

Baltimore Alley House Study

Phase 1



Joint Community Planning and Historic Preservation Studio
University of Maryland
Fall 2017



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Executive Summary

This report, prepared as part of a joint studio between graduate students in the Master of Community Planning and the Master of Historic Preservation programs at the University of Maryland, College Park, for the Maryland Department of Housing and Community Development (DHCD), the Maryland Historical Trust (MHT), and the City of Baltimore Commission for Historical and Architectural Preservation (CHAP), seeks to answer the following questions:

- **What is an alley house?**
- **How many alley houses exist in the City of Baltimore, and where are they located?**
- **What is the best method for determining the fate of these buildings?**

The impetus for this report was the implementation of Project C.O.R.E. (Creating Opportunities for Renewal and Enterprise), a Maryland state initiative begun in 2016 which, in part, seeks to demolish abandoned, derelict, and dilapidated buildings in Baltimore.

This report constitutes Phase 1 of a two-phase study of Baltimore's alley houses. Phase 2 will be a contemporary survey of Baltimore's alley houses, to be performed during Spring 2018. Based on a review of relevant literature and interviews with stakeholders, we arrive at the following definition of an alley house:

- vernacular building, typically one or two stories tall, approximately 12 feet (two bays) wide, and 20 to 30 feet deep; located on inner-block streets that are 30 feet wide or less, including sidewalks;
- constructed from the late eighteenth century until approximately 1909, and

inhabited by poor and working-class people from diverse backgrounds;

- small, affordable house offering the possibility of homeownership to those for whom it might not otherwise be an option;
- a point of pride for many owners;
- rowhouse opening onto a narrow street that fosters a strong sense of community by serving as a social space for residents. The physical intimacy of alleys has placed these spaces in a grey area between public and private for the people who inhabit them.

We find that Baltimore's alley houses have historically provided affordable housing for the city's working class. Alleys in other areas of the country and the world also serve as commercially and residentially viable spaces, outlined as case studies in this report.

Using ArcGIS software, we located 3,918

alley houses in Baltimore. To determine which alley houses or groups of alley houses should be rehabilitated, demolished, or stabilized as part of Project C.O.R.E., we recommend that a three-part scoring system be implemented during Phase 2 of this study: a building condition survey, an objective significance score reflecting historical and architectural value, and a neighborhood resident survey. We further recommend averaging the building condition survey and objective significance scores and creating a database of all alley house groups so groups can be examined individually and comparatively, using scores derived from the resident survey to confirm or deny the results of the building condition and objective significance scores. We recommend using the Survey123 for ArcGIS application to record field work data. To gain community input on this process, we recommend that a charrette be conducted over the course of five to seven days.



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Chapter 1

Introduction

Introduction

According to the historian Mary Ellen Hayward, no city in the United States has had a longer history of building “small houses on narrow alley streets” than Baltimore. Hayward, who performed a survey of Baltimore alley houses for the Maryland Historical Trust in the late 1990s that later informed her book, *Baltimore’s Alley Houses: Homes for Working People since the 1780s*, claims that there are more extant alley houses in Baltimore than any other city in the United States. Nearly twenty years after Hayward’s original survey and in the context of a state initiative that directly impacts the future of alley houses, this topic deserves revisiting. This report, prepared as part of a joint studio between graduate students in the Master of Community Planning and the Master of Historic Preservation programs at the University of Maryland, College Park, for the Maryland Department of Housing and Community Development (DHCD), the Maryland Historical Trust (MHT), and the City of Baltimore Commission for Historical and Architectural Preservation (CHAP), seeks to answer the following questions:

- **What is an alley house?**
- **How many alley houses exist in the City of Baltimore, and where are they located?**
- **What is the best method for determining the fate of these buildings?**

Much of the work done for this report has relied on the development of an operational definition of an alley house. In this report, we use the phrase “alley house” in its technical, academic sense, realizing that some inhabitants of these buildings find such a term pejorative. We wish to make it clear that our use of this term is not meant to indicate disrespect in any way, but instead recognizes that “alley house” is both the official term used by the clients for this report, as well as the term used in the literature we surveyed. Incorporating objective characteristics, cultural history, and contemporary meanings held by members of the community gleaned from the academic and professional (or “grey”) literature and interviewing local

stakeholders, we arrived at the following definition:

Alley house, n.

- vernacular building, typically one or two stories tall, approximately 12 feet (two bays) wide, and 20 to 30 feet deep; located on inner-block streets that are 30 feet wide or less, including sidewalks;
- constructed from the late eighteenth century until approximately 1909, and inhabited by poor and working-class people from diverse cultural and racial backgrounds;
- small, affordable house offering the possibility of home ownership to those for whom it might not otherwise be an option; a point of pride for many owners;

- rowhouse opening onto a narrow street that fosters a strong sense of community by serving as a social space for residents. The physical intimacy of alleys has placed these spaces in a grey area between public and private for the people who inhabit them.

Using these criteria will allow future researchers and practitioners to make clear distinctions between what is and what is not an alley house. For more extensive information on what defines an alley house, see Appendix 1 (page 81).

The clients have also received a geographic information system (GIS) shapefile with the

locations of all extant alley houses identified. In the shapefile’s attribute table, we populated relevant fields for which information currently exists, and included blank fields to be populated during Phase 2 of this study. Additional information regarding specific fields in the attribute table can be found in the shapefile’s metadata.

Extant Baltimore Alley Houses, By the Numbers

Elements of this alley house definition (most importantly, street width) enabled us to identify the alley houses still existing in Baltimore. With this definition, we performed a spatial analysis based on parcel frontage and street width criteria to identify all possible alley houses. We then visually cross-referenced the results of our spatial analysis with Google Street View and Google Earth (for further information, see Appendix 8 on page 112)

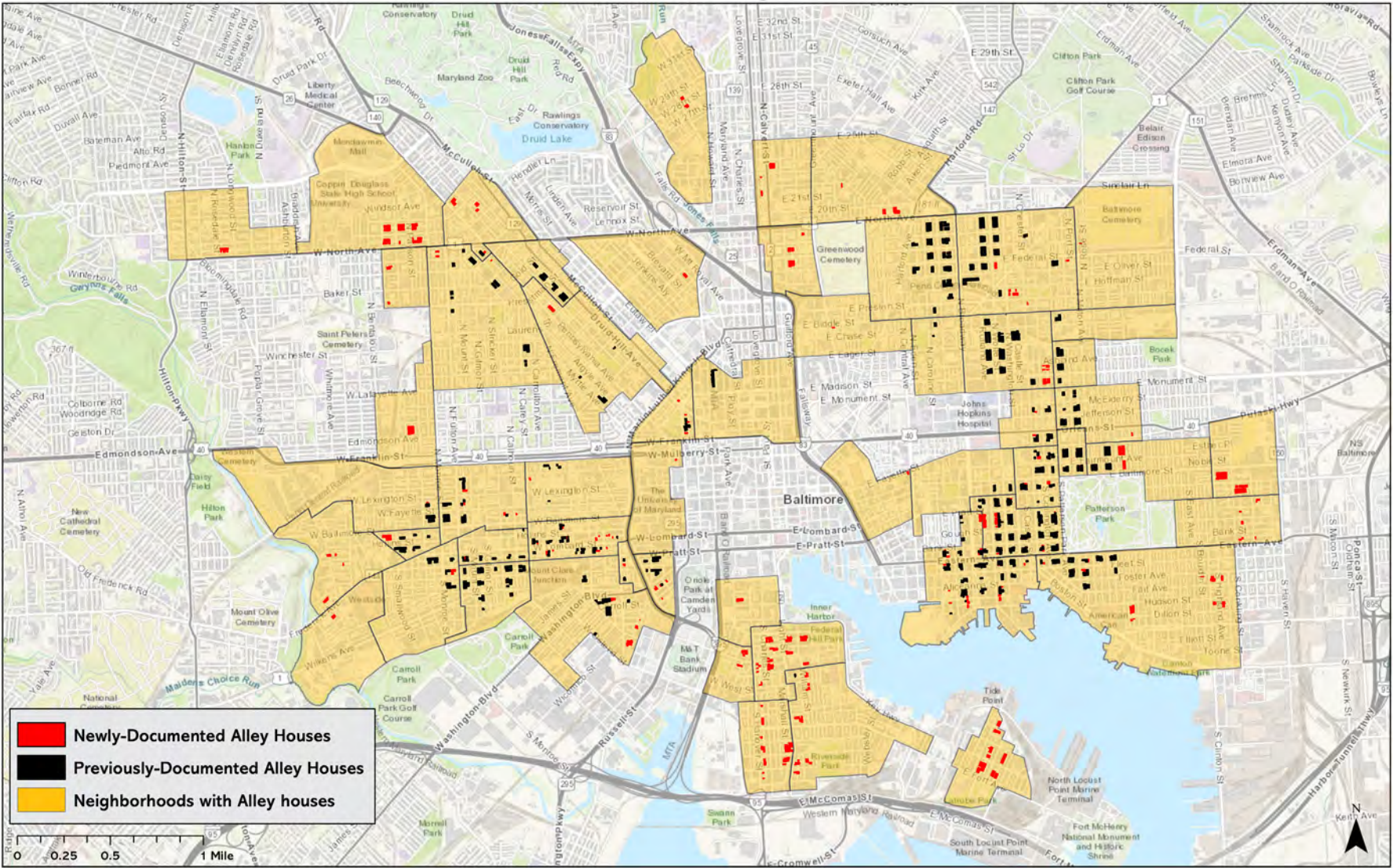
The results of this analysis are below. “Alley house group” refers to a contiguous group of alley housing units sharing party walls. In some instances, past demolitions of one or two alley houses in the middle of a contiguous group have led to the creation of two smaller alley house groups where there was previously an intact group. “Alley house building” refers to an individual alley housing unit. For reference, we compare our numbers with those from Mary Ellen Hayward’s earlier MHT survey.¹

Total Alley House Groups	727
<i>MHT Survey Alley House Groups</i>	407
<i>Alley House Study, Phase 1 Groups</i>	320
Total Alley House Buildings	3918
Alley House Groups With at Least 1 Vacant Lot	88 (12%)
<i>MHT Survey Alley House Groups</i>	87
<i>Alley House Study, Phase 1 Groups</i>	1
Alley Houses with Full Addresses	98%
Alley Houses with Year Built Data	85%

¹ For More information on the limitations of our data, please see page 13.



Baltimore's Alley Houses



Why This Report? Why Now?

The impetus for this report was the implementation of Project C.O.R.E. (Creating Opportunities for Renewal and Enterprise), a Maryland state initiative begun in 2016 which, in part, seeks to demolish abandoned, derelict, and dilapidated buildings in Baltimore. By law, all Maryland state units (in this case, the City of Baltimore) are required to “ensure that no property listed in or eligible to be listed in the Historic Register inadvertently transferred, sold, demolished, destroyed, substantially altered, or allowed to deteriorate significantly” (§ 5A-326 (a)(2)), through a process which closely mirrors the federal government’s Section 106 process (36 CFR 800).

Because some of the properties proposed for demolition through Project C.O.R.E. were eligible for or listed in the National Register of Historic Places, avenues for mitigating adverse effects were outlined in a programmatic agreement among DHCD, MHT, and the Mayor and City Council of Baltimore. It was believed that much of Baltimore’s alley housing had been demolished during the later half of the twentieth century and into the twenty-first; however, because no conclusive definition of an “alley house” existed, and thus no tracking of these buildings’ demolition had occurred, it proved difficult to determine

the current status of the city’s alley houses. Part of the Project C.O.R.E. mitigation agreement specifically stipulates that DHCD “fund a study to evaluate the current conditions and feasibility of redeveloping alley housing in targeted areas of the City.” The study would build upon existing survey data and historical research conducted through Hayward’s Baltimore Alley House Project; it would culminate in an updated survey of Baltimore’s alley houses.

The contemporary survey of Baltimore’s alley houses is now planned for Spring 2018, and is referred to throughout this report as “Phase 2.” This report constitutes Phase 1 of the alley house study, and the information contained herein is intended to guide Phase 2. In this report, we chart the history of alley houses, identify remaining alley houses, and outline a process whereby it may be determined which alley houses should be stabilized, demolished, or left as is. We base this alley house prioritization process on the following three criteria:

- The significance of a building (architectural, historical, and sociocultural)
- The current physical state of the building
- The potential for the rehabilitation of the building

We also present recommendations for

involving stakeholders in this process, and case studies of successful alley and rowhouse neighborhoods which can inform stabilization efforts. The information presented here can prove useful in prioritizing demolition, stabilization, and redevelopment decisions, and identifying alley house blocks bearing historic and cultural significance. While this report will prove to be of most immediate use to Project C.O.R.E. decisionmakers, it will also be of interest to planners, preservationists, advocates, and ordinary citizens interested in alley houses.

Methodology

To complete Phase 1 of this two-phase study, we used a variety of qualitative methods. These methods included spatial analysis, stakeholder interviews, case studies, and literature reviews. To determine the number of alley houses still existing in Baltimore City, we performed a spatial analysis using data provided by the MHT and publicly available data provided by Baltimore City on Open Baltimore Beta (i.e., data.baltimorecity.gov).¹ We conducted stakeholder interviews and analyzed them using a qualitative methodology, producing themes that informed our “alley house” definition and subsequent

¹ For a detailed methodology describing the process used to identify alley houses with ArcGIS software, see Appendix 8 (page 108).



PROJECT LIMITATIONS

Spatial Analysis

MHT provided a shapefile of the alley house groups surveyed in Hayward's original alley house project. In the years since this earlier MHT survey, some alley houses have been demolished. We were able to locate these vacant parcels using Baltimore City's open data, and we attempted to eliminate these parcels from our final count. This, however, presented technical problems. In ArcGIS, we were able to disaggregate the alley house groups to the individual building level. We were then able to eliminate alley house buildings which had been torn down. In our attempts to re-aggregate the individual buildings back to groups, though, we lost all of the data provided to us in the MHT shapefile for all but approximately 100 groups. Ultimately, it was not possible to assess the vacancy of the 407 MHT groups without losing most of the MHT data in the process. Therefore, we decided to maintain the MHT alley house groups as they were presented to us, and to assess vacancy for only the the new alley house groups that we identified. Because of this, our final alley house group count contains 88 alley house groups (12%) with one or more vacant lots.

Although this report defines an alley house in part based on its year built (we write that alley houses were constructed from the late eighteenth century until approximately 1909), some alley houses in our final count

may not meet this criterion. For example, we know that some alley houses were built after 1909 according to tax assessors' data. To create a shapefile that conforms to our definition, we considered eliminating groups in which the oldest house was built after 1909. However, we decided not to eliminate these houses from our final count for the following reason. Our shapefile locates groups of alley houses, and we find that individual alley houses in a contiguous group may have been built at different points in time. However, the year built data is incomplete. There are some groups in which all houses with year built data were built after 1909, but many contain one or more houses for which no year built information is available. We cannot say for certain whether the houses without this information were built before or after 1909. Because this data is incomplete and tax assessors' year built data is less reliable for older houses, we decided to present this information intact in the attribute table of the alley house shapefile provided to this report's clients.

Stakeholder interviews

Time and logistical constraints limited the number of interviews conducted. We identified a range of possible interviewees representing various levels of community involvement (community leaders, political leaders/policymakers/state and local employees; residents, civic organizations and community associations; and nonprofit

and philanthropic organizations) and sought to interview stakeholders from throughout the city. Over the course of three weeks, we performed eleven interviews. After conducting interviews in teams of two to three students, we aggregated our sample and found that all eleven interviewees were male, only one was a person of color (African American), and some alley house neighborhoods were strongly represented (e.g., those in Fells Point) while others were not represented at all (e.g., those in Southwest Baltimore and in Middle East). Because of the short amount of time allocated to the interview process, it proved difficult to coordinate effectively between teams, which appears to have compromised the inclusion of a more diverse range of participants.

This experience provides as an important lesson on actively furthering inclusive techniques. We could, and should, have used a more coordinated approach to ensure a diverse and representative sample. As a result of these limitations, the interviews conducted for this report may not provide a comprehensive view of stakeholder thoughts and concerns regarding the physical, socio-cultural, and historic qualities of Baltimore's alley houses. However, with a clear understanding of their limitations, these interviews still present valuable information.

chapters. We conducted brief case studies to understand the ways in which alleys and alley houses have been used in other parts of the country and the world, and we photographically documented examples of alley houses in Baltimore to better understand the local context. Throughout the process, we reviewed relevant literature, drawing on information and data from a variety of sources (technical documents, case studies, gray literature, and empirical research, for example), which helped us to determine best practices, preferred outcomes, and informed recommendations during each section of our study.

Structure of the report

In chapter 2, we draw on professional and academic literature to understand existing knowledge of alley houses' cultural and historical significance, existing conditions, and possible future in the fabric of Baltimore. Chapter 3 presents case studies for sustainably redeveloping alley houses, exploring the successful, contemporary uses of alleys in the U.S. and abroad. In chapter 4, we provide technical documents intended to facilitate the implementation of Phase 2 of this project. We outline methods for surveying

alley house condition, determining the houses' objective and subjective significance, and recording collected data via mobile application. Chapter 5 makes recommendations for community outreach and involvement. We pay particular attention to engaging individuals who have traditionally been marginalized in planning processes, highlighting possible ways that Project C.O.R.E. can utilize bottom-up processes to achieve greater equity. Finally, chapter 6 offers conclusions and overall recommendations on implementing Phase 2 of this project.



Dover Street, Ridgely's Delight (Photograph Courtesy Holly Simmons)



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Chapter 2

History

Introduction



Jasper Street, Seton Hill (photograph courtesy Jack Narron)

Alley Houses in Baltimore have had a rich and vibrant history over the course of two centuries, serving as a shelter to many different people who have called Baltimore home. In this chapter, the history of alley houses is examined in three different ways. The first is through a scholarly literature review, in the form of books and journal articles detailing history of alley houses and their associations were analyzed; the second was through a grey literature review, which was conducted through analysis of professional reports and surveys; and the last section is through a focused study on the demolition history of alley houses in Baltimore, which better informs us of what is left after nearly a century of developmental change within the city. These three sections provide a detailed and multifaceted understanding of the significance of alley houses and their place within the broader context of the history of Baltimore as a whole.



Scholarly Literature Review

The purpose of this section is to gather scholarly information on the history and current life of alley houses. The primary geographic location is Baltimore, specifically its alleys and the houses within them. The themes discussed in this section are as follows:

Genesis and Evolution of Alleys

This section details the history of alley houses, with a particular focus on the architectural design and aesthetics of these spaces. This section also details the socioeconomic composition of alley house neighborhoods. Another key point for this theme was to look at the socio-economic pattern of alley house lifestyles.

The Fall of Alleys

There are many factors that contributed to the fall of alley houses. Key factors examined include segregation, abandonment, and demolition.

Redevelopment of Alleys

In this section, we looked at the processes and steps that were taken to redevelop alley houses, as well as aspects of alley greening, infrastructural development, conversion, and the role of housing policies

and programs. This helped us gain a better understanding of how alley houses have been redeveloped in recent years.

Life in Alleys

In this section we looked at the people who lived, and still live, in alley houses and what makes these alleys unique. We focused specifically on the living conditions, resident lifestyle/experiences, and activity patterns of alley communities. This theme is not constrained to one timeframe of alley houses but focuses on the whole lifespan of alley houses.

Definition of an Alley House

Before defining an alley house, the reviewed literature in this paper emphasizes the need of defining an alley street. According to DHCD, the definition of alley house is based on the characteristics of the street rather than its architectural style, as dwellings in the style of alley houses can be found on main streets.¹ An alley street is defined as a narrow passage between 12 to 16 feet wide with sidewalks four feet wide each

1. *Alley Houses 1987*. Department of Housing and Community Development, Research and Analysis Section. Baltimore: DHCD, 1988.

on both sides. Hayward describes an alley street as “little streets” or lanes influenced by English provincial towns narrow streets called “mews”.² Historically, Baltimore’s alley houses were colorfully named; examples include Apple Alley, Petticoat Alley, Strawberry Alley and Star Alley. Early alley streets in Baltimore first took shape in Fells Point, then spread to the West side of the harbor and eventually to other parts of Baltimore. The houses built along these alley ways, usually in brick, with two or three floors are called alley houses. Alley houses can be visually defined as houses which share their party walls with the adjacent houses, packed together in a row only having their front and back exposed.

Genesis and Evolution of Alleys

In the United States, Baltimore witnessed the most extensive history of construction of alley houses. Alley house construction began in the late 18th Century and continued into the 20th Century, while Philadelphia stopped building them after the Civil War and Washington started

2. Hayward, Mary Ellen. *Baltimore's Alley Houses: Homes for Working People Since the 1780s*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008.



constructing them only after the beginning of Civil War.³ The present literature tries to capture the alley house styles by arranging them in three typologies based on their overall dimension- width, depth and height. These houses are also classified by their architectural elements, including ornamentation, facades, and interior detailing. These features were continuously introduced by the diverse immigrant groups in Baltimore that brought along the essences of their native architecture.

In the late 1700s and early 1800s, Baltimore saw the construction of fashionable and elegant row houses which were owned by wealthy merchants. They had a grandeur in their style, were very spacious, and were generally three and a half stories tall.⁴ These row houses are referred to as “three bays wide and two rooms deep.”⁵ They have a width between 18 and 30 feet and depth between 30 and 40 feet, with kitchen almost 14 by 20 feet housed with a dining space in a high basement. The basement was high to include the kitchen, which would otherwise be accommodated in the back building with a family breakfast room. There was a side hall which ran the full length of the main block with doors opening in the front and rear of the house and stairs

were at the rear. The second floor consisted of bedrooms, two in the back building and one facing the main block.⁶

With the rise of industrialization, an industrial working class emerged, many of whom immigrated to Baltimore from Europe and surrounding rural areas looking for jobs. Between 1870 and 1900, Baltimore’s population nearly doubled, resulting in a severe shortage of affordable housing. This drove the construction of small row houses along alleys rather than the main streets.⁷ Unlike the grand houses which involved an architect’s vision, these houses were constructed by local builders and craftsmen. The houses were ordinary in design with simple beams of rectangular cross sections and plain woodwork. Nonetheless, a few of these houses did have elegant and rich interior work with fan-lighted doorways.⁸

Fells Point saw the construction of the city’s first alley houses. These houses were influenced by English colonial architecture. They were simple, constructed in wood or ordinary bricks that required painting, had one or two rooms of depth, two to two and a half stories height, and high basements

comprising kitchens. Many of them also had a back building which usually housed a kitchen.⁹

Formally, this typology has been mentioned as- houses “two bays wide and one room deep” and “two bays wide and two rooms deep.”¹⁰ The former type was built to accommodate the poorest laboring people, the free black population, and independent slaves. Some were only one and a half stories in height and had a width between 10.5 to 12 feet, with a kitchen adding an additional story, although kitchens were not necessarily present in all of them. It had stairs tightly winded next to the partition wall between the parlor and the kitchen. The interior construction was modest with plain mantels, windows and doors.¹¹ Smaller houses had a very steep, high pitched gable roof due to their one room depth, with a dormer window and kitchen on the rear.

Frame house construction discontinued after 1799 due to fires. The abundant supply of affordable bricks in Baltimore made brick structures popular after the turn of the 19th Century.¹² Houses had their front and rear walls built with double width masonry and partition walls in single masonry. The houses followed a Georgian-style brick

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

5. Hayward, Mary Ellen, and Charles Belfoure. *The Baltimore Rowhouse*. New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2001, 19.

6. Ibid, 20.

7. Fee, Elizabeth, Linda Shopes, and Linda Zeidman. *The Baltimore Book: New Views of Local History*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1991.

8. Hayward and Belfoure, *The Baltimore Rowhouse*, 19.

9. Hayward, *Baltimore’s Alley Houses*.

10. Hayward and Belfoure, *The Baltimore Rowhouse*, 20.

11. Ibid, 21.

12. Hayward, *Baltimore’s Alley Houses*



façade. The houses with three and a half floors were laid in Flemish bonds, the elevation of these houses had elegant proportions, heavy moldings, multipaned windows, chimneys, and interior woodwork finishing. After the mid-1820s, the common bond brickwork replaced the Flemish bond on the front face; however it was already being used for smaller houses, in cellars, and in the party walls. Use of this brick bond declined after 1830 and running bond became common on main facades. The quality of bricks was very ordinary then.¹³ Window and door openings had simple flat timber sill and lintels. In some cases, jack arches and segmental arches were also used as lintels for both openings. Dutch style sash windows were used in the early houses. After the War of 1812, stone or stucco also became common as it provided a more elegant finish than brick.¹⁴

The builders and craftsmen designed these houses in a Georgian English style with Philadelphian influence as they moved from Philadelphia to Baltimore with its growing construction demand. These houses are referred by Belfoure and Hayward as “Federal Style rows,” an evolved American version of Georgian English style, identified by their narrow, tall windows, Flemish bond brick work, stone sills and lintels and

13. Hayward and Belfoure, *The Baltimore Rowhouse*, 21.
14. Ibid.

elegantly designed doorways.¹⁵

To access the backyards of these lots, a passageway was designed called a “sally port,” or an arched tunnel between the houses. Prior to 1840, water was not supplied via indoor plumbing systems but was rather drawn from hand pumps. Rich people had their own water hydrant in their yards.¹⁶

Another wave of housing construction began in 1840s when Irish immigrants came to Baltimore. Their houses were inspired by Greek forms, resulting in a more formal look. During this time, alley houses became taller, the pitch of the roofs was lowered allowing the addition of an attic floor, and narrow windows replaced dormant windows. This new house type came to be known as a “two-story-and-attic” due to its taller attic with low-pitched roof. The wealthy could afford higher-quality entrance porticos with stone columns, whereas the working class settled for a door pediment and pilasters on door sides. White or gray paint was also seen on the façade to imitate stone. The houses built in this style are mentioned as “Greek Revival Row” by Belfoure and Hayward.¹⁷

By 1880s, Italianate style Romantic-era

15. Hayward, *Baltimore's Alley Houses*, 2008.
16. Hayward and Belfoure, *The Baltimore Rowhouse*, 21.
17. Ibid.

architecture became trendy in Baltimore with the introduction of cast iron in ornamentation. Three-bay-wide alley houses were decorated with elaborate cornices and their friezes were adorned with brackets bearing jigsaw design. Two-bay-wide houses also imitated these elevation details, especially the frieze boards.¹⁸

Steam-powered production in factories made carving elaborate patterns affordable to the middle class. Wood, marble stone, and metal were steam sawed to be used for embellishment.¹⁹

After 1892, rowhouses were modified to remove wooden cornices and replace them with metal sheets to protect from fire hazards. This was the beginning of the “Renaissance Revival Period” when neocolonial details emerged on the façades.²⁰ There was a great fire in 1904 after which building materials saw a shift to ironspot bricks and classic marble houses.²¹ “Marble house” was the selling name for the neoclassical type row houses built in two-story version.²² Bricks were corbelled to create the lower frieze with side brackets that supported metal crown molding.

18. Hayward, *Baltimore's Alley Houses*, 2008.
19. Hayward and Belfoure, *The Baltimore Rowhouse*, 21.
20. Hayward, *Baltimore's Alley Houses*, 2008.
21. Hayward, Mary Ellen., and Frank R. Shivers. *The Architecture of Baltimore: an Illustrated History*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004, 258.
22. Hayward and Belfoure, *The Baltimore Rowhouse*, 21:103.



Windows on the first floors became wider with an arched lintel. Superior quality roman bricks were used and the basement face and entrance steps were clad with marble. Windows had a large single piece of glass. Door transoms that ventilated the house were decorated with stained glass.²³ The interior of the two-story houses opened up, allowing formal, straight flight staircases which resulted in windowless rooms in the center.²⁴ By the 1950s, stucco veneer products became quite popular as façade cladding for their stone imitation for those who did not have their houses built in spot iron bricks.²⁵

Other significant additions to these houses included indoor bathrooms, gas lighting, central heating plants in the basements, and stoves in the kitchens. Middle-income residents were able to afford new sewage systems and indoor bathrooms only after 1911.²⁶ In 1912, the longest row of houses was seen in the 2600 block of Wilkens Avenue, which is now a registered historic district.²⁷

From the late 1700s until the mid 1900s, alley houses went through a journey of various architecture styles and building materials and many of the origins of these

23. Hayward, *Baltimore's Alley Houses*, 2008.

24. Hayward and Belfoure, *The Baltimore Rowhouse*, 102.

25. *Ibid*, 118.

26. Hayward, *Baltimore's Alley Houses*, 2008.

27. Hayward and Shivers. *The Architecture of Baltimore: an Illustrated History*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004, 259.

styles were influenced by medieval London. Though they lagged behind in the race to match themselves in style and fashion with the rest of the world, they still managed to enjoy the art and design of that era. According to Belfoure and Hayward, the most intriguing thing about alley houses built from 1880 and 1915 is that even being small and affordable, they highlighted style and fashion in their form.²⁸

By the mid-1900s, alley houses began to face sanitation and living condition issues. When middle-income families and other wealthy people chose to move out to the suburbs and the building and state mandates required that daylight design factor in houses, developers were concerned that the construction of more alley houses would lead to regulatory difficulties.

By the middle of the middle of the 19th Century, American cities were fast becoming “pedestrian” cities, where inhabitants’ mode of transportation for work, pleasure and errands was primarily walking. As a result, the population tended to choose to live as close to the places that they frequented as possible. This began to strain the spatial limits of the city, necessitating an expansion of the use of

28. *Ibid*, 106.

alleys for housing.²⁹ Lots already utilized for street-facing buildings were subdivided further, with the intent of using the alley-facing section of the lots for additional dwellings. These alley-facing homes tended to be in the most densely populated sections of the city, and may initially have been a mixture of both planned houses, and shanty-style houses, hastily erected by freedmen or others who needed housing quickly.³⁰ In places like Mount Carmel, PA, the building of alley houses was prompted by the unwillingness of the industrial companies to develop workforce housing. Property owners began to subdivide their lots and build alley houses to either rent or sell. As a result, by 1913, 18 percent of Mount Carmel’s residential structures were alley houses.³¹

Economic considerations played a large part in the rise of alley houses. Pre-Civil War, there were roughly 49 inhabited alleys in Washington D.C. documented, although it is likely that there were many more in so-called “hidden alleys.” By 1873, this number had jumped to 500, following an influx of roughly 48,000 people in the decade

29. Borchert, James. “*The Rise and Fall of Washington’s Inhabited Alleys: 1852-1972*”. <http://www.jstor.org.proxy-um.researchport.umd.edu/stable/pdf/40067777.pdf?refreqid=excelsior%3Ae6e827b9c2f368f11b351f989b881141>

30. *Ibid*.

