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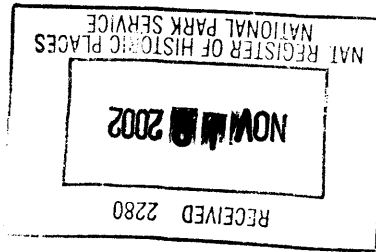
United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Registration Form

NAT. REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

NOV 8 2002

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This form is for use in nominating or requesting determinations for individual properties and districts. See instructions in *How to Complete the National Register of Historic Places Registration Form* (National Register Bulletin 16A). Complete each item by marking "x" in the appropriate box or by entering the information requested. If any item does not apply to the property being documented, enter "N/A" for "not applicable." For functions, architectural classification, materials, and areas of significance, enter only categories and subcategories from the instructions. Place additional entries and narrative items on continuation sheets (NPS Form 10-900a). Use a typewriter, word processor, or computer, to complete all items.

1. Name of Property

historic name   Patterson Park/ Highlandtown Historic District (B-1337)

other names   N/A

2. Location

street & number   Roughly bound by North Patterson Park Avenue (west); East Fayette Street and Pulaski   ☐ not for publication

Highway (north); Grundy Street (east); Eastern Avenue and Patterson Park (south)

city or town   Baltimore   ☐ vicinity

state   Maryland   code   MD   county   Baltimore City   code   510   zip code   21224

3. State/Federal Agency Certification

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended, I hereby certify that this ☑ nomination ☐ request for determination of eligibility meets the documentation standards for registering properties in the National Register of Historic Places and meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60. In my opinion, the property ☑ meets ☐ does not meet the National Register criteria. I recommend that this property be considered significant ☐ nationally ☐ statewide ☑ locally. (☐ See continuation sheet for additional comments).

Signature of certifying official/Title   11-6-02
Date

State or Federal agency and bureau

In my opinion, the property ☐ meets ☐ does not meet the National Register criteria. (☐ See continuation sheet for additional comments).

Signature of certifying official/Title   Date

State or Federal agency and bureau

4. National Park Service Certification

I hereby, certify that this property is:
☑ entered in the National Register.
  ☐ See continuation sheet.
☐ determined eligible for the National
  Register.
  ☐ See continuation sheet.
☐ Determined not eligible for the National
  Register.
☐ removed from the National Register.
☐ other (explain):

Signature of the Keeper   Date of Action
Edson H. Beall   12/27/0C

5. Classification

Ownership of Property
(Check as many boxes as apply)

- ☒ private
- ☒ public-local
- ☐ public-State
- ☐ public-Federal

Category of Property
(Check only one box)

- ☐ building(s)
- ☒ district
- ☐ site
- ☐ structure
- ☐ object

Number of Resources within Property
(Do not include previously listed resources in the count)

Contributing	Noncontributing	
5208	31	buildings
0	15	sites
0	0	structures
1	0	objects
5209	46	Total

Name of related multiple property listing

(Enter "N/A" if property is not part of a multiple property listing)

N/A

number of contributing resources previously listed in the National Register

48

6. Function or Use

Historic Functions
(Enter categories from instructions)

DOMESTIC: single dwelling; secondary structure

COMMERCE/TRADE: business; professional;
financial institution; specialty store; restaurant;
warehouse

SOCIAL: lodge

THEATER: cinema

GOVERNMENT: government office; post office

EDUCATION: school; library

RELIGION: church; parsonage

FUNERARY: cemetery; funeral home

AGRICULTURE/SUBSISTENCE: processing; animal
facility

INDUSTRY: manufacturing facility; warehouse

TRANSPORTATION: service station

Current Functions
(Enter categories from instructions)

DOMESTIC: single dwelling; secondary structure

COMMERCE/TRADE: business; professional;
financial institution; specialty store; restaurant;
warehouse

SOCIAL: meeting hall

GOVERNMENT: government office; post office

TRANSPORTATION: service station

EDUCATION: school; library

RELIGION: church; parsonage

FUNERARY: cemetery; funeral home

INDUSTRY: manufacturing facility; warehouse

7. Description

Architectural Classification
(Enter categories from instructions)

LATE VICTORIAN: Italianate; Gothic; Queen Anne;
Second Empire; Romanesque

LATE 19TH AND 20TH CENTURY REVIVALS: Beaux
Arts; Colonial Revival; Classical Revival; Tudor
Revival; Late Gothic Revival; Spanish Colonial Revival

MODERN MOVEMENT: Moderne; Art Deco; New
Traditionalist, Modernist

NONE

Materials
(Enter categories from instructions)

foundation	BRICK; STONE: Granite; Marble; CONCRETE
walls	BRICK; STONE: Granite; Limestone; Marble; CONCRETE; FORMSTONE; SYNTHETICS: Vinyl; METAL: Aluminum; STUCCO
roof	TERRA COTTA; ASPHALT; STONE: slate; METAL
other	N/A

8. Statement of Significance

Applicable National Register Criteria
(Mark "x" in one or more boxes for the criteria qualifying the property for National Register listing)

☒ A   Property is associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad pattern of our history.

