of Washington built a new facility opposite the Tivoli, which opened in 2006, and the Greater Washington Urban League relocated into the retained exterior rowhouse block (but gutted the interiors) formerly occupied by the Hines Funeral Home at 14th and Harvard streets NW in 2004.⁴³³ “Mom and Pop” shops occupy recently-exposed “English Basements” and first floors of Wardman rowhouses along 14th Street NW, but the interior blocks remain residential, even though, sadly, many are being stripped of their interior woodwork and room arrangements as owners and contractors convert single-family-with-accessory-unit rowhouses into two or three unit flats, based upon suburban models. The Nob Hill bar closed, and was re-incarnated as the Wonderland Ballroom in 2004, igniting re-investment in the former 11th Street NW loop, which has since blossomed into a restaurant haven.⁴³⁴ The Tubman, Bell-Lincoln, and Cardozo schools sit aside large recreational fields; playgrounds have been installed at 14th and 15th streets along Girard Street NW. Meridian Hill / Malcolm X Park remains the largest formal park

⁴³² *Giant* foods opened a new vaulted-roof store at 14th and Newton streets NW in 1967, just two blocks south of the *Danzansky Funeral Home* (1923-73); <https://parkviewdc.com/2016/06/24/admiring-historic-buildings-danzansky-funeral-home-the-washington-urban-league-building> ; (Joseph Danzansky was president and later chairman of *Giant*, twice president of the *Washington Board of Trade*, chairman of the *Pennsylvania Avenue Development Corporation*, and supporter of the *Poor People’s Campaign of 1968*); https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/local/1979/11/09/joseph-b-danzansky-dies-at-age-65/c1dfb0cb-8ece-4aae-a42d-66ff1a00637b/?utm_term=.3a590961312b ; it was the staging ground for relief efforts following the initial riots of 1968, providing neutral space for both rioters and security forces, according to area residents’ recollections – author.

⁴³³ They occupied the former *Danzansky Funeral Home* at 14th Street and Otis Place, NW, 1974-2004); built as a row of private residences in 1910, 2901-7 were transformed by Stephen Hines into a funerary establishment, and housing for family and employees from 1920-84; <http://www.victoriansecrets.net/hines.html>, 2002.

⁴³⁴ <http://dc.eater.com/2014/8/28/6164227/wonderland-ballrooms-owners-talk-10-years>.

in the neighborhood, while an informal dog park is maintained by WMATA at 11th and Lamont streets NW. Bicycle lanes have been painted on 11th, 14th and 15th streets, but not any of the East-West cross-streets. The neighborhood population is growing, but a perception of “gentrification” is countered by maintaining and encouraging a mix of ages, incomes, races, ethnicities, and occupations, though not without struggles (the quantities of children-residents continues to decline in both the neighborhood and the District).

Zoning

The District of Columbia government established a zoning ordinance administered by appointed commissioners in 1920, subsequent to New York City’s inaugural ordinance of 1916. Three characteristics were regulated: heights (confirming with the limits of the Height of Building Act of 1899 amended by the Act of 1910, which are still in effect), land use (residential, commercial 1 and 2, and industrial), and lot occupancy. 1938 saw the expansion of zoning regulations, police powers and enforcement, public hearings, the exemption of Federal properties (but their review and regulation by National Capital Planning Commission), and the creation of a Board of Zoning Adjustment (BZA). The Zoning Ordinance of 1958 co-ordinated and modified DC Zoning through the creation of a Comprehensive Plan and basic zoning districts. With the Home Rule Act of 1973, the mayor and City Council appoint commissioners, rather than the Federal Government.⁴³⁵

⁴³⁵ <https://dcoz.dc.gov/page/dc-zoning-history>

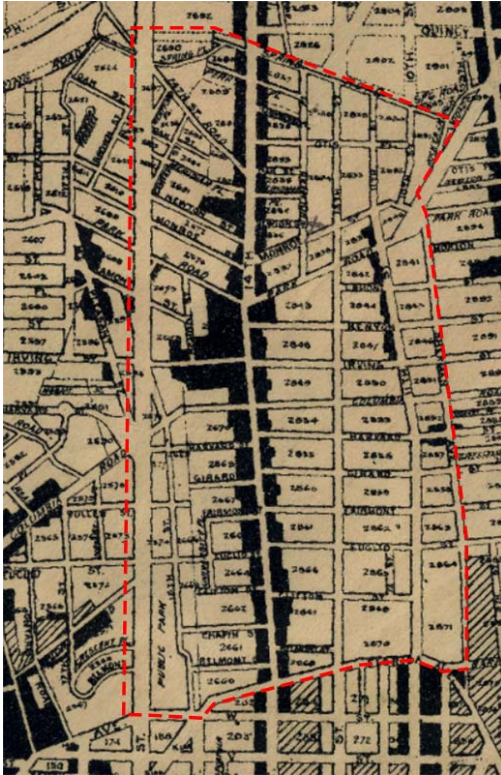


Figure 5.19: Columbia Heights – 1924 Zoning
(Black = commercial / mixed use)

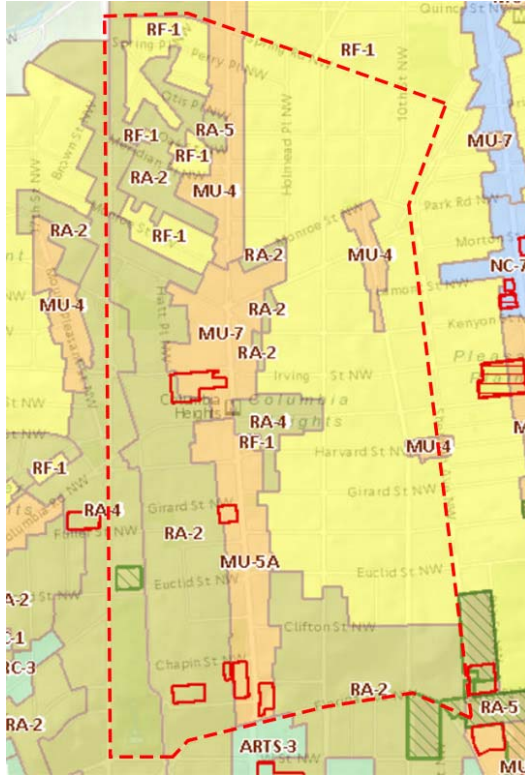


Figure 5.20: 2017 Zoning
(Orange = mixed use; yellow = residential)

Unlike PEABODY HEIGHTS, the Columbia Heights, and adjacent, neighborhoods, are in residential zones (clear-1924, yellow-2017), except for narrow strips of more-commercial (Mixed Use = black or orange) properties along Mount Pleasant, 14th, 11th (from Kenyon to Monroe) streets, and Georgia Avenue NW, which incorporate street-abutting buildings and property to natural borders (eg: alleys). The vast majority of properties between 14th and 16th streets possess multi-unit residences (eg: mid-rise apartments = green) per code-restrictions, whereas east of 14th Street NW, two to three-story single-family rowhouses (some with inhabited auxiliary units, eg: “English Basements”, yellow) are nearly universal. Garages are common, and a handful of corner stores are liberally sprinkled throughout the neighborhoods (while

most are gathered at the commercial strips).⁴³⁶ Although the Zoning maps have been updated regularly since 1958, property assignments have not deviated much from their original designations within Columbia Heights. The consistency of zoning categories, and the insistence on maintaining the residential character of the neighborhood, have encouraged appropriate commercial growth along the corridors and the retention and expansion of nearby residential uses, similar to the rest of the District, contrary to the massive loss of residential fabric at PEABODY HEIGHTS.

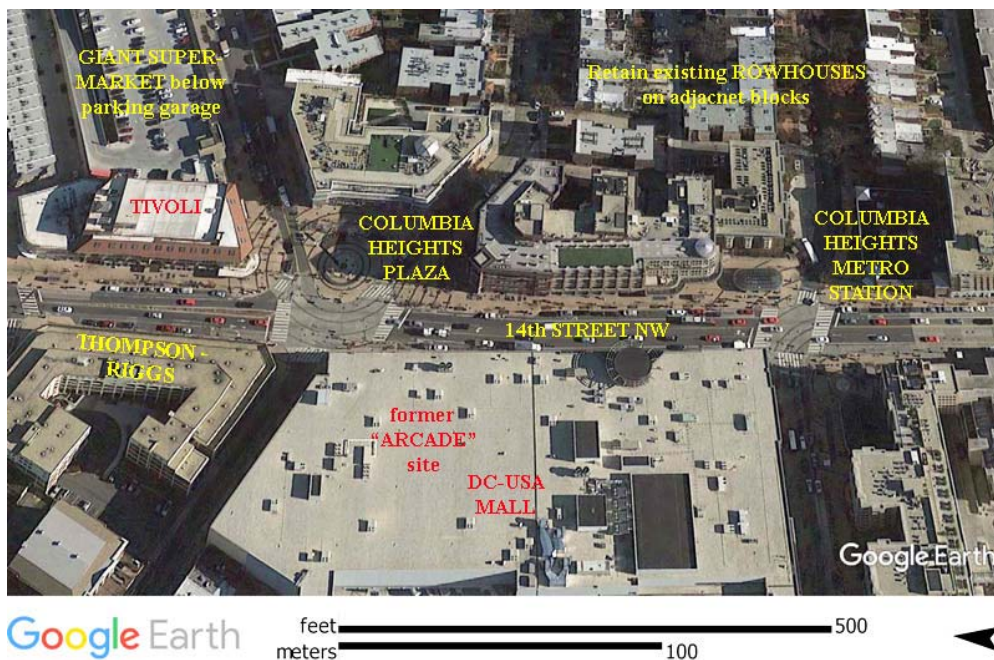


Figure 5.21: Columbia Heights Plaza and 14th Street NW commercial area (the “Arcade”) – 2017