31. Mosher, Anne E. and Holdsworth, Deryck W. “*The Meaning of Alley Housing in Industrial Towns: Examples from Late-Nineteenth and Early-Twentieth Century Pennsylvania*.” <https://media-proquest.com.proxy-um.researchport.umd.edu/media>.



prior.³² Urban land had begun to see a shift in value, from traditional homeowner use to income use.³³ The system of “ground rent”, where a land speculator or developer paid a small amount to the owner of the land in order to be able to build, contributed to the affordability of alley homes. The main leaseholder might construct a row home on the street-facing side, while they subleased the back portion for a term of ninety-nine years. In turn, homes would be built on that back, alley-facing portion, which could be rented or financed.³⁴ The landowner secured a steady income from the rent on the land, and developers were able to build small, affordable homes that could be rented or financed to immigrants and other working-class families.³⁵ Baltimore was different from other cities that used alleys for residential purposes in that homeownership was the norm among those living in the alley homes, while in other cities such as Washington D.C.,³⁶ alleys tended to be overcrowded, with landlords charging ever-increasing rents for dilapidated homes that sometimes housed more than one family. This continued from the mid-19th

32. Borchert, “The Rise and Fall of Washington’s Inhabited Alleys.”

33. Shammass, Carole. “The Space Problem in Early United States Cities”. <http://www.jstor.org.proxy-um.researchport.umd.edu/stable/pdf/2674264.pdf?refreqid=excelsior%3Ae985e60569e035565e92cb-63b2c8ce25>

34. Power, Garrett. “Entail in Two Cities: A Comparative Study of Long Term Leases in Birmingham, England and Baltimore, Maryland 1700-1900”.

35. Hayward, Mary Ellen. *Baltimore’s Alley Houses*. Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore. 2008.

36. Power, “Entail in two Cities.”

century on, and by 1913, fewer owners of alley property lived even in the same block as the property they owned, and in Washington D.C., only 15 alley houses were owned by their occupants.³⁷

The alley houses began to be more largely segregated, as well, by the end of the nineteenth century. According to Washington D.C. census data, by 1871 81 percent of heads of household in alley homes were African American, while only 19 percent were White. From 1858 to 1871, in Washington D.C., 56 percent of African Americans living in alley homes were unskilled laborers, with 25 percent being classified as semi-skilled. 61 percent of white residents of alley homes were listed as unskilled, and 5 percent as semi-skilled. 18 percent of white residents in Washington D.C. alley homes were listed as “skilled.”³⁸ In Baltimore, it was not until the 1880s that alley homes began to be primarily occupied by African Americans, with concentrations in Fells Point and Federal Hill. In 1882, approximately 31 percent of all alley house residents were common laborers, with an additional 16% working as oyster shuckers. It was more likely however to see a mixture of workers in Baltimore’s alley homes, with occupants working in jobs such as education, nursing, or skilled

37. Borchert, “The Rise and Fall of Washington’s Inhabited Alleys.”
38. Ibid.

occupations—barbering, brickmaking, or shopkeeping—living alongside the “unskilled” laborers.³⁹ For most of the 19th Century, it appears, Baltimore was remarkably progressive in terms of housing opportunities and living conditions for the working-class families who occupied alley streets.

The Fall of Alleys

As already covered in the previous section, alley houses represent an important part of Baltimore’s housing and development history, and comprise a significant share of the city’s total housing supply as well. In fact, in 2000 row houses represented 58 percent of Baltimore’s total housing stock.⁴⁰ Therefore, the decline of alley houses in Baltimore is closely tied to the general decline of housing that the city suffered during the 20th Century. Factors like residential segregation, racial and economic separation, and abandonment of housing help explain the decay of housing in the city, including alley houses.

It seems to be a consensus among scholars that the introduction of residential segregation ordinances in Baltimore during the early 20th Century represents a major,

39. Hayward, *Baltimore’s Alley Houses*.

40. Hollander, Justin; Johnson, Michael; Drew, Rachel “Changing Urban Form in a Shrinking City”. University of Massachusetts Boston, 2017.



if not the most important, factor for the housing decline in Baltimore. On May 15, 1911, Baltimore mayor J. Barry Mahool signed an ordinance mandating that blocks be exclusively comprised of Whites or African Americans⁴¹ According to Power, the segregation ordinances in Baltimore had the important effect of limiting the overall housing supply available for the burgeoning African American population.⁴² Segregation resulted in higher prices on African Americans' housing as well as a deterioration on the housing conditions. Power explains that new housing was financed largely by building and loan associations created by immigrant groups and labor unions that refused to extend credit to black residents. Therefore, Black residents had little or no loan options for financing housing. Thus, the increase in demand and the very limited supply resulted in higher prices for blacks seeking to either buy or rent.

Moreover, Power also argues that the low supply and the few financial alternatives forced black residents to crowd together in order to pay for high rents, which had a negative impact on the quality of housing in black neighborhoods. In some cases, even small alley houses were turned into

tenements for three or four families. Furthermore, even though the migration of White families to outer Baltimore during the 1920s improved the crowding in Black housing, the quality problem remained. Power mentions that a 1933 study found that the “blighted” areas in Baltimore were primarily comprised of African-American residents. The blighted term was used for those areas whose dwellings' physical conditions were below the standard for rehabilitation. The study mentioned that these areas received few municipal services: garbage and refuse were not collected, and even many houses lacked proper connection to the city's sewer system.⁴³

Segregation was not the only factor that contributed to the decline of Baltimore's housing stock. Even though residential segregation rules remained unchanged for many years, the population growth of Black residents in Baltimore increased from 142,000 to 326,000 between 1930 and 1960. This factor added to the above-mentioned overcrowding of African American residents in the limited supply available to them.⁴⁴ More people lived in the same supply of houses, which caused the houses to start being neglected.

On the other hand, James Cohen studied

the general abandoned-housing problem specifically in the city of in Baltimore, as well as the challenges involved in trying to rehabilitate housing in the city. Cohen examined this issue in the Harlem Park, Sandtown-Winchester, and East Baltimore neighborhoods.⁴⁵ These neighborhoods were first settled in the late 1800s, and while the first two were mainly middle-class suburbs with two story alley houses and three-story rowhouses on main streets, the latter served primarily as a home for manufacturing, port, and railroad workers. Cohen also notes how exclusionary zoning made these neighborhoods almost exclusively African American by the early 1970s.⁴⁶

According to Cohen, two important factors contributed to the physical and economic decline of these neighborhoods: the loss of manufacturing jobs in Baltimore and the fair housing laws that allowed middle- and upper- income black residents to emigrate from the inner-city areas. As already mentioned, most of the alley houses Black residents' occupations were tied to the main economic activities in inner Baltimore, especially port and manufacturing jobs. However, as the economy of the City started to abandon these activities and

41. Baltimore, Maryland Ordinance 692.

42. Power, Garrett. “Apartheid Style: the Residential Segregation Ordinances of 1910-1913” *Maryland Law Review*, Volume 42, Issue 2, Article 4, 1983

43. *Ibid.*
44. *Ibid.*

45. Cohen, James. “Abandoned Housing: Exploring Lessons from Baltimore”. *Housing Policy Debate*, Volume 12, Issue 3. Fannie Mae Foundation, 2001

46. *Ibid.*



move towards other ones, particularly in the second part of the 20th Century, black workers in the area had more problems finding a job, and thus a way to pay for rent. Cohen provides data supporting the decline of the three studied neighborhoods.⁴⁷ Sandtown-Winchester saw a decline in its population from 30,000 in its peak to around 10,300 by 1990. By the end of the same decade, 3,000 of the total 4,600 housing units needed rehabilitation or demolition, which represents 65 percent of total units. In East Baltimore, a survey conducted in 2000 found that 32 percent of the area's total housing stock was vacant and unoccupiable.

Hollander et al further note how economic factors influenced the decline of Baltimore's rowhouses.⁴⁸ The authors explain how residents started to move out from the high-density row house neighborhoods to job-rich suburbs, as the urban manufacturing industry in the Baltimore area started to shrink. Langdon elaborates on the effect on neighborhoods of the constant flow of residents out of the city. He explains that as more residents continued to move out from inner areas, the neighborhoods became poorer and more crime-ridden. In turn, many houses were sold to usually absent landlords, and

47. Ibid.

48. Hollander, Johnson, and Drew, "Changing Urban Form in a Shrinking City"

others deteriorated after their elderly owners died. In addition, many landlords abandoned their rowhouses when they stopped being profitable. Langdon explains that as houses were abandoned some of them started to be used for drug hangouts or other illegal activities, which added to the sense of housing decline.⁴⁹

Stein pointed out a valid argument for an additional factor of the decline of alley houses, particularly in the inner harbor area of Baltimore. The authors describe how the inner harbor was a bustling center at the turn of the twentieth century, with merchants and shipping companies doing business around the port.⁵⁰ Many of these shipping companies hired newly migrated Black residents. Thus, the area around the inner harbor became home for many Black residents during those years, in particular alley houses. The authors elaborate on how the inner harbor area was decimated after the Baltimore Fire in 1904.⁵¹ The shipping industry moved to Locust Point, southwest of the inner harbor, after the Fire; and as businesses and industries left the harbor, black residents were restricted to the now

49. Langdon, Philip. "The Disappearing Rowhouse Neighborhoods of Baltimore and Philadelphia: What's an Urbanist to Do?" Knight Program Fellow Knight Program in Community Building at University of Miami School of Architecture. 2001.

50. Stein, Alexandra. "Mapping Residential Segregation in Baltimore City". Senior Thesis and Projects, Trinity College Digital Repository, 2011.

51. Ibid.

deteriorating alley houses. They crowded in the small houses and living conditions, as well as the houses' conditions, continued to deteriorate.

Redevelopment of Alleys

Following the population decline and abandonment of alley houses in the early to mid-20th Century, alley house vacancy became a critical issue in Baltimore. The City responded to this issue in what Philip Langdon describes as "a pattern of reckless demolition practices and failed rehabilitation plans."⁵² He argues that there should be more strategic redevelopment and rehabilitation plans for alley houses. Langdon suggests that the alley house rehabilitation efforts should be focused on transitional neighborhoods with an up-and-coming market and concentrations of employment, among other things. In additions, he proposes that demolition of alley houses should focus on places that, after demolitions, would be large enough for a redevelopment. Finally, Langdon argues that cities like Baltimore and Philadelphia, which have many vacant and deteriorating alley houses, should enact policies and programs that balance the preservation of intact alley houses and the

52. Philip Langdon, "The Disappearing Rowhouse Neighborhoods of Baltimore and Philadelphia: What's an Urbanist to Do?" (Knight Program in Community Building Final Report, University of Miami, 2001), 3-5.



ambitious demolition and redevelopment of more deteriorated alley houses.⁵³

Chronic alley house vacancy and dilapidation has led to health and safety concerns. Citizens have worked within the civic system to combat these problems. For example, residents of the Luzerne and Glover Streets in the Patterson Park neighborhood sought to create a sustainable way to protect their alleys from crime, and to beautify the space. The residents concluded that the best way to achieve these goals was to gate off the alleyways. This concept set a new precedent for Baltimore City officials, because the city code did not permit them to actively gate off the alley right of way. The Luzerne and Glover residents fought for and succeeded in creating new legislation that would allow them to request that the City gate off the alleyways and give residents a sense of safety and, subsequently, the ability to use their alley space freely for recreational activities.⁵⁴ Today, Baltimore's Alley Gating and Greening program is one of the two programs in United States committed to building and empowering communities. As part of the greening programs, alley house residents can propose and determine what

constitutes this process in their alleyways.⁵⁵

Life in Alleys

Life in the alleyways of Baltimore can be understood by examining the existing literature surrounding alleyways in the Mid-Atlantic and elsewhere. This literature makes clear that alley housing has served different roles and clientele over its lifetime.

In her article on alleys in Tokyo, Heide Imai defined a "liminal space" as "a place where boundaries dissolve."⁵⁶ This means that an alleyway, (known as *roji* in Japanese), can be understood as a place that straddles multiple different dimensions of city life. While some alleyways in Tokyo are still in active use, they are increasingly marginalized and left behind in an ever-growing city, and thus occupy a role that is half present-day and half living history, and give residents a window into the past that can be hard to find in modern Tokyo.⁵⁷

Alleyways also offer an unusual blend of private and public ownership, which can leave visitors uncertain of the type of

space the alleys are occupying. Residents of these spaces feel connected to their community because of the closeness of the homes along the alleyway, and many houses have remained in the same family for several generations. However, as the neighborhoods around them change and are filled in with high-rise residential towers, new, more transient neighbors arrive. These neighbors soon discover the wonders of the *roji* but do not usually interact with the longstanding residents. This adds to the feeling of the alleyways as interstitial spaces, as if they are connecting historic old Tokyo with its modern version. The city of Tokyo has recognized this and is trying to preserve the *roji* which still exist in the city.⁵⁸

While Tokyo may seem a world apart from Baltimore, its alleyways may show a path forward for mid-Atlantic cities attempting to preserve their own heritage and find solutions for rising housing costs. Alleys offer opportunities for the kind of human-scale housing and living which is increasingly being destroyed in Japan, and Baltimore could see its alleys as a strategic asset to keep communities bound tightly together as they were in the past.

Domestically, alley houses were also an integral part of Washington, D.C.'s history. In the articles "The Surviving Cultural

53. Ibid, 25.

54. K. A. Herrod, "Creating New Urban Commons: A Baltimore Case Study, Paper presented at the Sustaining Commons: Sustaining Our Future, the Thirteenth Biennial Conference of the International Association for the Study of the Commons, Hyderabad, India, January 2011.

55. Joshua P. Newell, Mona Seymour, Thomas Yee, Jennifer Renteria, Travis Longcore, Jennifer R. Wolch, and Anne Shishkovsky, "Green Alley Programs: Planning for a sustainable urban infrastructure?" *Cities* 31 (April 2013), 146 and 147.

56. Imai, Heide, "The liminal nature of alleyways: Understanding the alleyway *roji* as a 'Boundary' between past and present," *Cities: The International Journal of Policy and Planning*, 2013

57. Ibid.

58. Ibid.



Landscape of Washington's Alleys," by Kim Prothro Williams, and "Alley Life in Washington: An Analysis of 600 Photographs," by James Borchert, the authors find that alleyways in Washington were first constructed in the 1800s as a convenient way to house the city's poorest, usually African Americans.⁵⁹ An analysis of alley housing at its peak in the Mount Vernon Square area of Washington in the 1880s shows that while the neighborhood was racially mixed at a neighborhood level, it still experienced microsegregation. 93 percent of alley dwellers were black, and 91 percent of main street residents were white.⁶⁰

Washington's alleys were eventually used as mixed-use spaces, where homes neighbored with industrial buildings and horse stables. Alley houses in Washington were first built in the 1850s, but many more were built after the Civil War as a result of rapid population growth. In the 20th Century, however, they began to be abandoned and demolished, and only recently have there been any efforts to preserve the existing alleyways. The turn of the century saw a ban on new alley house construction and the advent of the streetcar, though, which saw a decrease

59. Williams, Kim Prothro, "The Surviving Cultural Landscape of Washington's Alleys," *Washington History*, 2015. & Borchert, James, "Alley Life in Washington: An Analysis of 600 Photographs," *Records of the Columbia Historical Society*, 1973/1974.

60. *Ibid.*

in residential uses of alley housing. By the 1970s, fewer than 200 households citywide lived in alleys, and they were mostly middle-class professionals living in Capitol Hill, Foggy Bottom, and Georgetown.⁶¹ A report of all the existing alley houses in Washington was released in 2014 and identified approximately 1,800 houses.⁶²

Initially, Washington's alley houses suffered from poor living conditions, often lacking running water and proper sanitation. They lacked sewers or running water and were extremely unsanitary. The tight living quarters, lack of green space, and mix of uses with further contributed to these conditions. As more far-flung housing was built, in combination with the streetcar and automobile, those who could moved out of alley houses and their uses were taken over more and more by industrial uses such as garages.

Alley houses tended to be well-made brick structures but they were not well maintained due to absentee landlords. These houses were still organized though and the families that lived in them were too, contrary to common perceptions of alley dwelling families as disjointed and dirty.

61. *Ibid.*

62. Williams, Kim Prothro, "The Surviving Cultural Landscape of Washington's Alleys," *Washington History*, 2015.

The conditions in the alleys were also ripe for frequent social interaction, due to homogeneity of residents and proximity of space. Washington's alleys were "defensible spaces," allowing residents to protect each other from crime and outsiders by keeping eyes on the street at all times.⁶³ Alley residents looked out for each other and helped each other out with small expenses, which facilitated a community atmosphere. Ultimately, what these readings seem to indicate is that the levels of crime and uncleanness commonly associated with alleys may indeed have very little to do with the physical nature of the alleys themselves, and more to do with the systematic deprivation of the people who lived in the alleys. This leads us to believe that alley housing can be a positive development for a neighborhood, so long as it is managed appropriately and not allowed to become a site for concentrated poverty.

Alley houses were first brought to Baltimore and the Mid-Atlantic at the end of the 1700s, and they were often built in neighborhoods like Fells Point to serve the laborer classes as well as free blacks and servants. Throughout the 1800s, however, as new waves of immigrants came to Baltimore and cities like it, alley houses were constructed throughout the core of

63. James Borchert, "Alley Life in Washington: An Analysis of 600 Photographs," *Records of the Columbia Historical Society*, 1973/1974



the city to house those who were looking to climb onto the first rung of the housing ladder. Recent immigrants would first live in an alley dwelling as they worked hard and saved up, and would then eventually move out, and the next tenant would often come from the next wave of recent immigrants. The rise of immigration saw a corresponding increase in the number of alley houses constructed in Baltimore, as more parts of the city were filled in. The rise of migration of African Americans from the South also contributed to the increase in demand for alley housing. The immigrant groups that settled in Baltimore played a significant role in bringing new architectural styles to these alley houses which are now city's historical assets. Industrialization, invention of machines, helped in bringing down the construction costs of alley houses while accentuating their design aesthetics both externally and internally. The story of alley housing in Baltimore thus essentially mirrors the origin stories of many Baltimore-area families. Many families could, if they tried, trace their history back to an immigrant or a freed slave who found their way to Baltimore and first settled in an alley house somewhere.

Conclusion

In general, we found that two factors stand out from others as possible reasons for the decline of alley houses. On one hand,

the residential segregation ordinances established in Baltimore at the beginning of the 20th Century caused a growing African American population to crowd into existing houses, without the opportunity to build or buy new houses. The crowding of several families in small alley houses inevitably resulted in the deterioration of housing quality in those neighborhoods. On the other hand, the strong relationship between the alley houses residents' occupations with the economic activity of Baltimore, particularly in the harbor area, caused a crisis when port activities moved from areas like the harbor to other more profitable areas. When the economy switched, many low-income workers dedicated to manufacturing and port activities could not leave the harbor area due to the inability to rent or buy a house somewhere else (African Americans in particular could not leave their houses due to the segregation ordinances). These areas suffered due to the loss of economic activity, while some alley houses stayed heavily crowded and deteriorated rapidly.

While alley houses seemed to be past their historical usefulness by the late 20th Century, a new school of thought called New Urbanism began to see these spaces in a new light. Promoting compact, walkable cities, New Urbanists realized that alleys could be a critical part of their vision for the city of the future, which

drew heavily on concepts from cities of the past. The still-existing alleys in cities like Baltimore have begun to be seen as a useful feature of their neighborhoods, allowing for cheaper housing options in desirable neighborhoods. These spaces foster creativity and diversity, as well as places to store less-desirable land uses which allow the overall streetscape to look as attractive as possible. This has led to largely-successful campaigns to save alleys from demolition. Negative connotations of alleys persist, and in less-desirable neighborhoods, alleys are often still failing to attract much interest.

The widely held public perceptions of alley housing and alley dwellers have not always been grounded in reality. For instance, life in the alleyways of both Baltimore and Washington in the 1800s was characterized by poor living conditions and the constant threat of disease, which led many to assume that these areas suffered from a lack of social cohesion which exacerbated their misery. However, tightly-knit communities formed in these alleyways which kept crime low and allowed alley dwellers to have access to more resources and social capital than they would have had otherwise.



Grey Literature Review

To gain a better understanding of the past, present, and possible future of alley houses in Baltimore, we have performed a review of relevant professional reports, studies, and plans, broadly termed “gray literature.” This review of gray literature includes information organized into three broad categories reflecting the themes found in these sources. In the first section, we trace the traditional cultural, historical, and environmental significance of alleys and alley houses in the city. We find that, despite recording environmental issues, most of the grey literature recognizes that Baltimore’s alley housing has provided an important resource for a variety of residents throughout the city’s history. In the second section, we examine the existing conditions of Baltimore alleys and alley houses as described in neighborhood plans. We discover that the grey literature largely focuses on a variety of problems that alleys and alley houses may present to communities. In the third section, we turn to documents guiding the continued utilization and possible redevelopment of alleys and alley houses in Baltimore.

Cultural and Historical Significance

One theme encountered in many reports is the cultural significance of alley houses. Reports consistently note that African Americans (specifically free blacks), and immigrants made up a majority of alley home residents. *The National Register of Historic Places Form: Old West Baltimore Historic District* states that prior to 1890, African Americans were “relegated to alley housing spread throughout the city.”¹ The *Master Plan for the Upton Community* goes a step further to note that exclusionary zoning in the late 19th and early 20th centuries worked to keep African American families from purchasing much else within many of Baltimore’s neighborhoods.² Immigrants, many from Europe, also lived in alley houses. The *Baltimore City Heritage Area Management Action Plan* notes that most 19th century immigrants were primarily from Eastern and Southern Europe.³ The affordability of alley houses made them attainable for these individuals. *Master Plan for the Upton Community* and *Greenmount West Masterplan* note

that alley houses served laborers and the working class, while *South Baltimore Gateway Master Plan* describes alley houses as home to mostly low-income, working-class immigrants and African Americans^{4 5 6}

From 1838 to 1954, Old West Baltimore was a segregated neighborhood housing African Americans. Working class blacks (either freed slaves or migrant workers) lived in alley houses on inner-block streets and wealthier families inhabited larger rowhouses along main corridors.⁷ Today, West Baltimore remains a predominately African American neighborhood with growing ethnic groups, including Spanish-, Indo-European-, and Asian-speaking populations. According to the *South Baltimore Gateway Master Plan*, however, neighborhoods throughout West Baltimore experienced an increase in vacant and dilapidated commercial and residential infrastructure (including alley houses) as a result of Baltimore’s population decline in the 1950s.⁸

¹ “National Register of Historic Places Registration Form: Old West Baltimore Historic District,” United States Department of Interior, National Park Service.

² “Master Plan for the Upton Community,” Baltimore City Planning Department, 2005. 8.

³ “Baltimore City Heritage Area Management Action Plan,” HRG Consultants, Inc & AB Associates, 2001. 10.

⁴ “Master Plan for the Upton Community,” 8.

⁵ “Greenmount West Master Plan,” Baltimore City Planning Department, 2010. 18.

⁶ “South Baltimore Gateway Master Plan,” Baltimore City Planning Department, 2015.

⁷ “National Register of Historic Places Registration Form: Old West Baltimore Historic District.”

⁸ “South Baltimore Gateway Master Plan.”



East Baltimore was established by Eastern European industrial workers primarily from Germany in the early 1800s, as discussed in the *South Baltimore Gateway Master Plan*. Toward the mid-19th century, the community progressively became more diverse, with working class families living in two-story row or alley houses on smaller streets. Today, the area remains densely populated with the highest portion of rehabilitated housing and alley housing structures. East Baltimore is predominantly European-American with a growing percentage of Spanish-, Indo-European, and Asian-speaking ethnic groups. It persists as a major industrial, commercial, and entertainment corridor for Baltimore’s residents.⁹

According to the *South Baltimore Gateway Master Plan*, many two-story rowhouses and alley buildings in South Baltimore housed workers during World War II. After the war, large-scale public housing developments were constructed to house low-income residents. The urban renewal movement led to infrastructure renovation in South Baltimore and the demolition of the 1950s style infrastructure and other culturally significant features. Today, South Baltimore is home to a fast-growing population of Spanish-speaking residents among other ethnic groups. The housing stock remains primarily suburban-style

public housing.¹⁰

Size, Structure and Planning

Many documents note the “modest” or “small” size of alley houses. *The DC Historic Alley Building Survey*, which provides insight on the regional context of alley houses, uses the term “modest” to describe houses that were built on interior lots.¹¹ The term is also found in the *South Baltimore Gateway Master Plan*, which states that laborers and free blacks lived in more modest houses on alleys and block interiors in the Otterbein and Sharp-Leadenhall neighborhoods.¹² The *National Register of Historic Places Inventory Nomination Form for the Federal Hill – Riverside Park Historic District* also states that smaller, more modest Italianate houses are found on side streets and alleys.¹³ The *Southwest Partnership Vision Plan* states that small two-story alley houses help create a unique historic character in the group of neighborhoods that make up the Southwest Partnership (Franklin Square, Poppleton, Union Square, Hollins Market, Mount Clare, Barre Circle, and Ridgely’s Delight).¹⁴ The *Baltimore City Heritage Area Management Action Plan* juxtaposes “tiny”

alley houses with nearby three-story row houses, indicating that alley houses are the smallest of housing types within the Old West Baltimore Neighborhood.¹⁵ Certain articles, such as in the *National Register Nomination Inventory Form for the Old West Baltimore Historic District*, base architectural significance of alley houses on their small size, specifically denoting their two-story stature to underscore this point.¹⁶

Alley streets are sometimes referred to as “small streets,” and the buildings facing onto these small streets have a different relationship to them than buildings facing onto larger streets. The *Baltimore City Heritage Area Management Action Plan* notes that parking is often prohibited, the corners are often marked by stores or restaurants, and the spaces are secluded and intimate.¹⁷ The *Biotechnology Park Programmatic Agreement Among the City of Baltimore...* outlines the term agreement reiterates the alleys’ small size by describing the streets that alley houses are found on as “narrow.”¹⁸

⁹ “South Baltimore Gateway Master Plan,” 23-27, 36-39.

¹⁰ Ibid. 36-39.

¹¹ Prothro Williams, Kim. “The DC Historic Alley Building Survey,” DC Office of Planning, 2014. 5.

¹² “South Baltimore Gateway Master Plan,” 23.

¹³ Parish, Preston. “Federal Hill Historic District,” National Register of Historic Places Inventory/Nomination Form. Maryland Historical Trust, Annapolis, April 16, 1969. 5.

¹⁴. “Southwest Partnership Vision Plan,” Southwest Partnership, 2015. 180.

¹⁵. “Baltimore City Heritage Area Management Action Plan,” 13.

¹⁶. “National Register of Historic Places Registration Form: Old West Baltimore Historic District,” 4.

¹⁷. “Baltimore City Heritage Area Management Action Plan,” 18.

¹⁸. “Programmatic Agreement Among the City of Baltimore, East Baltimore Development Incorporated, Baltimore Commission for Historical and Architectural Preservation, Second Chance Incorporated, and the Maryland Historical Trust Regarding the East Baltimore Development Project (Biotech Park Initiative), Specifically Phase One,” U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development. 9-10.

Location

When compared to citywide-level reports, a much larger number of neighborhood reports underscore the importance of the alley house, indicating that those that work most closely with and who know the most about cultural, architectural, and historical Baltimore neighborhood components have felt the need to highlight the importance of alley houses through time.

Blight and demolition of alley houses, specifically beginning in the urban renewal period, is a prominent topic. Several reports denote that urban renewal efforts have resulted in the loss of many alley houses that were once an important part of these communities' contexts. *The National Register of Historic Places Registration Form for the Old West Baltimore Historic District* notes that many alley houses were demolished as a part of urban renewal efforts. This form reports that, within the Harlem Park Urban Renewal Area, all alley houses were razed for inner block parks in the 1960s. The number of remaining alley houses is unclear.¹⁹

This review revealed the location of more than one row of alley houses built on or very near the site of historic brickyards.

19. "National Register of Historic Places Registration Form: Old West Baltimore Historic District."

The *Sharp-Leadenhall Plan* denotes that one alley block on Bevan Street was built on the site of a former brickyard in the late 18th century.²⁰ Likewise, the *Fort Worthington Elementary/Middle School Inspire Plan* also indicates that another brickyard was located not far from alley houses. When this brickyard closed after World War II and development occurred upon it, those who lived in the nearby alley houses moved to the new community.²¹

Environmental Conditions

Alley houses scattered throughout Baltimore's inner city have faced various adverse environmental conditions, as discussed in *The Baltimore Sustainability Plan*. During the early 1900s, sewage maintenance prior to an established system caused various health issues especially for alley residents. The report states that during the periods of urban renewal, housing officials deemed alley houses as environmentally unsanitary and in need of connecting to a newly established city-wide septic system. Those that could not, were deemed unsuitable for inhabitants.²² *The Baltimore Sustainability Plan* also states that alley streets have also been locations for trash dumping in furthering environmental

20. "Sharp-Leadenhall Plan," Baltimore City Planning Department, 2004. 14.

21. "Fort Worthington Elementary/Middle School Inspire Plan," Baltimore City Planning Department, 2016. 15.

22. "The Baltimore Sustainability Plan," Baltimore City Planning Commission. 2009. 29-35.

and health concerns for residents, bringing rise to cases of environmental injustice. Aside from sewage and trash infrastructure, alley streets are targets for addressing stormwater maintenance. Baltimore City aims to reduce the amount of impervious surfaces while increasing stormwater capture and/or treatment. Alley streets would be reconstructed with "porous asphalt that allows rainwater to seep through" thus reducing on street stormwater volumes. Through this mechanism, allow with the creation of more stormwater gardens, and planted street medians, the porous surface aids in decreasing the amount of street erosion, sediment and pollutants flow into the harbor and bay. Other efforts such as rain barrels for rain collection, privately-owned rain gardens, tree planting, trash management and downspout disconnections are other mechanisms to encourage homeowners and residents to decrease stormwater runoff while fostering community-wide stewardship.²³

Existing Conditions

While many plans and documents describe various city conditions experienced citywide, descriptions of existing conditions in alleys and alley houses are found primarily in neighborhood development plans. Among the 48 neighborhood plans published by

23. *Ibid*, 48.



the Baltimore Department of Planning, ten discuss the situation in alleys. Although some of these plans may not mention alley houses specifically, they are relevant to this review of professional literature because they discuss alleys in the neighborhoods where alley houses are located. According to these plans, the main challenges for housing in alleys are vacant housing, poor sanitary conditions, safety and security concerns, and poor transportation conditions. These problems are often identified as reciprocally dependent, but some plans identify the large amount of vacant housing as the key challenge from which other problems, like dirty streets, rats, and low safety stem.