☐ B   Property associated with the lives of persons significant in our past.

☒ C   Property embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction or represents the work of a master, or possesses high artistic values, or represents a significant and distinguishable entity whose components lack individual distinction.

☐ D   Property has yielded, or is likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history.

Criteria Considerations
(Mark "x" in all the boxes that apply)

Property is:

☐ A   owned by a religious institution or used for religious purposes.

☐ B   removed from its original location.

☐ C   a birthplace or grave.

☐ D   a cemetery.

☐ E   a reconstructed building, object, or structure.

☐ F   a commemorative property.

☐ G   less than 50 years of age or achieved significance within the past 50 years.

Narrative Statement of Significance
(Explain the significance of the property on one or more continuation sheets)

Area of Significance
(Enter categories from instructions)

SOCIAL HISTORY
COMMUNITY PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT
ARCHITECTURE

Period of Significance

1867-1952

Significant Dates

1867 – earliest development
1918 – City of Baltimore annexation of Highland Town

Significant Person
(Complete if Criterion B is marked above)

N/A

Cultural Affiliation

N/A

Architect/Builder

Edward J. Gallagher (builder)
E. Francis Baldwin
(See Continuation Sheet.)

9. Major Bibliographical References

Bibliography
(Cite the books, articles, and other sources used in preparing this form on one or more continuation sheets)

Previous documentation on files (NPS):

☐ preliminary determination of individual listing (36 CFR 67) has been requested
☐ previously listed in the National Register
☐ previously determined eligible by the National Register
☐ designated a National Historic Landmark
☐ recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey #_____
☐ recorded by Historic American Engineering Record #_____

Primary location of additional data:

☒ State Historic Preservation Office
☐ Other State agency
☐ Federal agency
☒ Local government
☒ University
☒ Other

Name of repository:
University of Baltimore; Baltimore Museum of Industry Research Center

10. Geographical Data

Acreage of Property   Approximately 295 acres

UTM References   Baltimore East, MD quad See Continuation Sheet 10:2
(Place additional UTM references on a continuation sheet)

1 |_|_| |_|_|_|_|_|_| |_|_|_|_|_|_| 3 |_|_| |_|_|_|_|_|_| |_|_|_|_|_|_|
   Zone   Easting   Northing   Zone   Easting   Northing

2 |_|_| |_|_|_|_|_|_| |_|_|_|_|_|_| 4 |_|_| |_|_|_|_|_|_| |_|_|_|_|_|_|

                                             ☐ See continuation sheet

Verbal Boundary Description
(Describe the boundaries of the property on a continuation sheet)

Boundary Justification
(Explain why the boundaries were selected on a continuation sheet)

11. Form Prepared By

name/title   Rebecca J. Plant, Jennifer Goold, Julie Darsie, and Betty Bird

Organization   Betty Bird & Associates   date   November, 2001

street & number   2607 24th Street, NW, Suite 3   telephone   202-588-9033

city or town   Washington, District of Columbia   state N/A   zip code   20008

Additional Documentation

Submit the following items with the completed form:

Continuation Sheets

Maps

A **USGS map** (7.5 or 15 minute series) indicating the property's location.

A **Sketch map** for historic districts and properties having large acreage or numerous resources.

Photographs

Representative **black and white photographs** of the property.

Additional Items
(Check with the SHPO or FPO for any additional items)

Property Owner

(Complete this item at the request of SHPO or FPO)

name   Multiple Owners

street & number   N/A   telephone N/A

city or town   N/A   state N/A   zip code N/A

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(8-86)

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National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

Patterson Park/Highlandtown Historic District (B-1337)
Name of Property

Baltimore City, Maryland
County and State

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Description Summary:

The Patterson Park/Highlandtown Historic District is an approximately 120 block area in east Baltimore City, Maryland. The district is generally bounded on the north by Pulaski Highway (U.S. Route 40), on the east by an industrial corridor, on the south by the Canton Historic District and Patterson Park, and on the west by the Butchers Hill Historic District. Predominantly comprised of unbroken streetscapes of modest rowhouses lining gridded streets, the Patterson Park/Highlandtown Historic District meets National Register Criterion A because of its associations with Baltimore's working class settlement patterns and National Register Criterion C because it exemplifies Baltimore's rowhouse neighborhoods. In a manner characteristic of communities knit together by foot and streetcar transportation, churches, schools, corner stores, and scattered small-scale industrial buildings are interspersed among the rowhouses. A neighborhood commercial district is centered along Eastern Avenue, South Highland Avenue, and South Conkling Street, a branch library, a movie theater and a Jewish cemetery complete the physical fabric of the historic district. While local architects like Wyatt & Nolting, John Zink, and E. Francis Baldwin are represented within the district, for the most part the district is characterized by commonplace buildings. Consistent with the typology Mary Ellen Hayward and Charles Belfoure set forth in *The Baltimore Rowhouse*, stylistic details serve merely as applied decoration to vernacular rowhouse variations.