Community Design Charrette

On the weekend of 14 November, 1997, 300 residents and designers, assembled by the Development Corporation of Columbia Heights (DCCH), the DC Department of Housing and Community Development (DoHCD), and the DC Redevelopment Land Agency (RLA), assisted by the Urban Design Committee of the Washington

⁴³⁶ 2016 DC Zoning map, <http://dcoz.dc.gov/page/zoning-maps-district-columbia>

Architectural Foundation (WAF),⁴³⁷ the Enterprise Foundation, and the DC Local Initiatives Support Corporation (DC LISC), strategized goals and a master plan with design guidelines for the Columbia Heights section of 14th Street NW. Charrette workshops of small groups of residents led by three-person staffs of design professionals and community leaders identified community and resident needs, key current elements (some successful and some not) and changes needed for success, and development scenarios and design objectives. The results were studied by a design task force to produce the master plan and design guidelines, which were reported back to the charrette participants and other community members for further input, prior to submittal to the RLA for adoption. The RLA-step demonstrated the District Government's commitment to both the process and the community-based plan.⁴³⁸

Some of the charrette goals included:

- Prioritize neighborhood over District and visitor needs
- “Complete Streets”⁴³⁹ (pedestrian, shaded, attractive, multi-modal, adjust traffic patterns as needed to accomplish desired results)
- Limited street parking; no surface parking lots; parking within garages (preferably below-grade)
- Grade-level retail encouraging 24-hour activity
- Plaza for civic functions
- Architectural compatibility with existing structures and neighborhood

⁴³⁷ A subsidiary of the Washington, DC chapter of the American Institute of Architects, which co-ordinates design competitions, and provides design services for non-profit organizations, educational programs for school children, and scholarships, in the Washington, DC Metropolitan Area; <http://www.aiadc.com/waf>.

⁴³⁸ *14th Street Design Charrette a Success*, <http://archive-org-2014.com/open-archive/3805751/2014-03-05/http://innercity.org/columbiaheights/economic/aia.html>

⁴³⁹ This title was not developed until 2005 by the *National Complete Street Coalition*, but similar principles were expressed during this charrette – author; <https://www.fhwa.dot.gov/publications/publicroads/10julaug/03.cfm>

- Building and zoning code heights and densities observed; careful study of effects on adjacent residential neighborhoods
- The Tivoli Théâtre should be retained for adaptive use
- Renovate abandoned housing as well as providing new multi-unit buildings.

A Community-based Plan for the Columbia Heights Metro Station Area led to the *Columbia Heights Public Realm Framework* report by the DC Office of Planning in October, 2004. The Framework's goals include: strengthen community identity, celebrate diversity, create a lively urban experience, make it easy to walk, make public transit convenient, and make it safe, and the report included substantial design guidelines.⁴⁴⁰ Important wide-ranging community support (including the District Government's adoption and insistence on the design guidelines for development) followed the charrette: newspaper articles championed the retention and re-use of the Tivoli Théâtre as well as other significant structures, developers challenged and were held accountable to zoning and guideline recommendations, "big box" stores were persuaded to try "urban solutions" (eg: parking garages below compact multi-level stores built to the front property lines; successes here have led to willingness to try these approaches at other District locations by other corporations), and consensus was sought among competing interests. The result has been a successful compact dense multi-use and multi-modal shopping district of new and adapted buildings which serves the neighborhood and District residents and visitors, increased area diversity and population, and provided much-needed employment. Abandoned residences in the area have been rehabilitated, and vacant lots have been filled with new construction, primarily housing. A vigorous debate on "pop ups" (expansion to fill

⁴⁴⁰ *Columbia Heights Public Realm Framework*, DC Office of Planning, October, 2004,

allowable buildable area, in particular raising the building height to accommodate zoning-permitted floor additions) is happening throughout the District, as developers transform single-family residences into multi-unit flats.



Figure 5.22: 3461 block 14th Street NW



Figure 5.23: 3431 block 14th Street NW – “Pop ups”

Observations - Columbia Heights

Similar to PEABODY HEIGHTS in many aspects, the Columbia Heights neighborhood flourished as transit enabled the District’s northward residential expansion. Fear of violence coupled with the siren-call of suburban housing options and governmental agencies’ relocations led to an emptying of much of the urban core, including Columbia Heights. Its name returned with the opening of a Metro station, and the District’s first urban mall shopping structure added to its luster. But the quality of the urban refurbishment along 14th Street NW is due to a co-ordinated whole-community supported charrette and project implementation process.

- Prioritizing neighborhood values and concerns, in concert with provisions for city-wide and visitor needs and desires, engenders solutions which are beneficial to all who people a neighborhood.
- A well-co-ordinated charrette process can incorporate neighborhood and agency concerns and suggestions to produce a substantive high-quality

concept, and can be brought to fruition with governmental support and commitment in meeting the design requirements.

- The charrette concepts: fill vacant property, build to the property line, off-street parking in garages (below or above commercial spaces) rather than exposed surface parking lots, residential structures sized to maximum building-envelope assigned to the property, “big box” shopping constrained within multi-level edifices matching adjacent residential properties, “Complete Streets” multi-modal approach with co-ordinated plantings and street furnishings, easily-accessible public transit, prominent but “contained” open-space for civic functions, and on-going civic events for neighbors and other residents and their visitors. Though unstated in the original document, diversity remains a key goal.
- Return to a previous comprehensive name for the area, with use of successive neighborhood names for specific entities, can signify re-unification and rebirth.
- Existing residential structures can be occupied as-is, or adapted into multi-unit housing or commercial properties, retaining dwellings near to the governmental employment center.
- From near-abandonment and despite physical loss of much of its commerce, a neighborhood can be reborn.

20th Century “New Town” Developments

Greenbelt, in Prince George’s County, **Columbia**, in Howard County, and **Kentlands**, in Montgomery County, Maryland, and **Reston**, in Fairfax County, Virginia, are nearby regional examples of 20th Century urban development principles for “New Towns”.⁴⁴¹ All were created upon former agricultural properties rather than expanding villages or towns,⁴⁴² and are connected to larger regional urban centers solely by the USA highway network.⁴⁴³ All are, essentially, bedroom communities for Washington and Baltimore regional businesses and governmental entities, even though both Columbia, Maryland and Reston, Virginia were developed with an eye toward providing a complete live-work-play environment.

⁴⁴¹ Whereas “classic” earlier developments (including the “New Town” exemplar Radburn, NJ – 1928) were located along railways (streetcar, intra-urban, and freight-passenger lines), these three examples followed. developments such as the *Paseo* at Kansas City, Mo by Kessler (1907) and Nolan’s Mariemont, Ohio, (1918) with no public transit connections; Stern and Massengale, *The Anglo-American Suburb*, 84.

⁴⁴² Colombia was a small crossroads village prior to the development of adjacent farmland; Kentlands and Reston are located near urban centers (Gaithersburg and Rockville, Maryland, Herndon and Vienna, Virginia) which have expanded tremendously in recent decades – author.

⁴⁴³ Greenbelt and Kentlands, Maryland were connected to nearby WMATA Metro stations by local roadways; Reston was provided with a Metro station as part of the new WMATA Silver Line extension – author.

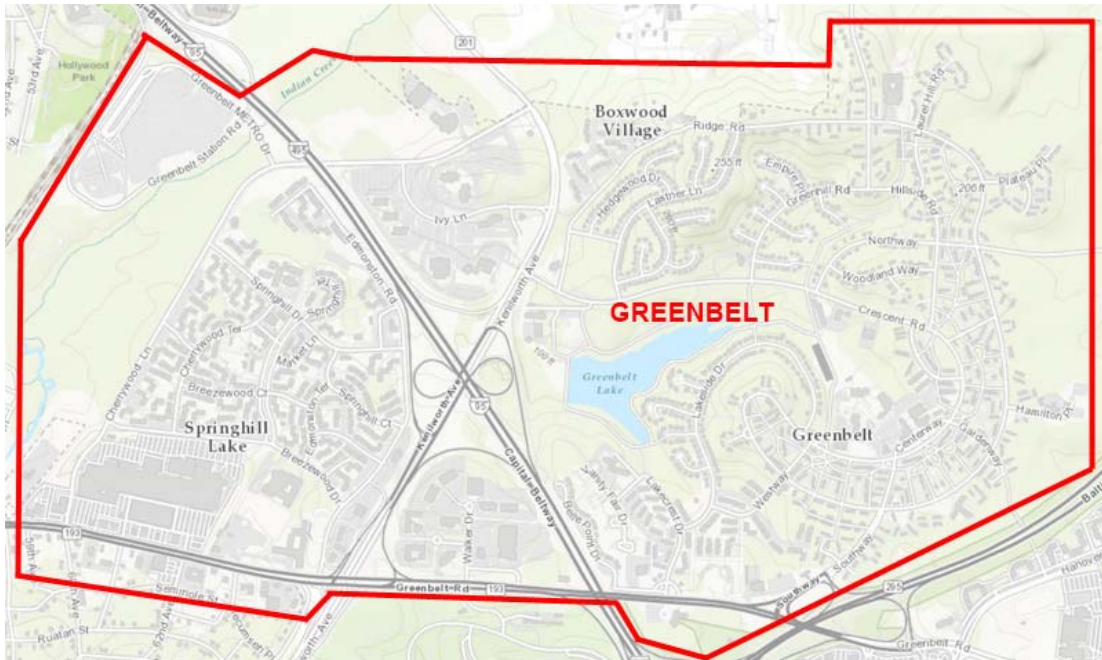


Figure 5.24: Greenbelt, Maryland: 2017 plan

Greenbelt was one of three *New Deal* experiments attempting to solve two housing concerns (resettlement of subsistence farmers from failing or arid properties and urban dwellers from over-crowded and unhealthy cities), provide low-income housing, create employment opportunities to relieve Great Depression joblessness, and model Ebenezer Howard’s then-contemporary “garden city” concepts as developed by Clarence Stein and Henry Wright in Radburn, New Jersey (1929).⁴⁴⁴ On farmland fourteen miles from the Capitol, Resettlement Administrator R.G. Tugwell’s planner Hale Walker and architects R.J. Wadsworth and D.D. Ellington designed a 3,400-acre community which grouped radiating housing rows in 14-acre superblocks arcing a recreational and commercial center.⁴⁴⁵ Although most housing