Vacant Housing

Vacant and abandoned alley houses are often named a problem for neighborhood development. The plan for the Monument – McElderry – Fayette neighborhood, which is located north of Fells Point and includes some several alley house groups, reports that nearly 5 percent of land parcels (150 lots) in the area are vacant, and 20 percent of all lots have vacant structures. This plan also notes that the major areas of city and Baltimore Housing Authority consolidated ownership are on alley streets, where alley houses have already been demolished.²⁴

24. “Monument - McElderry - Fayette Plan,” Baltimore City Planning Department, 2006. 21, 45.

The *South Baltimore Gateway Plan* reports that vacant and abandoned buildings create safety issues and depress property values.²⁵ The *York Road Plan* aims to accomplish a “[d]ecrease in percent residential properties that are vacant and abandoned at the end of year” as the first of its three primary goals.²⁶

Concerns about alley house vacancies are compounded by perception of alley houses’ lack of appeal to the contemporary homebuyer. The authors of the *Monument – McElderry – Fayette Plan* report that alley house parcels are very narrow and shallow, making reconstruction for residential uses difficult. The plan provides the example of Duncan Street, which contains parcels that are 12 to 14 feet wide and 50 feet high.²⁷ They write that “it is difficult to imagine viable rehabilitation for residential use. Neither a third floor nor rear additions - to bring the size of the houses up to contemporary requirements - appear feasible in such cases.” Likewise, the *Seton Hill Master Plan* reports one of the challenges the community faces is the “small size of the [Seton Hill] housing stock by modern standards, particularly the remaining alley houses.”²⁸

25. “South Baltimore Gateway Master Plan,” 45.

26. “York Road Community Plan,” Baltimore City Planning Department, 2006. 11.

27. “Monument - McElderry - Fayette Plan,” 28.

28. “Seton Hill Master Plan,” Baltimore City Planning Department. 2012. 25.

Poor Sanitary Conditions

Baltimore’s Neighborhood development plans often identify littering as one of the largest problems in alleys. Four of these reports (*York Road Plan*, *South Baltimore Gateway Plan*, *Monument - McElderry - Fayette Plan*, and *Fort Worthington Elementary School Plan*) mention dirty alleys in neighborhoods where alley houses are located. The *Monument – McElderry – Fayette Neighborhood Plan* lists “safe, clean streets and alleys” as one of its three main goals.²⁹ *York Road Plan* set a goal to decrease the number of reported incidents illegal dumping, clogged storm drains, and rats.³⁰ The *Fort Worthington Elementary School Plan* states that vacant lots and alleys in the plan area are targets for illegal household trash and commercial dumping, which attracts rodents and threatens the health of the community.³¹

The *Fort Worthington Elementary School Plan* also provides a map of dirty streets and alleys in the neighborhoods surrounding the school.³² The map identifies dirty streets and alleys based on the number of 311 service request hotline calls received from January to May 2015, and shows clusters of calls on alleys with abandoned housing. The *South Baltimore Gateway Plan* also

29. “Monument - McElderry - Fayette Plan,” 6.

30. “York Road Community Plan,” 38.

31. “Fort Worthington Elementary/Middle School Inspire Plan,” 32.
32. Ibid. 51.



references a large number of calls to the city's 311 service hotline. This plan reports trash and dumping on streets and alleys and the presence of rats as the cause of these calls.³³

Safety and Security Concerns

Some plans note that streets and alleys also present safety issues, though the severity of these issues varies. In a survey conducted as part of the *Fort Worthington Elementary School Plan*, parents, family members, teachers, and community members identified unsafe or “deteriorating” alleys as an impediment to walkability and bikeability.³⁴ The *Upton Master Plan* reports that drug dealing is a frequent practice in such places.³⁵ The *Operation ReachOut Southwest Neighborhood Action Plan* confirms this, and indicates the necessity to gate alleys and to improve lighting.³⁶ The *Barclay – Midway – Old Goucher Small Area Plan* mentions that poorly lit areas exacerbate the perception of alleys as being unsafe.³⁷

Poor Transportation

Because of their narrow width, alleys

33. “South Baltimore Gateway Master Plan,” 174.

34. “Fort Worthington Elementary/Middle School Inspire Plan,” 56.

35. “Master Plan for the Upton Community,” 23.

36. “OROSW Neighborhood Action Plan,” Operation ReachOut Southwest, 2002. 14-15, 33-34.

37. “Barclay-Midway-Old Goucher Small Area Plan,” Baltimore City Planning Department, 2005. 36.

can be particularly impacted by unsafe vehicle behavior. The results of the *Fort Worthington Elementary School Plan*'s parent, family member, teacher, and community member survey reveals concerns that cars drive too quickly through alleys when children walk to school.³⁸ The *Baltimore Downtown Open Space Plan* indicates that some pedestrian alleys are filled with parked cars.³⁹

Alley Houses and the Future of Baltimore

In the planning- and preservation-related literature that envisions the future that mention alleys, more attention is paid to the streets themselves rather than alley houses in particular. That being said, information from many of these reports provides insight on how alleys and their houses fit into these stakeholders' future plans.

Comprehensive Planning

The *Baltimore Comprehensive Plan*, published in 2006 by the Baltimore City Planning Department, is the primary guiding document for planning in Baltimore. Although the plan does not specifically mention alleys or their houses, its guiding principles can be used to inform the role that alley houses may play in the the future

38. “Fort Worthington Elementary/Middle School Inspire Plan,” 56.

39. “Downtown Open Space Plan,” Baltimore City Planning Department and the Downtown Partnership of Baltimore, 2010. 54-55.

of Baltimore's housing landscape. “Live,” one of the plan's four major guiding themes, focuses on residential land use. Central to this section is an emphasis on revitalizing Baltimore's housing stock and maintaining housing diversity. The plan details several strategies to achieve this vision, including enhancing and reusing underutilized historic structures, balancing the needs of higher and lower income residents, and emphasizing location, convenience to amenities, and price when redeveloping Baltimore's housing stock.⁴⁰ Alley houses could play an integral role in Baltimore's housing future, as their size makes them an affordable option and their location near Downtown align with the city's emphasis on developing housing in geographically convenient locations.

Historic Preservation

Many of the city's guiding historic preservation documents both directly and indirectly set the boundaries for the redevelopment of alleys and alley houses in historic districts. *Baltimore City Historic Preservation Design Guidelines*, a document produced by CHAP, details design regulations for alleys and alley houses. As a whole, the document calls for the preservation of alley houses “where they remain,” and calls for the

40. “City of Baltimore Comprehensive Master Plan,” Baltimore City Planning Department, 2009. 18-74.



repair of alley houses in poor condition, if possible. In particular, these guidelines restrict the modifications that can be made to alleys and alley houses. While the document permits rooftop and terrace additions to alley houses, it restricts modifications to street designs and block patterns. In addition, the document calls for unobtrusive alley parking designs and for preservation of historic curbing and paving.⁴¹

Alleys have also been discussed in relation to historic preservation policy. In 2004, the City of Baltimore partnered with several nongovernmental organizations in a programmatic agreement to demolish homes to make way for the development of the University of Maryland's Biotechnology Park (BioPark). This agreement recognizes the historic significance of alley houses and plans for several houses to be preserved as "representative examples of their historic significance." Actions taken to preserve these houses include performing inventory analyses and identifying two alley house rows to be preserved.⁴²

Because the majority of the city's alley houses are located in historically designated districts, it will be essential for planners and developers to pay attention to these

guidelines. While developers appear to have some flexibility to make additions to alley dwellings, planners will have little freedom to modify surrounding alleys beyond what is permitted. This may conflict with the visions detailed in many of Baltimore's area plans, which call for pedestrian and safety improvements in alleys.

Cleanliness and Safety

The majority of the discourse about alleys and alley houses in Baltimore's planning- and preservation-related documents surrounds the relationship between alleys and cleanliness and safety. After a comprehensive review of Baltimore's area plans, we found that planners and community members emphasized mitigating trash dumping, abating rodent populations, and eliminating vagrant behavior in the city's alleys. Planners repeatedly noted the amount of 311 calls made by community members in response to unsanitary alleys. The *York Road Neighborhood Plan*, for example, calls for a decrease in the amount of dirty alley reports made to the city, and aims to expedite trash removal and initiate "block watch dumping reporting" programs to ensure that "alleys [...] are kept in clean and good repair."⁴³ In addition, the *South Baltimore Gateway Master Plan* cites the high

numbers of calls made to 311 for unsanitary alley conditions and calls for an increase in the amount of sanitation inspections.⁴⁴

In addition, community members and planners have identified alleys as areas prone to crime. The *Barclay-Midway-Old Goucher Area Plan* highlights the community's alleys as hiding spaces for criminals. To ameliorate these safety concerns, the plan calls for lighting and aesthetic improvements, which improve visibility and deter criminals from utilizing alleys.⁴⁵ The *Greenmount West Master Plan* includes several profiles of areas of planning interest, including sites with alleys. Some alleys are described as "[havens] for undesirable behavior," and call for infill projects for vacant sites with adjacent alleys.⁴⁶

If alley houses are to be made an attractive option for residents looking to purchase homes in distressed neighborhoods, the alleys they are located on must be made safe and sanitary. The strategies identified in the aforementioned area plans will be useful in future planning efforts.

Accessibility

Revisioning alleys as pedestrian thoroughfares is a motif commonly

41. "Baltimore City Historic Preservation Design Guidelines," Baltimore Commission for Historical and Architectural Preservation, 46-61.

42. "Programmatic Agreement Among the City of Baltimore..." 7-14.

43. "Revitalizing the York Road Corridor," Urban Land Institute, 11-14. <https://planning.baltimorecity.gov/sites/default/files/ULI%20Baltimore%20York%20Road%20TAP%20Report%20-%20Final%201.23.14.pdf>

44. "South Baltimore Gateway Plan," 45-73.

45. "Barclay-Midway-Old Goucher Small Area Plan," 36.

46. "Greenmount West Master Plan," 32-55.

identified in this report’s review of Baltimore’s area plans. The *Mount Vernon Master Plan* calls for improving pedestrian connections “upon the existing alley street network [...] to encourage pedestrian use and create clearly marked signage, links, and access to larger open spaces” in the community.⁴⁷ The *Downtown Open Space Plan* mentions that downtown Baltimore’s alleys are key pedestrian nodes, and efforts should be made to open currently-closed alleys and prohibit parking in alleys to foster walking in these spaces.⁴⁸ In the review of Baltimore’s area plans, the *Greenmount West Master Plan* is unique in calling for the construction of a brand new alley. Specifically, the plan calls for the addition of a pedestrian alley to link arterial streets with open space.⁴⁹ While pedestrian improvements are not directly related to alley homes, they can be utilized to activate these spaces and put “eyes on the street,” therefore addressing safety concerns for alley inhabitants and visitors.

Conclusion

The professional literature reviewed in this report reveals that the qualities which in years past served alley houses well are characteristics now make them undesirable for many. In the present context, Baltimore

residents, neighborhood coalitions, and planning organizations have focused attention on issues and challenges present in alleys’ existing conditions. Many of the neighborhood plans reviewed in this report cites problems related to alleys, including concerns about vacancies, lack of safety, uncleanliness, and transportation issues. Recognizing these challenges, many plans offer possible solutions and paths toward the revitalization of Baltimore’s alleys and alley houses. They recommend such actions as creating additional lighting, performing aesthetic improvements, and implementing infill projects on vacant lots.

The gray literature indicates that many alley houses have been demolished as a tactic for urban renewal or otherwise removed, and that the total number of alley houses that have been removed is unknown. That being said, the role that alley houses have historically played in providing respectable housing for low-income and disadvantaged populations illustrates that they can prove a boon for communities as well. In addition to recognizing the historic importance of alley houses, one plan notes the importance of alleys to the city’s modern pedestrian infrastructure, and another even calls for the construction of a new alley, despite any potential drawbacks. In an era with increasing housing costs and emphasis on pedestrian and bicycle accessibility, alley houses appear not only important as a reminder of their role that they played in

years gone by, but also as a possible beacon for the future.



Melvin Drive, Ridgely’s Delight (photo courtesy Holly Simmons)

47. “The Mount Vernon Master Plan,” Baltimore City Planning Department, 34.

48. “Downtown Open Space Plan,” 29-111.

49. “Greenmount West Master Plan,” 62.



History of the Demolition of Baltimore's Alley Houses

While alley houses have been targeted for demolition recently, this is actually part of a long multi-century trend. Still, in regards to the 18th Century to the late 19th Century, relatively little is known about how many alley houses were demolished and what the purposes and goals behind their demolition were. The aim of this section is to answer the following questions:

- When were most of the alley houses been demolished?
- Approximately how many were demolished?
- Are there certain regions of the city in which more alley houses have been demolished compared to other areas?
- Are there certain kinds of alley houses that have been demolished more frequently than others?

To answer these questions, we also look at why the demolition of alley houses may have followed trends in regards to demolition, using scholarly literature, professional reports, and newspaper articles.

It is unclear exactly how many alley houses were built in Baltimore from the 18th to the early 20th Centuries. Consequently, it is hard to deliver an exact number of

demolished alley houses. What is more easily observable are the large-scale projects in Baltimore, such as Public Housing (1930s and 40s), Urban Renewal (1960s and 70s) and Neighborhood Resources Studies (1987), which illustrate the trends of the comprehensive demolition of alley house blocks. Within these projects and their subsequent trends, one can discern at least three major themes surrounding the demolition of alley houses in Baltimore. These themes include race, location, and building conditions.

Race

Beginning in the years following the Civil War, White Baltimoreans sought geographically contain the African American population. These sentiments led to the passage of the first residential housing ordinance, which stipulated that African Americans could not move into a neighborhood that was composed of white residents who totaled fifty percent or more of the neighborhood population. By 1917, the U.S. Supreme Court overturned the ordinance. Determined to keep the races separated, Baltimore's white population enacted "clearance and containment" strategies. Utilizing both

institutional and personal maneuvers - such as fear and pressure tactics, residential covenants, refusal of loans to blacks, and "enforcing" city housing code violations towards landlords who rented to African Americans in white neighborhoods - Whites in Baltimore geographically isolated African Americans to a defined area, and constrained their expansion in the city.¹

Location

Based on these discriminatory practices, African Americans in Baltimore were confined within the borders west of McCulloh Street, south of North Avenue, and east of Gilmore Street. In the 1920s, African Americans from the rural south flocked to Baltimore during the period known as the "Great Migration" on boundaries, where they settled in established African American neighborhoods or move into older alley houses that descendants of earlier immigrants had abandoned for better housing in the suburbs. This influx in population contributed to dilapidated

1. Mary Ellen Hayward, *Baltimore's Alley Houses: Homes for working People since the 1780s* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008), 236 and 238.

building conditions and health hazards that were the result of overcrowding. The Great Depression exacerbated conditions, as landlords could not provide basic amenities.²

By the late 1930s, city officials seeking to improve declining economic conditions in the city core used New Deal funding to create public housing in hopes of attracting suburbanites back to the city. In the process, they underwent “slum clearance” initiatives -- demolishing many alley houses within an area they identified as the “Ring of Blight.” The Ring included the African American neighborhoods that were confined within the segregated boundaries.³

30 years later, during the era of Urban Renewal, the cycle was repeated. While alley houses in East Baltimore near Patterson Park and Fells Point received advocacy attention from preservationists, alley houses in the western, northwestern, and north central parts of Baltimore (which were still predominantly African American) did not receive that same defense. As such, the houses and their inhabitants were left vulnerable to the city’s Urban Renewal agenda. Alley Houses like those found in Harlem Park -- an African American neighborhood -- were deemed as “blighted” properties and set for demolition to make

2. Ibid, 235-239.
3. Ibid, 240-241.

way for “open space” and “park-like areas.”⁴ Despite these large and ambitious projects, which devoured many of the alley houses in these areas, a 1987 report by the Baltimore Department of Housing and Community Development revealed that one-third of all existing alley houses at the time were located within these “distressed” and “impoverished” neighborhoods.⁵

The 1987 report highlights the location of alley houses and connects them to the history of racial segregation and economic disinvestment in the northwest, west, and north central portions of Baltimore. Historical forces and economic disinvestment made these areas a target for large scale slum clearance project by the city, and the subsequent destruction of many alley houses within those neighborhoods.

Building Conditions

Towards the end of the 19th Century, alley houses were frequently occupied by newcomers to cities, who often sought them out as a source of inexpensive housing. Multiple families might live in one house, leading to overcrowding and

4. Baltimore Urban Renewal Housing Authority (BURHA), Outline of Urban Renewal, 1961,(Baltimore, 1961), 2. cdm16352.contentdm.oclc.org/.

5. Baltimore Department of Housing and Community Development, Alley Houses, 1987, (Baltimore, 1988), 13.

poor sanitary conditions. One of the neighborhoods, Ridgely’s Delight, was written about as having “open drains, great lots filled with high weeds, ashes and garbage accumulated...foul tenements filled with foul air...”⁶ This problem affected primarily African American newcomers, who had not yet acquired the jobs or income necessary to afford to live in better parts of the city; and immigrants, who faced similar economic struggles. In the late 19th Century, the population of Baltimore had doubled.

Overcrowding, insufficient fire protection, lack of water supply, and lack of a sewage system led to depressed and unhealthy conditions in these neighborhoods. Smallpox and tuberculosis became a concern, and the city focused their health investigations on the alley neighborhoods, commissioning an investigation in the early 1900s titled *Housing Conditions in Baltimore*, aimed primarily at alley houses and their residents. It was finished in 1907, and the recommendations included the condemnation of alley houses determined to be “uninhabitable”, as well as preventing any future construction of alley houses.⁷ In 1908, the Baltimore City Council did in fact pass an ordinance banning the construction of any new “alley houses”, specifically houses on a street less than forty feet wide.

6. Power, Garrett. “Apartheid Baltimore Style: the Residential Segregation Ordinances of 1910-1913”. *Maryland Law Review*. Vol 42, Issue 2.
7. Ibid.



However, builders continued erecting two-story narrow houses on streets exactly forty feet wide, and these houses continued to be taken up by newly arrived immigrants.⁸

In the end, it is clear that demolition has historically targeted specific areas of the city, notably the northwest, west and north central portions of the city. These areas were targeted by city officials as part of slum clearance and urban renewal, which sought to clean up the city and spur “better” economic development for the city as whole. Those affected by these initiatives were predominantly the African American populations who were confined to these areas due to restrictive covenants designed to segregate and demobilize this group. It is by tracing these trends that we are able to get a sense of where most of the alley houses might have been demolished and what types of houses they might have been. Since these were areas where records of the housing stock was not very carefully taken, it is nearly impossible to know about how many have been demolished and to get a sense of what types of these buildings (in terms of material and building technology) might have been most targeted. In making policy decisions, it will be best to take into account these historical trends and how they have affected African American groups and other minorities to ensure that more

care is taken to not displace or alienate these groups in the future.



South Chapel Street, Fells Point (photograph courtesy Meagan Pickens)

Conclusions

Overall, the history of alley houses helps to consider more than just the practical meanings associated with them. It serves to show the social and cultural meanings as well, which form a more complete understanding of why alley houses are an important part of the cityscape both to the people that live in them and to other citizens of the city and perhaps around the country. Going forward, the chapter should be used to make informed decisions about the futures of the alley houses of Baltimore, so that their significance is not forgotten, even as the city changes over time.

8. Hayward, Mary Ellen. *Baltimore's Alley Houses: Homes for Working People since the 1780s*. Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008. Baltimore. Pp 231-5.

Chapter 3

Case Studies

Introduction



The Mews of Portman Estate (left) and Jewelers' Row (right). Photos courtesy Google

Baltimore's alley house neighborhoods share a variety of commonalities with housing typologies in several eastern seaboard and European cities. In order to create a more comprehensive understanding of how Baltimore's alley houses can be redeveloped, a case study was undertaken of Jewelers' Row in Philadelphia, Blagden Alley and Naylor Court in Washington, D.C., and the Mews of Portman Estate in London. Jewelers' Row, one of the oldest examples of rowhouses in the United States, has been morphed into a high-end retail destination. Blagden Alley and Naylor Court share many commonalities with the historical trajectory of Baltimore's Alley Houses, and have become a vibrant, mixed-use micro community. Due to rigorous preservation measures, the Mews of Portman Estate illustrate how a unique sense of space and a high-quality residential environment can be created in a neighborhood of small houses. Each case study contains historical and contextual information, as well as a description of their present-day built environments. This study concludes with a list of recommendations informed by each case study and is applicable to Baltimore's alley houses.

It is worth noting that the brevity of each case study was limited by the amount of information available. Because alley houses have not been rigorously examined in existing literature, it was difficult to obtain precise statistical data. That being said, a mixture of media, satellite imagery and Google Maps, and government documentation was employed to inform each case.

Jewelers' Row, Philadelphia

Just like Baltimore, Philadelphia is known for its abundance of row houses. In a rapidly expanding and industrializing city, row houses provided colonial-era Philadelphians with a modest, cost-efficient housing option. William Penn, the founder of the Province of Pennsylvania, had a vision for a green country town where homes would occupy large open lots. In cities like Philadelphia, however, the opposite of that vision came to fruition. The first purchasers of Penn's land divided and sold parts of their land to new immigrants who wanted to live close to the business and industrial regions proximate to the Delaware River. These parcels were divided and subdivided even further. Continuing the division of land, Philadelphia began to resemble the crowded cities of Europe that Penn had hoped Philadelphia would be the opposite of. Shops and houses that shared a wall on one or both sides were established adjacent to each other. Terraced housing, which has come to embody the stereotypical image of America's row homes, was the most common type of housing in contemporary European cities. One of the first planned row houses to be built in Pennsylvania was Carstairs Row (also known as Jewelers' Row), which developed around 1799 at

South 7th and Sansom Streets.¹

Developer William Sansom was responsible for the development of Carstairs Row. At a time when most of Philadelphia's streets were dirt roads, Sansom paved the street to attract tenants, and hired architect Thomas Carstairs to design a row of 22 look-alike houses on the south side of the street.² These row houses were the first to be purposely designed to have uniform frontages and share the same walls. Carstairs Row is now synonymous with Jewelers' Row, which has become a popular commercial area in Philadelphia. The frontages of Carstairs Row housing allowed for the easy transformation into commercial properties.

Carstairs Row can be viewed as a successful example of how to treat row houses around the nation because it has become a strong economic point of interest within Philadelphia. When originally developed, the street's row houses stood 3.5 stories tall, 18 feet wide and 40 feet deep, with each house containing marble steps and interior chimneys.³ Carstairs Row has been

1. White, Meghan. Diamonds are forever, but jewelers row might not be (National Trust for Historic Preservation).

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.



Sansom Street, Philadelphia (photo courtesy Google)

severely altered and restructured over time to adapt to changing business necessities. 730 and 732 Sansom Street (seen above) has preserved some elements of its original design, except for raised entrances and other changes that profoundly alter their frontages.⁴ On the other hand, 700 Sansom Street remains relatively unchanged since it was originally built.⁵ This collection of rowhouses provides a prime example of a current city landscape of the present coexisting with essentials of the rich history of the past.

4. The Philadelphia Row House: America's First Rowhouse (The Urban Rowhouse; Feb 4, 2009).

5. Ibid.

Blagden Alley and Naylor Court, Washington

Blagden Alley and Naylor Court, adjoining alleys in Washington, DC's Shaw neighborhood, have come to symbolize the revitalization that has affected large swaths of the city in the past decade. Populating two square blocks between 9th, and 10th, M, and O streets, these alleys form a mixed-use community home to offices, trendy restaurants and cafes, and residential units.

These alleys were included in city plans as early as 1792, but remained sparsely developed through the antebellum period. As Washington's population boomed after the Civil War, development took off in these alleys. By 1859, city documents cited 81 property owners in Blagden Alley, 20 of whom were people of color and 11 were women¹ By 1888, both alleys were almost completely developed.² Similar to Baltimore's alley dwellings, these alley homes were small in size (most were smaller than 700 square feet) and backed into larger street-facing homes. Although these alleys were primarily built for residential uses, many homes had adjoining stables and garages. While conditions in Washington's alleys were

never to the standards of street-facing neighborhoods, sanitation standards began to decline rapidly towards the turn of the twentieth century; social commentators and news reports commented on lack of plumbing and crowded conditions. In 1892, alley dwelling construction was banned in Washington, and several concerted efforts were made to demolish these spaces during the twentieth century. By the 1960s, Blagden Alley and Naylor court lay mostly vacant; properties in these alleys sold for as little as \$25,000 into the 1990s.³ While many of Washington's other alleys were demolished, the majority of Blagden Alley's structures remained untouched throughout the twentieth century.⁴ Beginning in the 1990s, Blagden Alley and Naylor Court's fortunes began to improve. According to local historians, revitalization began when Blagden Alley became an "underground skateboarding, rock-and-roll, and art mecca." Throughout the 1990s, development in Blagden Alley was largely driven by individual members of Washington's counterculture. After 1996, larger scale development was sparked by the construction of the Walter Johnson

Convention Center, as well as the federal historic designation of Blagden Alley and Naylor Court.⁵ As gentrification took off throughout Northwest Washington in the 2000s and 2010s, Blagden Alley and Naylor Court have attracted a variety of critically-acclaimed bars, third-wave coffee shops, and private offices.

According to Daniel Nairn, Blagden Alley and Naylor Court are unique among the city's alleys in the sense that their block structures have remained unchanged since 1865.⁶ Both alleys are comprised of nonlinear street patterns. The heart of Blagden Alley's street design forms an "H" shape, with several sub alleys connecting its core to adjacent streets. Although an official parcel-level inventory was unavailable at the time of writing, an informal walk of the neighborhood and a Google search indicates that the majority of Blagden Alley's office and retail parcels are located in the alley's core. Conversely, most of the alley's residential units are located in the alleys that extend from the core. The majority of the alley is zoned for mixed use, with some parcels proximate to the adjacent streets

1. Weible, David. "The Hidden History Inside Washington, D.C.'s Blagden Alley." National Trust for Historic Preservation.

2. Nairn, Daniel. "The Physical Evolution of Blagden Alley-Naylor Court." Greater Greater Washington.

3. Weible, "The Hidden History Inside Washington, D.C.'s Blagden Alley."

4. National Park Service. "Blagden Alley-Naylor Court Historic District." <https://www.nps.gov/nr/travel/wash/dc67.htm>.

5. Weible, "The Hidden History Inside Washington, D.C.'s Blagden Alley," and National Park Service, "Blagden Alley-Naylor Court historic District."

6. Nairn, "The Physical Evolution of Blagden Alley-Naylor Court."



Blagden Alley, Washington, DC (photo courtesy Pinterest)

zoned for residential.⁷ The core of Naylor Court's street pattern forms a "U" shape, with several alleys connecting its core to adjacent streets. Residential properties comprise the north-south wings of the core, with a small commercial strip running along the east-west portion of the core. Naylor Court contains a much higher proportion of residential properties than Blagden Alley. From a commercial standpoint, Blagden Alley and Naylor Court's success defies several traditional rules of retail, as none of the alley's food and beverage

establishments are visible from the main streets. Megan Capo, an interior designer with Edit Lab at Streetsense, a DC-based firm that designs many of the alley's restaurants and bars, claims Blagden Alley's provides patrons with a unique experience that is not found elsewhere in the city. "The alley is successful because DC is not really an industrial city at all. There's a lot of big corporate buildings and historical sites ... Blagden feels activated, and it's been transformed into its own vibe, different from what the rest of the city has." In this respect, Blagden Alley has become a fixture in DC's cultural milieu because of the unique placemaking efforts that have taken

place and the high quality restaurants that have settled in the space. "When something's hyped that much, people are more willing to explore something that they weren't previously," Capo claims. When asked how the alley has defied the mantra that storefronts must be visible in order to be successful, Capo argues that its destination status as a unique setting brings people out of their way to Blagden Alley. "Before people get to the restaurant, they already feel like they've been transported by the neighborhood ... it's like, I'm not in DC, and there's all these cool experiences back there.' This serves as the starting point." Furthermore, social media has inadvertently marketed the space. "Blogger culture loves to shoot back here. People take pictures off [Edit Lab's] balcony on weekend, on the murals on alley walls. A lot of times people geotag where they took the photos, and people see that it's in Blagden Alley." Although Blagden's historic character has made it a unique space, creative placemaking, community-led efforts, and viral marketing are all equally crucial to its current popularity.

7. District of Columbia Office of Zoning. "Zoning Maps of the District of Columbia." <http://maps.dcoz.dc.gov/>.



The Mews of Portman Estate, London

The Portman Estate is a 110-acre section of the Marylebone neighborhood in the London borough of Westminster. It has been continuously owned by the Portman family since their purchase of the parcel in 1532.¹ The estate has lots of grand properties on large streets, as well as some commercial areas, but it also contains at least nine documented extant Mews, a British term for alleys. This is perhaps the highest concentration remaining in the city. Below is a map showing the Portman Estate in the context of the rest of the city.

The land covered by the Portman Estate remained rural for several centuries after its purchase, and only became developed in the 18th Century; by 1820 it was almost completely developed. The Portman Estate was a fashionable Georgian neighborhood with tree-lined streets.² According to Everchanging Mews, a database and authority on London's Mews, a street can only be officially considered a Mews if it was originally of "equine heritage," in other words, used as horse stables.³ Baker's Mews, a small through road with a cul-de-sac located within the Portman

Estate, provides for a still-existent example of a traditional mews. Baker's Mews is largely used for residential purposes now, although its original purpose was primarily to serve as stables and servant housing, and as it remains in a highly-fashionable neighborhood, its homes are well-kept and highly-valued.⁴

Baker's Mews, one of the Portman Estate's alleys, is simply a cut-through and loading bay for the 10 Portman Square office building, with no housing, but the cul-de-sac portion is where the residences sit. Many residents appear to have converted their first stories into garages, something which the buildings' original uses as stables allow quite easily. The street in the cul-de-sac is paved with cobblestones, as opposed to the standard asphalt found in most streets. At the end of the cul-de-sac, however, is another loading dock for the 20 Manchester Square office building, suggesting that the residents of Baker's Mews still live on a truly mixed-use street.