The Patterson Park/Highlandtown Historic District, whose period of significance extends from 1867 to 1952, is remarkably intact. Less than 1% of structures constructed before 1952 have been lost. Even more noteworthy, the district retains elements such as painted screens, window displays, planters, and decorative seating areas characteristic of Baltimore's rowhouse-based residential folkways. While buildings have been altered, these changes have not affected the all important massing, form, and rhythm of the streetscapes. Changes to commercial buildings are typical of the property type; alterations to dwellings, particularly the application of Formstone, embody the ideals of home ownership so important to Baltimore's rowhouse neighborhoods.

General Description:

The Patterson Park/Highlandtown Historic District covers approximately 300 acres in East Baltimore. The topography of the district is gently sloping, rising to the northeast from Baltimore's Inner Harbor Basin and the Northwest Branch of the Patapsco River. Portions of the district between Luzerne Street and Ellwood Avenue are constructed on filled and graded land over the remains of Harris Creek, which now runs through a drain under Lakewood Avenue, and adjacent marshes.

The boundaries of the of the Patterson Park/Highlandtown Historic District are established by adjacent National Register Historic Districts to the west and south, an industrial and rail corridor to the east, and a primary thoroughfare to the north. The district abuts the Canton Historic District, which extends to the waterfront to the south, the Butchers Hill Historic District to the west, and borders Patterson Park on its northern and eastern edges. Fayette Street and Pulaski Highway form the traditional northern edge of the neighborhood. The large scale of the industrial development directly east of the district clearly distinguishes it from the rowhouse scale of Patterson Park/Highlandtown.

The uniformly orthogonal street grid is a dominant feature of the Patterson Park/Highlandtown Historic District. The variation in the grid from west to east reflects the location of the historic Baltimore City limit along East Street. In the western portion of the district the grid of narrow blocks laid out by the Thomas Poppleton plan of Baltimore (1822) is

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consistently apparent. These blocks are oriented so that their longer sides face the north and south. In the eastern portion of the district the blocks are typically wider and are often oriented so that their longer sides face east and west. The eastern blocks are frequently combined or divided, establishing a variety of block sizes and shapes.

The regular pattern of street widths in Patterson Park/Highlandtown contributes to the character of the district. North-south streets in the western section alternate between wide streets (about 30 ft wide) and narrow streets (10 ft to 20 ft wide). The street widths in the eastern section are more uniform (about 25 ft wide), with some narrow streets intermingled, largely where blocks have been divided. Street pavement is mostly asphalt, with some streets surfaced in brick pavers.

The traffic pattern in the Patterson Park/Highlandtown Historic District includes thoroughfares, neighborhood streets, and connections to neighboring industrial centers. The thoroughfares are east-west streets located north of Patterson Park (East Baltimore and East Fayette streets), as well as Eastern Avenue. Thoroughfares in the district typically follow the routes of earlier streetcar lines (now gone). The neighborhood streets are the north-south streets, as well as east-west streets east of Patterson Park. A rail corridor passing just east of the district and ports lining the waterfront south of the district link Patterson Park/Highlandtown and Baltimore's industrial operations.

The land use patterns in the Patterson Park/Highlandtown Historic District reveal the significant role of the historic Baltimore City limit along East Street, in place until 1918. Furthermore, the influence of Baltimore City's annexation pattern is visible in land use in the district. The western part of the district is almost entirely residential because of Baltimore City restrictions and municipal services, available to only this section of the district until 1918. The eastern part of the district, outside historic Baltimore City limits, has a more varied land use pattern. The residential block also dominates the eastern section, but blocks and rows here are intermingled with commercial corridors, small scale industrial structures, and service businesses.

Rowhouse blocks are the most important built element in the Patterson Park/Highlandtown Historic District. Block after block of unbroken rows of modest brick working class rowhouses stand to represent their association with a significant working class immigrant population. The huge number of developer built blocks of rowhouses extant in Patterson Park/Highlandtown is becoming increasingly rare in other parts of the city. The district is highly coherent and remarkably intact. Demolition has not had significant impact on either the overall pattern of the district, comprised of a noteworthy number of complete rowhouse blocks, or on individual rows.

Rowhouse development is exceptionally dense and uniform. Two-story brick rowhouses, directly abutting the sidewalks, entirely fill virtually every block. As many as 80 rowhouses pack individual blocks in the district. Mature street trees are rare in the district, emphasizing the homogeneity of the rows and making them highly visible. Patterson Park, outside the boundaries, and the Hebrew Friendship Cemetery, within the district, constitute the primary open spaces accessible to residents. Smaller open spaces are restricted to school and church yards, a few parking lots, and rare open lots resulting from demolition.

Rowhouse blocks adhere to two main types. The first type is blocks with rows that face all four bounding streets. These blocks often contain the late 19th century resources in the district. They possess an intimate scale derived from shorter rows of houses, more variety in rowhouse size, and streets that are all lined with facades. The second type is blocks with

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long unbroken rows that mainly face the north-south streets and Patterson Park. This type, constructed in the first decades of the 20th century, emphasizes the uniformity of the street façades.

Streetscapes typically consist of individual houses duplicated over half or whole block fronts. House size is related to the width of the streets and desirability of the location. Consequently, the largest houses face Patterson Park and the smallest houses front the narrow streets.