⁴⁴⁴ Radburn, NJ used “superblock” arrangements, winding pathways independent of streets, with underpasses that provided safe pedestrian access to schools, parks and the civic center, shared green space, town life in a “country setting,” and innovative housing designs; Jill Parsons St John and Megan Searing Young, *Images of America: Greenbelt*, (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2011), 7; Stern and Massengale, *The Anglo-American Suburb*, 84.

⁴⁴⁵ St John and Young, *Greenbelt*, 25; Although four communities were planned, only three were built: Greenbelt, Md, Greendale, Wi, and Greenhills, Oh; Greenbrook, NJ was not completed; St John and Young, *Greenbelt*, 9.

possessed small yards, nearly all of the open space was shared. Sidewalks enabled residents to connect with the center without street intersections through the use of underpasses. Roads connected with parking areas and the service entrance of each residence; the “front door” faced the pedestrian open spaces. Construction of the 885 low-rise units began in February, 1936, and the first of 3,000 “pioneers” started relocation in October, 1937.⁴⁴⁶ An additional 1,000 “temporary” units were built in 1941, doubling the population.⁴⁴⁷ Although Federal Government regulations prevented African Americans from moving into Greenbelt, many labored to construct the town. No such restrictions were placed on religion: a mixture of denominations settled, and later built worship spaces.⁴⁴⁸ In 1952, a co-operative bought *Greenbelt* from the Federal Government; it continues to operate it today. The Lakeside, Woodland Hills and Lakewood subdivisions of single-family houses started in 1954,⁴⁴⁹ and the population grew to 7,200.⁴⁵⁰ Eleanor Roosevelt High School, named for the early supporter and frequent visitor, was opened in the 1980’s.⁴⁵¹ Greenbelt was nominated a NRHP Historic District in 1980 and named a National Historic Landmark in 1997.⁴⁵²

As of 2016, Greenbelt has 22,000 residents, of whom 47% are African American, 30% European, 14% Hispanic, 8% Asian, and 1% other, with 53% of the population identifying as female.⁴⁵³ Greenbelt is connected with Washington, DC and Laurel, Bowie, and Beltsville, Maryland via roadways supporting two WMATA bus lines and

⁴⁴⁶ St John and Young, *Greenbelt*, 25 and 43.

⁴⁴⁷ St John and Young, *Greenbelt*, 61.

⁴⁴⁸ St John and Young, *Greenbelt*, 43 and 79.

⁴⁴⁹ St John and Young, *Greenbelt*, 79.

⁴⁵⁰ St John and Young, *Greenbelt*, 87.

⁴⁵¹ St John and Young, *Greenbelt*, 109.

⁴⁵² <https://www.nps.gov/nhl>; <http://www.greenbeltmd.gov/documentcenter/view/558>

⁴⁵³ <https://suburbanstats.org/population/maryland/how-many-people-live-in-greenbelt>

Price George’s County’s “The Bus” route 11, and connecting with the Greenbelt and New Carrollton WMATA Metro stations.⁴⁵⁴

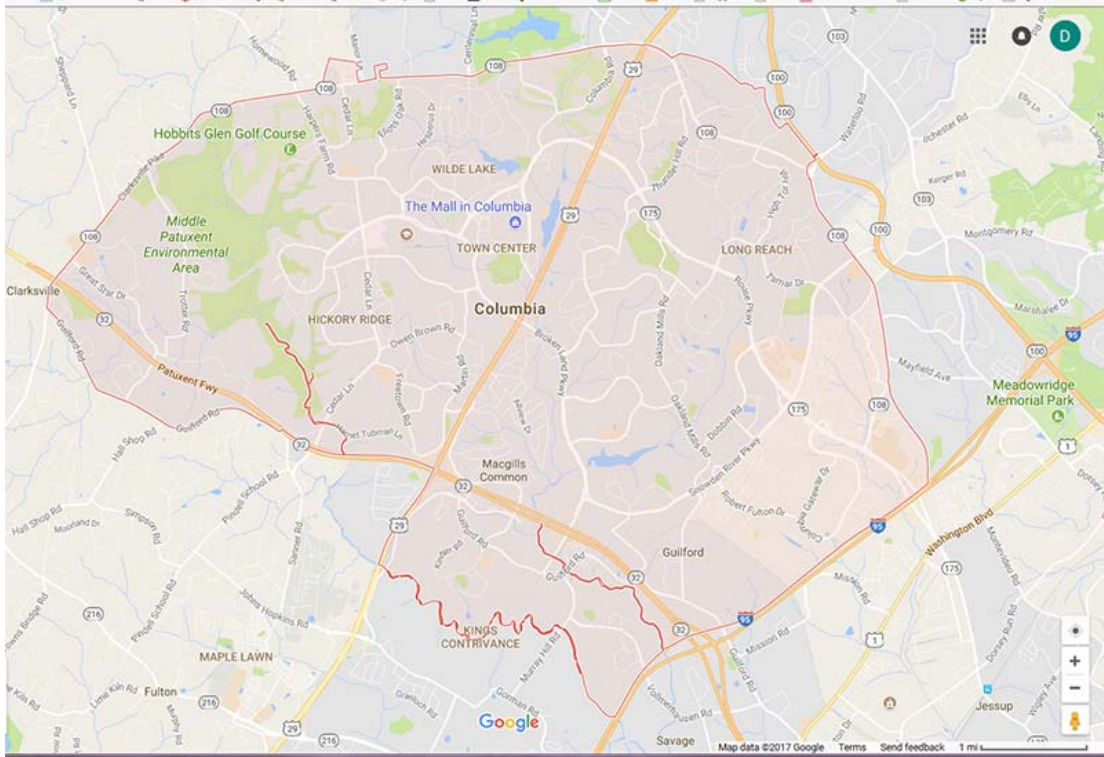


Figure 5.25 Columbia, Maryland: 2017 plan

The urban design principles tried at Greenbelt were subsequently employed by private developers in Columbia and Reston. **Columbia**, the earlier of the two,⁴⁵⁵ linked 10 self-contained independent residential precincts (called “villages,” each with its own elementary school, localized commercial area, and recreation facilities),⁴⁵⁶ with a centralized commercial center [including retail (“the Mall at Columbia”) and office or light industrial] through separated circulation systems for vehicles and pedestrians or bicyclists. Smaller-scale shopping centers, gas stations,

⁴⁵⁴ Local streets connect with Greenbelt Road (Maryland Route 193), Kenilworth Avenue (Md Route 201), the Baltimore-Washington (Gladys Noon Spellman) Parkway (US Route 295), and the Washington Beltway (US routes 95 / 495); *Greater Washington, DC Street Atlas*, ADC the Map People, Alexandria, Va, 20009

⁴⁵⁵ Designed and developed by James W Rouse, in 1967, <http://www.downtowncolumbiamd.com>

⁴⁵⁶ With commercial, inter-faith, community and recreational centers connected by roads and pathways, <http://www.downtowncolumbiamd.com>

and convenience stores occupy the junctures of the residential complexes and the highway systems; almost all transport throughout the community occurs by private automobile on serpentine roads with cul-de-sac housing arrangements, and surface parking forms a major feature of any commercial or institutional area.