The minor nuisances suffered by the residences of Baker's Mews, though, can probably be tolerated, given the incredible location just blocks from Hyde Park and

Oxford Street, the parking garage, and the smaller size which allows for a more affordable price relative to the overall central London housing market. That allows this alley, and the other alleys similar to it within the Portman Estate, to be extremely successful compared to other alleys one might find in other parts of London or in the US.

The rigorous nature of UK preservation efforts following the devastation of the Blitz means that alley housing in central London is robust, well-documented, and far from endangered. The careful stewardship of the Portman Estate means that alleys, or Mews, in that neighborhood are even more abundant and thriving than those in other fashionable neighborhoods around the city. This holds a lesson for US cities trying to preserve their own forms of alley housing: it is never too early to start defining alley housing, documenting the inventory of alley housing, and placing alley houses onto the National Register of Historic Places, or a similar list, which ensures that they will remain in existence for the foreseeable future.

1. The Chilterns London W1, Marylebone Through the Years, 2015.

2. Ibid.

3. Martyn John Brown, A Typical London Mews, Everchanging Mews Ltd, London, Date Unknown.

4. Ibid.

Conclusions and Recommendations

Although the alleys and rowhouses described in each case study developed in a unique manner, the success of these examples can provide guidance in the redevelopment of Baltimore's alley houses. Based on these case studies, this working group recommends the following:

Careful preservation can serve as a development catalyst. All three cases are well preserved, and have become popular housing, shopping, and dining choices. Because of historic preservation, each case was able to position themselves as a unique housing and retail choice within their respective community, thereby further improving their value. Likewise, Baltimore's alley houses can gain a distinction in the local market by providing a historically unique housing and/or commercial option.

Provide changemakers with the freedom to develop spaces organically. Aside from its historic designation, governmental intervention or large-scale developers had very little influence on development in Blagden Alley. In the absence of outside influences, a close-knit group of residents organically created a unique and desirable location. Similarly, inexpensive housing prices in many Baltimore alley districts have the potential to influence the creative

class. In order to further incentivize the creation of a flourishing creative scene in Baltimore's alley houses, government officials should allow for flexibility and discretion if members of the creative class or counterculture choose to move to these dwellings.

Flexibility in use should be prioritized. Although the potential for alley houses to be converted into non-residential uses is somewhat limited, each case represents how row and alley houses can be repurposed in ways that deviate from their original use. Rowhouses have become exclusive jewelers, stables have been converted into garages and cafes, and warehouses now serve as restaurants. In some cases, the mixed use nature of alleys has contributed to their success and popularity. While each alley will have varying potential in repurposing parcels, the government should consider zoning alleys for mixed use.

Placemaking is crucial. While Blagden Alley's design and historic status provided business owners and residents with a baseline for future success, concentrated placemaking efforts are responsible for making it the place that it is today. Similarly, Baltimore's alley houses are set apart from

large swaths of the city's built environment due to their unique nature. That being said, stakeholders considering undertaking large-scale alley redevelopment projects must consider implementing placemaking efforts that set these spaces apart. Possible creative placemaking features may include murals, unique flora, lighting, community events, and customized building facades which can collectively assist in animating the local environment with human activity.

Perceived safety is the basis for success. Megan Capo argued that Blagden Alley would not be successful if it was not perceived as safe. In a city that has a reputation for crime, developers targeting alleys for redevelopment should consider prioritizing alleys that are located in or near highly-populated or already-established neighborhoods. Additionally, developers and city officials should consider using environmental design features that increase the safety of these spaces. As demonstrated above, a careful balance between historic preservation and pragmatic rehabilitation is integral to the repurposing of alleys and rowhouses. Baltimore's alley houses comprise a wide variety of typologies, but several overarching lessons can be gleaned from the aforementioned cases.



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Chapter 4

Survey & Recording Methodologies

Introduction

Baltimore's alley houses are characterized by a wide array of features. As previously discussed, alley houses are typically one or two stories tall, located on inner-block streets, and constructed for the most part during the nineteenth century. However, these generalizations fail to capture many of the details that vary from one group of alley houses to the next. They do not tell you about the condition of a building or about its relative significance. Knowing the width and depth of a typical alley house does not tell you whether an individual alley house is currently in a state of structural decay; nor will it tell you whether it was designed by a notable architect; nor will it tell you about the meaning that residents of the surrounding community construct around local alley houses and alley spaces. To reveal this information, more research is required.

To this end, an integral part of this project will be a field survey of Baltimore's alley houses, to be conducted as Phase 2 of this study. In turn, the information gleaned in the Phase 2 alley house survey will inform decisions to preserve, stabilize, or demolish groups of alley houses going forward. In this chapter, we present a recommended method for conducting this survey.

First, we recommend a two-part Building Assessment that accounts for both (a) building condition and (b) objective significance as represented by architectural and historical characteristics. To assist decision makers in determining outcomes for groups of alley houses, this assessment results in two scores on a zero-to-five scale, one for the building's condition and one for its objective significance based on the building's history and architecture. We also

present a method for combining the two scores into a composite score, if desired.

Second, recognizing the importance of contemporary and historical sociocultural meanings, we recommend complementing the Building Assessment with a mixed methods Resident Assessment designed to reveal subjective value. The Resident Assessment will be used to confirm, deny, or add nuance to the findings of the Building Assessment.

Chapter 4 is structured as follows: the first section includes the Building Assessment, comprised primarily of recommended methods for assessing building condition and objective significance, along with forms created to facilitate these processes. This section also contains recommendations of software and hardware for electronically

collecting data in the field during Phase 2 of this project. The second section presents the Resident Assessment, which outlines a method for developing a subjective analysis of the alley houses based on meanings held by individual community members.



Jasper Street, Seton Hill (photo courtesy Jack Narron)

Building Assessment

The Building Assessment is composed of two parts: the building condition survey and the objective significance score. For the former, we propose a method for assessing the physical condition of alley house building elements including the roof, walls, windows, and doors. The objective score accounts for heritage values that can be seen, touched, or which have verifiably happened (for instance, an association between a building and a specific person or event).

Part I: Building Condition Survey Method

A building condition survey is a process whereby the overall physical condition of buildings in a defined geographic area are assessed in a consistent, methodical manner in terms of their state of maintenance and repair. During Phase 2, a selective reconnaissance survey will be conducted. A reconnaissance survey (also called an identification survey) is a broad visual inspection or cursory examination of historic resources in a specific geographical area in which only exterior documentation of the resource is required to record resources at a minimum level and provide a base upon which to obtain more detailed

survey data later.¹ The buildings surveyed during Phase 2 will be selected based on their building type (houses situated on alley streets or “small streets,” as identified in this report).

Various building elements are included in building condition surveys based on their role in ensuring that a structure is “maintained in good repair, structurally sound and sanitary so as not to pose a threat to the public health, safety or welfare.” According to Section 304 of the International Code Council’s *International Property Maintenance Code (IMPC)*, the most widely-adopted document that addresses building condition characterization, the exterior of structures must perform four functions:

- It must be in good repair, with no evidence of deterioration or damage.
- It must be structurally sound, and structural elements must perform the intended functions.
- It must be kept in sanitary conditions.
- It must be able to keep the weather and

1. “Guidelines for Conducting Historic Resources Survey in Virginia.” Virginia Department of Historic Resources, 2011.

pests from entering the interior.²

We reviewed a number of survey methods and forms, ultimately determining that the “Linden Gateway Small Area Study”³ performed in the City of Covington, Kentucky, provided the format best suited for a reconnaissance survey of alley houses. We used the Linden Gateway survey form as a guide for designing an alley building survey form to obtain information quickly and accurately, resulting in a numerical score for building elements. We also include a detailed definition matrix (see figure 4.2 on page 52) to eliminate surveyor confusion and facilitate accurate, consistent scoring.

From our review of building condition surveys and the *IMPC*, we identified six major building elements (also referred to as “evaluation criteria”) for inclusion in the survey. They are:

- Foundation
- Roof, gutters, downspouts, chimneys
- Wall/exterior surfaces
- Windows & doors

2. “International Property Maintenance Code: Code and Commentary.” International Code Council, 2009. 29-34.

3. “Linden Gateway Small Area Study.” Northern Kentucky Area Planning Commission & Center for Great Neighborhoods of Covington, 2007. 51-57.



- Entrance (stairs, handrails)
- Embellishments

These elements can easily be surveyed from the public right-of-way and can be evaluated without excessive technical knowledge. When performing the building condition survey, surveyors will inspect each of these six elements for evidence of deterioration, damage, and loosening, including holes, cracks, decay, or other defects. Using the aforementioned definition matrix, elements will then be ranked based on condition and maintenance. Three of the individual criteria may be scored from 6 (the “best” score) to 1 (the “worst”); two have been weighted as less critical, and can be scored from only 4 to 1. Scores reflect that an element:

- 6: is well maintained
- 5: requires moderate maintenance
- 4: requires minor repair
- 3: requires moderate repair
- 2: requires major repair
- 1: is not salvageable

Scores are to be summed, resulting in a score corresponding with the overall soundness of the building. In the case that an element is not visible to the surveyor, that element receives a ‘o’ score is dropped in determining the overall condition score.

Performing the Building Condition Survey

In the Field

- Prior to surveyors entering the field, the survey form should be prepared using the recommended software, Survey123 (described in “Electronic Data Recording Method” on page 59). If an alley house group does not yet have an ID number, this should also be assigned.
- Surveyors should bring the necessary tools, including:
 - Electronic tablets**, one for each survey team, in protective cases and equipped with surveys formatted in Survey123
 - Paper, a clipboard, and pens** to facilitate additional note-taking
 - A **mobile phone**, carried for safety
 - A **tape measure**, which can come in handy for taking dimensions
 - A **set of binoculars**, which can make viewing roofs and upper stories easier.
- To ensure safety, surveyors should notify someone at the office where they will be when they are out in the field.⁴
- All building condition surveys should be conducted from the public right-of-way (streets or sidewalks). Surveyors should not inspect the back of properties unless they are visible from the street.
- Surveyors should use the Survey123-based mobile version of the “Building

Condition Assessment Survey Form” (see Figure 4.1 on page 50) to perform the survey. Basic information about the structure, including street number, number of floors, and evidence of recent improvement should be reported. A survey should be filled out for every alley house group (defined as a contiguous group of alley houses, all sharing party walls).

- Surveyors should assign a numerical grade to each element, corresponding with its condition and maintenance based on the provided “Building Condition ” (see Figure 4.2 on page 52).
- If there is no building on a property being surveyed, surveyor should note this on the survey form, concluding the survey for that property.
- Surveyors will finally take a photograph of the street-facing building exterior (or entire property in the absence of a building), capturing in one photo all building elements visible from the public right-of-way as best possible. Additional pictures may be taken to highlight specific details, should the surveyor find it necessary to properly illustrate building condition.

Back-Office Data Processing

The building condition survey will result in scores on a 0 to 32 scale. These scores should be transformed to a 0 to 5 scale using the following equation:

⁴. Ibid.



Figure 4.1: Building Assessment Survey form

Building Condition Assessment Survey Form

Date: _____ Evaluator: _____
 Group identifier (assigned in-office): _____

Circle one:
 No. of floors: **1** 1½ **2** 2½ **Other** _____
 Exterior type: **Brick** **Wood** **Formstone** **Other** _____

Structure present on property? **Y** **N**
 Signs of renovation or recent improvement? **Y** **N**
 Signs of abandonment or vacancy ? **Y** **N**

Elements of Residence	Score (0-6)	Observed	
		Yes	No
Foundation			
Roof, gutters, downspouts, chimneys			
Wall/Exterior surfaces			
Windows & Doors			
Entrance (stairs, handrails)			
Embellishments (trim, cornice, corbels, etc.)			
Total			

Notes:





Portugal Street, Fells Point (photo courtesy Meagan Pickens)



Figure 4.2: Building Condition Definition Matrix

Score	6	5	4	3	2	1	0
Evaluated Elements	Well Maintained	Moderately Well Maintained	Needs Only Minor Repair	Needs Moderate Repair (Up to 1/4 of element)	Needs Major Repair (Up to 1/2 of element)	Not Salvageable (Majority of element needs repair)	
Foundation	<i>Does not require immediate maintenance</i>	<i>Some peeling or cracking in the protective surface over only a small portion</i>	<i>A few small cracks, a small amount of missing mortar, a small hole over a small area</i>	<i>Cracks, missing mortar, loose or broken surface over a moderate area. No evidence of settling or being out of vertical alignment</i>	<i>Cracks, missing mortar, loose or broken surface over a large portion. Some evidence of settling or out of vertical alignment</i>	<i>Cracks, missing mortar, loose or broken surface over a majority of the foundation. Evidence of major settling or out of vertical alignment</i>	Not Witnessed
Roof, Gutters, Downspouts, Chimneys	<i>Does not require immediate maintenance</i>	<i>Small leaves or debris on roof, or gutters that need to be cleaned</i>	<i>Needs minor repair to correct a missing or sagging shingle, gutter, or downspout; slight crack or missing brick or mortar in chimney; moss growing on roof</i>	<i>More than one missing or sagging shingle, gutter, or downspout; chimney cracked, settling, or leaning; rotting fascia affecting less than 1/4 of roof and/or chimney elements</i>	<i>Missing, buckling, or sagging shingles; holes in the roof or chimney; missing or loose gutters or downspouts; chimney settling or leaning; cracked or rotting fascia affecting between 1/4 and 1/2 of roof and/or chimney elements</i>	<i>Missing, buckling, or sagging shingles; holes in the roof or chimney; missing or loose gutters or downspouts; chimney settling or leaning; cracked or rotting fascia affecting the majority of the roof and chimney elements</i>	
Walls/ Exterior Surfaces (Paint, siding, etc., & structural elements that add strength, bear weight, or insulate)	<i>Does not require immediate maintenance</i>	<i>Isolated areas where touch up painting is needed</i>	<i>Paint and/or siding need minor repair or re-pointing, but there is no evidence of structural decay</i>	<i>Paint and/or siding need repairs and there is evidence of some structural decay, such as dry rot, affecting up to 1/4 of the surface</i>	<i>Major repair work is needed to correct paint, siding, or other parts of the protective surface. There are areas of structural decay affecting up to 1/2 of the surface</i>	<i>A majority of the protective surface is missing, loose, rotting, or broken, allowing weather to reach the house's structural elements</i>	



Building Condition Definition Matrix (cont'd)

Score	6	5	4	3	2	1	0
Evaluated Elements	Well Maintained	Moderately Well Maintained	Needs Only Minor Repair	Needs Moderate Repair (Up to 1/4 of element)	Needs Major Repair (Up to 1/2 of element)	Not Salvageable (Majority of element needs repair)	
Windows & Doors	<i>Does not require immediate maintenance</i>	<i>All doors, frames, and glass present; may need isolated touch-up, such as replacing a latch or other hardware</i>	<i>Need minor repairs to correct a broken or cracked frame, re-hang a door, or a small hole related to a door or window</i>	<i>Missing or broken panes, broken or rotting window or door frames, or other holes related to a door or window failure affecting up to 1/4 of all doors and windows</i>	<i>Missing or broken panes, broken or rotting window or door frames, or other holes related to a door or window failure affecting between 1/4 and 1/2 of all doors and windows</i>	<i>Majority of windows and doors are failing. Missing or broken panes, broken or rotting window or door frames, or other holes related to a door or window</i>	
Entrance (Stairs, handrails)	N/A	N/A	<i>Does not need immediate maintenance or needs minor touch up, repairs, or paint</i>	<i>More than one missing, broken, or cracked step, riser, baluster, handrail, or railing in need of minor repair or paint. Not a serious safety concern.</i>	<i>Between 1/4 to 1/2 of the steps, risers, balusters, handrails, or railings are missing, broken, rotting, or cracked. Hazard of tripping or falling because of disrepair</i>	<i>A majority of the steps, risers, balusters, handrails, or railings are missing, broken, or cracked. Hazard of tripping or falling because of disrepair</i>	Not Witnessed
Embellishments (Trim, cornice, corbels, etc.)	N/A	N/A	<i>Does not require immediate maintenance. All embellishments are properly anchored.</i>	<i>Needs only painting or minor repairs. Cornices, trim, corbels, overhang extensions are properly anchored. Not a safety concern.</i>	<i>Up to 1/2 of the cornices, trim, corbels, overhang extensions, etc. need repair or are not properly anchored</i>	<i>A majority of the cornices, trim, corbels, overhang extensions, etc. need major repair or are loose and pose a falling hazard</i>	



$$V_{BCS5} = \frac{5}{32} * (V_{BCS32} - 32) + 5$$

Where:

V_{BCS5} : The resulting score on a 0 to 5 scale

V_{BCS32} : The original score on a 0 to 32 scale

The resulting 0 to 5 scale building condition survey score, V_{BCS5} , should then be assigned to the respective alley house group in the alley house master shapefile provided along with this report.

Part 2: Objective Significance Scoring Method

The literature on scoring the significance of heritage buildings covers a variety of concepts relating to the subject. Although we did not locate an example of a scoring system that was perfectly applicable to alley houses within the body of literature, we gleaned key concepts from a variety of sources to inform the scoring method that we created.

The scoring system created here focuses on objective values of heritage - values that can be seen, touched, or which have verifiably happened (for instance, an association between a building and a specific person or event).

We propose a scoring system that will

assess ten criteria across three main categories relating to building significance: Architecture, History, and Integrity/authenticity.

Architecture:

- Building **style** is given the highest weight, as the defining features of the building can determine whether or not a house in the surveyed neighborhoods is considered an “alley house.”
- **Construction** and **age** are weighted equally, as both may contribute a particular alley house being considered a pristine example of its type.
- As alley houses are vernacular buildings, the notability of the **architect** is considered least important in this category.

History:

- Association with either a notable **person** or **event**/scope of events related to an alley house’s history are given equal weight, as either may contribute to the building’s significance.

Integrity:

- **Setting** and **facade material** are weighted equally. If a street has been altered so that it no longer resembles the historic “alley street” archetype, the building may be considered to have a lower authenticity value than one on an intact street. Facade material is also important, because the material of an alley house is considered a character-defining feature.

- Character-defining features weigh heavily in determining if a building is an alley house, so the scope of **alterations** done to a building are given the highest weight within this category.
- While **decorative features** help to define alley houses, they are weighted less heavily because the buildings are vernacular.

Each category can be measured using the data gathering techniques recommended below, either through in-person surveys, historical record analyses, or literature reviews.

The proposed Objective Significance Survey Form is presented in Figure 4.3 (page 56). A three-grade scale (Excellent, Good, or Poor) is proposed for each of the ten criteria. Because the purpose of the objective significance assessment is to obtain a score for each group of buildings, we propose the assignment of numerical values to the grade scale for each criterion.

Information about some of the criteria should be assessed in the field, while information about other criteria must be gathered from other sources, thus entailing a mixed-methods approach to data collection. Information about style, construction, setting, facade material, alteration, and decorative features information should be collected in the field; while age, architect, historical person, and



historical event will be informed by sources such as existing Maryland Historical Trust surveys and the alley house master shapefile provided with this report.

Performing Objective Scoring

The procedure for scoring the objective significance is composed of three parts: field data collection, back-office data collection, and back-office data processing.

Field Data Collection

The criteria to be assessed by this method are:

Style
Construction
Setting
Facade material
Alteration
Decorative features

- Prior to surveyors entering the field, the Objective Significance Survey (Figure 4.3 on page 56) should be prepared using the recommended software, Survey123. If an alley house group does not yet have an ID number, this should also be assigned.
- Surveyors should carry much of the equipment required for the building condition survey.
- For each alley house group, surveyors should use the electronic version of the

Objective Significance Survey Form to record the address range of the group of buildings, as well as the predefined ID number for the group. Surveyor name and survey date is also required.

- Using the Objective Significance Definition Matrix (Figure 4.3 on page 56) as a guide, the surveyor should determine whether each criterion is Excellent, Good, or Poor, and assign the corresponding score.

Back-Office Data Collection

The information for the following criteria will be collected in the office from existing MHT Alley House Surveys and from the alley house shapefile provided with this report:

Age
Architect
Historical person
Historical event

Using the Objective Significance Definition Matrix as a guide, surveyors should determine whether each criterion is Excellent, Good, or Poor, and assign the corresponding score.

Back-Office Data Processing

- When all ten criteria on a survey have been assessed, scores within a given category will be summed to obtain a final score for each category (maximum

scores per category should be taken into account). For each individual survey, the three category scores should then be added to obtain the final score for each alley house group on a 0 to 100 scale.

- The objective significance score should then be converted from a 0 to 100 scale to a 0 to 5 scale using the following equation:

$$V_{OS5} = \frac{5}{100} * (V_{OS100} - 100) + 5$$

Where:

V_{OS5} : The resulting score on a 0 to 5 scale

V_{OS100} : The original score on a 0 to 100 scale

- The resulting 0 to 5 scale objective significance score, V_{OS5} , should then be assigned to the respective alley house group in the alley house master shapefile provided along with this report.



Figure 4.3: Objective Significance Survey Form

Building Address						
ID Number						
A	Architecture (Maximum Score: 35)					
	Criterion	Explanation	Excellent	Good	Poor	TOTAL
1	Style		13	8	0	
2	Construction		9	5	0	
3	Age		9	5	0	
4	Architect		4	3	0	
ARCHITECTURE TOTAL						
B	History* (Maximum Score: 35)					
5	Person		35	15	0	
6	Event		35	15	0	
HISTORY TOTAL						
<small>*Note: If either criterion within the History category is graded as “excellent,” the aggregate category score will total 35, regardless of the other criteria score.</small>						



Objective Significance Survey Form (cont'd)

Building Address						
ID Number						
C	Integrity and Authenticity (Maximum Score: 30)					
	Criterion	Explanation	Excellent	Good	Poor	TOTAL
7	Setting		7	3	0	
8	Facade Material		7	3	0	
9	Alterations		12	7	0	
10	Decorative Features		4	3	0	
INTEGRITY TOTAL						
AGGREGATE TOTAL						
Surveyor						
Date						
Notes						



Figure 4.4: Objective Significance Definition Matrix

Category	Subcategory	Grade	Grade Assessment
Architecture	Style	Excellent	<i>Fits most or all of the defining characteristics of an alley house</i>
		Good	<i>Fits many of the defining characteristics of an alley house</i>
		Poor	<i>Fits very few of the defining characteristics of an alley house</i>
	Construction	Excellent	<i>Has unique construction materials or methods</i>
		Good	<i>Has standard construction materials or methods</i>
		Poor	<i>Has poor construction materials or methods</i>
	Age	Excellent	<i>Early or rare example</i>
		Good	<i>Built during period of significance</i>
		Poor	<i>Built after period of significance</i>
	Architect	Excellent	<i>Architect or builder of particular importance to the history of the community, state, or nation</i>
		Good	<i>Architect or builder identified and known, but of no particular importance</i>
		Poor	<i>Architect or builder unidentified or unknown</i>
History	Person	Excellent	<i>Person, group, etc. of primary importance intimately connected with the building</i>
		Good	<i>Person, group, etc. associated with a broad pattern of history connected with the building</i>
		Poor	<i>Building has no connection with person, group, etc. of importance</i>



Objective Significance Definition Matrix (cont'd)

Category	Subcategory	Grade	Grade Assessment
History	Event	Excellent	<i>Event of primary importance intimately connected with the building.</i>
		Good	<i>Events associated with the broad patterns of alley history connected with the building.</i>
		Poor	<i>Building has no connection with event of importance.</i>
Integrity and Authenticity	Setting	Excellent	<i>Located on a street that fits the historical definition of an alley</i>
		Good	<i>Street has some elements that fit the historical definition of an alley</i>
		Poor	<i>Street does not retain historical characteristics of an alley</i>
	Facade Material	Excellent	<i>Keeps the original facade material</i>
		Good	<i>Facade material has changed but new material is of historic significance</i>
		Poor	<i>New facade material has no historic importance</i>
	Alterations	Excellent	<i>No or few alterations have been made</i>
		Good	<i>Alterations have been made but the character of the house has been retained</i>
		Poor	<i>Many alterations have been made that damage the historical character of the house</i>
	Decorative Features	Excellent	<i>Has significant or unique decorative features</i>
		Good	<i>Has few or common decorative features</i>
		Poor	<i>Has no decorative features</i>

Final Building Score

We propose combining the building condition survey score and the objective significance score into a comprehensive building score. This will provide a tool for the overall objective assessment of alley house groups, both physical condition and objective significance.

Several methods can be used to combine the building condition survey score and the objective significance score: adding, multiplying, or averaging. The chosen aggregation process should ensure that low or high values on either of the component scores do not lose their weight in the Final Building Score. For instance, if a group of houses has a low value on one score and a high value on the other, the ideal aggregation method would maintain the relative importance of that low score. Averaging the building condition and the objective scores achieves this. Thus, the following equation provides the Final Building Score:

$$V_{QS} = \frac{V_{BCSS} + V_{OSS}}{2}$$

Where:

V_{QS} : Final Building Score on a 0 to 5 scale

V_{BCSS} : Building condition score on a 0 to 5 scale

V_{OSS} : Objective significance score on a 0 to 5 scale

Decision Making

The Final Building Score can be used to produce either a comprehensive, ranked assessment for every alley house group in the inventory, or an individual assessment of each group.

Option 1: Comprehensive Ranked Assessment

Ideally, every existing alley house group in Baltimore will be identified, scored based on building condition and objective significance, and ranked from lowest to highest. This would result in a comprehensive assessment of all alley houses in Baltimore, enabling assessors to determine the significance of each alley house group relative to all others, and to proceed with next steps depending on the objectives and financial constraints of the organization.

For example, if an objective is to demolish 20 percent of the city's alley house groups, or if funds allow for the demolition of 20 percent of alley houses groups, a quintile analysis can be performed based on the ranked Final Building Scores of all Baltimore alley house groups. The decision of which groups to demolish, stabilize, or preserve

take into account the scores of all alley house groups in Baltimore. A proposed decision rule for quintiles could be applied as follows:

- **Fourth and fifth quintiles (upper range):** Candidate for preservation
- **Second and third quintiles (middle range):** candidate for stabilization
- **First quintile (bottom range):** Candidate for demolition

Option 2: Individual Assessment-Block by Block Analysis

Although a comprehensive assessment resulting in a ranked database represents the ideal application of the scoring system, such a method requires an extensive effort in a short period of time, and may delay decision making until every single alley house group is assessed and scored. This may not be feasible, and policymakers may need to make determinations in a shorter timeframe.

Therefore, we propose a method in which alley house groups are scored individually and preservation decisions are made on a case-by-case basis. Under this model, the following decision rule is proposed based on the 0 to 5 Final Building Score:

- **3 to 5:** Candidate for preservation
- **1 to 3:** Candidate for stabilization
- **0 to 1:** Candidate for demolition



Electronic Data Recording Method

In Phase 2 of this study, surveyors will enter the field to collect information for the building survey and the objective significance score. The authors of this report understand that the Maryland Historical Trust currently uses paper-based systems for the collection and storage of historical data. While most industries have transitioned from paper-based to electronic, often cloud-based or mobile-based solutions for data collection and storage, but the paper-based system employed by MHT also has advantages. Paper has stood the test of time.

However, paper systems have downfalls as well. They can be unwieldy, difficult to search, and require staff time and effort to manually convert paper-based data to electronic systems for manipulation. Further, although paper persists through time, it, too, may be lost or misplaced. The origins of this report exist as a compelling case-in-point: Mary Ellen Hayward's grant application from the original Alley House Project has been lost in the ensuing years, along with the methodology she used and the definition of "alley house" guiding her work. This loss of information has undoubtedly resulted in a need to recreate in this report some of the work previously completed in that original survey. For

these reasons, we recommend utilizing an electronic system for data collection and storage in Phase 2 of this alley house study.

In this section, we present recommendations for effective electronic field recording of the historic alley house data to be gathered during Phase 2 of this project. To make our recommendation, we reviewed software and hardware typically used for data collection in the field. Based on this review, we recommend that Survey123 Connect software and tablet hardware be used for data collection in Phase 2 of this project.

Recommended Software: Survey123 for ArcGIS

Survey123 for ArcGIS, Esri's form-centric field data collection application (i.e., it uses Microsoft Excel to configure data for survey-based data collection), is simple to adopt and to use, provides the ability to create customized surveys online, and is implicitly compatible with ArcGIS.⁵ With Survey123, the administrator can create a customized survey online, and surveyors in the field can then input data

on a smartphone or tablet with internet access. Survey123 uploads the range of data collected in the field to ArcGIS Online in real time, avoiding the extra work of manually entering the survey data. If surveyors will not have Internet access in the field, upgrading to Survey123 Connect, which offers offline data collection, provides a viable option. Survey123 works natively on both mobile and desktop operating systems, allowing users to collect data using current systems.

Case Study: Flood Response & Survey123 for ArcGIS in Prince Edward County, Ontario, Canada

After a state of emergency was declared in May, 2017, Prince Edward County in Ontario, Canada performed a digital survey with Survey123 for ArcGIS to collect information related to flooding issues.⁶ The county created new generic users in the county's ArcGIS Online organization account and sent instructions for downloading the mobile Survey123 for ArcGIS application to county staff members. It took only ten minutes to train the staff to use Survey123.