A hierarchy of materials, fenestration patterns, and ornamentation responds directly to the size of the houses. For example, in the block bound by East Baltimore Street (south), North Port Street (east), East Fairmount Street (north), and North Montford Street (west), the 3-story houses facing Patterson Park have stone faced 1st stories and brick faced 2nd and 3rd stories. The 2-story houses facing the wide north-south street (North Montford Street) have brick façades with marble facing only the foundation. The 2-story houses facing the secondary east-west street (East Fairmount Street) are entirely of brick, accented only by a marble watertable course. The 2-story houses facing the narrow north-south street (North Port Street) are faced in brick without any stone trim.

Pedestrian scale is an essential characteristic of Patterson Park/Highlandtown. Corner stores and storefront buildings, original to the blocks, are standard features, essential for local shopping. The pervasive presence of corner stores and bars reflects the community focus of the neighborhood. Many of these buildings are now used as houses.

Commercial structures, 2-4 stories high, line Eastern Avenue. Further commercial development branches north from Eastern Avenue up Conkling and Highland streets. There are additional pockets of commercial buildings along the other thoroughfares, including East Baltimore and Fayette streets, and Pulaski Highway. Commercial buildings in Patterson Park/Highlandtown include both converted rowhouses and purpose built structures. Commercial structures dating from the 1920s-1950s are concentrated around the commercial center at Eastern and Conkling Street.

Other building types in the district include 19th and 20th c. small scale industrial buildings, 19th and early 20th c. stables, early 20th c. automobile storage buildings, and a range of automobile service buildings, found primarily in the eastern section of the Patterson Park/Highlandtown Historic District. Churches and schools are scattered throughout the district, covering a wide range of sizes and dates of construction from 1875 to ca. 1980s.

BUILDING TYPES

Rowhouses

Mary Ellen Hayward and Charles Belfoure's book *The Baltimore Rowhouse* (1999) provides a scholarly framework for the analysis of the rowhouses, which dominate the Patterson Park/Highlandtown Historic District. Hayward and Belfoure's typology for Baltimore rowhouses is based on changes in style and floor plan that reflect the aspirations of Baltimore's middle class. Rowhouses within the Patterson Park/Highlandtown Historic District fall into three types defined by Hayward and Belfoure: the Italianate Period rowhouse, the Artistic Period rowhouse, and the Daylight Period rowhouse.

Italianate Period Rowhouse: The Italianate Period rowhouse appeared in Baltimore beginning in the 1850s. The quintessential Italianate Period rowhouse in Baltimore is 2- or 3-stories tall and 2- or 3-bays wide with a flat roof. It

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features a raised, white marble basement with marble steps leading to the entrance. The pressed brick façade has tall, narrow windows and doors with marble sills and lintels. Jigsawn wood or stamped metal ventilator panels create a frieze band beneath the modillioned cornice supported by scrolled brackets.

Italianate Period rowhouses can be found throughout the Patterson Park/Highlandtown Historic District. A few 3-story, 3-bay versions with marble raised basements and steps, pressed brick facades, and elaborate frieze bands and cornices line 2300 block of East Baltimore Street and the unit block of North Patterson Park Avenue. Smaller Italianate Period rowhouses constructed for the working classes are common throughout the district. These houses are 2-stories tall and 2- or 3- bays wide with wood, brick, or stone steps, common brick facades (often covered with Formstone), jack arches over window and door openings, and mass produced frieze bands and cornices. High concentrations of the smallest and simplest examples of this type line the narrow, north-south streets in the west end of the district, including the unit and 100 blocks of North Bradford Street, North Port Street, and North Rose Street. Most were constructed during the 1890s.

Artistic Period Rowhouses: Artistic Period rowhouses began to appear in Baltimore in the 1870s and 1880s. While the form of Artistic Period rowhouses is essentially the same as Italianate Period rowhouses, the materials and architectural details are slightly different. Hayward and Belfoure describe the Artistic Period of rowhouse construction as one in which ornament from the multitude of late 19th century eclectic styles were applied to new 2- and 3-story, 2- and 3-bay rowhouses. Three of Hayward and Belfoure's Artistic Period rowhouse types can be found within the Patterson Park/Highlandtown Historic District: the flat front, the swell front, and the porch front. Although Baltimore has many examples of high style, architect designed Artistic Period rowhouses, the examples found within the Patterson Park/Highlandtown Historic District are pared down, builder designed rowhouses for the working and middle classes. Artistic Period rowhouses within the district are characterized by marble or rock faced stone raised basements, marble steps, Roman brick, iron spot brick, or rock faced stone facades, and moulded metal cornices punctuated by finial balls. Most have flat roofs; some examples along East Baltimore Street and East Fairmount Avenue have Mansart roofs with dormers.

Flat front: Flat front Artistic Period rowhouses generally feature wide or paired windows with stained glass and/or arched transoms on the first stories. This is the most common Artistic Period type in the district. Good examples include the 2400, 2500, and 2800 blocks of East Baltimore Street, and the 300 block of South Highland Avenue.