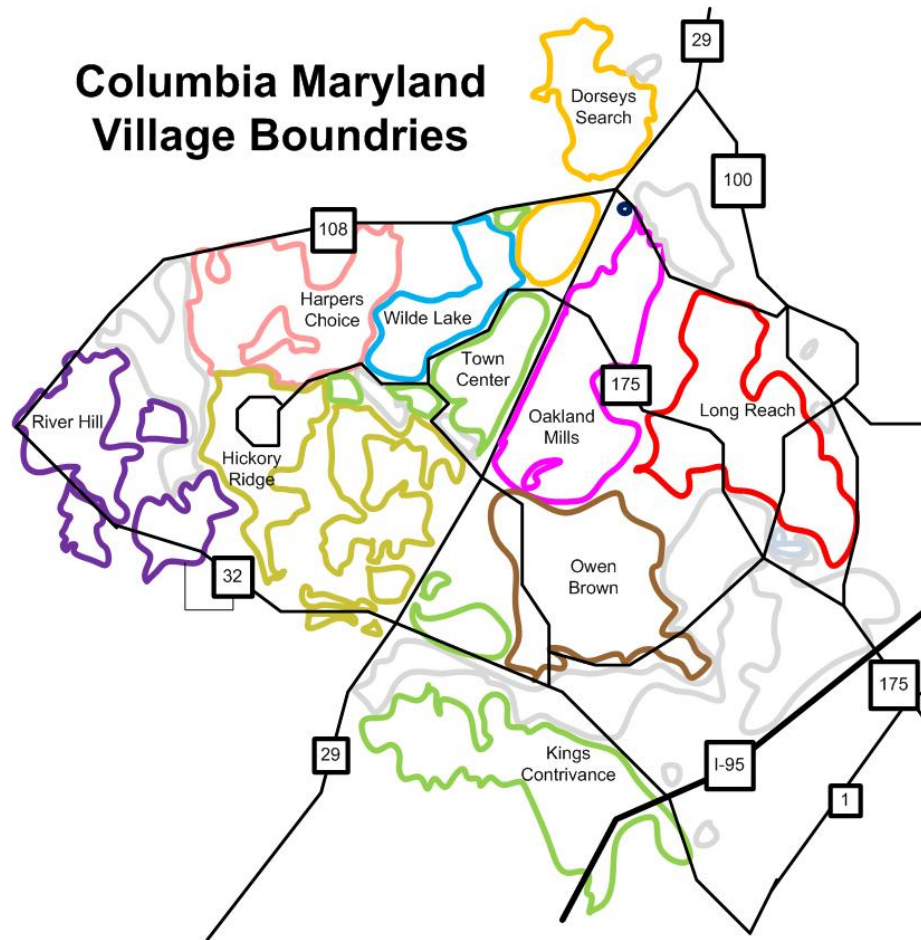


Figure 5.26: Columbia, Maryland “village” diagram

Nearly all structures are low- to mid-rise (single to five-story height), and are stylistically variations of the Contemporary or Neo-Colonial movements. Rows, garden-units, and detached houses are common prototypes, sized and ornamented to satisfy differing owner-budgets. Buildings are separated from each other by lawns, with stringent regulations governing use and appearance; though instituted by the

developer, these regulations have been retained by the community associations of each residential complex.

The Rouse Company preserved fourty acres of forest in the Town Center on the Oakland Manor Antebellum plantation for a concert venue: the Marjorie Merriweather Post Pavilion, designed by Frank Gehry, which opened in 1967 in Symphony Woods, is the Summer home of the National Symphony Orchestra.⁴⁵⁷

With a population of over 103,000 citizens (second in size to Baltimore: 55% European, 25% African American, 11% Asian, 7% Hispanic, and 2% other; 52% female),⁴⁵⁸ the entire community covers 32 square miles / 20,480 acres. Columbia is about 20 miles from Washington, DC, and 15 miles from Baltimore, is counted in Baltimore's Metropolitan Area, and is connected to both (and Annapolis, the State's Capital) by the local street, county road, and state and national highway system.⁴⁵⁹ Columbia is served by the Regional Transportation Agency of Central Maryland, the 2014 successor to Howard County Transit, which in 1975 initiated seven bus routes connecting the community from the Mall in Columbia to a variety of neighboring towns, including the BWI - Thurgood Marshall Airport, Amtrak, MARC, and BLR stations.⁴⁶⁰ Maryland Transit Administration provides commuter bus service into Baltimore and Washington, DC.⁴⁶¹

⁴⁵⁷ Oakland Manor developed from Land Grant holdings to comprise 350 acres; the house was built in 1810; the former slave quarters have been renovated into the Howard County Center for African American Culture in 1981; Oakland Mills burned in 1890, but lent its name to one of the primary villages in Columbia; Mrs Post Hutton Davies proposed, but reneged on, the donation to establish the center; www.merriweathermusic.com

⁴⁵⁸ <https://suburbanstats.org/population/maryland/how-many-people-live-in-columbia>

⁴⁵⁹ Broken Land Parkway, Columbia Pike / Old Colesville Road (Md Route 29), Patuxent Freeway (Md Route 32), Maryland Route 100, Clarksville Pike (Md Route 108), Rouse (formerly Little Patuxent) Parkway (Md Route 175), US Route 95; ACD the Map People, *Greater Washington Atlas*; most of these were developed / expanded / rerouted from previously-existing state roadways.

⁴⁶⁰ <http://www.mdtrip.org/transit-directory/provider/params/slug/regional-transportation-agency>

⁴⁶¹ <https://mta.maryland.gov>

grade. With 58,000 residents (70% European, 12% Hispanic, 10% Asian, 9% African American, 8% other; 51% female),⁴⁶⁴ Reston provides both high- and low-rise residential and commercial options, in a full-cycle (youth to old age) natural live-work-play environment as a private (not government-sponsored) enterprise. Residential development clustered around village centers preserved swaths of woodlands, an integral part of the design concept. Residences are oriented away from major streets, but sidewalks parallel the streets, per county regulations. The Dulles (Airport) Toll Road corridor cuts through the community, seriously-restricting pedestrian travel between east and west sections. Community events are held at Lake Anne Plaza at Reston Town Center throughout the year. In both Reston and Columbia, no deed restrictions by race or religion prevent ownership or rental, but cost, availability, and lack of public transit access screen out lower-income or unemployed families or individuals.

Reston is about 20 miles from Washington, DC, and covers 17.2 square miles / 11,008 acres; it is connected with Washington, DC and the Virginia suburbs by local, county, state, and national roads.⁴⁶⁵ WMATA connected Reston with the Washington Metropolitan Area via Metro subway with the opening of the Silver Line's Wiehle-Reston East station in the middle of the Dulles Toll Road corridor in 2014. The Fairfax Connector provides numerous bus routes throughout the community connecting with Herndon, Chantilly, Centreville, Fairfax, Vienna, and Tysons Corner, Virginia, Reston Town Center, and Dulles International Airport; and independent bus

⁴⁶⁴ <https://suburbanstats.org/population/virginia/how-many-people-live-in-reston>

⁴⁶⁵ Reston Parkway (Virginia Route 602), Leesburg Pike (Va. Route 7), Chain Bridge Road (Va. Route 123), the Washington Dulles Access and Toll Road (Va. Route 267), and the Fairfax County (John F Herrity) Parkway (Va. Route 7100); ADC the Map People, *Greater Washington Atlas*.

lines (including Loudon County Transit) transfer commuters daily into Alexandria, Virginia and Washington, DC. The Washington and Old Dominion Regional Park and Trail follows the converted interurban route which ran from Alexandria to Purcellville, Va. from 1912 to 1951 (passenger and mail) and to 1968 (freight); the “hiker-biker” (and equestrian) trail opened its first section in 1974, and the whole route by 1988; it was listed as an eligible property of the NRHP in 1999.⁴⁶⁶

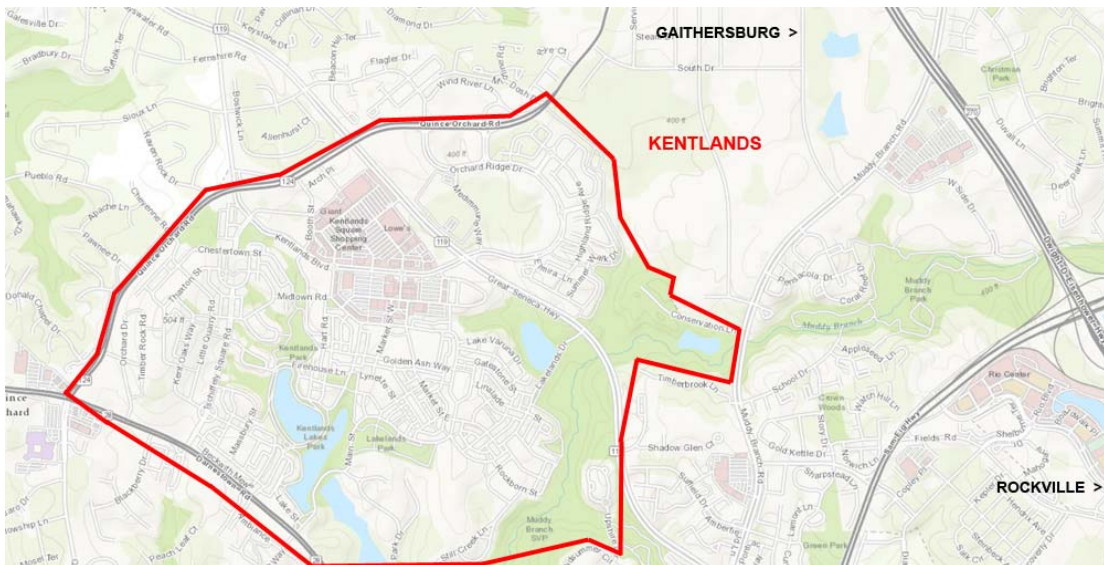


Figure 5.28: Kentlands, Maryland: 2017 plan

Kentlands is the primary CNU entry in the Baltimore-Washington development market, and is 15 miles from Washington, DC and 33 miles from Baltimore, west of Gaithersburg and northwest of Rockville, Maryland.⁴⁶⁷ Designed by DPZ in a charrette process, as a postulation against typical sprawl development which enveloped the country’s inexpensive agricultural land surrounding its urban cores,⁴⁶⁸

⁴⁶⁶ Ashley M. Neville, National Register of Historic Places Registration Form: *Washington & Old Dominion Railroad Historic District* (Virginia Department of Historic Resources (DHR) No. 053-0276), (Richmond, Virginia: Gray & Pape, Inc., July 25, 2000).