5. G. (2016, August). Mobile GIS Best Practices. Retrieved November 18, 2017.

6. Hopkins, G., & McCue, S. (2017, October 12). Flood Response & Survey 123 for ArcGIS in Prince Edward County. Retrieved November 20, 2017, from <https://esri.ca/sites/default/files/documents/Prince%20Edward%20County%20-%20Grant%20Hopkins.pdf>

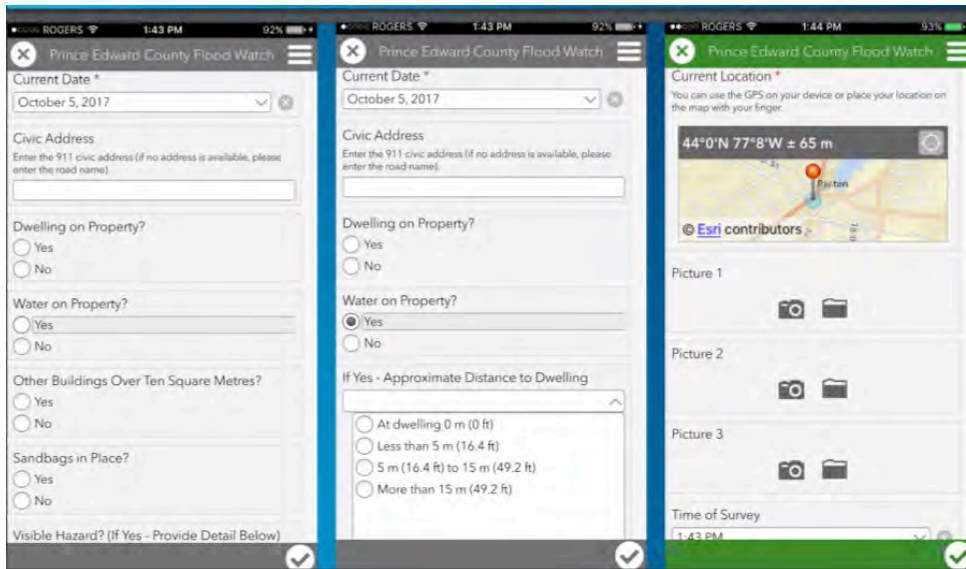


Figure 4.5: Survey123 application interface.

The County listed the following advantages of using this application: consistency in data collection, fast and targeted deployment, and easy analysis of collected data. Figure 4.5 above provides a snapshot of the application.

Using Survey123 for ArcGIS

Using the application requires the following:

Prior to entering the field:

- Create an ArcGIS Online account for each surveyor.
- Create the survey on a computer.
- Download the application on tablets to be used by surveyors in the field.
- Download the survey to be applied.
- Assign unique identifiers to all alley

house groups being surveyed (to be used later to link data collected in the field with the master shapefile).

In the field:

- Fill in the survey for each alley house group using the Survey123 application, being sure to assign correct identifiers.
- Upload the data to the ArcGIS server if working offline.

The final two steps of this process (listed under In the field) should be repeated for each alley house. Any data collected will be automatically saved in a database in an ArcGIS server, accessible on the survey owner's ArcGIS Online account. Assigning unique identifiers to each house will allow staff to merge information in the ArcGIS

Online database (the data collected in the field) into the alley house master shapefile. This application can be used to create individual surveys for the objective significance score and for the building condition survey.

Recommended Hardware

Based on our research, a minimum nine-inch tablet computer with a protective case is necessary for effective electronic data collection in the field. Surveyors tend to do a lot of writing in the field, a task which is much easier with a keyboard. While devices with screens smaller than seven inches are highly portable, they are too small to provide useful in-screen keyboards. Tablets or smartphones of this size will increase data recording time (and frustration) rather than eliminate it. Nine-inch and larger tablets offer a certain level of portability combined with enough room to have a small keyboard for typing. To minimize the chance of damaging the electronic device, we recommend storing surveyors' tablets in rugged, protective cases such as those built by Otterbox, which ensures their products with "Certified Drop+ Protection."





Melvin Drive, Ridgley's Delight (photo courtesy Holly Simmons)



Resident Assessment

Because many of the inherent values of heritage buildings are difficult to quantify, researchers often face challenges when trying to integrate these concepts into concrete models. To create a method for the analysis of historic alley houses' subjective significance, we reviewed a variety of research methods, including resident surveys and interviews, case studies, transect walks, behavioral mapping, cultural mapping, and participant observation. Each individual method presented limitations. For example, while methods such as surveys are effective for quickly collecting sufficient data from different neighborhoods, they restrict the variety of meanings that residents may reveal; interviews, alternatively, allow residents to express deep meaning, but that meaning may be difficult to quantify and time-consuming to collect and code.¹ For this reason, we propose a sequential mixed method approach combining qualitative and quantitative methods - namely, transect walks and surveys.²

To reveal subjective meanings, researchers

1. John W. Cresswell, "Research Methods: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches", Sage publications, Inc., 2013.
2. Jeremy C. Wells, "Using Sequential Mixed Social Science Methods to Define and Measure Heritage Conservation Performance," School of Architecture, Art, and Historic Preservation Faculty Papers, Paper 21, 2011.

will implement a two-step resident assessment, with two different sources of data. The first will involve conducting a "transect walking" analysis, which will produce map analysis and interview data. By revealing stakeholders' understandings of Baltimore districts, transect walks can help inform the development of themes and wording for subsequent surveys, thereby improving the overall reliability and validity of survey instruments.

The second step will build off the first. We recommend that transect walk data be combined with the meanings received from Phase 1 interviews. Data gleaned from transect walks and/or interviews will then be used to construct a survey. The subjective meanings gleaned from the results of the interviews conducted as part of Phase 1 can be included. Surveys will be distributed to respondents based on alley house groups located in historic neighborhoods. The results of surveys will then be averaged for each historic neighborhood and used as a subjective meaning score.

Part 1: Transect Walks

In a transect walk, researchers accompany community members on a tour of a study area, where they discuss key area features

and how these features are perceived.³ The goal is to gain knowledge about the observed neighborhood and to understand and systemize the attitude of participants toward these features and processes.

Transect walks are appropriate for the purpose of this study, because walking through alleys will allow participants to recall different stories, emotions about specific houses, and characteristics of individuals living in these homes. These "thick descriptions" of alleys may be omitted during discussion from distance. Additionally, the participation of the interviewee in the preparation for the transect walk may also reveal additional subjective meanings.

The broader understandings provided verbally by community participants and the relations that they indicate should be recorded by researchers using tape recorders, handwritten notes, and photographs. A voice recorder, printed neighborhood map, pencils, pens, and a camera will be necessary to concisely

3. Dana H. Taplin, Scheld, Suzanne, and Low, Setha M. "Rapid Ethnographic Assessment in Urban Parks: A Case Study of Independence National Historical Park," *Human Organization* 61, no. 1 (2002): 86-90.



and accurately gather information. The data from all transect walks should be transcribed and coded, in order to synthesize questions about the subjective meanings of alley houses, to be used later for community surveys.

Possible questions to ask the participants while on walks include:

- Why did you decide to choose this route?
- Tell me about this neighborhood. What kind of feelings do you have when you talk about it? Why?
- Which of these buildings/places is the most significant for you? Why?
- Which building do you like the most/the least? Why?
- What do you think about the plans to demolish row houses? Do you think demolition should occur in this neighborhood? Why?

Because transects and surveys are intended to help researchers better understand the subjective meanings of alley houses, current and former residents and representatives of community organizations should be involved in the research process. Secondary stakeholders who should also be represented include members of local nonprofits, politicians, and preservationists.

Transect walks should be conducted in groups of three to five participants.

By conducting tours with small groups, researchers can manage information gathered while concurrently allowing participants to engage in a communal conversation and debate regarding the significance of alley houses and neighborhood space as they answer the interview questions. Researchers should strive to perform group transect walks with participants in order to gauge a variety of subjective meanings for the surveys. Thirty minutes per walk should suffice, but transects may be extended if participants want to continue talking.

Part 2: Surveys

Surveys will constitute the quantitative arm of the resident assessment, allowing researchers to obtain data in a limited amount of time. The surveys will be informed by the meanings expressed by residents and experts during the transect walking tours and in interviews conducted for this report. Examples of these meanings can be found in Appendix 6 (page 98).

Researchers will compose surveys consisting of statements relating to a major theme gleaned from the transects or from existing interviews. For example, if the transects reveal themes such as “We love our alley house because it is associated with a unique history,” and “Alley houses provide a safe social space for children after school,” based on these themes, researchers may

compose the survey statements “My alley house is significant to me because it is associated with a unique history,” and “Alley houses function as a safe space for children after school.” When composing survey statements, researchers should apply colloquialisms gathered during the transect walks to give the statements a degree of familiarity to the survey takers.

The survey questions should be structured using five point Likert scales. This structure will allow individuals to express how much they agree or disagree with a particular statement, resulting in the following responses:

- 5: Strongly Agree
- 4: Agree
- 3: Neither Agree nor Disagree
- 2: Disagree
- 1: Strongly Disagree

A sample survey constructed using information from interviews conducted with stakeholders during Phase 1 (Fall 2017) is shown in Figure 4.6 (page 66). To ensure a representative sample, a minimum of thirty surveys should be collected for each Baltimore district where alley houses are located.⁴ Researchers can distribute the surveys in a variety of ways. Surveys can be sent out in the mail, made available

4. Meier K.J., Brudney J.L., Bohte J. Applied statistics for public and nonprofit administration, Sixth edition. 2005.



Figure 4.6: Resident Assessment Survey Form

District Name						
Gender (Circle one)	Male		Female		Other	
Race/Ethnicity (Circle one)	Black/African American	Native American	Asian/Pacific Islander	Latinx/Hispanic	White	Other
Relation to Alley Houses (Circle one)	Current Resident	Former Resident	Expert	Other (Specify)		
<i>Current/Former Residents:</i> How long have you lived in an alley house?	Less than 1 year	1-2 years	2-5 years	5-10 years	10-20 years	More than 20 years
Statement	Strongly Agree (5)	Agree (4)	Neither Agree nor Disagree (3)	Disagree (2)	Strongly Disagree (1)	SCORE
In an alley house neighborhood, social relations are/were especially important.						
I feel/felt the support of a community in an alley house neighborhood.						
Alley houses respect the generations of my family who lived here.						
Alley houses honor people who lived in these houses in previous eras.						



Resident Assessment Survey Form (cont'd)

Statement	Strongly Agree (5)	Agree (4)	Neither Agree nor Disagree (3)	Disagree (2)	Strongly Disagree (1)	SCORE
Alley houses respect the people who lived here in previous generations.						
Alley houses honor people who lived in these spaces previously.						
The history of alley houses makes me excited.						
Alley houses are aesthetically pleasing.						
I like that alley houses are small and compact.						
I like(d) the feeling of intimacy and closeness of my alley house.						
I am/was personally engaged in the maintenance of my alley house.						
I am/was personally engaged in the alley house's maintenance or restoration.						
My alley house is/was important for me for another reason.						
AVERAGE SCORE						
SURVEYOR						
DATE						

on the internet (www.Surveymonkey.com, Google Surveys, etc.), or conducted over the telephone. We recommend that surveys be made available in multiple formats to maximize participant access. However, researchers will need maintain an inventory of survey respondents to avoid collecting duplicate data. To capture a wide audience, surveys can be distributed through the same organizations that researchers partnered with for the transect walks. Additionally, they may be distributed at stakeholder engagement charrettes proposed in chapter 5.

Constructing the Resident Assessment Score

All categories of subjective meaning have the same weight. Therefore, all survey questions have the same weight. For each survey, researchers should calculate the average score. Then, all of the scores within a given district should be averaged, creating an averaged subjective significance score for each individual Baltimore district. This score will be understood to reflect on the entire district, not specific buildings or neighborhoods.

When making decisions regarding demolition, preservation, or stabilization, the resident assessment should not deliver the final verdict, but instead should be used in conjunction with the Building Assessment to confirm, deny, or add nuance to the

findings of that survey. Similarly to the building assessment, a quintile analysis can be performed for the resident assessment. If performing an analysis of quintiles:

- **Fourth and fifth quintiles (upper range):** Candidate for preservation
- **Second and third quintiles (middle range):** candidate for stabilization
- **First quintile (bottom range):** Candidate for demolition

Limitations and Considerations

Transect walks are recommended but not necessarily essential in informing the significance score. If there is a limitation on time and/or resources, the subjective meanings from Phase 1 interviews can inform the survey instruments in Phase 2 instead; however, it should be noted that this survey may give very narrow interpretations of subjective meanings because the interview sample was small and homogeneous. At the same time, obtaining and understanding different subjective meanings may be important for broader analysis of alley houses (not for significance score only). If so, it may still be beneficial to perform transect walks.

Should transect walks be utilized, it will be important to consider the following:

- It will take time to gain the trust of community organizations and residents.

Researchers should incorporate this consideration when formulating work plans and deadlines.

- Schedules of researchers and community activities (determining the times at which transect walks can be conducted) may not always coincide.
- Researchers should use their best judgment regarding safety when considering participant-planned transect walks.
- Transect walk routes may not be Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA) accessible. Researchers should work diligently to create accommodations for all willing participants, regardless of ability.
- Participants may engage in open debate regarding the significance of alley houses and neighborhood space as they answer interview questions. Sometimes these debates can become heated. Researchers should work with the sponsoring organizations' authority to mediate debates and defuse hostile situations.
- Researchers should use best practices for cultural competency in behavior and language use. It should be remembered that researchers are invited guests in participants' communities, and they should respect the neighborhood and culture.



Conclusion

Despite past demolitions, many alley houses remain in Baltimore. While these houses can be identified as a group with similar characteristics, it can be assumed that they also vary in condition and significance. To implement the survey portion of this study in Phase 2, we propose a method for capturing and quantifying variance among alley houses and alley house spaces. We recommend using a Building Assessment to identify alley house condition and objective significance, and a Resident Assessment to understand the subjective, community-based significance of these buildings and spaces. The Building Assessment and the Resident Assessment, which incorporate a wide range of objective and subjective factors, will equip planners and preservationists with a comprehensive assessment that can be used to prioritize Baltimore's alley houses when making demolition, stabilization, and preservation decisions.



Dover Street, Ridgely's Delight (photo courtesy Holly Simmons)

Chapter 5

Community

Outreach Strategy

Introduction

Although this report provides extensive information to guide planners and preservationists to decide where to demolish, stabilize, or preserve alley houses, it is essential that decision making is also informed and guided by community residents. While some residents were consulted in the interviews and will be involved in the upcoming significance scoring initiative, this section outlines how community members can be further involved in the planning and preservation process. We argue that the most effective method of community involvement is through a charrette, where residents are formally involved in creating an alley house preservation plan. This section details the importance of community involvement in planning and preservation decisions, outlines a charrette plan, and discusses potential limitations to community involvement.

Why Is Community Outreach Important?

We believe that community participation can benefit further phases of this project in the following ways:

- By relaying their experiences, community members can provide practitioners with a greater understanding of the socioeconomic issues at the root of blight and disinvestment.
- Community members can identify key issues that may not be immediately apparent to planners and preservationists and provide a holistic perspective on planning solutions.
- Ensure that redevelopment plans do not harm residents, provide greater provisions of service, and have a character that aligns with community preferences.

- Through their knowledge and influence, community members can assist in implementing solutions prescribed by planners.
- The demolition of assets that are viewed as valuable by community members can be prevented.
- Residents' knowledge of their communities can provide planners and preservationists with the knowledge necessary to create innovative policy solutions and implementation strategies.
- Local knowledge provided by community members can identify specific locations to direct redevelopment funding. This allows planners and preservationists to take a comprehensive approach to demolition, stabilization, preservation, and redevelopment based on the collective vision and expertise of residents, local leaders, government officials, private

developers, and nonprofit community organizations.¹

Though providing tangible knowledge and guidance that is integral to the success of alley house redevelopment, the community itself can benefit from direct participation in the process in the following ways:

- A diverse array of interests and stakeholders within a community can be united for a shared purpose.
- Community participation can demonstrate to the public that their voice is valued.
- Community inclusion instills a belief in residents that they are key stakeholders in the process of redevelopment in their

¹ U.S. Department of Housing. "Choice Neighborhoods Promising Practice Guides," Issue Brief #3.



neighborhoods.

- Constant community input creates an interactive process to identify and re-identify community needs and develops the vital assets of residents of marginalized communities.² Continued involvement can take place in the form of serial charrettes, community meetings, townhalls, and other venues that keep communities involved in the development process of their communities.

Furthermore, it remains vital that minority and marginalized communities are engaged throughout this project to ensure the success of alley house redevelopment. Marginalization refers to the isolation of communities from mainstream society due to “linguistic barriers, geographic isolation, history of oppression, racism, discrimination, and poverty.”³ Key ways to keep marginalized communities involved in alley house redevelopment include:

- Enter each neighborhood with the knowledge and understanding that many marginalized communities are a result of trauma resulting from the “stressful and threatening experiences

2. Emily Weinstein, Jessica Wolin, and Sharon Rose. “Trauma Informed Community Building A Model for Strengthening Community in Trauma Affected Neighborhoods”, Healthy Equity Institute. May 2014.

3. UC Davis Center for Reducing Health Disparities, “Building Partnerships: Key Consideration When Engaging Underserved Communities Under MHSA,” n.d.

from historic structural conditions such as racism, disenfranchisement, residential segregation, and oppression” that communities may continue to experience today.⁴ Baltimore City’s history encompasses all of the factors stated, therefore, keeping the concept of trauma recovery a part of the redevelopment process is integral to this project.

- Identify community organizations and significant community leaders for all neighborhoods of focus.
- Identify existing language barriers (both foreign languages and vernacular language) in all focus communities and provide multilingual services to keep all community members engaged in the process. We suggest hosting work town halls, community meetings and/or a charrette (or serial charrettes) that have translators available. We also suggest providing handouts, pamphlets, and other vital web-based or paper information regarding the project in the (foreign) languages spoken in focus neighborhoods. Here, religious-based organizations that offer multilingual services will be integral to the success of conveying vital information to all residents regarding workshop events and project updates.

4. Emily Weinstein, Jessica Wolin, and Sharon Rose. “Trauma Informed Community Building A Model for Strengthening Community in Trauma Affected Neighborhoods”, Healthy Equity Institute. May 2014.

- Establish community-based participatory and asset-based community development approaches that recognize the right that all residents have to “participate in the process of defining problems, in mobilizing assets and strengths ([such as] individuals, social networks, and institutions), as well as in designing and implementing interventions and solutions”.⁵ Under this approach, community members can better identify the main issues, needs, and concerns regarding their community. They can also provide insight on where they think redevelopment should be targeted.
- Build a transparent partnership with marginalized communities that identifies and establishes the “cultural and language protocols needed to establish trusting and meaningful relationships” between government personnel, developers, and other stakeholders is vital to alley house redevelopment.⁶ Building a partnership also protects the rights and interests of the community, thus, allowing members to participate and remain actively involved and valued partners in the community redevelopment process.
- Employ the skills of multilingual, culturally competent facilitators to

5 UC Davis Center for Reducing Health Disparities, “Building Partnerships: Key Consideration When Engaging Underserved Communities Under MHSA,” n.d.

6 Ibid.



manage dialogue, keep conversations on track and focused on the mission, and mediate disputes between diverse groups.⁷

How does this fit into Project C.O.R.E.’s goals and objectives?

The goals of Project C.O.R.E. are “to support community growth in Baltimore City, eliminate in a strategic manner as many full blocks of blight as possible, and encourage investment in Project C.O.R.E. communities through attractive financing and other incentives”.⁸ Thus, in order to accomplish these goals, Project C.O.R.E. will need to have effective community engagement strategies wherein stakeholders can be involved in planning community growth initiatives and solutions, assist in strategic demolition, and assist in planning the equitable distribution of financing and incentives in communities, particularly in distressed communities. Stakeholders should also be educated on how to gain access and utilize these tools so that they may be actively involved in the implementation of collaboratively planned solutions.

Currently, the Maryland Department of

Housing and Community Development (DHCD) is the entity responsible for supporting the City of Baltimore in gathering community input for Project C.O.R.E initiatives. DHCD will use public meetings to inform community members about Project C.O.R.E initiatives and to collect their input on the development process. Some of the proposed topics for these meetings include “workforce training opportunities, analysis of blocks and lots, incorporating community input, and adverse impacts and mitigation.”⁹ Although public meetings are essential in community engagement, we argue that a charrette-style meeting is one of the most effective methods to garner community input because we believe it facilitates a greater exchange of information between officials and the public. We argue that the charrette is a mechanism which ensures that information is flowing in a two-way direction instead of in a one-way direction, and that it gives room for greater negotiation between the officials and the community members in the development process.¹⁰ However, for the charrette to be most effective there must be a community outreach strategy that centers around identifying a diverse set of stakeholders.

9. Ibid.

10. Gene Rowe and Lynn J. Frewer, “A Typology of Public Engagement Mechanisms,” *Science, Technology, & Human Values* 30, no. 2 (Spring 2005): 255-256.

7. Lawrence E. Susskind and Jeffrey L. Cruikshank, *Breaking Robert’s Rules: The New Way to Run Your Meeting, Build Consensus, and Get Results* (New York:Oxford University Press, 2006), 179.

8. Department of Housing and Community Development, “About Project C.O.R.E.,” n.d.



Portugal Street, Fells Point (photo courtesy Meagan Pickens)



Proposed Charrette Strategy

A list of key stakeholders has been created for this project, and community members will be consulted in devising significance scores in Phase 2. However, we feel that the current list of stakeholders is not diverse enough, as there is a severe underrepresentation of women and people of color. Because of the reasons listed in the previous section, we also believe that further initiatives can benefit from increased community involvement. We argue that any comprehensive redevelopment projects should include a more diverse group of residents and consider utilizing a community-based charrette. Guided by the outline provided in the American Planning Association’s Charrette Handbook, the following section outlines how a charrette could be used in latter stages of this project. Although the scope of the project beyond Phase 2 is to be determined, a charrette would ensure comprehensive community involvement if large-scale redevelopment of alley houses is undertaken.

Charrettes are inclusionary processes that utilize community input to guide planning decisions, and are typically undertaken for projects of critical importance to the livelihood of communities. After a series of goals and objectives are identified, a charrette team comprised of planning, design, and preservation specialists engage with community members to formulate a range of alternative planning concepts. After a four-to-seven-day process, planners eventually formulate a design plan informed by the input and approval of community members and stakeholders. The charrette process is typically divided into three parts: research, education, and preparation; the charrette workshop itself, and implementation of the plan devised through the charrette process.¹¹ A proposed charrette for the redevelopment of

Baltimore’s alley houses is detailed below.

Research, Education, and Charrette Preparation

Part 1: Project Assessment and Organization

The first stage of the charrette involves the research, public outreach, and logistical preparation necessary to conduct a successful charrette. The preliminary process begins with a project assessment, where members of the charrette team (which is usually comprised of planners, urban designers, architects, landscape architects, and economic development specialists) meet with the project sponsor to determine the goals and objectives to be produced during the charrette.

Part 1 Tasks

- Draft a list of objectives, strategies, and measures relevant to the project.
- Identify stakeholders and determine stakeholder “levels.” The goal is to include stakeholders from a broad range of demographic and professional backgrounds. The *Charrette Handbook* identifies four types of stakeholders: individuals with decision-making power, those who may be potentially affected by the plan’s outcome, those who can promote the project, and those who could block the project.
- Perform a complexity analysis. A complexity analysis determines research needs, budgetary considerations, time necessary to successfully plan and perform a charrette, and identifies logistical concerns.
- Create a “planning process roadmap.”

¹¹ *The Charrette Handbook*, 7-13.



This longitudinal document strategizes a potential planning process and determines what level of public involvement is necessary.

- Write a “charrette ready plan,” which serves as a to-do list of what tasks need to be completed *prior* to the charrette and who will perform them.¹²

Alley House Charrette Considerations

Because the goals of a charrette have not been pre-defined, individuals in charge of Phase 2 should meet with the sponsor clients to gain a specific understanding of what these groups want from the charrette. It is also worth discussing the budgetary, political, and logistical feasibility of what could be achieved in a redevelopment plan. For example, the content of a charrette will be limited if it is only feasible for demolition and stabilization decisions to be made rather than a full-scale, fully-funded redevelopment plan. Further challenges include the following:

- Identify a specific geographic scope may be necessary. Distressed alley houses are scattered throughout Baltimore, creating difficulties in drafting a coordinated and comprehensive redevelopment plan.
- While it may be technically possible for

a charrette to create a redevelopment plan, consideration should be paid to the funds and political will available to implement such a project.

- The project manager will only be able to assemble a charrette team once the scope of the project has been articulated, as this will reveal the specific skillsets necessary to complete the project.
- The appropriate identification of a diverse list of stakeholders (particularly residents) may be difficult due to the vast geographic scope of distressed alley houses as well as power differentials among sponsor clients/ individuals in Phase 2 and stakeholders (particularly residents).
- Consideration should be paid to the amount of time it takes to gain stakeholders’ trust, especially regarding a politically-charged subject such as Project C.O.R.E., in order to receive stakeholders’ full and honest input.

Part 2: Stakeholder Research, Education, and Outreach

This part reveals who can promote (or block) the project and devises a strategy to involve these individuals or groups in the charrette. As previously mentioned, this report has already created a preliminary list of stakeholders, but we believe a more diverse group is necessary to ensure a successful charrette.

Part 2 tasks

- Conduct community outreach. Outreach can occur through informal, one-on-one interactions; or at public meetings, neighborhood gatherings, community meetings or community institutions. By utilizing a variety of outreach methods, charrette team members can ensure a more diverse stakeholder cohort. Identifying and reaching out to community development organizations, neighborhood groups, community leaders, religious-based groups, grass-roots organization, youth groups and other known social networks within target communities to spread information of this project is suggested. This strategy should also encourage collaboration between identified stakeholders while opening the door to other community-serving organizations and neighborhood networks that may not be identified in the initial process.¹³
- Engage with the public and exchange information. This stage attempts to understand which stakeholders have the most influence in their communities. Here community leaders will be a crucial stakeholder to identify and contact per target neighborhood. Leaders actively represent their community,

¹² Ibid, 33-43

¹³ Robert Chaskin and Mark Joseph. “Building “Community” in Mixed-Income Developments Assumptions Approaches and Early Experiences,” University of Chicago, January 2010.



“foster strong social networks” and educate their fellow residents of multi-scale community development such as housing demolition, stabilization, preservation, and redevelopment, the foci of this project.¹⁴

- Divide stakeholders into “primary” and “secondary” groups. As detailed in the next section, separate meetings will be held with primary stakeholders throughout the charrette.
- Work with stakeholders to develop a unified vision that builds off the initial goals and objectives. The *Charrette Handbook* argues that stakeholder engagement is the basis of developing a common ground that can be used to articulate the means and ends of the project. Vision development can be enhanced through public kickoff meetings, bus tours, and technical workshops¹⁵

Alley House Charrette Considerations

The final composition of stakeholders will depend on the scope of the project. Furthermore, it will be essential to dig deep into community networks, as the *Charrette Handbook* notes that some of the most influential community leaders may not be known to planners or politicians.

¹⁴. U.S. Department of Housing. “Choice Neighborhoods Promising Practice Guides,” Issue Brief #3.

¹⁵. Ibid, 45-50

Part 3: Base Data Research and Analysis, Project Feasibility Studies, and Pre-Charrette Prep

The goal of this part is for each charrette team member to become fully rehearsed in how his or her area of expertise is related to the project.

Part 3 Tasks

- Formation of a final charrette team. Charrette teams are usually comprised of a planner, a designer, an architect, a landscape architect, an environmentalist, an economist, and a transportation planner. For the sake of this project, it may also be necessary to include a preservationist and a housing expert.
- Team members will gather base data research and perform a SWOT analysis related to their field.
- The team should congregate to perform conceptual sketches and tests, which can help uncover potential feasibility issues and opportunities.
- Project manager(s) should create a comprehensive project brief that summarizes data and research provided by each team member.
- In the weeks leading up to the charrette, logistics and scheduling matters should be dealt with. Ideal charrettes typically last seven days, although abbreviated

five-day charrettes are also possible.¹⁶

Alley House Charrette Considerations

- Much of the baseline data will be gathered in Phases I and II of the project, minimizing the research needed to be performed by team members. That being said, team members may find it necessary to collect additional data not included in the original terms of reference. Potential data may include real estate market analyses, transportation data, and environmental information. In terms of timing, it will be best to perform the charrette sometime in the summer of 2018, soon after Phase II is completed. The length of the charrette itself is contingent on the funding and time available.

The Charrette

Charrettes are typically governed by two management models: 1) a primary project manager oversees all aspects of the charrette, or 2) a project manager is appointed to keep in touch with the charrette team, and a charrette manager is appointed to manage logistics. This section details each element of the charrette in chronological order. For the purposes of this document, a seven-day model is used.

¹⁶. Ibid, 53-73



Part 1: Initial Charrette Phases (Day 1)

- Host a start-up meeting with the charrette team. The objective of this meeting is to ensure that the team is clear on the charrette goals and objectives
- Order the charrette team to perform a site tour while the project manager(s) meets with the primary stakeholders. A pre-charrette stakeholder meeting will allow the project manager(s) to gather last-minute information relevant to the project and ensure that all stakeholders are on the same page.
- Host an initial public meeting. The initial meeting includes an informational lecture on the project and a hands-on workshop. During the workshop, attendees are divided into even groups, examine and discuss preexisting conditions relating to the project, brainstorm a list of visions for the plan, and report the results back to the group as a whole.

Part 2: Alternative Concepts Development (Days 2-3)

- After the initial public meeting, the charrette team creates no more than four alternative concepts, utilizing baseline research and input from the previous night's meeting. The Charrette Handbook emphasizes that project

managers should attempt balancing creativity with ensuring that the alternatives are created punctually.

- Hold a conceptual meeting. During this meeting, central themes gleaned from research and public input are articulated, which will be used to shape the character of the proposed alternatives. By the end of the meeting, the team should articulate the list of alternative concepts and tasks should be divided by field of expertise.
- Initial alternative concepts should be rough to communicate to stakeholders and residents that further input will be necessary to create a finalized product.
- After the initial alternative concepts are created, each concept is presented to primary stakeholders, who will discuss the feasibility of each alternative and provide additional critique.
- At the end of the third day, a second public meeting is held where community members provide input on each alternative concept.

Part 3: Preferred Plan Synthesis (Days 4-5)

- After the second public meeting, the charrette team is tasked to synthesize a definitive plan from each alternative concept.
- At the beginning of day 4, the charrette team convenes to process the results of the second public meeting and uses that

input to begin articulating a final vision.

- After a final sketch is comprised, stakeholders are convened to provide input and critique.
- Once the stakeholders are consulted, a public open house is hosted. During the open house, additional information is gathered to polish the final concept.

Part 4: Production and presentation (Days 6-7)

- Using the public input gathered from the open house, the team creates a finalized product that will be presented to the public for review at the end of the seventh day.¹⁷

Implementation

Once a final plan is created, the charrette team will meet with the project sponsors to devise a course of action to implement the plan. To maintain public support, the Charrette Handbook recommends that the implementation team communicates constantly with the public throughout the course of the project.