A variation of the flat front Artistic Period rowhouse occurs within a pocket bounded by East Baltimore Street on the north, South Ellwood Avenue on the east, and Patterson Park on the south and west. All the rowhouses in this area appear to have been constructed by the same builder. They are 2-stories tall and 3-bays wide with stained glass windows on the first stories and 3 sided bay windows on the second stories. Those facing Patterson Park have rock faced stone facades; the others have Roman brick facades.

Swell front: Swell front Artistic Period rowhouses feature full height shallow bow or rectangular bay windows. The end unit of a row frequently has a turret with a conical roof. Swell front rows may consist entirely of bow windows or alternate bow and rectangular bay windows. This type is less common in the district than the flat front rowhouse. The best examples are the 2600-2700 blocks of East Baltimore Street and the 100 block of South Highland Street.

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Porch front: Porch front Artistic Period rowhouses feature full width 1-story front porches. Upper stories may have 3 sided bay windows. Rows of porch front rowhouses occupy the 300 and 400 blocks of South Ellwood Avenue facing Patterson Park.

Daylight Period rowhouses: Daylight Period rowhouses emerged in Baltimore in the 1910s. The typical Daylight Period rowhouse is 2 rooms or 1 room plus a hall wide and 2 rooms deep, allowing light directly into every room. Daylight Period rowhouses also feature full width front porches and small front yards. A single row of Daylight Period rowhouses is located in the 3800 block of Bank Street. In addition, a small pocket of 1920s rowhouses in the far northeast corner of the district strongly resembles Daylight Period rowhouses. Located in the 3500 and 3600 blocks of Pulaski Highway, Roberts Place, East Fayette Street, and Esther Place, and the 200 block of South Conkling Street, they have full width stone front porches and small front yards, but appear to be 3 rooms deep.

Commercial Buildings

Commercial buildings in the district fall into four types: corner stores, two-part commercial blocks, one-part commercial blocks, and enframed window walls.[1] Corner stores are evenly distributed throughout residential areas, while other types are concentrated along Eastern Avenue, South Highland Avenue, and South Conkling Street.

Corner Stores: Corner stores are integral to the residential blocks. Stylistically, they are indistinguishable from the rest of the block, but they are recognizable by their corner entrance, which is set at an angle facing the street corner. A column or simple pole supports the roof over the underhung entrance, which is flanked by storefront windows beneath a cornice. Good examples of corner stores include 400 South Eaton Street and 3531 Claremont Street.

Two-Part Commercial Blocks: The two-part commercial block is the most common type within the commercial corridors. Most are 2 stories tall and have 1st story storefronts consisting of a center entry flanked by display windows beneath a cornice. Most of the 2nd stories are indistinguishable from Italianate and Artistic Period rowhouses. A few examples dating from the 1920s through the 1950s have second stories that draw from the Arts and Crafts, Art Deco, Moderne, and Modernist styles. Good examples of two-part commercial blocks include 3312 Eastern Avenue (Italianate), 3512-3520 Eastern Avenue (Arts and Crafts), 3320 Eastern Avenue (Art Deco), 3222 Eastern Avenue (Moderne), and 306-308 South Highland Avenue (Modernist).

One-Part Commercial Blocks: The district includes a few one-part commercial blocks. One-part commercial blocks are generally 1 story tall and consist of a storefront with a high roof or a parapet wall giving the building a more monumental appearance. Good examples of one-part commercial blocks include 413 South Conkling Street and 3916-3918 Eastern Avenue.

Enframed Window Walls: The district includes a few examples of enframed window wall buildings. An enframed window wall building has a storefront made almost entirely of glass that is surrounded by a border of masonry or other material. Examples include 3910 and 3912 Eastern Avenue and 418-426 South Conkling Street.

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[1] All types but the corner store are defined by Richard Longstreth in *The Buildings of Main Street.*

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Office Building

3411 East Bank Street is an early school that was converted to an office building. The building includes sections built in 1877 and 1894, and has a façade dating to 1951. The 2-story brick façade has a center main entry with paired double doors and a wide stone surround. Large window openings on each side of the entry also have stone surrounds. The 2nd story has stone belt courses above and below small industrial steel sash windows. The flat parapet has stone coping. The building houses Baltimore City Municipal Services. Other offices within the district are located in storefront buildings or rowhouses.

Churches

The district includes eleven churches, ranging from a simple, vernacular building to Romanesque revival Roman Catholic complexes that include churches, schools, and convents. The churches are evenly distributed throughout the district and often occupy prominent corner lots on major streets.

Nine Protestant churches are scattered throughout the district. All were constructed during the late 19th or early 20th century in the Gothic revival style. Five are stone, three are brick, and one is stucco. All consist either of a church only or a church with a small rectory or church school wing. The Protestant churches are:

- Episcopal Church of the Resurrection (now Gospel Faith Baptist Church), located at 2901 Pulaski Highway, was constructed in 1925. This stucco church has a simple, rectangular plan with center entry. Details include stone capped buttresses, narrow pointed arch windows, and parapeted gables.

- Bethel Evangelical Reformed Church (now Iglesia la Resurrection), located at 3035 East Baltimore Street, was constructed from 1912 to 1914. The stone church has an auditorium plan and features a corner tower containing the entrance and intersecting cross gables. Details include large pointed arch windows with tracery in the gables.