⁴⁶⁷ Not to be confused with *King Farm*, a residential development of 430 acres and 8,000 residents in Gaithersburg – author; https://www.washingtonpost.com/realestate/where-we-live-king-farm-rises-from-rural-beginnings-in-rockville/2015/03/05/cc2549f4-bdfe-11e4-8668-4e7ba8439ca6_story.html?utm_term=.d34d19256966

⁴⁶⁸ Duany Platter Zyberk (DPZ) in 1988, http://www.kentlandsusa.com/sub_category_list.asp?category=19&title=History

the Great Seneca Limited Partnership of J Alfandre & Co transformed the 352-acre Kentlands Farm ⁴⁶⁹ into a “village center” (hosting a mix of uses, including: residential, office and small retail, integrated with mid-block parking and small front yards) connected by trafficways to residential complexes, larger retail centers, schools and institutions, and office parks. All outside the village center are built of independent Contemporary or Neo-Colonial low- to mid-rise structures (the office parks are the exception – high-rise buildings predominate) surrounded by surface parking, and are separated from each other by lawns while being continuously-situated along the traffic-spines. The first housing was occupied in 1991; meanwhile the Simon (shopping center) and BF Saul financial partners withdrew from the project due to the national economy’s instability. Another design charrette was held in 1995, and a dozen neighborhoods have arisen on the *Kentlands Farm* property. Following years of struggle, an independent-of-developers citizen-elected self-governing Board oversees rental and owned flats, attached (row) and detached housing, and 1 million square feet of office and commercial space.⁴⁷⁰ The village center (“Main Street”) is a single long serpentine road of commercial properties in rowhouse form, mostly single-sided (when the commercial model is not present, housing across the street often follows more-typical suburban housing patterns rather than addressing the street), with parking lots in the rear, which surrounds a typical suburban shopping mall from which it is separated by a “sea” of surface parking.⁴⁷¹ The Kentlands Mansion and some of the adjacent agricultural buildings have been retained or

⁴⁶⁹ Originally named *Wheatlands* in 1852 by Frederick A Tschiffely (of the District’s pharmacy), who built the Mansion; sold to Otis Beall Kent in 1942, who renamed it *Kentlands Farm*; www.Kentlandsusa.com

⁴⁷⁰ Richard L Arkin, *The emergence of modern Kentlands*, www.kentlandsusa.com

⁴⁷¹ In truth, because the developer, Joseph Alfandre, lost control of the project during its early phases (1991) due to the collapse of the national economy, other developers did not follow CNU principles, and Kentlands cannot be correctly considered one of their best representatives – author’s opinion.

restored and are used as a community center. An adjacent development called Lakelands, also designed by DPZ in a community charrette process, is an extension of Kentlands.

Kentlands' population is 4,700, and Lakelands' is 3,500; Rockville's population is 60% European ancestry, 19% Asian, 13% Hispanic, 8% African American; Gaithersburg's is of similar proportions; females constitute 51% of the community.⁴⁷² Kentlands is accessed by local, county, and state roads,⁴⁷³ and connected via four routes of Montgomery County's Ride On bus system to Rockville, Gaithersburg, Germantown, and Poolesville, Maryland, and the WMATA Metro stations at Rockville and Shady Grove.

Observations - New Towns

These New Towns, and perhaps hundreds of others throughout the country, have been constructed using urban design concepts which have crystallized since the Victorian Era into the principles espoused by the APA and CNU: a mixture of uses, building types, and occupants in a compact, "walkable" setting, accessible to public transit, where people can live-work-play with little need to journey beyond the neighborhood or community. Although appreciative consideration for the preservation and continued use of existing precedents, resources and communities is included in the precepts, none of these examples were constructed within the troubled decaying neighborhoods of either Baltimore or Washington, DC. Instead, the agricultural potential of the selected farm properties was rendered null, while a great

⁴⁷² <https://suburbanstats.org/population/maryland/how-many-people-live-in-rockville>

⁴⁷³ At the intersection of Great Seneca Highway (Md Route 119) and Quince Orchard Road (Md Route 124) in Gaithersburg, and Darnestown Road – Montgomery Avenue (Md Route 28) to Rockville, which lead into the Dwight D. Eisenhower Highway / US Route 270; ADC the Map People, *Greater Washington Atlas*.

clamor was raised regarding the retention of adjacent natural resources (second-growth woodlots, stream valleys) and the “manse” and a few auxiliary structures. Immediate access by residents to recreational facilities is a stated goal (especially at Reston); it comes at the expense of considerable distances between neighborhoods. Even in the relatively-small Greenbelt model, it is quite a hike (more like a decent bike-ride) between most of the residential blocks and the town center – it is greater at the other towns. “Seas” of surface parking surround commercial centers, both “village” (local) and whole community complexes. Most of their residents work beyond their own neighborhood “villages,” necessitating twice-daily travel (often for great distances, most-commonly by single-occupant motor vehicle, followed by transit, and far less frequently by bicycle or walking), and likewise journey for shopping or entertainment. In the final consideration, these urban projects merely added to the continuing sprawl of the metropolis they served, rather than containing the spread and maintaining the arable land.

All of these examples bear a stronger family-resemblance to each other than they do to PEABODY HEIGHTS:

- Although all were constructed on former agricultural lands, PEABODY HEIGHTS was connected via the Poppleton Plan and multi-modal transportation to the city’s fabric, whereas Greenbelt, Columbia, Reston, and Kentlands (G-C-R-K) are not,
- The G-C-R-K models are predicated on a diluted-density, curvilinear circulation pattern of individual precincts, whereas PEABODY HEIGHTS exhibits a rectangular grid plan of dense urban fabric,

- Land use is heavily-segregated into typologies via the G-C-R-K models, whereas it is more-integrated in PEABODY HEIGHTS; separation into precincts originally occurred “naturally” through grouping of like occupancies, and
- All community features (residential, commercial, retail, industrial, and institutional) are within walking-distance of residences, and are located along transit corridors in PEABODY HEIGHTS, unlike the G-C-R-K models.

Never-the-less, the principles espoused by APA and CNU are easily applicable to and supportive of the regeneration of PEABODY HEIGHTS:

- Mixed-use: residential above commercial at grade
- Live-work opportunities within neighborhood or building
- Neighborhood commercial activity to spur social interaction
- Limited street-side parking; no large surface parking lots
- Buildings address the street directly, or with small front yards, rather than beyond surface parking
- Walkability and transit access; multi-modal use of roadways and paths.

Conclusion - Case Studies

Collectively, the urban and suburban examples presented above contribute substantially to our understanding of town generation, preservation and expansion. It is vitally important to concoct a process wherein city and neighborhood residents, commercial and business operators, design professionals, potential developers, governmental agency, security and legal representatives, and appropriate special-interest delegates are able to contribute and participate throughout any redevelopment

venture. It is imperative to prioritize neighborhood over city and visitor needs, and incorporate comprehensive, rather than exclusionary, approaches to the community's resources, so that neither "edge" nor "outside" facilities become lost or abandoned. A dynamic mixture of uses, building typologies (and conditions), people, and opportunities formed a community originally, and can resuscitate it when needed. Image is important: a highly-desirable "sense of place" (characterized by attractive, maintained, active, occupied environments and buildings, tight-knit communities with animated leadership) communicates "value" (pride, support, commitment, accomplishment) to residents and visitors alike. It is easier and less expensive in the long run to keep buildings inhabited, rather than to lose them through vacancy or vandalism. Abandoned buildings, vacant lots, "acres" of surface parking send the message that a neighborhood is neither cared-for nor valued. Shopping centers surrounded by "seas" of parking waste precious land in suburbs, and are totally disrespectful of urban requirements for compact, accessible, not-auto-focused settlements. Mechanisms to communicate a neighborhood's stories contribute to inculcation of those stories into daily life. "Complete streets" with traffic calming measures, shade trees, accessible sidewalks, co-ordinated street furnishings and art, can ameliorate and transform a neighborhood. "Walkability" in compact neighborhoods serves all ages, mobility-challenges, transit-access, health and exercise issues, and enables friends and strangers alike the opportunity to acknowledge each other and communicate, thereby creating a safer, more-pleasant environment.

These lessons learned from the case studies form the basis for the general recommendations of Chapter 6 and the specific applications for PEABODY HEIGHTS of Chapter 7.

Chapter 6: Recommendations:

Neighborhood Revitalization

“A rich dense disorder makes a vital urban space”

Ada Louise (née Landman) Huxtable (1921-2013).⁴⁷⁴

The theories of urban design, Mixed Use, and preservation, as investigated in PEABODY HEIGHTS and the case studies and summarized in the observations, suggest recommendations which could be applied to any deteriorating urban area.

Mixed Use was proposed by the APA and CNU as a remedy to the unintended ills produced by zoning, wherein a person’s residential, work, and often, recreational activities were widely separated from each other, leading to “sprawl.” Mixed Use was accompanied and defined by sets of principles, primarily aimed at new subdivision developer and governmental agencies representatives. Most applications continue to be used to manage “sprawl,” as unchecked development continues to expand in ever-widening rings from urban areas, which, in turn siphons people from the city core. The new town case studies evidence this situation.

However, the Mixed Use principles were derived from highly-successful urban neighborhoods, where a citizen could live-work-play, grow from youth to old age, and shift economic situations and work opportunities in relative proximity to downtown centers of commerce. As they aged, these in-town neighborhoods became less desirable, for a variety of reasons, but never lost the benefits of their Mixed Use

⁴⁷⁴ As quoted in Frank R Shivers, Jr, *Walking in Baltimore*, 72.

origins. Re-application of these principles to re-invigorate them seems a logical progression.