¹⁷ Ibid, 84-115



Sample Themes from Stakeholder Engagement in Phase 1

To broaden the scope and understanding of this project, unstructured ethnographic interviews were conducted with eleven stakeholders including five experts, three from non-profit organizations, one from a government entity, and one from a community organization, along with six residents who lived in alley houses. The interviews focused on the physical, sociocultural, and historic qualities in the context of Baltimore's alley houses. Once completed, interviews were transcribed and coded to identify major themes.

We find that each interviewee recognized the historical and/or cultural significance of alley houses in some form as they were an affordable housing option for historically working-class immigrant and migrant populations. Each commented on the characteristics of alley houses being small and located on smaller side streets. A redevelopment strategy that was common among all interviews with experts and residents alike mentioned that combining two or more alley houses together to increase its size would be a useful strategy to increase demand and use.

Common themes among the experts included seeing the small size of alley houses as a possible hindrance for contractors or attracting new residents.

The experts also expressed that alley houses located in distressed neighborhoods experience higher vacancy rates and lower demand for this unique housing type. Most experts saw alley houses as a form of affordable housing and would seek to preserve and redevelop blocks of alley houses that are still suitable for habitation versus rehabilitating one house at a time. An overall need for market demand of alley houses was mentioned throughout expert interviews as such forces drive neighborhood growth and stabilization.

Each resident interviewed truly enjoyed being in an alley house. A few residents had combined adjacent alley houses to increase alley house size or purchased or rented larger sized alley houses. However, one resident's partner did not like how small their alley house was and they chose to move because of this. Resident interviews stressed the attractiveness of how affordable alley houses were. They enjoyed living off the larger street, the community feel, the diversity, the intimate social interactions, and the pedestrian-oriented characteristics their alley streets created and fostered. Many residents were also attracted to their neighborhood due to their close proximity to shops, restaurants, and other neighborhood serving resources.

These interviews and their subsequent themes demonstrate the deeper social, cultural, and economic meanings that can

be gleaned from stakeholder engagement (in this case via interviews) that can inform the development decisions related to alley houses throughout Baltimore City. Please refer to Appendix 5 to view the codebook used to identify major themes.



Tyson Street, Bolton Hill (photo courtesy Jack Narron)



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Chapter 6

Conclusions & Recommendations

Conclusion

Alley streets have nestled in the spaces between the warp and wood of Baltimore's main streets for hundreds of years, and the poor, working classes, immigrants, and African Americans have historically nestled into houses on these alley streets. Because of this, rich and poor, black and white, immigrant and native-born have lived in close proximity in Baltimore City. Those who cannot (or choose not to) afford houses on the main streets continue to live on the alleys, naturally facilitating the integration of varying economic statuses in the city.

Many alley houses have disappeared from the City over the years, replaced by inner block parks or empty patches. However, as we discovered through the course of our research, many alley houses remain. These spaces continue to carry the stories of ordinary and working-class residents, some of which we heard during the interview process conducted during Phase 1 of this study: the story of the family with thirteen children that ate dinner on the front stoop, passing plates of food to one another up and down the steps; the story of neighbors who sit in the alley on hot days and watch TV or listen to the radio from the street; the story of the couple that continues to express pride in buying their first home, an alley house. People who live on alley streets seem to relish the communal feel of these spaces, their affordability, and the experience of being surrounded by noises created by humans instead of vehicles.

Project C.O.R.E. represents an opportunity

to reinvest in Baltimore City, and in some instances this will involve tearing down and eventually building anew. Project C.O.R.E.'s great potential can also be realized by proactively choosing to preserve. With Phase 1 of the Baltimore Alley House Study completed and Phase 2 soon to begin, the only thing left to do will be to decide. The materials in this report will help to make these difficult decisions easier.

Recommendations

Utilizing academic literature, professional documents, stakeholder interviews, and case studies, we have developed a series of recommendations for implementing Phase 2 of this project and for conducting outreach in the community.

For Phase 2, we recommend scoring each building based on its physical condition and its objective significance, which can be combined to provide a final building score

on a 0 to 5 scale. The building assessment should include scores for both building condition and the objective significance of the building based on factors relating to its history, architecture, and integrity. Scoring should be based on the surveys provided in this report. We then recommend assigning numerical values to each category's score, in order to achieve an aggregate final score that will determine a building's significance.

The results of the objective building assessment provide insight into the condition and objective significance of alley house groups, but alone they not provide a complete understanding of alley houses. The human element is missing, because residents' and other stakeholders' subjective values around alley houses are left unaccounted. Therefore, we recommend the final building score be understood in conjunction with the subjective significance of the parts of Baltimore City in which alley houses exist, according to resident and



stakeholder values. To this end, we propose a two-part Resident Assessment. The first (optional) part is to be a series of transect walks of areas where the alley houses are located, conducted by researchers and local community members. Second, a resident and stakeholder survey should be conducted to gather quantifiable data about Baltimore's alley house districts. Researchers can choose either to create surveys using the information gathered during transect walks, or use the surveys provided in this report.

We also recommend using a charrette-based process for community and stakeholder engagement in Phase 2 and beyond, based on guidelines laid out in the American Planning Association's Charrette Handbook. Outreach should involve the entire community, so that the most representative sample possible is present for the charrette. Sufficient planning for the charrette is necessary for success, and should include stakeholder analysis and a "planning process roadmap," as well as ensuring that the purpose and goals of the charrette are clearly understood by all. Outreach should be conducted in a way that encourages stakeholders to be present for the charrette, and the project team should be appropriately briefed throughout the process to ensure understanding of the objectives. The charrette will provide an initial community meeting with input

from stakeholders, which can then be used to devise a plan. The plan can then be presented to the stakeholders who initially attended, and can also be modified for future action.



Tyson Street, Bolton Hill (photograph courtesy Jack Narron)



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Technical Appendices

Appendix 1: Definitions of Alley Houses

Objective Descriptions

Alley houses were originally constructed as housing options for the working classes from the late eighteenth century until approximately 1909. The majority of alley house residents consisted of freed African American slaves and migrants with the remaining population historically consisting of Eastern European, Irish and German immigrants.¹ Alley houses are mainly defined by the size of the street they line, and are usually located on inner streets within a block, described as narrow passages typically between 12 and 16 feet wide with sidewalks approximately 4 feet wide on either side of the street.²

Alley houses can be further defined by their physical characteristics, though greater emphasis is often placed on the street size. These units are typically two and a half stories with an attic and basement kitchen that are roughly 10.5 to 12 feet, or two bays, wide. Alley houses are generally two rooms deep, with 2 to 3 steps at the front of each

house. Historically, these steps might have been wooden, with merchants pulling them up at night for safety, but today they range from wood, to stone, to brick. The primary materials for house construction include brick and wood, though the primary facades of many of these houses may be covered in Formstone, vinyl, or stucco today.³

Shared party walls with adjacent houses are also characteristic, leaving only the front and back exposed. For the purposes of this project, the functional definition of alley houses are houses located on streets that are 30 feet or less including sidewalks.⁴

Contemporary Value of Alley Houses

A review of the professional and grey literature on alley houses and the interviews performed for this study revealed several defining features of an alley house. In her study of Tokyo's alleys, Heide Imai found that alleys often have unique significances, meanings, and uses to the residents who live and frequent them. Imai argues that alleys occupy an in-between space in

the city fabric, not entirely private nor entirely public, and residents feel as if they have shared ownership of these spaces.⁵ According to Kim Prothro Williams, alleys tend to foster high levels of social interaction among their residents, a sentiment that was also expressed in several stakeholder interviews. Although the majority of the gray literature that discussed Baltimore's alley houses focuses on problems associated with these spaces, the Southwest Partnership Vision Plan noted their unique housing style. The plan framed these spaces specifically in the context of Baltimore, where they form a backbone of small, cozy two-story houses surrounding the city's historic downtown (Southwest Partnership Vision Plan).

Our interviews confirmed and expanded on many of the aforementioned concepts. First, there was a general agreement that alleys can be defined as streets which are at maximum 20 to 30 feet wide (including sidewalks) and create a "tunnel effect" for anyone traveling through them. Alleys are usually built in the interior of blocks and were often originally used as servants'

1. Greenmount West Master Plan," *Baltimore City Planning Department*, 2010. 18. https://planning.baltimorecity.gov/sites/default/files/Greenmount%20West%20Area%20Master%20Plan_o.pdf

2. Hayward, Mary Ellen. *Baltimore alley houses: Homes for working people since the 1780s*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008.

3. Hayward, Mary Ellen, and Charles Belfoure. *The Baltimore Rowhouse*. New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1999.

4. Ibid.

5. Imai, Heide, "The liminal nature of alleyways: Understanding the alleyway roji as a 'Boundary' between past and present," *Cities: The International Journal of Policy and Planning*, 2013.

quarters or for non-residential uses. The houses that occupy alleys are usually narrow, approximately 12 feet wide and between 25 to 30 feet deep, set in rows and supported with party walls. Residents noted that alley houses are often comprised of two rooms on each floor, and are two or two and a half stories tall.⁶

Most stakeholders noted that Baltimore's alley houses were generally constructed from the 1790s through the 1920s, with a majority built in the late 1800s. Residents claimed that alleys have historically served as homes for many of the working classes and new immigrants, and have been repurposed in many well-off neighborhoods as affordable housing for young professionals. Interviewees also distinguished between row houses and alley houses: row houses are built with party walls, while alley houses are a particular type of row house that are only located on alleys. Some alley house residents also expressed concern with the term "alley streets," feeling that it carries a connotation of crime and danger, and stated that they preferred the term "small streets" instead.

Community Stories and Cultural Heritage

6. "Southwest Partnership Vision Plan," *Southwest Partnership*, 2015, 180.

To further create a well-rounded and holistic definition of alley houses, we look to residents (both past and present) and the stories they tell about their homes and neighborhoods. To craft a definition of alley houses based on cultural history, we examined newspaper articles and interviews conducted for this report. Residents often describe their neighborhoods as affordable, diverse, and friendly. They also perceive that alley houses are not well regarded by those who do not live on alley streets, but residents believe these negative opinions are misguided. In general, residents' stories describe their neighborhoods in reference to sights, sounds, and people.⁷

In the article "Baltimore as Remembered by Janet Divel (nee Vanik)," Janet Divel, who lived on Eager Street from the late 1940s to the early 1960s, describes her alley house neighborhood as a tight-knit, working-class neighborhood where neighbors helped one another financially.⁸ "We all were responsible for something that we called neighborhood," she says. Everyone took pride in how clean their street and houses were and worked diligently to keep them that way. She also talks about how neighborhood boys would play baseball in

7. Max Pollock and Janet Divel, "Baltimore as Remembered by Janet Divel (nee Vanik)," January 25, 2017, <https://baltimorebrickbybrick.com/2017/01/25/baltimore-as-remembered-by-janet-divel-nee-vanik/#comments>.

8. Ibid.

the street to the chagrin of the adults.⁹ In the article "Life, Death, and Demolition," Mable Olds, who lived on Bradford Street for 40 years, further confirms this narrative. In particular, her house was an "everybody house" where neighbors gathered.¹⁰ Speaking of her block, Olds says, "It was a lively block, it was like a family block." Olds says that her children ran barefoot in the alleys and rode bicycles in the street. David Bell, who also lived on Bradford Street, remembers when African Americans began to move into alley houses; Bradford Street had traditionally been a Bohemian neighborhood. Meanwhile, "Big Mike" Saunders remembers residents had to shove the coal that fueled their furnaces through their basement windows.¹¹

The interviews conducted for this report reveal contemporary stories of alley houses and alley house neighborhoods. Many of the residents interviewed reported that alleys are much quieter than main streets, because alleys are secluded from "all the vehicle traffic and the MTA bus and the emergency vehicles." On hot summer days, some of their neighbors turn up the radio or the television and sit outside, as they escaped the heat. Because alley houses are

9. Ibid.

10. Steve Hendrix, "Life, Death, and Demolition," *The Washington Post*, February 2, 2017, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/graphics/local/baltimore-life-death-and-demolition/>.

11. Ibid.



closely situated to one another, neighbors “had to listen up or listen in.” Residents are also likely to use alleys as social spaces. One resident reports, “On my block, they’ll put a cone at the end of the street where it’s not officially closed, but there’ll be a lawn chair and some people out there, on a late evening or something.” Residents also relate that they can hear neighbors when they argue, because their houses are so close to one another.

Many people believe alley houses are an ideal size for one or two people. Residents tell stories of families they know of who grew up in their alley street neighborhoods with many more children. One interviewee’s friend grew up in an alley house, along with his twelve siblings. He reflects, “[W]hen they were having dinner, they would sit on the steps. The older guys got to sit on the bottom and the younger kids sat on the top and they didn’t have a dining room table, so they passed the food up the steps and that’s where they sat to eat their dinner.”

Many residents find pride in the affordability and the historic nature of their houses. A resident whose wife bought the house when she was single reports, “She bought it because she was single and tired of renting, and it was affordable. [...] She’s proud of buying that herself without getting help from anybody. That’s her main point of pride.” After noting the importance of

the houses on the main streets, another resident states, “But a lot of the alley houses are historic, too, because it’s where the workers live. The people who worked in these adjacent big houses, they lived there before it was affordable and simple.”

Evidence about the living and personal context of alley houses and alley house neighborhoods can also be revealed, ironically, through their destruction. Recently, former resident Mable Olds and descendants of former residents who inhabited the same house in the early 20th century visited an alley house on North Bradford Street before it was demolished. At this meeting, the group told rich stories about the alley house and the neighborhood. This meeting revealed the connections that people had to this place that they, or their ancestors, once considered home. The significance of alley houses and alley house neighborhoods is determined by not only aesthetic values, but also by human values; the humans impressing values upon these places should be consulted about their futures. While Mable Olds understood that vacancy was one of the underlying causes leading to the demolition of the alley house she once lived in, she stated, “I just don’t know, I just don’t know about tearing down good houses.”¹²

12. Ibid.

From these stories about place, we can glean information about the living context which contributes to the definition of an alley house. We can discern that residents take pride in their alley houses and appreciate both their historic qualities and their affordability. We can also discern that there are tight-knit communities within these alley house neighborhoods. Additionally, we can see that alley streets become social spaces for both children and adults, whether they are playing or escaping the summer heat. These themes describe the intangible, or cultural, practices associated with an alley house. The cultural practices associated with alley houses expands the definition beyond brick and mortar to the meanings people impress upon the built environment. From these meanings we can derive a cultural history definition of alley houses and alley house neighborhoods: Alley houses are small, affordable houses offering the possibility of home ownership to those for whom it might not otherwise be an option, and thus have become points of pride for many residents. Alley houses open on to human-scale streets that serve as social spaces where residents play, sit in lawn chairs, listen to the TV or radio, and even to eat dinner each night. Finally, because neighbors live in close proximity and share the common street space, alley house neighborhoods tend to foster a strong sense of community.



Appendix 2: Glossary of Terms

Bay	The portion of the facade equivalent to the width of a door or window unit.
Common Bond	A brick masonry wall pattern in which a header course of brick is laid after every five or six stretcher courses.
Classical Orders	Tuscan, doric, Ionic, Corinthian, and Composite column, base, and capital designs from ancient Greece and Rome.
Corbel	A block (typically stone or timber) projecting from a wall to support the beams or eave of a roof, floor, vault, or similar feature; often elaborately carved.
Cornice	The crowning or upper part of a wall or entablature.
Dentils	The small, toothlike elements decorating friezes, usually set directly beneath the cornice.
Dormers	Windows, usually with triangular pediments, set into gable roofs to light the attic story.
Entablature	The upper part of a classical order, consisting of the horizontal architrave which rests on columns or pilasters, the decorative frieze above the crowning cornice.
Facade	The front or face of a building.
Flemish Bond	A method of laying brick so that, for added strength, stretchers (long side of bricks) and headers (ends) alternate in each row.
Frieze	The portion of the entablature set between the architrave and the cornice, usually decorated.



Gable Roof	A steeply pitched roof, usually with its ridgepole running parallel to the street.
Geolocate	Identifying the geographical location of a place or person using computer-based digital information. ¹
Lintel	The horizontal top piece of a window or door opening.
Molded	Decorative shapes or designs given to projected members or pieces of a design.
Pilaster	A slightly projecting, flattened column decorating a façade or interior wall.
Portico	A columnated space-detached, attached or recessed-with columns supporting the roof on at least one side.
Qualitative Assessment	Subjective data pulled from stakeholder interviews that was used to build the Subjective Significance Analysis for Alley Houses.
Quantitative Assessment	Tangible numerical data from the scoring system used to construct the Building Condition Survey and Objective Significance Analysis of Alley Houses.
Running Bond	All bricks in this bond are stretchers, with the bricks in each successive course staggered by half a stretcher.
Stucco	Plaster or cement coating used to cover facades.

1. Oxford Dictionary. "Geolocate." *Oxford University Press*. 11 December 2017. <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/geolocate>.



Appendix 3: Alley House Typologies

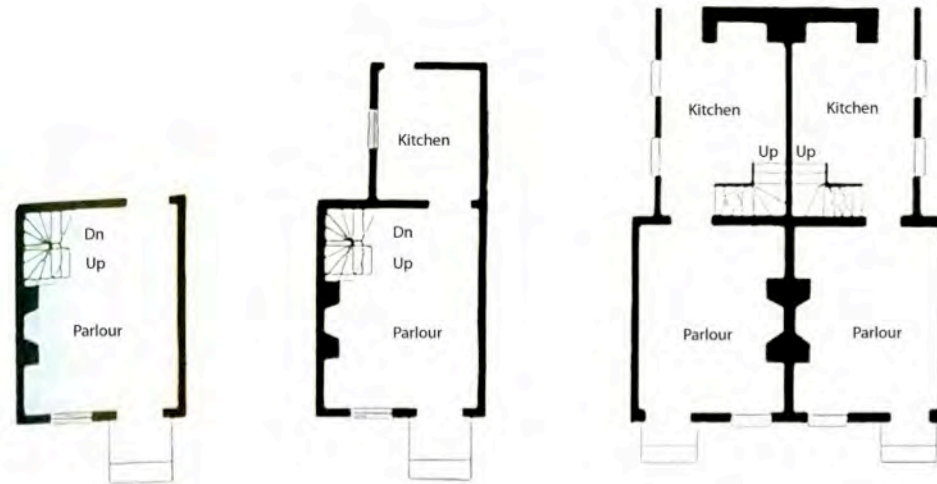


Figure 1: Typical first floor plans of two bay wide and one room deep alley houses and a kitchen added to the rear of the house. (Sketch courtesy Ridhima Mehrotra)



Figure 2: Floor plans and elevation of two bay wide and two rooms deep houses. (Sketch courtesy Ridhima Mehrotra)





Figure 3: Two-and-a-half story houses with high basements (Photo courtesy Holly Simmons)



Figure 4: Brick cornices, 6 over 6 sash windows with a larger first floor window, painted brick facade with a transom over the door (Photo courtesy Holly Simmons)



Appendix 4: Description of Grey Literature

Author	Title	Year	Client	Summary
City of Baltimore Office of Sustainability	The Baltimore City Green Network Vision Plan	2017	N/A	<i>The presentation highlights the key elements of the report including: protecting and enhancing ecology resources , economic growth, sustainable redevelopment of vacant lands , safety and improved connection to green space via nodes, corridors, pedestrian paths and other modes.</i>
City of Baltimore	Programmatic Agreement Between the City of Baltimore, East Baltimore Development Incorporated, The Baltimore Commission for Historical and Architectural Preservation, Second Chance Incorporated, and the Maryland Historic Trust Regarding the East Baltimore Development Project (Biotech Park Initiative); Specifically Phase One	2004	N/A	<i>This agreement outlines the stipulations for enacting the Biotech Park Initiative, including Section 14: “Representative Alley House Rows.” (p7) It recognizes that alley houses have historic significance, and outlines a process for preserving representative examples. This includes mapping, performing a comparative analysis, providing recommendations for a minimum of two alley house rows to be preserved, deciding which two will be preserved, developing plans for rehabilitation, and carrying out that rehabilitation.</i>
Baltimore City Department of Planning	Baltimore Comprehensive Master Plan	2006	Baltimore City Department of Planning	<i>Report tackles a wide variety of issues, but of interest to us is a focus on improving the city’s housing stock. Among other priorities, the city is looking to strategically develop properties, maintain safety and cleanliness in residential neighborhoods, improve neighborhood design quality, promote TOD, and protect/enhance historic buildings and neighborhoods.</i>
Baltimore City Department of Planning	Mount Vernon Plan	2013	Baltimore City Department of Planning	<i>This report details a wide range of planning goals related to the neighborhood. Of note, the plan hopes to increase household totals, limit conversion of homes into multi-family apartments, and promote historic preservations. The plan also hopes to “build upon the existing alley street network... to encourage pedestrian use and create clearly marked signage, links, and access to larger open spaces.” Several alleys were included in assessments of neighborhood infill projects.</i>

Author	Title	Year	Client	Summary
Baltimore City Department of Planning	Southeastern Neighborhoods Development Plan	2005	Baltimore City Department of Planning	<i>The plan aims to identify assets in each neighborhood cluster and build upon them within market demand framework. This is done to implement agency actions to maximize benefit and impact.</i>
Baltimore City Department of Planning	Penn North Area Master Plan	2006	Baltimore City Department of Planning	<i>Not particularly relevant because alleys were not part of the plan, although the plan does discuss issues of low homeownership rates and widespread residential vacancies.</i>
Central Baltimore Partnership	Central Baltimore Partnership Housing Strategy	2016	Central Baltimore Partnership	<i>This is a comprehensive report on improving housing in the area directly to the north of Penn Station. Although alleys are not specifically mentioned, the plan aims to encourage housing typology diversity, improve safety in residential areas, and decrease housing vacancies. The report also goes neighborhood by neighborhood to identify areas ripe for residential redevelopment.</i>
Baltimore City Department of Planning	The York Road Community Action Plan	2006	Baltimore City Department of Planning	<i>Plan of development of the neighborhood along the York Road, describes dirty and unsafe alleys. Two goals of plan are dedicated to alleys improvement (to decrease the number of incidents on alleys, to make them free of trash and rats). Doesn't mention alley houses directly, but this neighborhood is located in an area where historic alley houses are located.</i>
Baltimore City Department of Planning	Master Plan for the Upton Community	2005	Baltimore City Department of Planning	<i>Plan of Upton neighborhood development contains short description of alleys as places for modest workers housing in "History" part and offers to gate/close alleys to prevent crime and drug dealing.</i>
Southwest Partnership	The Southwest Partnership Vision Plan	2015	Southwest Partnership	<i>The plan of development of seven neighborhoods offers to use alleys for bicycle connection, and to educate residents for keeping alleys clean.</i>



Author	Title	Year	Client	Summary
Baltimore City Department of Planning, Sharp-Leadenhall Planning Committee	Sharp-Leadenhall Neighborhood Plan	2004	Baltimore City Department of Planning	<i>The plan describes activities to achieve the highest level of services and leadership in urban and strategic planning, historical and architectural preservation, zoning, design, development, and capital budgeting to promote the sustained economic, social, and community development. It describes some original alley houses preserved in neighborhood (Bevan and Creek streets).</i>
Operation ReachOut Southwest (OROSW)	OROSW Neighborhood Action Plan	2002	Operation ReachOut Southwest (OROSW)	<i>This action plan identifies neighborhood strengths and opportunities, describes strategies for neighborhood improvement, and provides the information necessary for all interested parties to make decisions about neighborhood investments. It describes the situations when residents gated alleys by themselves.</i>
Baltimore City Department of Planning	Barclay-Midway-Old Goucher Small Area Plan	2005	Baltimore City Department of Planning	<i>The plan offers the vision how to create a mixed income area that has a thriving commercial area, as well as housing options for all whether it is single family, multi family, home ownership and/or rental. It describes unclean alleys in neighborhood (rats, trash) and attempts of locals to improve that.</i>
Kim Prothro-Williams, DC Historic Preservation Office	The DC Historic Alley Building Survey	2014	N/A	<i>This report outlines phases 1 and 2 of the DC Historic Alley Buildings Survey begun in 2011. These phases focused recording the current conditions and historic data of alley buildings in Georgetown (Phase 1) and Historic Capitol Hill (Phase 2). The report addresses the historic context of alleys in Washington, DC, along with survey findings relating to building distributions, dates of construction, and typologies. It also makes recommendations for rediscovering and reinventing alleys and alley buildings, including increasing their visibility, encouraging heritage tourism, developing ideas to reinvent alleys, engaging the planning community, and developing case studies based on alley reactivation efforts.</i>



Author	Title	Year	Client	Summary
Fred B. Shoken, Preservation Consultant	Old West Baltimore National Historic District National Register Nomination Form	2004	Department of the Interior- National Park Service	<i>The purpose of the report is to outline the significance of Baltimore's Old West Neighborhood. In regards to alley houses, the report outlines who lived in them and why they were built. The report also discusses how and why many them were torn down, and why it is likely that there aren't as many alley houses to be found in this neighborhood, as it is for them to be found in others.</i>
HRG Consultants, Inc & AB Associates	Baltimore City Heritage Area: Management Action Plan	2001	N/A	<i>The report seeks to manage the historic, cultural, natural and architectural resources of Baltimore. The main focus is preservation, planning and economic development. History and culture of Baltimore is outlined, followed by planning initiatives regarding how resources are managed, promoted, preserved, developed and revitalized.</i>
University of Maryland Historic Preservation Studio	West Baltimore Street Toolkit for Commercial Vitalization	2014	Southwest Partnership; Baltimore Commission for Historical and Architectural Preservation; Neighborhood Design Center; Gensler; Baltimore Heritage	<i>The report presents aims to promote commercial revitalization in the Southwest Partnership particularly on West Baltimore Street using a Toolkit based on historic preservation. The objective was to preserve infrastructure for commercial rehabilitation that connected the neighborhoods' social history and historic architectural character to facilitate community development in the present. The toolkit provided insight on funding strategies of historic structures, development that complements local features, and a guide to develop a strong sense of neighborhood identity and space.</i>
Baltimore City Department of Planning	Special Issue: 2014 Year in Review	2014	Baltimore City Department of Planning	<i>This report provides a comprehensive review of Baltimore via an annual report for 2014. It highlights their zoning code rewrite aimed to further ongoing actions to revitalize Baltimore City via modern development and private investments. It addresses various aspects for city wide revitalization starting with a review of CHAPS and its goals to preserve and rehabilitate historic neighborhoods, architecture and monuments, preventing demolition from neglect, and integrating the city's past.</i>



Author	Title	Year	Client	Summary
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Robert L. Baker	Federal Hill Historic District National Register Nomination Form	1969	Department of the Interior - National Parks Service	<i>The purpose of this report is to outline the significance of Federal Hill - Riverside District. In regards to alley houses, we get an insight into the diversity of cultures that were found. It also discusses the location within blocks and gives insight into why the alley houses in this particular neighborhood were not removed as intensely as in other neighborhoods of Baltimore.</i>
HRG Consultants, Inc & AB Associates	Baltimore City Heritage Area: Management Action Plan	2001	N/A	<i>The report seeks to manage the historic, cultural, natural and architectural resources of Baltimore. The main focus is preservation, planning and economic development. History and culture of Baltimore is outlined, followed by planning initiatives regarding how resources are managed, promoted, preserved, developed and revitalized.</i>
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CHAP, Baltimore City Department of Planning	Baltimore City Historic Preservation Procedures and Design Guidelines	2013	N/A	<i>This report outlines the goals, purposes and guidelines in association with historic preservation in the City of Baltimore. For our purposes the information on the original design and subsequent urban planning efforts of Baltimore are useful, as it links the street hierarchy directly to Baltimore's social hierarchy. Further, the goal of preserving alleys as they are is clearly outlines.</i>
Baltimore City Department of Planning, New Greenmount West Community Association	Greenmount West Master Plan	2010	Baltimore City Department of Planning	<i>This report outlines the goals, purposes and guidelines in association with historic preservation in the City of Baltimore. For our purposes the information on the original design and subsequent urban planning efforts of Baltimore are useful, as it links the street hierarchy directly to Baltimore's social hierarchy. Further, the goal of preserving alleys as they are is clearly outlines.</i>
Baltimore City Department of Planning	Fort Worthington Plan	2016	Baltimore City Department of Planning, Fort Worthington Elementary School	<i>Plan of modernization and improvement of Fort Worthington Elementary school which is located in area surrounded by alleys with alley houses. Plan contains the results of surveys and facts about existing conditions of alleys.</i>
Baltimore City Department of Planning	Downtown Open Space Plan	2010	Baltimore City Department of Planning	<i>Plan describes the vision of creating open spaces in downtown. One of the goals of the Plan is to explore improvements to existing public spaces and the creation of new open spaces to help attract and retain businesses and residents to Downtown.</i>

Author	Title	Year	Client	Summary
Monument-McElderry-Fayette Community with technical assistance from Goody Clancy in association with Archplan Kittelson & Associates Lipman, Frizzell & Mitchell LLC	Mounument-McElderly-Fayette Area Plan	2006	Baltimore City Department of Planning	<i>The community development planning project for the 40-block area bordered by Washington, Monument, Linwood, and Fayette. Residential parcels on alleys are extremely narrow, so it's difficult to rehabilitate of residential area here.</i>
Baltimore City Planning Department, Baltimore Housing, and The Reinvestment Fund	Baltimore City's 2014 Housing Market Typology	2015	Department of Housing	<i>Baltimore's housing market typology was developed to assist the City in its efforts to strategically match available public resources to neighborhood housing market conditions, to address city-wide vacant housing challenges, and to tailor market interventions and strategies to neighborhood conditions.</i>
Baltimore City Planning Department	Seton Hill master Plan	2012	Baltimore City Department of Planning	<i>How to develop a small residential community nearby Baltimore's downtown, aims to preserve historical integrity, to promote neighborhood assets.</i>



Appendix 5: Plans That Impact and/or Address Alley Houses

Arundel Elementary and Cherry Hill Elementary/Middle School INSPIRE (2017)*	Harford Road Corridor Study (2008)	Penn North Area Master Plan (2006)*
Barclay - Midway - Old Goucher (2005)**	Inner Harbor Master Plan 2.0 (2013)	Port Covington Master Plan (2016)*
Belair Road Corridor Report (2011)	Irvington TAP (2016) *	Seton Hill Master Plan (2012)**
Bel Air Road TAP (2011)	John Eager Howard Elementary School INSPIRE (2017)*	Sharp Leadenhall Master Plan (2004)**
Brooklyn and Curtis Bay (SNAP) (2005)	Key Highway Waterfront Master Plan (2008)	Sinclair Lane TAP (2016)
Charles Street Scenic Byway Cherry Hill Master Plan (2008)	Liberty Heights Corridor Assessment (2015)	South Baltimore Gateway Master Plan (2015)**
Coldstream Homestead Montebello (2006)*	Locust Point Plan (2004)	Southeastern Neighborhoods Development (SEND) (SNAP) (2005)*
Dolfield Avenue Revitalization TAP Report (2012)	Lyndhurst Elementary/Middle School INSPIRE (2017)*	Southwest Partnership Vision Plan (2015)**
Downtown Open Space Master Plan (2011)**	Madison Square Area (2006)*	Upton Master Plan (2005)**
Edmondson Village Master Plan (2007)*	Middle Branch Master Plan (2007)	West Baltimore MARC Station Master Plan (2008)
Fort Worthington Elementary/Middle School INSPIRE (2017)*	Monument - McElderry - Fayette (2006)**	Westport - Mt. Winans - Lakeland Master Plan (2005)
Frederick Elementary School INSPIRE (2017)*	Mount Vernon Master Plan (2013)*	York Road Community (SNAP) (2006)*
Greater Northwest Community Coalition (GNCC) (SNAP) (2005)*	Northwest Community Planning Forum (SNAP) (2005)	York Road Corridor Vision & Action Plan (2015)*
Greater Roland Park Master Plan (2011)*	Oldtown Redevelopment Plan (2016)	York Road TAP (2013)
Greater Rosemont & Mondawmin (GRAMA) (2012)*	OROSW (Operation ReachOut SouthWest) (2002)*	
Greenmount West Master plan (2010)**	Park Heights Master Plan (2008)*	
	Pen Lucy Area Master Plan (2006)*	

* - Plan discusses alleys

** - Plan discusses alley houses

Appendix 6: Interview Methodology

The studio team conducted eleven interviews within the timeframe of three weeks, three from non-profit organizations, one from a government entity, and one from a community organization, along with six residents who lived in alley houses. The team was split into 5 groups -- 4 groups of 2 and 1 group of 3 to conduct interviews. The interviews focused on the physical, socio-cultural, and historic qualities in the context of Baltimore's "alley" houses. The methods in which the interview process took place included:

- Seeking permission from the University of Maryland's Institutional Review Board to undergo the interview process.
- Identifying potential interviewees based on various levels of community involvement including Community leaders, political leaders/policymakers/state and local employees, residents, civic organizations, community associations, and nonprofit and philanthropic organizations.
- Contacting identified persons which the studio team identified as significant community leaders, experts, and residents via email and telephone. Contacted persons who presented interest in being a part of the study worked with studio team members to schedule a date and time to conduct the interview. Interviews took place between the dates of October 17th and November 3rd and each lasted between 20 and 45 minutes.
- Transcribing the interviews and coding them to identify major themes from each interview as well as relevant literature the studio team gathered. A list of themes used for the coding process are described in the table on pages 97-100.