- Emanuel English Evangelical Lutheran Church, located at 3127 East Baltimore Street, was constructed in 1906. This small, Formstone covered church has a rectangular plan with a center entry. Details include buttresses, narrow lancet windows, and a parapeted front gable.

- Highland Methodist Episcopal Church (now New Light Church), located at 200 South Highland Street, was constructed in 1908. This stone church has an auditorium plan with twin entries. A large pointed arch window with stained glass and tracery dominates the façade. The church also has a Mission style influenced shaped parapet wall.

- St. Paul's English Evangelical Lutheran Church, located at 3300 East Pratt Street, has a church dating to 1924 and a church school dating to 1950. The stone church has a rectangular plan with a center entry. A large, pointed arch window with stained glass and tracery dominates the façade. Other details include buttresses flanking the entry, narrow pointed arch windows with tracery and drip mouldings, and a stepped parapet wall.

- Nazareth Evangelical Lutheran Church, located at 401 South Highland Street, was constructed in 1928. The stone church has rectangular plan with a center entry. A large pointed arch window with stained glass and tracery

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dominates the façade. A bell tower stands at the rear of the church. Other details include buttresses, paired pointed arch windows, and parapeted gables.

- Abbott Memorial Presbyterian Church, located at 3426 Bank Street, was constructed in 1882. This brick church has a rectangular plan with a center entry. The steeply pitched front gable roof features a cornice of corbelled brick pendants. The projecting entry also has a steeply pitched roof with a pointed arch surround over the door. Other details include buttresses, narrow pointed arch windows, a roundel window, and stone trim.

- Deutche Evangelical Salem Kirche (now Salem United Methodist Church), located at 3403 Gough Street, was constructed in 1903. This brick church has an auditorium plan with a corner tower containing the entry and a front gable façade. A full height pointed arch window with stained glass and tracery dominates the façade. Other details include a stone watertable, short buttresses, small lancet windows, and a recent metal steeple.

- St. Philip's Protestant Episcopal Church (now an auto repair shop), located at 10-14 South Bouldin Street, was constructed ca. 1910. Although largely concealed by additions, the building is still recognizable as a church by its front gable form and high quality brickwork.

- The district also includes two Roman Catholic church complexes, each with a church, school and convent. Both complexes were constructed in the Romanesque revival style.

- St. Elizabeth of Hungary Roman Catholic Church, located at 2700-2726 East Baltimore Street, includes the 1895 original church, the present church constructed in 1912, a 1922 convent, and a 1926 school.[2] The 1895 stone church has a restrained appearance with a front gable roof and small windows recessed within round arches. The elaborate 1912 church, also constructed of stone, features a central tower and an ornate carved entry portico. The school and convent are more utilitarian in style. St. Elizabeth of Hungary Roman Catholic Church is listed on the National Register of Historic Places.

- Our Lady of Pompeii Roman Catholic Church, located at 201-231 South Conkling Street, includes a church and convent constructed in 1924 and a school constructed in 1951 and 1965. The elaborate basilica plan church is constructed of diamond-patterned brick and has large round arch windows. The round arch pattern is echoed in the belt course and cornice. The convent is made up of three rowhouses that were reworked into a single building. The school is constructed of diamond-patterned brick highlighted by concrete buttresses.

A late 19th century church of unknown denomination stands at 2911 Pulaski Highway. The vernacular front gable building is covered in Formstone and is now used as a residence.

Schools

Two school buildings are located within the district.

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[2] Kurtze, Peter E. National Register of Historic Places Registration Form for St. Elizabeth of Hungary (B-4500)

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- Highlandtown Elementary School No. 237, located at 231 South Eaton Street, was constructed in 1926. This Tudor Revival school is constructed of brick with a carved stone surround around the center main entry.

- Highlandtown Middle School, located at 101 South Ellwood Street, was constructed in 1934. One of the most architecturally significant buildings in the district, the school was designed by architects Wyatt and Nolting. The school adheres to New Traditionalist principles espoused by Henry-Russell Hitchcock in both his 1928 article in *The Architectural Record* and in his catalogue for the 1932 International Style exhibit at MOMA. While it eschews ornament and incorporates modernist detailing like wide expanses of horizontal windows, brick banding, and contrasting materials used in a decorative fashion, the building pays homage to traditional architectural values such as symmetry and solid corners.

Bath House

A ca. 1940 public bath house is attached to the northeast corner of Highlandtown Elementary School No. 237. The bath house is 1-story tall and constructed of brick with a center main entry flanked by large windows (now bricked in), glass block windows on the side elevations, and an ornamental band of stretchers below the stepped parapet.

Cemetery

Hebrew Friendship Cemetery, located at 3600 East Baltimore Street, occupies the northeast corner of the district. The cemetery was established in 1849. A 1910 stone Romanesque revival chapel and gate lodge stands at the southwest corner of the cemetery by the gated entrance.[3] The chapel has a prominent stone portico with stained glass, round arch windows on each side and stone modillion blocks at the cornice. The gable ends have large, stained glass round arch windows and stepped parapets. The dense cemetery has an orderly grid plan softened by curving paths and shrubbery.