Four over-arching principles are suggested by the case studies:

- It is vitally important to significantly involve, pay attention and report back to, and support neighborhood citizens (both residents and commercial interests) in the development rebirth and growth of their sectors of a city
- Local interests are at least as important as city-wide or national concerns, theories, and plans, in fostering continued use and enjoyment of an area
- A combination of residents, commercial entities, design professionals, developers, and governmental agencies in the creation of objectives, goals, and short- and long-term strategies, agency enactment and enforcement of regulations supporting them, and local participation in acts of reclamation are required to successfully rehabilitate and maintain a neighborhood.
- The habitation (use and maintenance) of structures is a primary method of retaining urban fabric and neighborhoods.

From lessons derived from the case studies and the examined Mixed Use and preservation principles, a set of options which are supportive of neighborhood re-invigoration are proposed, and these are organized into five categories: Community Engagement, Education, Identity Development and Strengthening, Rehabilitation Opportunities, and “Green” exterior efforts:

- Community Engagement
 - Address community concerns on issues such as security, sanitation, shopping (eg: grocery and drug stores), and recreational facilities (parks,

community centers, school fields, gardens) and help build neighborhood confidence, understanding, and trust.

- Failure to involve the neighborhood community in decision-making leads to less-than-successful involvement in the final product. Encourage the community design process (through charrettes and competitions) to develop design guidelines for buildings and streetscapes; present them to governmental administrators for adoption and implementation; and support developer efforts to accomplish the design objectives.
- Combine community, design-professional, and governmental agency support through a high-quality “charrette” process followed by strongly-supervised implementation of goals and guidelines which can bring the resurrection of a blighted neighborhood to successful fruition.
- Participate in city- and community-wide efforts to implement Historic Preservation and other conservation measures, creating Historic Districts, “Main Street” programs, etc as needed to help retain neighborhood character, population, and elements. Even if the specific legislation or programs cannot be obtained, their principles can be implemented through community-based guidelines and goals.
- Incorporate multimodal transportation opportunities to enhance the area’s accessibility. Walking should be the premiere (and preferred) method of locomotion; safe, easy, and accessible bicycling or transit should be the next choices; use of a motor vehicle can be reserved for larger-object or mass-unit portability.

- Education
 - Expand community educational opportunities through innovative programs supplied by local collegiate and technical institutions.
 - Contribute to the education process for neighborhood residents to learn conservation measures that enable local citizens to maintain and refurbish the existing fabric, both in buildings and streetscapes.
 - Provide “ombudsman” services, where property-owners could obtain appropriate levels of information regarding programs and procedures supporting the retention of historic urban fabric.
- Identity Development and Strengthening
 - Promote the area’s identity: create virtual and walking tours, develop and install visual clues distinguishing the area from adjacent ones, and provide interpretative signage explaining the history and value of structures and special zones of the community.
 - Encourage and develop civic activities which contribute to the day-and-night sense of occupancy of the neighborhood:
 - Daily people-watching opportunities on streets and in parks
 - Volunteer gardening,
 - Shopping, dining and commuting, and
 - Parades and marches, street parties, or holiday festivals.

These bring residents and visitors repeatedly to the area. Even a single “leader” or event can build recognition and appreciation which benefits the whole.

- Even if seen as a locale with quality residences, a strong neighborhood presence, and a growing population, outside influences can seriously impair community value and growth. Carefully consider the effects of the insertion or consolidation of potentially-negative influences in any neighborhood.
- Encourage adjacent community groups to co-ordinate historic preservation efforts to re-unite the whole area rather than supporting competition which rends the urban and social fabric.
- Rehabilitation Opportunities
 - The Baltimore Block provides a readily-employable pattern to structure a mixture of uses, peoples, and activities throughout a neighborhood, and should be positively considered as one of the “building blocks” of neighborhood rejuvenation.
 - Assist property-owners to maintain and restore existing building stock, especially architecturally-significant structures, through “how-to” classes, preservation education, financial support (including tax rebates, grant and loan-programs), design guidelines, equipment loans, and the implementation and appreciation of preservation practices.
 - Long-term abandonment of vacant properties, and the creation of vast surface parking lots or cleared urban blocks and street grid, generates the impression that no one cares for the area, inhabits it, or desires to invest in it (the direct opposite of encouragement through “homesteading” and “incubator” efforts). Encourage the continuous occupation and

maintenance of structures, thereby preventing their loss through neglect or arson. Remember: Loss is permanent.⁴⁷⁵

- Create or strengthen informative signage and maintain structures which communicate a neighborhood’s story. Lack of visual and geographic clues as to previous use and history of the area deprives visitors (and residents) of information needed to appreciate the diversity and basis of a community’s successes.
- Encourage local and state governments to provide funding sources (through tax credits, low-interest loan programs, etc) to enable property owners to retain and maintain existing urban fabric, or to open and operate a variety of commercial facilities (shops, studios, and restaurants) serving neighborhood inhabitants and other city or area residents. Use of “homesteading” projects and funds to re-inhabit abandoned, but salvable, buildings encourages sustainable practices. Advertise and provide education for these programs.
- Modifying zoning from “broad-brush” to a nuanced consideration of the existing and desired functions, which support maintenance rather than demolition or removal.
- Encourage development of abandoned properties and surface parking areas with a goal of the complete in-fill of the urban fabric though contextual mid-rise (4-6 story) multi-story mixed-use structures rather than single-story-single-use-surrounded-by-parking “suburban” models.

⁴⁷⁵ Although the rebuilding of WWII-torn Europe has been possible (eg: recreation in Dresden, replacement in Berlin or Coventry), original period craftsmanship and ages of patina are still lost, and it is prohibitively expensive for less-than-highly-significant structures – author’s experience.

- Encourage developers to continue to provide multi-family housing options for all income- and age-levels, including renovation, rehabilitation, and new single- and multi-units.
- “Green” Exterior efforts
 - Reclaim former green-space, create additional exterior recreation, garden, and park space throughout the neighborhood, vigorously promote and provide street tree planting along all trafficways, and maintain and refurbish existing parks as required.
 - Encourage governmental entities to continue arts and garden projects to help create a more visually attractive and interactive environment for residents and visitors.
 - Encourage developers to adopt a more-urban approach using “Complete Streets” and other sustainable concepts for “big box” retail and its parking requirements in order to reduce the quantity of highly-visible surface parking lots which contribute to a sense of vacancy in a neighborhood.
 - Encourage traffic calming measures, through “lane diets”, “table” crosswalks, two-direction movement, multi-modal use of roadways and traffic corridors, and other “Complete Streets” concepts.
 - Encourage the use of transit, bicycles and walking, over the use of automobiles for local travel.

“Patience is a virtue.”⁴⁷⁶ As long as buildings are occupied, and the community is working together to ameliorate their environment, a neighborhood can weather

⁴⁷⁶ Prudentius, *Psychomachia*, Burgerbibliothek, codex 264

difficult or strenuous times. Economic or social forces beyond the community's control can delay progress. Be patient, but creatively prepare for opportunities and incorporate ideas into the neighborhood through continuing community action. Remember: it is more difficult to remove an incomplete, "expedient" solution (eg: a "cheap" commercial entity surrounded by parking) than to encourage adherence to "Complete Streets" principles and await a more-competent solution.

Chapter 7: Conclusions - PEABODY HEIGHTS

Application of the recommendations as proposed in Chapter 6, which were derived from the theories and case studies, to the PEABODY HEIGHTS salient presents fertile ground for suggesting solutions to the causes and problems endemic to this degenerating in-town precinct.

On a plateau at the edge of a steep escarpment eroded by Jones Falls which separated it from its adjacent communities north and west, and its life-source, the harbor, to the south, the salient blossomed over twenty years following the bridging the Falls into seven neighborhoods. Named for a generous civic leader and philanthropist (shortly after his death) who had nothing to do with its development, PEABODY HEIGHTS expressed the twin desires of its inhabitants to be near the estates of affluent members of the community and away from the pestilential crowded marshland from which their profits derived. Predominantly residential in character, the neighborhoods also provided job opportunities (in the forms of factories, institutions, and shops), educational and recreational facilities, small-scale shopping in purposely-designed “corner stores,” and convenient access via transit and the street-grid to both City and country environs. Following traditional Baltimorean building and block patterns, structures arose along property lines forming a nearly-continuous street-face differentiated by materials, bulk or massing, and ornamentation relating to the character of the street they addressed. The depth and breadth of the blocks allowed for alleys inhabited by smaller laborers’ housing or service functions. Befitting its prominent position overlooking the City, PEABODY HEIGHTS was usually in the forefront of receiving the newest inventions and utilities bestowed on the

citizens. The establishment and blossoming of a significant educational facility, Goucher College, was as a diadem on the community's brow.

Post-WWII, as the automobile and exurb overtook American society, zoning depreciated the mixture of uses and peoples, and industry abandoned the City, the neighborhoods drastically changed, both in population and desirability, as did hundreds of similar neighborhoods throughout the country. The transfer of *Goucher College* during this exodus, without a significant replacement, added a serious reduction of prestige and value.