Description of Themes (Categories) Revealed in Interviews

Code	Subcode	Description of Subcode
Alley House Definition	--	<i>How interviewees define alley houses, distinction between “alley house”, “row house”, and “small street house”</i>
Alley Street Definition	--	<i>How interviewees define alley streets, distinction between “alley”, “row”, and “small street”</i>
Alley House Condition	Economic	<i>Description of the current economical situation with alley houses</i>
	Demand/Market	<i>Description of market for alley houses and what is needed to create more demand for alley houses throughout the city</i>
	Historical	<i>Description of alley houses in a historic context</i>
	Present	<i>Recent changes with alley houses</i>
	Location	<i>Description of the location of alley houses throughout downtown Baltimore</i>
	Architecture/Design	<i>Description of the architecture and/or design of alley houses</i>
Alley House Significance	Historical	<i>Description of different types of historical significance of alley houses, including historical structure and design</i>
	Cultural	<i>Different types of cultural significance of alley houses</i>
	Value and/or Contribution to Neighborhood	<i>Contribution of alley houses to the neighborhood development</i>
	Affordability/Feasibility	<i>Significance of alley houses as a stock of affordable housing</i>

Code	Subcode	Description of Subcode
Alley House Significance	Commercial	<i>Commercial significance, for example, to attract guests to Airbnb apartments in alley houses</i>
	Personal (Subjective)	<i>Lifestyle, personal choice in favor of alley houses, description of subjective values of alley houses</i>
	Uniqueness	<i>Uniqueness of the house (subjective significance)</i>
	Social Relations	<i>Contribution to the neighborhood's community development</i>
Alley House Problems	Economic	<i>Economic problems and disadvantages of alley houses (no market, no demand, distressed neighborhood, disinvestment)</i>
	Historical	<i>Problems with alley houses caused by historical context</i>
	Legal	<i>Problems with alley houses caused by laws</i>
	Size	<i>Problems with alley houses caused by size</i>
	Location	<i>Problems with alley houses caused by location</i>
	Use	<i>Problems with alley houses caused by their use</i>
	Cleanliness and Safety	<i>Problems with alley houses caused by poor condition</i>
	Vacancy	<i>Problems with alley houses caused by vacancy</i>
	Age	<i>Problems with alley houses caused by age</i>
	Noise	<i>Problems with alley houses caused by noise</i>



Code	Subcode	Description of Subcode
Alley House Problems	Transportation	<i>Problems with transportation in alley streets</i>
	Displacement	<i>Problems with alley houses caused by their redevelopment or gentrification</i>
Alley House Solutions	Economic	<i>Economic steps that may save alley housing</i>
	Affordable Housing	<i>Converting and developing alley houses as affordable houses in Baltimore</i>
	Redevelopment (Gentrification)	<i>Redevelopment, often of the entire neighborhood</i>
	Extension	<i>Increasing the size of alley house through the extension to the back yard</i>
	Combination	<i>Increasing the size of alley house through the combination of two houses</i>
	Preservation	<i>Preservation of alley houses for their historic and architectural significance</i>
	Rethinking of Space	<i>Building pocket areas, parks, playgrounds, community gardens, garages instead of or inside the block of alley houses.</i>
	Demolition	<i>Solution of alley house-related problems through their demolition</i>
Residents of Alley Houses	--	<i>Description of residents of alley houses, their actions, offers</i>
Personal Opinion	--	<i>Sometimes interviewees stated their position not related to the alley houses directly, but it might be important to understand the context</i>
Organizational Role	--	<i>The role of the interviewee's organization in alley house development and rethinking</i>



Interview Theme Descriptions

Name	Examples of Meaning	Interview Mentions
Social relations	<i>Street festivals, Block Parties, are a big deal. And it is great. Somebody's got grills, somebody's got coolers, somebody's got a boombox or music. Its interesting how the new residents have an immediately embraced this kind of [thing] and they're all in it together. So it's kind of a Baltimore kind of thing.</i>	8
Community Support	<i>So, in our block, this is also a Baltimore alley street, we had an alley behind our alley street. So we were separated by main street houses by an alley. And that was more like your typical alley where people left trash out or whatever. I think once you have stoops and front doors, [unintelligible] sort of way, people are less likely to do this.</i>	3
Generational Respect	<i>Again, if we go to the Billie Holliday block, there's a family there that has lived there for generations, and sadly Miss Pauline has just passed away within the last year, and she was sort of the matriarch. But families to me seem to be pretty tight and involved with their little space if not the whole community.</i>	1
Excitement about history	<i>I don't personally think of it as an alley house. When I talk about the history of it I refer to it like "Oh it's an alley house - this block used to be called Strawberry Alley." You know, so I'm aware of the history of it as an alley house. I think it's cute and it pays homage to the history. You know, from a field perspective, I don't feel like I live in an alley.</i>	6
Past suffering	<i>We wanted to restore the record of who was buried there, and follow that, and try to honor the, honor the dead, and got really interested in this whole thing.</i>	1
Perception of Beauty	<i>People in alley houses can more affordably do sort of fun, decorative painting or put planters outside their house or something because there's just not that much area to cover. It creates really sort of picturesque, kind of... it's just cute.</i>	3
Love of compactness	<i>And they're also just really cute. In the same way that people think tiny houses, you know, the little ones on trailers, are really cute - alley houses have some of the same characteristics. It's a door, three windows, and maybe a little roof that you see, the detail is very small.</i>	2
Intimacy	<i>The intimacy, the closeness, you know can be a detriment [of an alley house], and a plus.</i>	1
Personal engagement	<i>When I finished the house, I thought this is, this is a great house. I love this house. And I applied for a heritage award, which I won, yeah, and it was a really proud moment to stand up in front of all those architects and get that award.</i>	2



Interviewee Demographic Profile

Pseudonym	Age	Race	Position	Neighborhood of Work/ Residence
Franklin	50-60	White	Government housing expert	Downtown Baltimore
John	60s	White	Community association representative	Federal Hill, Fells Point
Keenan	45-50	White	Community association representative	Mount Vernon
Albert	50-55	White	Community development organization director	West Baltimore
Garrett	60s	White	Resident, Airbnb host	Fells Point
Carter	30s	Black	Resident, Airbnb host	Fells Point
Mike	40s-50s	White	Resident	Upper Fells Point
David	40s	White	Resident	Butcher's Hill
Bradley	30-35	White	Former alley house resident	Old Goucher
Jared	50-60	White	Resident	Mount Vernon



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Appendix 7: Building and Resident Assessment Materials

Building Condition Assessment Survey Form

Date: _____ Evaluator: _____
 Group identifier (assigned in-office): _____

Circle one:
 No. of floors: **1** 1½ **2** 2½ **Other** _____
 Exterior type: **Brick** **Wood** **Formstone** **Other** _____

Structure present on property? **Y** **N**
 Signs of renovation or recent improvement? **Y** **N**
 Signs of abandonment or vacancy ? **Y** **N**

Elements of Residence	Score (0-5)	Observed	
		Yes	No
Foundation			
Roof, gutters, downspouts, chimneys			
Wall/Exterior surfaces			
Windows & Doors			
Entrance (stairs, handrails)			
Embellishments (trim, cornice, corbels, etc.)			
Total			

Notes:



Building Condition Definition Matrix

Score	6	5	4	3	2	1	0
Evaluated Elements	Well Maintained	Moderately Well Maintained	Needs Only Minor Repair	Needs Moderate Repair (Up to 1/4 of element)	Needs Major Repair (Up to 1/2 of element)	Not Salvageable (Majority of element needs repair)	
Foundation	Does not require immediate maintenance	Some peeling or cracking in the protective surface over only a small portion	A few small cracks, a small amount of missing mortar, a small hole over a small area	Cracks, missing mortar, loose or broken surface over a moderate area. No evidence of settling or being out of vertical alignment	Cracks, missing mortar, loose or broken surface over a large portion. Some evidence of settling or out of vertical alignment	Cracks, missing mortar, loose or broken surface over a majority of the foundation. Evidence of major settling or out of vertical alignment	Not Witnessed
Roof, Gutters, Downspouts, Chimneys	Does not require immediate maintenance	Small leaves or debris on roof, or gutters that need to be cleaned	Needs minor repair to correct a missing or sagging shingle, gutter, or downspout; slight crack or missing brick or mortar in chimney; moss growing on roof	More than one missing or sagging shingle, gutter, or downspout; chimney cracked, settling, or leaning; rotting fascia affecting less than 1/4 of roof and/or chimney elements	Missing, buckling, or sagging shingles; holes in the roof or chimney; missing or loose gutters or downspouts; chimney settling or leaning; cracked or rotting fascia affecting between 1/4 and 1/2 of roof and/or chimney elements	Missing, buckling, or sagging shingles; holes in the roof or chimney; missing or loose gutters or downspouts; chimney settling or leaning; cracked or rotting fascia affecting the majority of the roof and chimney elements	
Walls/ Exterior Surfaces (Paint, siding, etc., & structural elements that add strength, bear weight, or insulate)	Does not require immediate maintenance	Isolated areas where touch up painting is needed	Paint and/or siding need minor repair or re-pointing, but there is no evidence of structural decay	Paint and/or siding need repairs and there is evidence of some structural decay, such as dry rot, affecting up to 1/4 of the surface	Major repair work is needed to correct paint, siding, or other parts of the protective surface. There are areas of structural decay affecting up to 1/2 of the surface	A majority of the protective surface is missing, loose, rotting, or broken, allowing weather to reach the house's structural elements	



Building Condition Definition Matrix (cont'd)

Score	6	5	4	3	2	1	0
Evaluated Elements	Well Maintained	Moderately Well Maintained	Needs Only Minor Repair	Needs Moderate Repair (Up to 1/4 of element)	Needs Major Repair (Up to 1/2 of element)	Not Salvageable (Majority of element needs repair)	
Windows & Doors	Does not require immediate maintenance	All doors, frames, and glass present; may need isolated touch-up, such as replacing a latch or other hardware	Need minor repairs to correct a broken or cracked frame, re-hang a door, or a small hole related to a door or window	Missing or broken panes, broken or rotting window or door frames, or other holes related to a door or window failure affecting up to 1/4 of all doors and windows	Missing or broken panes, broken or rotting window or door frames, or other holes related to a door or window failure affecting between 1/4 and 1/2 of all doors and windows	Majority of windows and doors are failing. Missing or broken panes, broken or rotting window or door frames, or other holes related to a door or window	Not Witnessed
Entrance (Stairs, handrails)	N/A	N/A	Does not need immediate maintenance or needs minor touch up, repairs, or paint	More than one missing, broken, or cracked step, riser, baluster, handrail, or railing in need of minor repair or paint. Not a serious safety concern.	Between 1/4 to 1/2 of the steps, risers, balusters, handrails, or railings are missing, broken, rotting, or cracked. Hazard of tripping or falling because of disrepair	A majority of the steps, risers, balusters, handrails, or railings are missing, broken, or cracked. Hazard of tripping or falling because of disrepair	
Embellishments (Trim, cornice, corbels, etc.)	N/A	N/A	Does not require immediate maintenance. All embellishments are properly anchored.	Needs only painting or minor repairs. Cornices, trim, corbels, overhang extensions are properly anchored. Not a safety concern.	Up to 1/2 of the cornices, trim, corbels, overhang extensions, etc. need repair or are not properly anchored	A majority of the cornices, trim, corbels, overhang extensions, etc. need major repair or are loose and pose a falling hazard	



Objective Significance Survey Form (part 1 of 2)

Building Address						
ID Number						
A	Architecture (Maximum Score: 35)					
	Criteria	Explanation	Excellent	Good	Poor	TOTAL
1	Style		13	8	0	
2	Construction		9	5	0	
3	Age		9	5	0	
4	Architect		4	3	0	
ARCHITECTURE TOTAL						
B	History* (Maximum Score: 35)					
5	Person		35	15	0	
6	Event		35	15	0	
HISTORY TOTAL						
*Note: if either criteria within the “history” category is graded as “excellent,” the aggregate category score will total 35, regardless of the other criteria score.						



Objective Significance Survey Form (Part 2 of 2)

Building Address						
ID Number						
C	Integrity and Authenticity (Maximum Score: 30)					
	Criteria	Explanation	Excellent	Good	Poor	TOTAL
7	Setting		7	3	0	
8	Facade Material		7	3	0	
9	Alterations		12	7	0	
10	Decorative features		4	3	0	
INTEGRITY TOTAL						
AGGREGATE TOTAL						
Surveyor						
Date						
Notes						



Objective Significance Definition Matrix

Category	Subcategory	Grade	Grade Assessment
Architecture	Style	Excellent	<i>Fits most or all of the defining characteristics of an alley house</i>
		Good	<i>Fits many of the defining characteristics of an alley house</i>
		Poor	<i>Fits very few of the defining characteristics of an alley house</i>
	Construction	Excellent	<i>Has unique construction materials or methods</i>
		Good	<i>Has standard construction materials or methods</i>
		Poor	<i>Has poor construction materials or methods</i>
	Age	Excellent	<i>Early or rare example</i>
		Good	<i>Built during period of significance</i>
		Poor	<i>Built after period of significance</i>
	Architect	Excellent	<i>Architect or builder of particular importance to the history of the community, state, or nation</i>
		Good	<i>Architect or builder identified and known, but of no particular importance</i>
		Poor	<i>Architect or builder unidentified or unknown</i>
History	Person	Excellent	<i>Person, group, etc. of primary importance intimately connected with the building</i>
		Good	<i>Person, group, etc. associated with a broad pattern of history connected with the building</i>
		Poor	<i>Building has no connection with person, group, etc. of importance</i>



Objective Significance Definition Matrix (cont'd)

Category	Subcategory	Grade	Grade Assessment
History	Event	Excellent	<i>Event of primary importance intimately connected with the building.</i>
		Good	<i>Events associated with the broad patterns of alley history connected with the building.</i>
		Poor	<i>Building has no connection with event of importance.</i>
Integrity and Authenticity	Setting	Excellent	<i>Located on a street that fits the historical definition of an alley</i>
		Good	<i>Street has some elements that fit the historical definition of an alley</i>
		Poor	<i>Street does not retain historical characteristics of an alley</i>
	Facade Material	Excellent	<i>Keeps the original facade material</i>
		Good	<i>Facade material has changed but new material is of historic significance</i>
		Poor	<i>New facade material has no historic importance</i>
	Alterations	Excellent	<i>No or few alterations have been made</i>
		Good	<i>Alterations have been made but the character of the house has been retained</i>
		Poor	<i>Many alterations have been made that damage the historical character of the house</i>
	Decorative Features	Excellent	<i>Has significant or unique decorative features</i>
		Good	<i>Has few or common decorative features</i>
		Poor	<i>Has no decorative features</i>

Resident Assessment Survey Form

District Name						
Gender (Circle one)	Male		Female		Other	
Race/Ethnicity (Circle one)	Black/African American	Native American	Asian/Pacific Islander	Latinx/Hispanic	White	Other
Relation to Alley Houses (Circle one)	Current Resident	Former Resident	Expert	Other (Specify)		
<i>Current/Former Residents:</i> How long have you lived in an alley house?	Less than 1 year	1-2 years	2-5 years	5-10 years	10-20 years	More than 20 years
Statement	Strongly Agree (5)	Agree (4)	Neither Agree nor Disagree (3)	Disagree (2)	Strongly Disagree (1)	SCORE
In an alley house neighborhood, social relations are/were especially important.						
I feel/felt the support of a community in an alley house neighborhood.						
Alley houses respect the generations of my family who lived here.						
Alley houses honor people who lived in these houses in previous eras.						



Resident Assessment Survey Form (cont'd)

Statement	Strongly Agree (5)	Agree (4)	Neither Agree nor Disagree (3)	Disagree (2)	Strongly Disagree (1)	SCORE
Alley houses respect the people who lived here in previous generations.						
Alley houses honor people who lived in these spaces previously.						
The history of alley houses makes me excited.						
Alley houses are aesthetically pleasing.						
I like that alley houses are small and compact.						
I like(d) the feeling of intimacy and closeness of my alley house.						
I am/was personally engaged in the maintenance of my alley house.						
I am/was personally engaged in the alley house's maintenance or restoration.						
My alley house is/was important for me for another reason.						
AVERAGE SCORE						
SURVEYOR						
DATE						

Appendix 8: Alley House Identification Process

Objective:

Identify additional alley houses not included in the MHT shapefile of Alley Houses

Tools

- ArcGIS Desktop
- Google Street View

Inputs:

- Baltimore Open Data
- Street Center line line shapefile (stcl)
- Edge of Pavement line shapefile (edge)
- Vacant lots point shapefile (vcnt)
- MD Real Property Data
- Building point shapefile (bldg)
- Parcel polygon shapefile (prcl)
- MHT Alley Houses shapefile

Identification Methodology

Step 1: Estimate Street Width

- For estimating each street segment width, the street centerline and edge of pavements shapefiles were used.
- The corresponding distance was calculated from each street segment to the closest edge of pavement feature. That distance was multiplied by two.

Step 2: Select residential Parcels

- The parcels with land uses defined as

residential were selected from the MD Real Property parcel polygon.

Step 3: Select Parcels facing alley streets

- By using the outputs from Step 1 and Step 2, those residential parcels that face streets with width of 30 feet or less were selected. This group of parcels represent the first candidate group to be considered as alley houses.

Step 4: Visual validation of alley house candidates

- The candidate alley houses from Step 3 were validated visually using Google Street View, to confirm that the houses and their context fit in the alley house definition. This step allowed to drop buildings that did not fit into our functional definition for an alley house.

Step 5: Group alley houses facing a wall

- Based on the output from Step 4, and by using the Dissolve ArcGIS function, those alley houses' parcels that share one side of the parcel were grouped to form "alley houses blocks".

Step 6: Merge alley house lists

- The New alley house blocks from Step 5 were merged with the existing MHT

groups into a single shapefile.

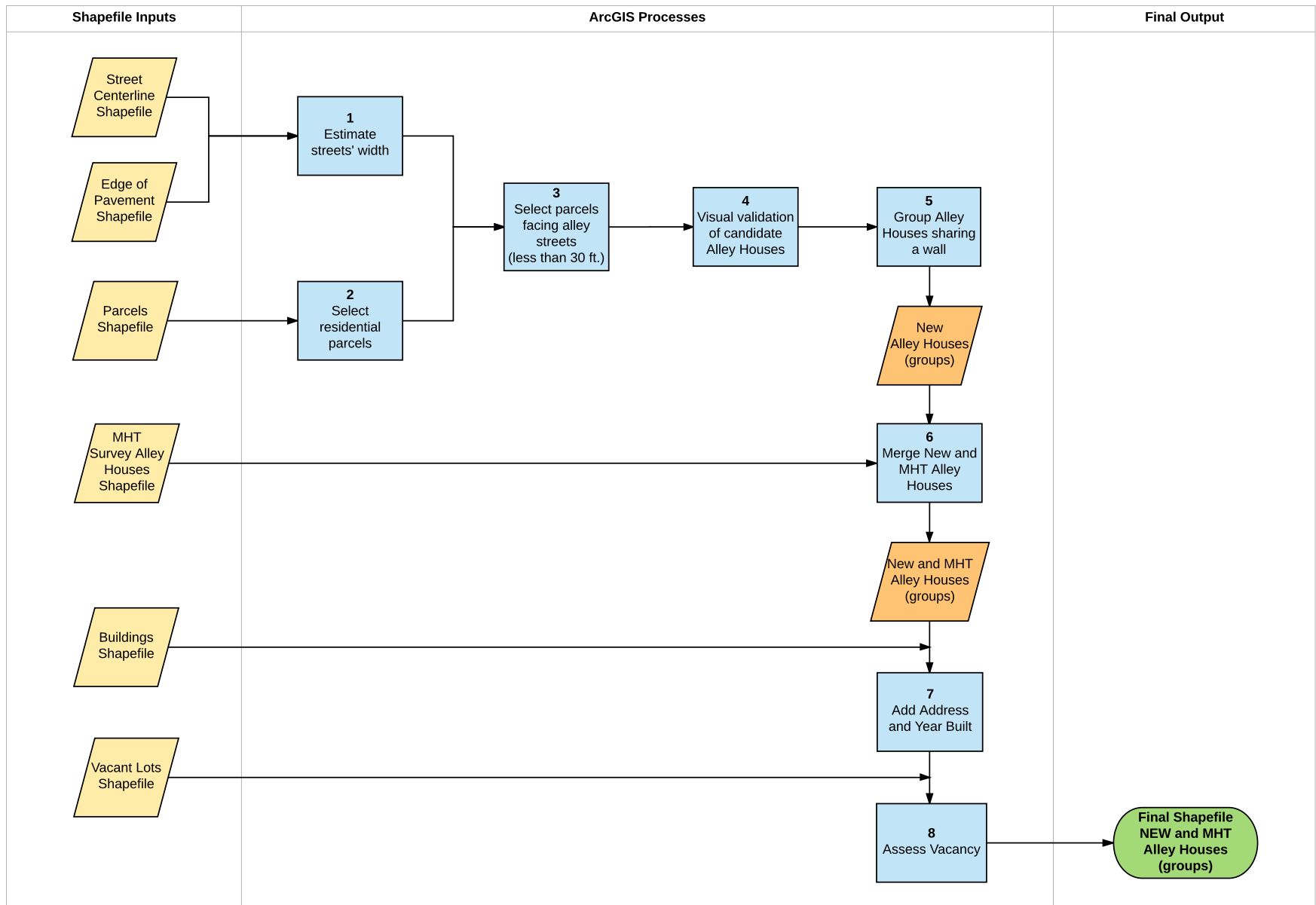
Step 7: Add address and year built

- The resulting group shapefile from Step 6 was intersected with the MD Real Property Building shapefile.
- This intersection allows to import the information related with the address of the parcels and the year in which the buildings were built from the MD Real Property Building shapefile to the Alley Houses groups shapefile from Step 6.
- This step was performed for every alley house block, the new ones and the existing ones from MHT inventory, in order to have a consistent and complete address field for all groups.
- As each alley house block is composed of several houses, the street number and year of built were imported as the minimum and maximum values among the included buildings.

Step 8: Assess vacancy

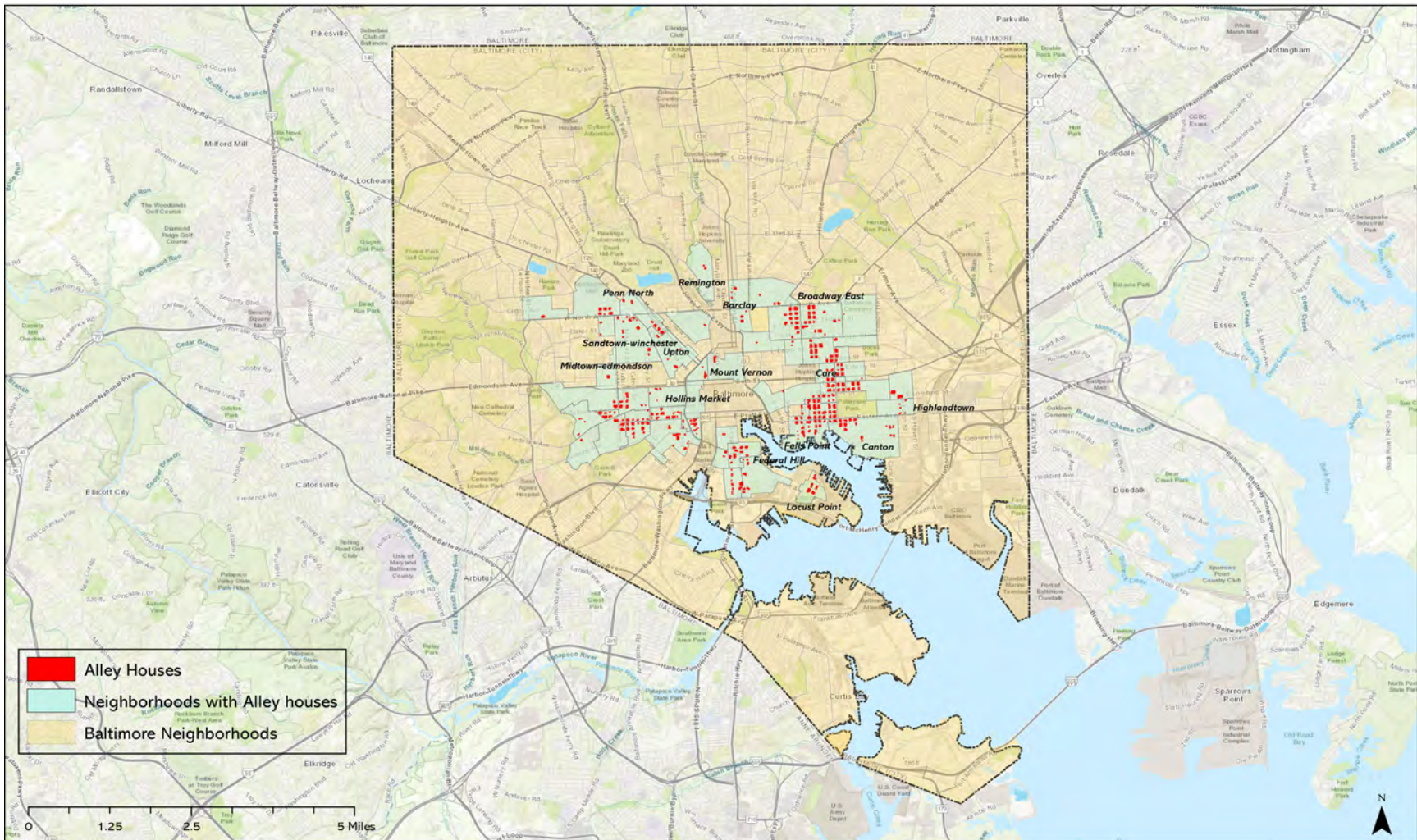
- The result from Step 7 was overlaid with the vacancy layer from the Baltimore Open Data portal, to assess which alley houses blocks have at least one vacant lot within them. This information was included as a field in the attribute table.