Theater

The Patterson Theater, located at 3134 Eastern Avenue, was constructed in 1930 and designed by noted Baltimore theater architect John Zink. The Romanesque revival building features round arch openings on the 1st story, a prominent corner entrance with a replacement marquee, and a mural painted with classical motifs, of unknown date, along its east wall.

Library

The Enoch Pratt Free Library Branch Number 13, located at 158 North Linwood Avenue, was constructed in 1910. The brick, Arts and Crafts influenced building has a low, hipped roof with a bracketed cornice, bands of windows accented by stretchers, and a recessed entrance flanked by Doric columns.

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[3] The 1914 Sanborn maps records the building as a chapel with an attached dwelling. The program from the dedication in 1910 refers to the structure as a chapel and gate lodge. A caretaker resides in this building.

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Lodge Hall

The Highland Lodge No. 184 AF & AM, located at 300 South Conkling Street, was constructed in 1913. The Renaissance revival influenced building has a classical portico, large round arch window openings on the second floor, a moulded cornice, and a stepped parapet wall.

Transportation Related Buildings

Transportation related buildings are concentrated at the eastern end of the district. These buildings were constructed to house a trucking company warehouse, automobile service garages, and automobile storage garages. Most are 1 story tall and constructed of brick with flat roofs and large bays facing the street or alley. Five of the more notable buildings and complexes are noted below:

- The Lord Baltimore Truck Company (now Ye Ol' Antique Barn), located at 3726 East Bank Street, was constructed ca. 1910. This 2-story, 3-bay, utilitarian brick building has a wide center loading bay on the 1st story flanked by smaller loading bays with segmental arches. On the 2nd story is a small loading bay with a pulley.

- J. Lutz Garage (now Auggie's Car Care Center), located at 131 North Clinton Street, was constructed in 1920. This 1-story brick and steel truss building has a 3-bay center section beneath a skylighted gable roof flanked by 1-bay wings with flat roofs. A cast stone sign on the front façade is molded to read "J. Lutz, 1920," and a painted "Van's Garage" sign is still legible beneath the corbelled brick cornice.

- An auto body repair shop, located at 3801-3811 Bank Street, was constructed ca. 1920. The 6-bay brick building has a 1-story repair shop occupying eastern 5 bays and a 2-story office occupying the western bay. The building also has a false Mansart roof made of tile.

- The area bounded by East Fayette Street, North Highland Street, Esther Place, and North East Avenue is filled by rows of ca. 1920 attached, single car garages constructed for residents of rowhouses. The long, low brick buildings have corbelled brick cornices.

- A filling and service station, located at 3114-3116 East Fayette Street, now A & B auto, was constructed ca. 1930. The Moderne building has rounded corners and a 2 level flat roof with curved coping..

Industrial Buildings

A few industrial buildings are located in the east end of the district. They are usually simple utilitarian buildings that have undergone many alterations. Two excellent examples remain relatively intact.

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- The Schluderberg Packinghouse is located at 3701 Bank Street. The large, 2-story brick building has an 1867 west block and a ca. 1870s east block.[4] The west block has a simple façade with segmental arch windows, recessed brick panels forming a frieze band, and a corbelled brick cornice. The smaller east block has a portico over the entry, windows within recessed brick panels, and a brick cornice with corbelled pendants.

- I. C. Isaacs & Company, located at 330 South Grundy Street, was constructed ca. 1930. The square, 1-story brick building has large window openings with industrial steel sash windows. The stepped parapet has concrete coping.

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[4] Steele, Ann and Dennis Zembala. Maryland Inventory of Historic Properties form for Schluderberg Packinghouse (B-1107).

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INTEGRITY CONSIDERATIONS

Contributing/Non-Contributing Buildings

Over 99% of the properties included within the boundaries of the Patterson Park/Highlandtown Historic District contribute to the district. Non-contributing properties are restricted to buildings that post date the 1952 period of significance, empty lots created by demolition, and earlier buildings that have been so radically altered as to be unrecognizable. There are 46 non-contributing properties in the district (see attached list):
- 15 consist of empty lots, parking lots, and a playground created by demolition,
- 3 are heavily altered buildings, and
- the remaining 28 are buildings constructed after 1952, the end of the period of significance for the district.

The heavily altered non-contributing buildings are extensively altered so that their form, materials, openings, and details have been obliterated. Consequently, they no longer represent the architectural characteristics of the period of significance for the Patterson Park/Highlandtown district. Non contributing properties are most frequently located along the primary commercial streets and the industrial (northern and eastern) edges of the district, where demolition has resulted in gaps occupied by large, non contributing structures and empty lots. Covered buildings are considered to contribute until such time as the covering is removed and the building demonstrates insufficient integrity to contribute to the district, as per "Evaluating Deteriorated, Damaged, or Previously Altered Buildings within Registered Historic Districts," issued by the National Park Service. Typically, if the appearance of the historic facades visible from the street has been irretrievably lost, then the building no longer possesses sufficient integrity to contribute to the sense of the historic environment of the Patterson Park/Highlandtown Historic District.