Although a few architectural gems still sparkle, the “gap-tooth” appearance caused by vacant lots and expansive highly-visible surface parking seriously detracts from a positive image. So does the deteriorating quality of buildings and shops along Greenmount and North avenues and 25th Street. Most original single-family housing has been converted into residential flats above commercial space at grade or on the raised first level. The rejuvenation indicated by new parks and murals, as well as new housing development projects along Barclay Avenue, are positive signals, but proposals for a suburban-style commercial superblock (isolated buildings surrounded by “oceans” of surface parking) in the western former industrial area contradict these progressive urban measures. Conflicting design-, planning-, and historic preservation-standards and -district loyalties affect the unity and cohesion of community efforts to ameliorate degenerated conditions. Although the revised 2015 Baltimore Zoning Code suggests a more-nuanced consideration of the salient's elements, blocks and neighborhoods, vulnerable but valuable housing and

commercial structures in former industrial and commercial sectors, or at zone- or planning district-edges, are neither safe-guarded nor sustained, let alone bolstered.

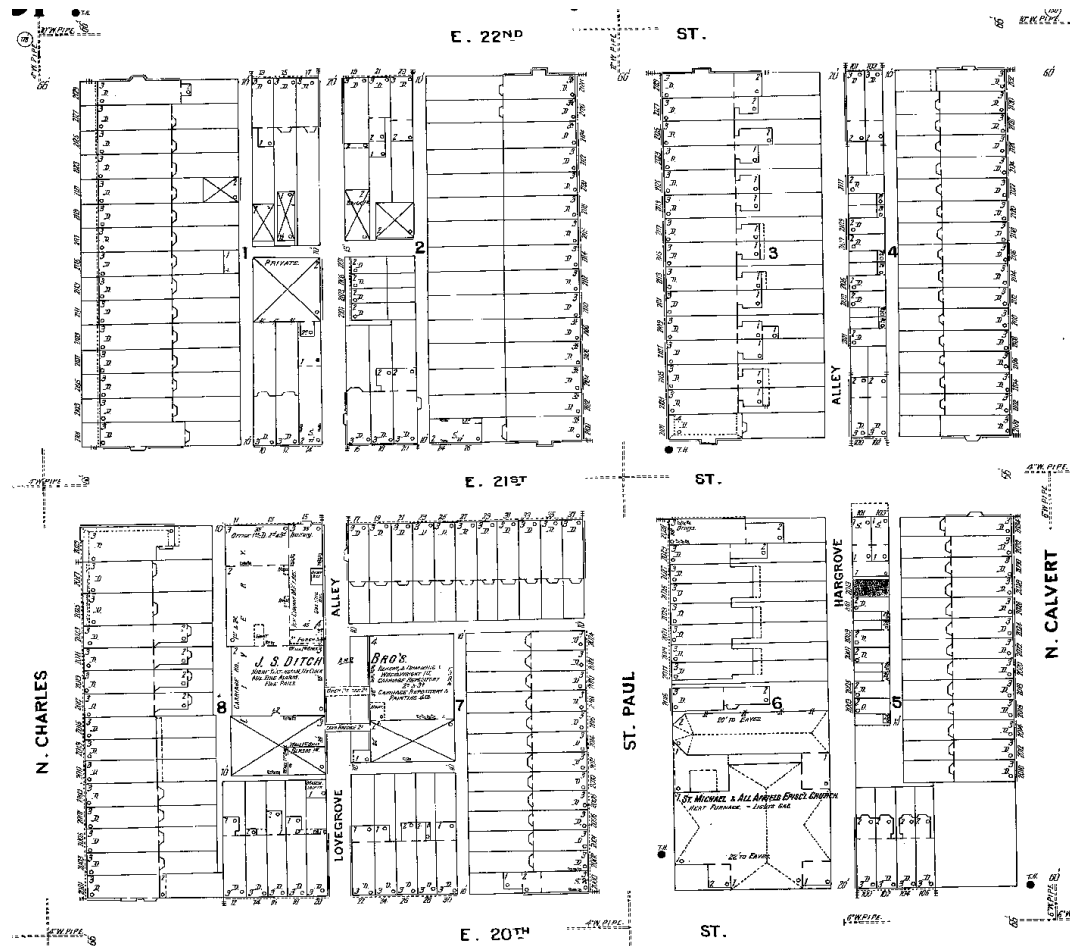


Figure 7.1: Baltimore Blocks – PEABODY HEIGHTS: typical variations of uses and sizes

Re-interpretation and re-application of the Baltimore Block’s principles of appropriately-scaled mixtures of housing types and sizes, commercial, institutional, and light-industrial facilities should be easy to accomplish, as much of the original urban fabric remains. Though once-common throughout the City, many areas have lost this development-supportive structure, but not PEABODY HEIGHTS: the salient provides a highly-visible “laboratory” to demonstrate the block’s long-term benefits and opportunities, for Baltimore and other struggling urban centers

Characteristic			Peabody Heights - 1900-15	Peabody Heights - 2000	Inner Harbor	Oldtown	Hampden	Remington	Woodberry	Columbia Heights	Greenbelt	Columbia, Maryland	Reston	Kentlands
Land Uses	Within Neighborhood													
	Residential	Detached	•				•	•	•	•		•	•	•
		Rows	•	•	•	•					•	•	•	•
		Flats	•	•		•					•	•	•	•
	Institutional	Churches, etc	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
		Schools	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
		Collegiate	•	•										
	Neighborhood Public Services	Fire / Police	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
		Hospital	•	•										
		Orphanage	•											
		Theatre / Cinema	•	•	•					•	•			
		Library	•	•				•	•	•	•			
		Parks	•	•			•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
		Recreation	•	•			•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
		"Green Space"	•	•		•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
		Gardens	•	•			•	•	•	•				
		Sports / stadium	•		•									
	Mercantile	Local shopping	•	•			•	•	•	•				•
		Market-house	•	-						•				
	Office / Business / Commercial		•	•	•									
	Industrial	Light / "clean"	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•				
		Heavy	•		•		•	•	•	•				
Zoning	Single Use		•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
	Mixed Use		•	•		•	•	•	•	•				•

The *Old Goucher Neighborhood* HISP650 Studio project report proposed two short-term and five long-term recommendations for a portion of PEABODY HEIGHTS surrounding the former college properties.⁴⁷⁷ I suggest that these are applicable to the whole salient.

- Promote the area's identity: create virtual and walking tours, develop and install visual clues distinguishing the area from adjacent ones, and provide interpretative signage explaining the history and value of structures and special zones of the community.
- Reclaim former green-space in front of and adjacent to Goucher and Bennett Halls (currently parking lots), create additional exterior recreation, garden, and park space throughout the neighborhood, vigorously promote and provide street tree planting along all trafficways, and maintain and refurbish existing parks as required.
- Expand educational opportunities through innovative programs supplied by local collegiate and technical institutions.
- Assist property-owners to maintain and restore existing building stock, especially architecturally-significant structures, through "how-to" classes, preservation education, financial support, design guidelines, and the implementation and appreciation of preservation practices.

The principles espoused by the APA and CNU for Mixed Use are nearly identical with those which initiated the neighborhood, and are easily applicable to and supportive of the regeneration of PEABODY HEIGHTS:

⁴⁷⁷ HISP 650 report, *Old Goucher*, p 69-77

- Learn, understand, and respect the benefits of the Baltimore Block, as a structural pattern fostering Mixed Use principles: employ these precedents in the rejuvenation of the salient,
- Instigate mixtures of residential, commercial, institutional and (light) industrial in the same neighborhood,
- Induce live-work opportunities within the neighborhood or building,
- Continue the mixed-use of buildings: residential above commercial at grade (although most structures were constructed as multi-story single-family residences, a few store-below-residence or -flats are original, and many single-family houses have been converted over the intervening years),
- Encourage a mixed-generational, -economic, -ethnic, -racial population of residents,
- Retain existing facilities and integrate new measures within the context,
- Stimulate the reversal of sub-divided former residential structures to single-family (with accessory unit potential) properties, where appropriate,
- Entice neighborhood commercial activity (eg: shops, restaurants, “Mom and Pop” incubator firms) to spur social interaction at the local level,
- Assure that buildings address the street directly, or through small front yards, rather than separated by parking lots,
- Incentivize walkability and multi-modal transit access and facilities; maintain sidewalks and verges, crosswalks, MTA local and *Charm City*

Circulator bus routes, MTA *Baltimore Light Rail* routes,⁴⁷⁸ bicycle lanes and parking, and consider installation and operation of the *Charles Street “Trolley”* (rather use “Light Rail” or the local vernacular “Streetcar”) connector, and



Figure 7.2: Charles Street view south to Washington Monument (from North Avenue)

- Return Charles Street to two-way (or reverse it to south-bound) traffic: Charles Street intersections at 25th Street and North Avenue, and the Falls bridge provide distinct unimpeded views of the Washington Monument at Mount Vernon Place – north-bound traffic is oblivious to these connections. The 1947 rationale for one-way streets (to improve traffic flow to the northern suburbs) has been obviated by the JFX. The

⁴⁷⁸ <https://mta.maryland.gov/content/transit-maps>

PEABODY HEIGHTS neighborhood could be substantially improved through this change, accompanied with judicious tree planting along the length of Charles Street and intersection reconstruction to encourage easy-viewing.