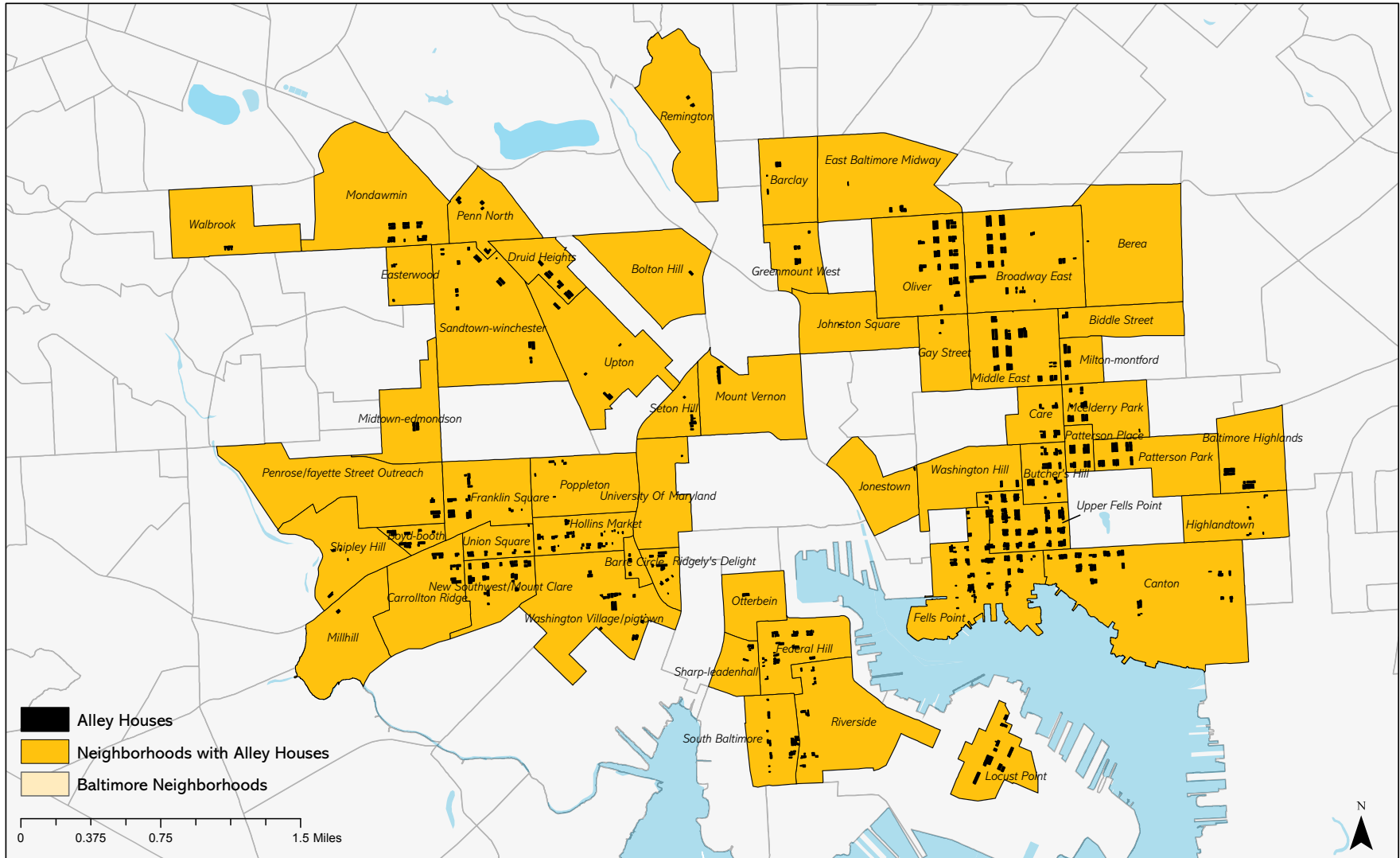


Appendix 8: Maps

Context



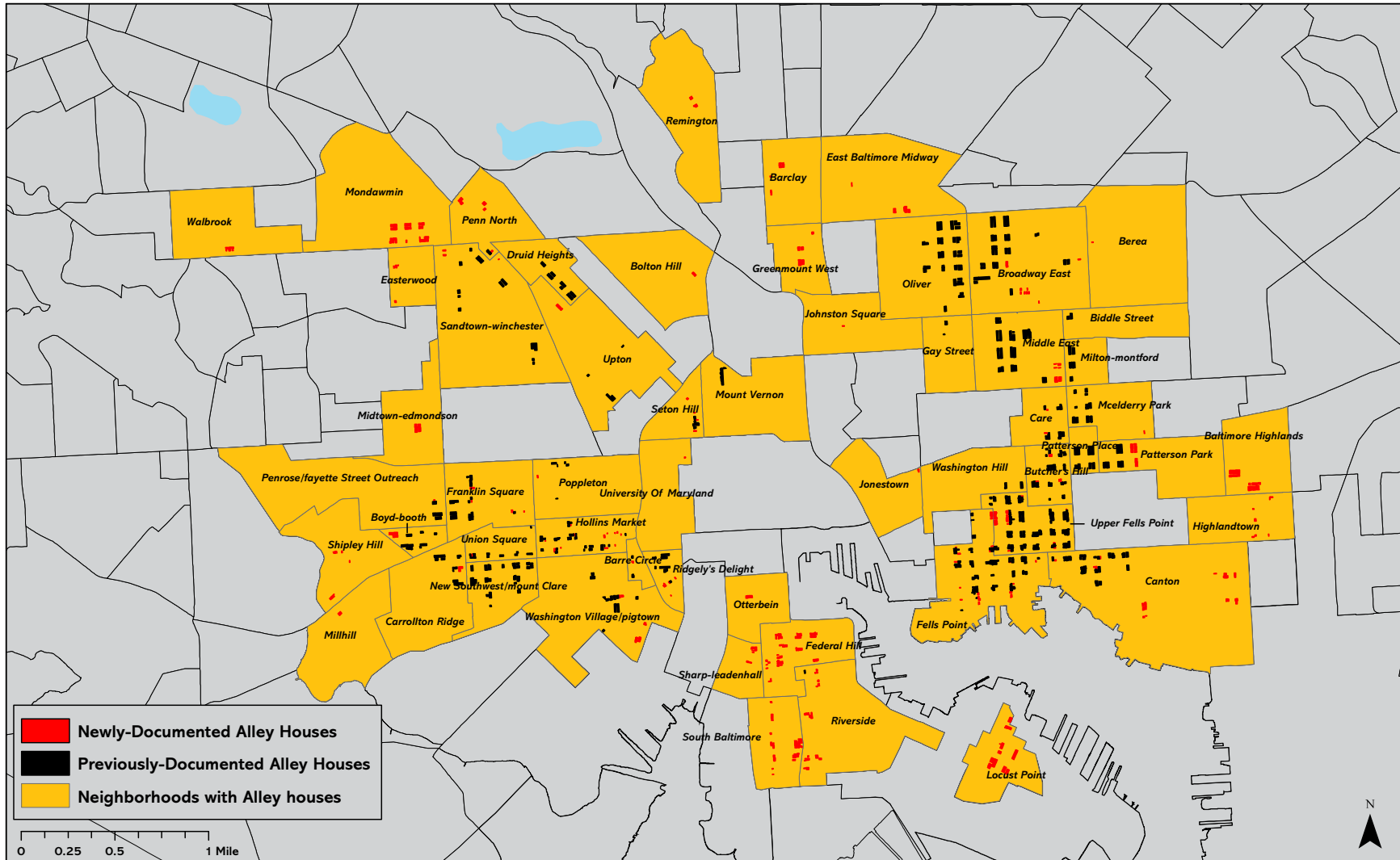
Nearborsboods Containing Alley Houses



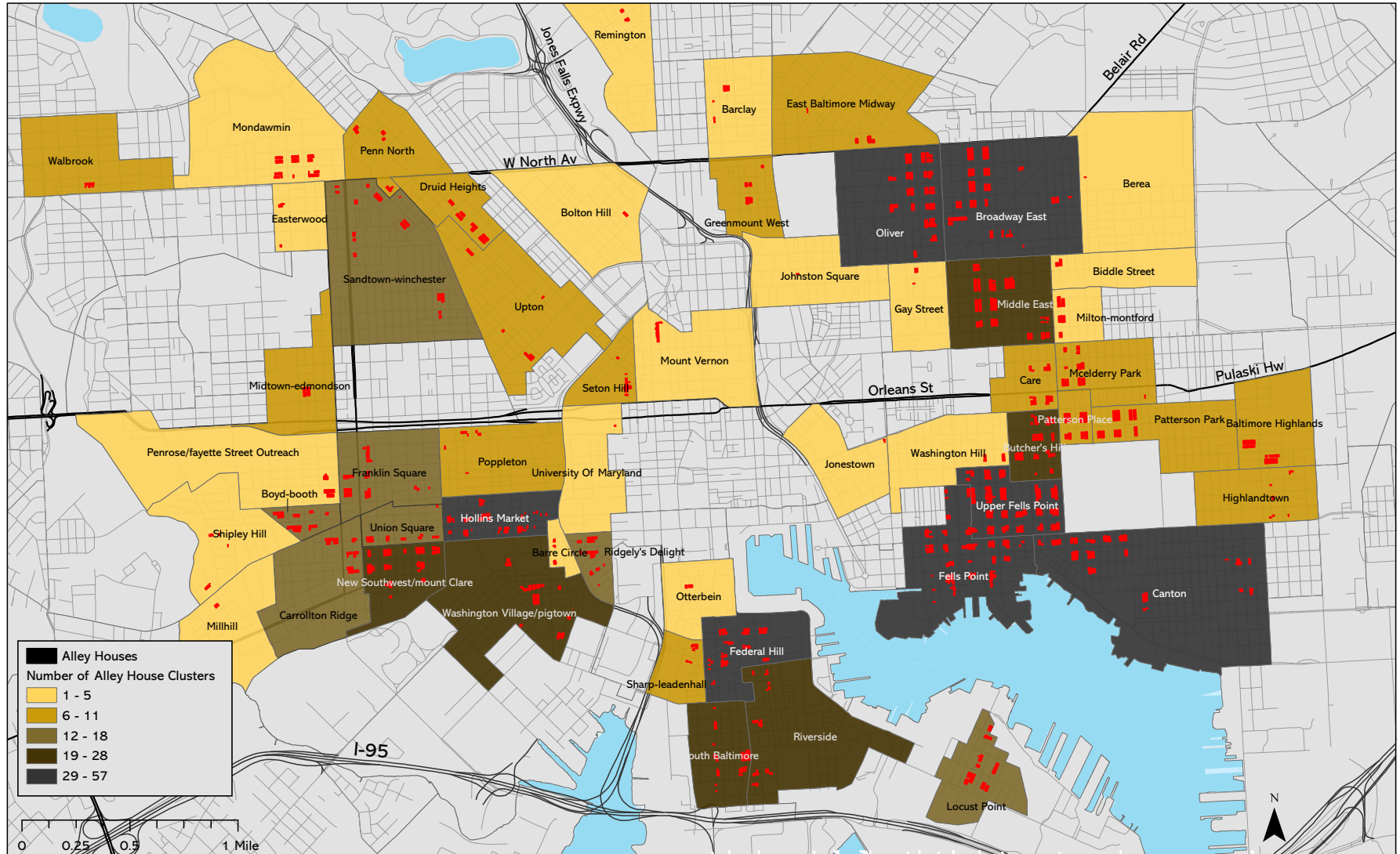
Sources: Esri, HERE, DeLorme, Intermap, increment P Corp., GEBCO, USGS, FAO, NPS, NRCAN, GeoBase, IGN, Kadaster NL, Ordnance Survey, Esri Japan, METI, Esri China (Hong Kong), swisstopo, MapmyIndia, © OpenStreetMap contributors, and the GIS User Community



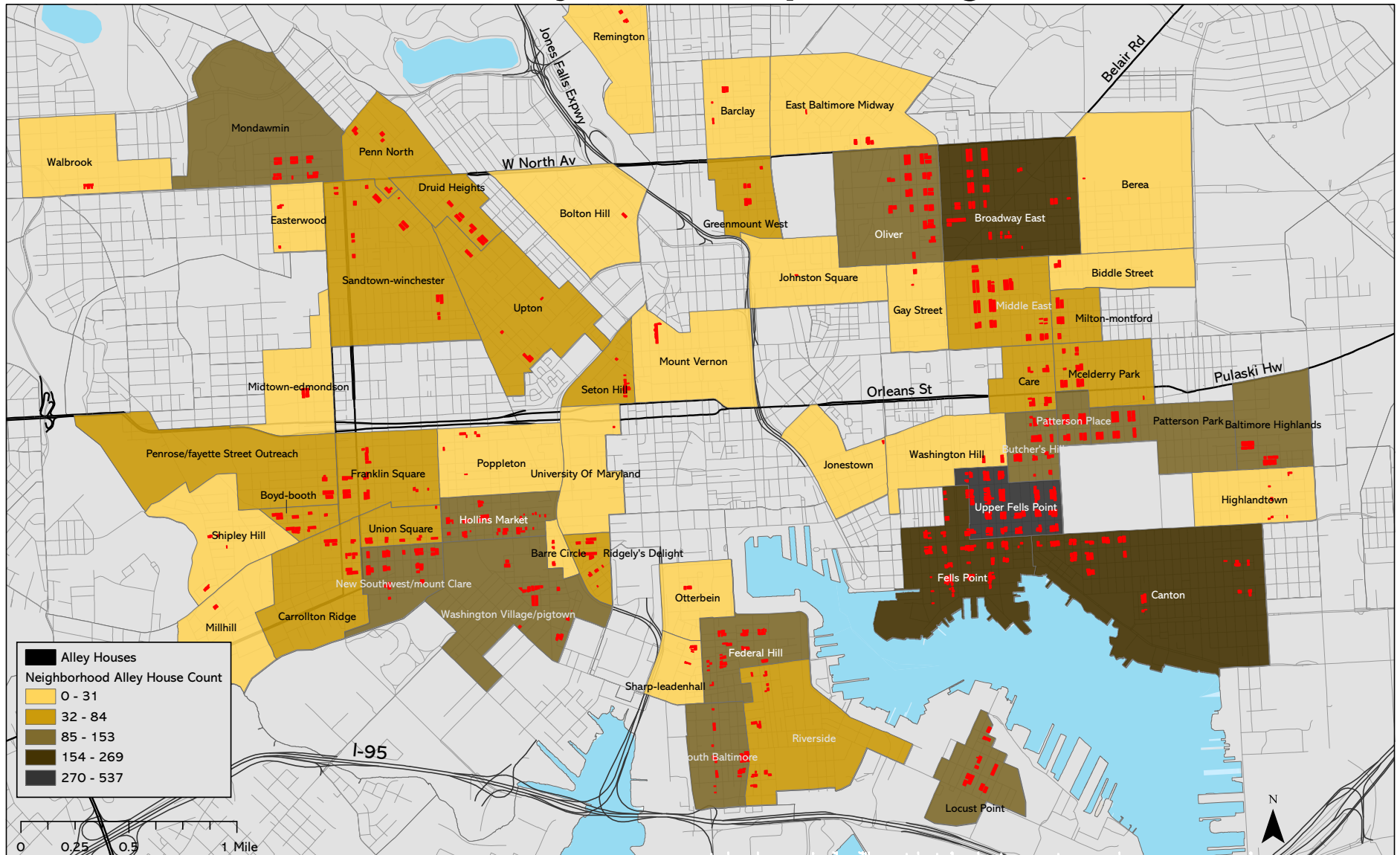
Baltimore's Alley houses



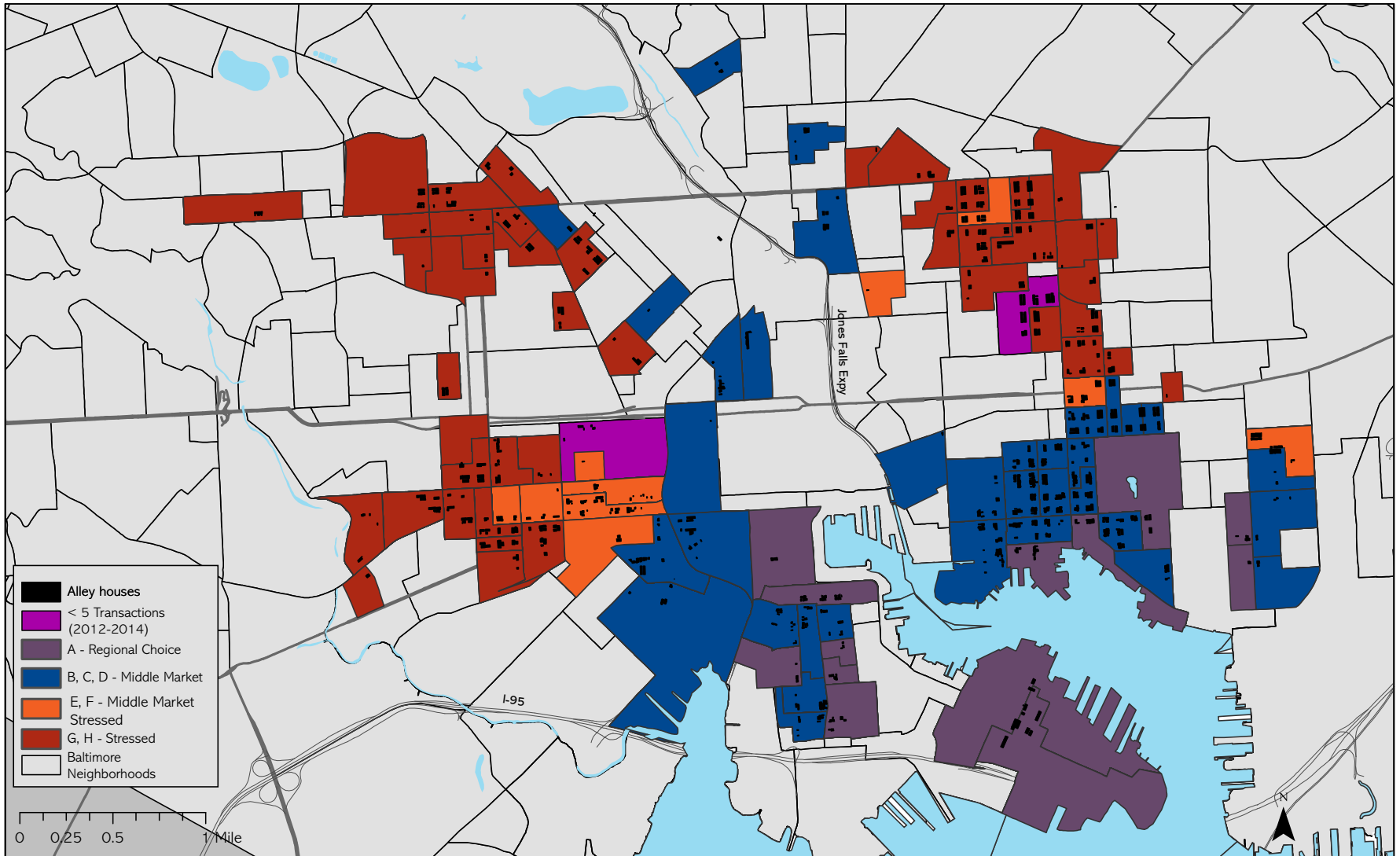
Alley House Clusters Per Neighborhood



Number of Alley Houses per Neighborhood



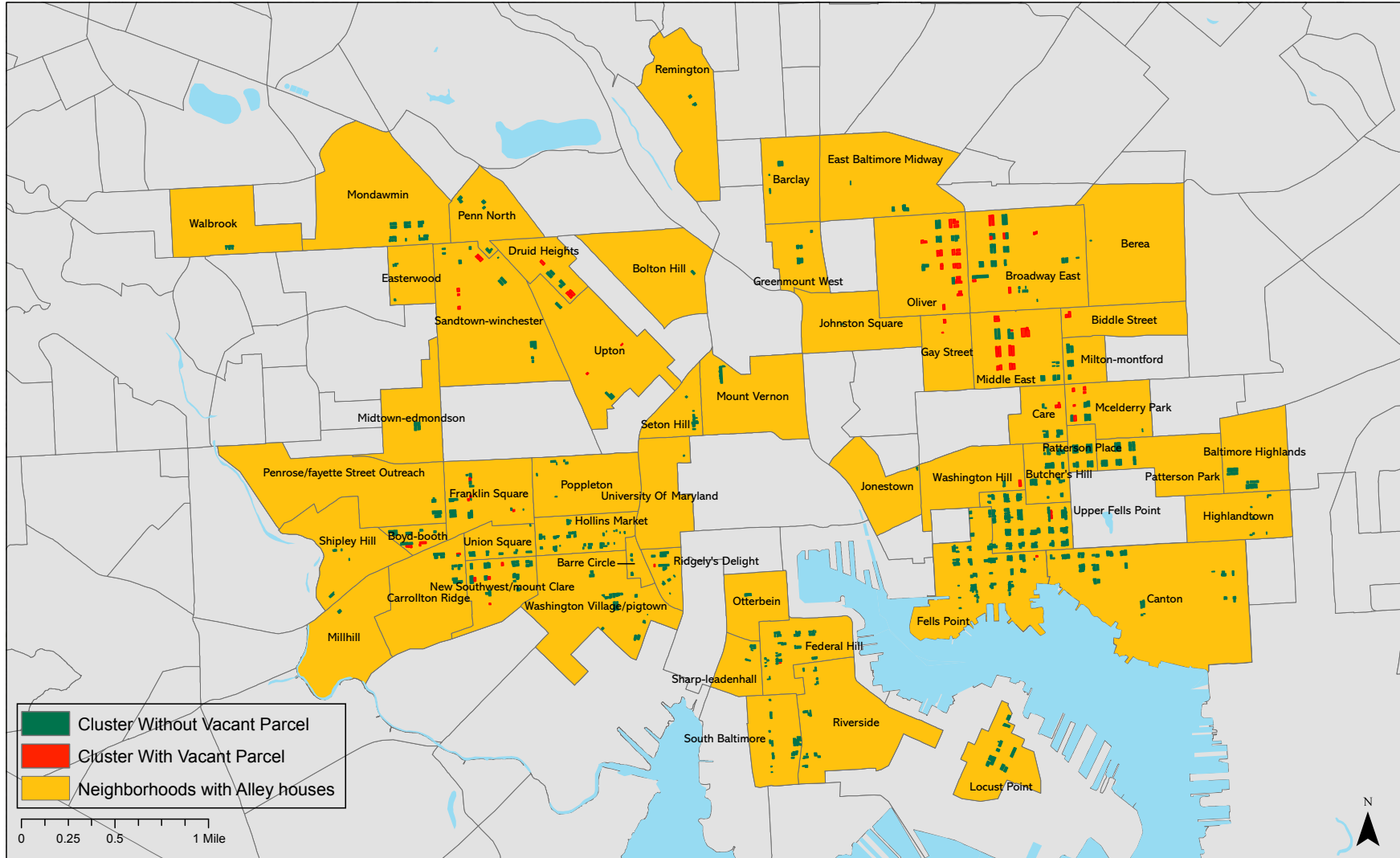
Baltimore Neighborhood Market Conditions



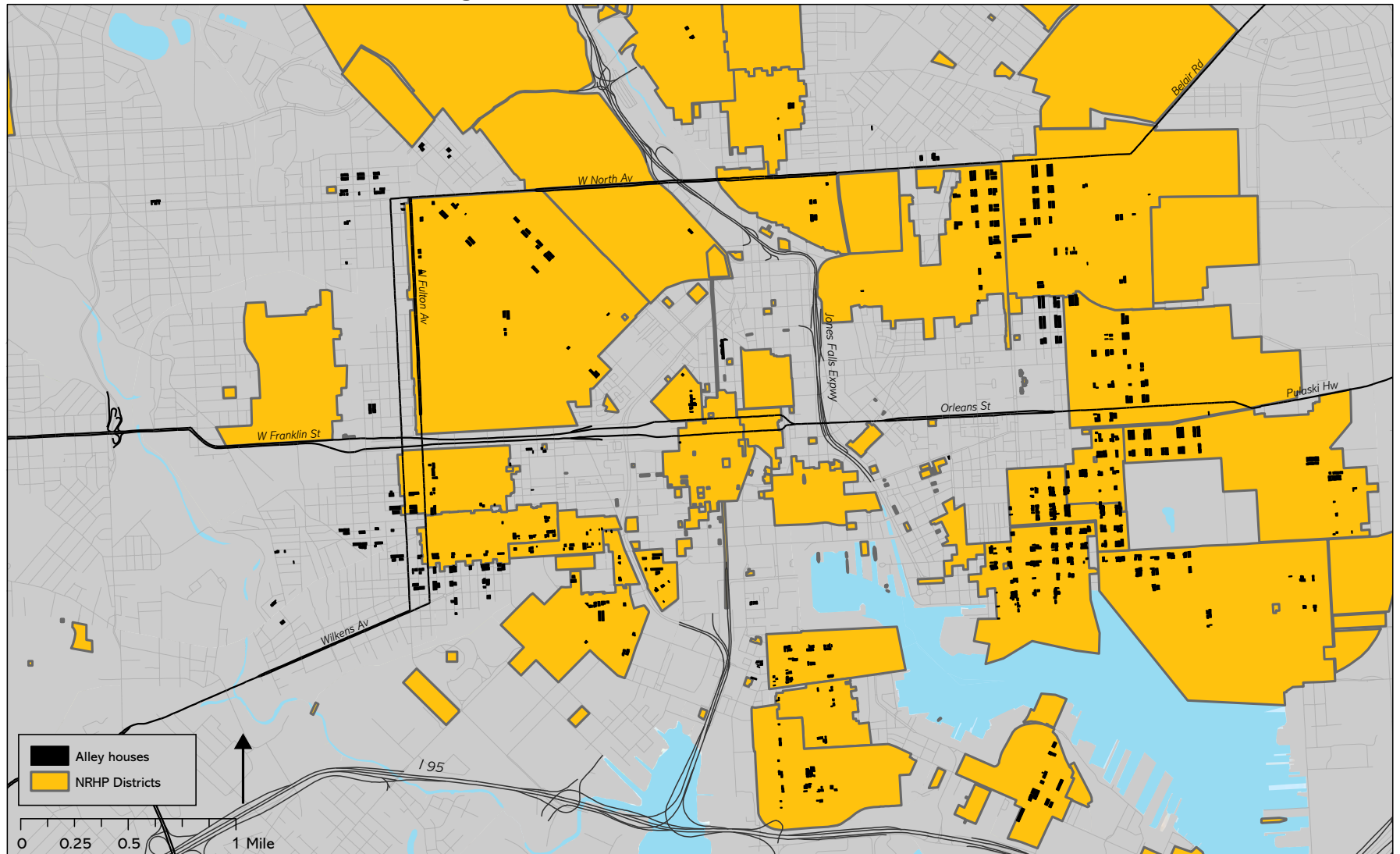
Sources: Esri, HERE, DeLorme, Intermap, increment P Corp., GEBCO, USGS, FAO, NPS, NRCAN, GeoBase, IGN, Kadaster NL, Ordnance Survey, Esri Japan, METI, Esri China (Hong Kong), swisstopo, MapmyIndia, © OpenStreetMap contributors, and the GIS User Community



Alley House Clusters With Vacant Parcels



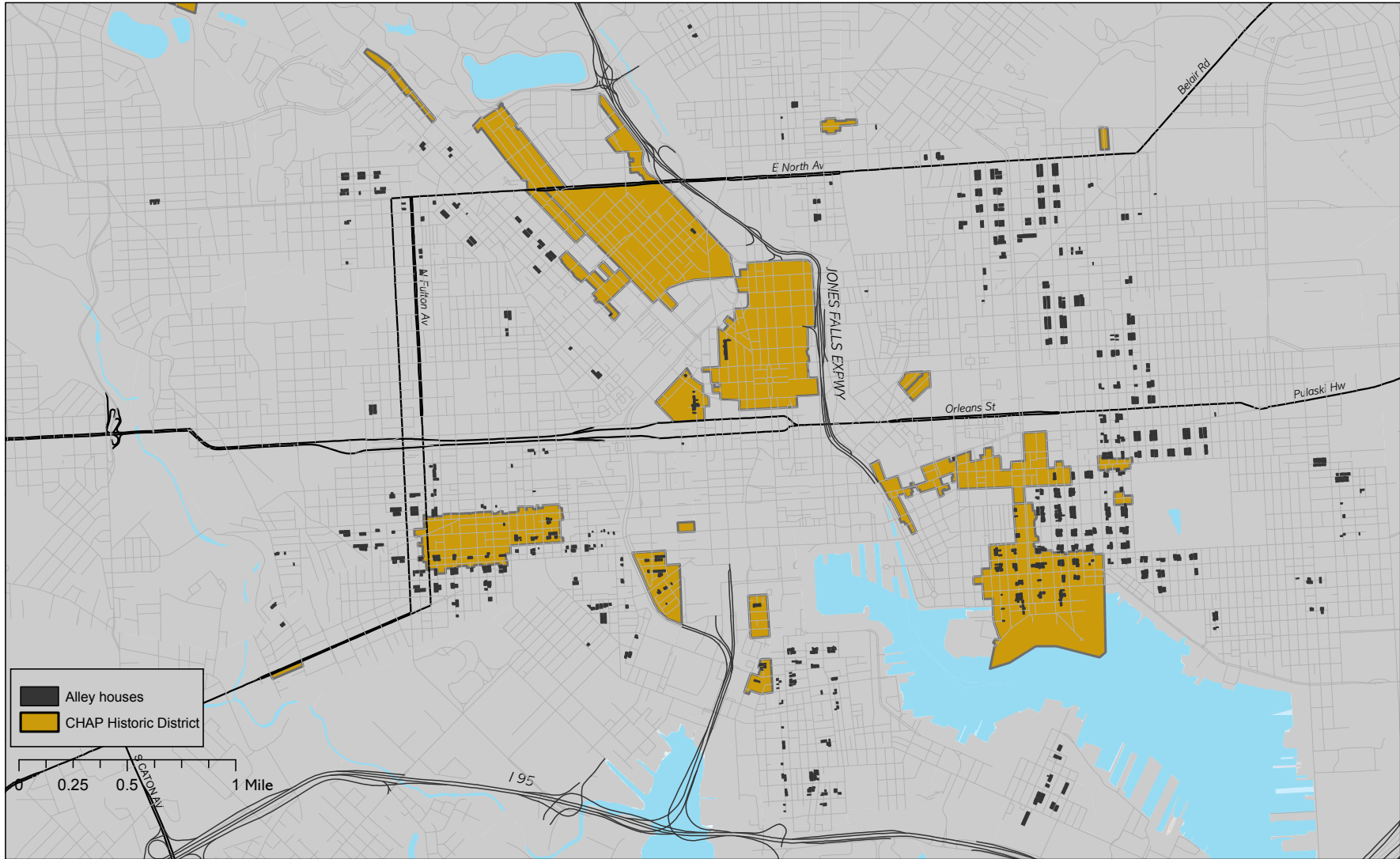
National Register of Historic Places Districts



Sources: Esri, HERE, DeLorme, Intermap, increment P Corp., GEBCO, USGS, FAO, NPS, NRCAN, GeoBase, IGN, Kadaster NL, Ordnance Survey, Esri Japan, METI, Esri China (Hong Kong), swisstopo, MapmyIndia, © OpenStreetMap contributors, and the GIS User Community



CHAP Historic Districts



Sources: Esri, HERE, DeLorme, Intermap, increment P Corp., GEBCO, USGS, FAO, NPS, NRCAN, GeoBase, IGN, Kadaster NL, Ordnance Survey, Esri Japan, METI, Esri China (Hong Kong), swisstopo, MapmyIndia, © OpenStreetMap contributors, and the GIS User Community