Issues which were not present when the neighborhoods were originated are still applicable:

- Engage local residential citizens and commercial operators to participate in design- and strategy-generating neighborhood and area development opportunities, along with design professionals, developers, and governmental agency representatives; implement stratagems and regulations as needed to accomplish community-desired results,
- Foster neighborhood community activities (eg: parades, festivals), signage (banners, historical markers), and improvements (community gardens, street-tree planting) to help fortify local identity, for both residents and visitors,
- Plant trees along street-side verges,
- Create, expand, and maintain neighborhood-scaled parks and recreational facilities,
- Respect historic patterns, precedents and boundaries, and encourage “sustainability” through the retention of urban fabric and landscapes,
- Return to the use of a comprehensive name (“PEABODY HEIGHTS”) for the entire salient, while maintaining neighborhood names for individual sectors (“Old Goucher”), as appropriate,



Figure 7.3: North Avenue Market



Figure 7.4: Garden and mural (Calvert)



Figure 7.5: Park paving and mural (22nd)



Figure 7.6: Concrete history (North Avenue)



Figure 7.7: Signage: drainage warning (Charles)



Figure 7.8: Bike rack (Charles)

- Co-ordinate standards and regulations of the four historic districts which have been carved out of the salient fabric, and expand their principles to cover adjacent non-included areas in design, planning and construction activities; provide identification signage and information geared to each district,
- Bring the various political, planning, community association boundaries into harmony, ending the cacophony of jurisdictions which fragment borders and stymie neighborhood-wide goals,
- Cease the wanton demolition of urban fabric, especially whole blocks,
- Replace “gap-tooth” properties (surface parking or vacant lots) with quality multi-story urban fabric (to match former and existing context), providing a mixture of housing, employment, and recreation,
- Insure that buildings address the street directly, rather than beyond surface parking; place parking below or above commercial structures, especially in shopping center facilities,
- Provide limited street-side parking; use traffic-calming devices inherent in good contemporary street design in lieu of speed bumps; follow “Complete Streets” principles,
- Do not install large surface or street-side parking lots,
- Encourage co-operative sharing of resources and co-ordination of services, and avoid destructive competition, among all community elements, including governmental agencies and programs, commercial and institutional entities, and utilities,

- Encourage local zoning administrators to implement policies or modify zoning areas to create compact communities, support existing housing and commercial structures, and stimulate construction of appropriately-scaled and -detailed contextual replacements in vacant areas and sites,
- Encourage local administrators to redistribute drug rehabilitation centers throughout Baltimore (to be closer to where people live and work), rather than congregating them in this precinct, and
- Implement and advertize the *Charles Street By-way* initiatives and projects, especially within the salient.

“Main Street” principles which undergird programs in other Baltimore neighborhoods can, likewise, be applied to the PEABODY HEIGHTS salient:

- Comprehensive consideration of all aspects of the neighborhoods,
- Capitalization of existing assets, following their identification and the modification of attitude and practices, both at neighborhood- and city-scales,
- Provision of financial (eg: “Homesteading” tax abatements, grants, loans) and educational resources to accomplish projects through self-actualized efforts, and
- Implementation and completion of quality work, through incremental development.

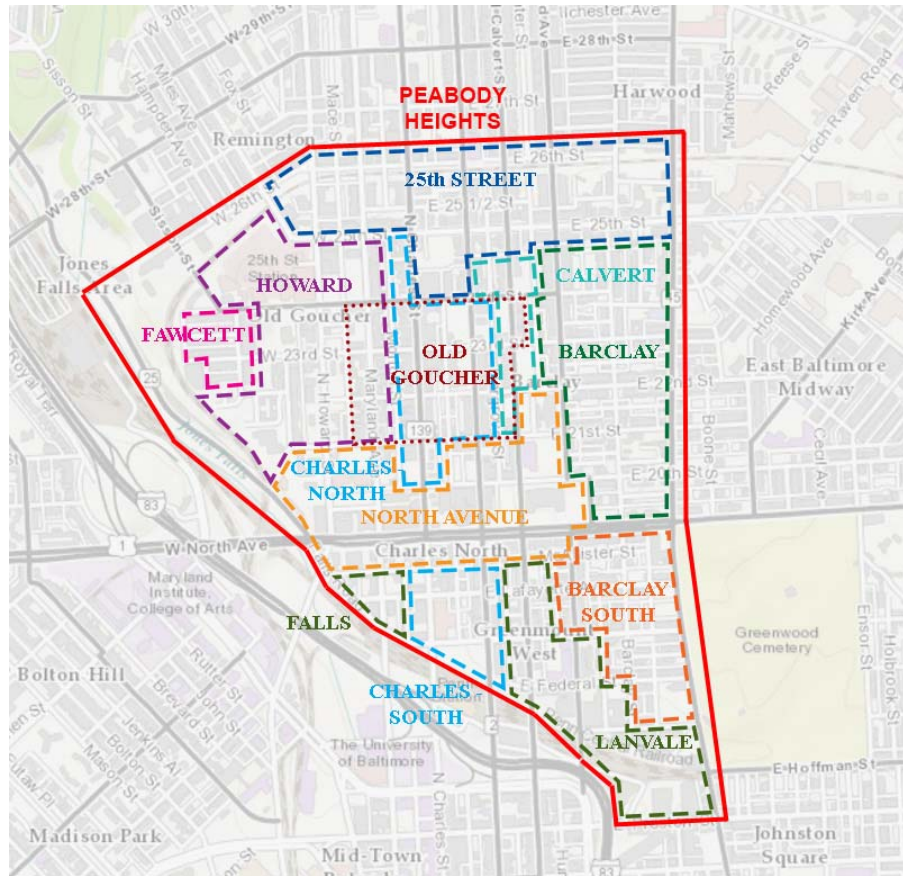


Figure 7.9: PEABODY HEIGHTS: areas of improvement

Although all of the previous general recommendations are applicable, individual sections of the salient have specific requirements to assist their revitalization:

- The 25th Street corridor presents a wide (as originally designed and constructed) expanse lined by formerly-residential rowhouses, interspaced with a few large commercial structures and parking lots. Tree-planting and verge-creation, accompanying the installation of a planted median would soften the concrete void, temper traffic, and provide a safer pedestrian pathway. Appropriately-scaled construction could replace parking or vacant lots. The grocery store's parking lot should be reconfigured with trees and islands, and "concealed" with a planted

border, per “Complete Streets” principles, or replaced with commercial and residential structures with parking supplied below-grade.

- The Greenmount Avenue corridor is in deplorable condition (vacant, deteriorating buildings, parking lots, lack of street amenities predominate) and an interactive community-based and government-agency-supported charrette to investigate funding sources, design opportunities, goals and solutions, and short- and long-term strategies is required.
- Existing rowhouses in the Guilford Avenue-Charles Street precinct should be retained, and owners supported in their maintenance. Expansion of the tree canopy in the verges should be encouraged. The Old Goucher neighborhood should be strengthened, per the recommendations of the HISP 650 Studio report. Vacant properties should have context-appropriate replacement structures installed. The former yards adjacent to former-campus buildings should be returned to parkland, and made available for community use.
- The Maryland Avenue-Howard Street corridor has been decimated since WWI: a dozen blocks of housing were removed, manufacturing and rail facilities reduced, replaced by land-wasteful suburban-style single story height and single use structures surrounded by parking. Proposed shopping mall solutions (as found in the exurbs), such as the *25th Street Station* project, should not be installed: a compact mixed-use commercial-residential district, with parking above or below (as developed at

Columbia Heights), would alleviate the emptiness of the “sea” of parking inherent in the submission.



Figure 7.10: Replacement housing (Barclay)

- Barclay Street (both north and south) boasts new construction projects near North Avenue, which have filled empty properties, but much previous urban fabric has been lost; therefore wholesale demolition of urban fabric should be halted in favor of a more-limited “surgical” approach of replacement. Additional whole-block development projects should provide a mixture of unit types and sizes to encourage multi-generational occupancy, live-work spaces, and commercial facilities, in addition to community centers.
- Rowhouses in the Fawcett area are being renovated by an influx of younger citizens: this should be encouraged. Street trees, verges, and

other amenities should be installed, and community recreation or park space developed for the residents.

- The North Avenue corridor (from Lanvale to 21st streets) has lost much of its residential fabric, since WWI. A community charrette process should evaluate the situations, and propose solutions to invigorate this commercial corridor. 20th and 21st streets are plagued with parking lots and poor-quality replacement structures (many in disrepair); replacement with mixed-use mid-rise complexes and street trees and amenities could help tie the two-halves of the salient back together. North Avenue's more-commercial area (west of Charles Street) contains the former North Avenue Market, which could be rehabilitated to support the MICA and JHU educational facilities. The Parkway Theatre's rehabilitation is nearly complete, and will provide a valuable institutional presence. The eastern portion (closer to Greenmount Cemetery) becomes increasingly more residential in character, as many large, ornate, former-rowhouse complexes have been retained. Vacant lots (most used for automobile parking) should be returned to the urban fabric with new, appropriately-scaled mixed-use structures. Lanvale Street, likewise, should have empty lots filled with appropriate mixed-use structures. The entire corridor would benefit from street trees and amenities, creating a more-hospitable pedestrian environment: the former North Avenue planting scheme should be rehabilitated.

- Charles Street, south of North Avenue, exhibits a strong commercial flavor, which should be enhanced and supported. Trees, and other street amenities, should be selected to provide a proper frame to the Washington Monument, clearly visible to the south. Valuable empty buildings and vacant lots will become desirable opportunities, as the neighborhood's commercial prospects improve: retention of the urban fabric and appropriate new mid-rise mixed-use construction are advised.
- Properties and building along Jones Falls have the opportunity to provide an attractive visual gateway to the salient, as they tower above adjacent roadways. High-rise office-residential structures above ground floor commercial uses can supplement nearby higher-educational facilities by providing needed housing and administrative space.

As Baltimore evolves from an industrial to a service-banking-entertainment economic base, and builds upon cohesive community-driven camaraderie, these blighted once-elegant neighborhoods should regain value. With appropriate planning, design and implementation utilizing the salient's Baltimore Block paradigm, a healthy urban mix of uses and populations can help rejuvenate a neighborhood.

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