Alterations and Integrity

A large percentage of the contributing buildings in the Patterson Park/Highlandtown Historic District are in good condition. Most of the buildings have been altered. Alterations in the district represent pride in homeownership, as absentee landlords rarely invest in updates. The cultural values that informed working class homeownership in the district are also visible in the alterations. Ease of property care, economical materials, and evolution of taste drive alterations. Representative changes to the houses include:
- Original façade material and ornamentation are frequently covered, most often with Formstone, although, aluminum and vinyl siding, recent brick or cast stone, and parging are also seen in the district.
- Some window openings are altered. Many window openings, especially on the first floor, have been enlarged to hold picture windows. Window openings have also been altered to fit replacement windows. Some window openings have been sealed.
- Replacement windows and doors are common.
- Some cornices have been removed.
- Some of the characteristic white marble front steps and stoops have been replaced with brick, concrete, or cast stone.

The first signs of gentrification, identifiable by façade restorations, have also resulted in some highly visible roof decks near Patterson Park.

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All the alterations typical to houses are also seen in the commercial structures. The commercial buildings additionally exhibit heavily altered storefronts, and façade cladding that obscures second floor windows. In some buildings party walls have been removed to create larger floor plates. With the exception of Formstone,[5] which is seen throughout the district, altered buildings are more widespread in the eastern section of the district. None of these changes, however, detract from the district as a whole.

Many property owners in Patterson Park/Highlandtown have individualized their houses or rows with decorative elements. In the absence of front gardens, the façade becomes the arena for personal expression for homeowners. Elements such as painted window screens, decorative flags, potted plants, seating, awnings, Oriole whirligigs, picture window displays, and holiday decorations subtly differentiate individual houses, without impairing the cohesiveness of the rows. Display can demonstrate community spirit as well. For example, some blocks have banded together to put similar features, such as planters or flags, in front of each house in the row.

The Patterson Park/Highlandtown Historic District retains integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association. The location and setting of the district, including its relationship to Butchers Hill (west), Patterson Park (south), the Canton waterfront (south), and large industrial sites (east), remain intact. The location and setting are indicative of Patterson Park/Highlandtown's role as an industrial suburb. The design of the district as a whole and its blocks of rowhouses are intact to demonstrate the market acuity of the developers, the cultural values of the property owners, and the resilience of the commercial corridors and industrial concerns. The buildings display several types of materials and workmanship, from the original brick, stone, and wood to more contemporary Formstone, concrete, and aluminum. Formstone covered buildings retain the regularity of the massing, scale, and rhythm of house fronts and rows, as well as fenestration patterns and projecting stairs. Furthermore, both the original and later materials and workmanship reflect the significant history of the middle income worker population. Finally, the district stands to represent its association with the people it houses. The feeling established by the development pattern, typologies of the original buildings, and the alterations to those structures, express the presence of this population.

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[5] Formstone was invented in Baltimore by Albert Knight, who patented it in 1937. Huguette D. May and Anthea Smith, *Finding the Charm in Charm City*, (Baltimore, 1998), p. 88.

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Additional Architects

Robert C. Ullrich
Francis E. Tormey
Wyatt and Nolting
Joseph Evans Sperry
John Zink

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Summary Statement of Significance:

The Patterson Park/Highlandtown Historic District is a remarkably large and cohesive rowhouse neighborhood in east Baltimore. It survives as a material representation of Baltimore's settlement patterns created by waves of European immigration. These newcomers, who established ethnically heterogeneous neighborhoods within this district, provided the labor essential for the growth of the city's industrial base. First settled in 1867, the Patterson Park/Highlandtown Historic District illustrates the role city annexation, industrial development, and home ownership played in shaping land use patterns in the city. Block after block of unbroken rows of modest brick rowhouses stand to represent their association with Baltimore's working class immigrant population. Churches, schools, corner stores, a neighborhood commercial district, movie theater, and library complete the fabric of a community knit together by streetcars and pedestrian traffic. The Patterson Park/Highlandtown Historic District meets National Register Criterion A because of its association with Baltimore's working class identity and the important role home ownership played in the city's housing patterns. The Patterson Park/Highlandtown Historic District also meets Criterion C as a surviving example of the unbroken streetscapes of modest rowhouses that once characterized middle class housing in Baltimore. An exceptionally cohesive district, Patterson Park/Highlandtown has lost less than 1% of its architectural fabric constructed before 1952, the end date of its period of significance. While many of the rowhouses have been altered over time, these alterations are inextricably linked to the persistence of home ownership that characterizes this neighborhood and the democratic ideals of urban rowhouse living. Changes such as the application of Formstone and the installation of 1st floor picture windows testify to the owners' continuing commitment to their neighborhood.

Resource History and Historic Context:

Patterson Park/Highlandtown: Immigrant enclave in working class Baltimore

The Patterson Park/Highlandtown Historic District, a working class residential and commercial district in southeast Baltimore, exemplifies the cultural and physical traits that have given the city as a whole its unique image. The area is renowned for the neighborhood loyalty of its residents and for its distinctive rowhouses, which fill block after unbroken block. The first European inhabitants were German immigrants, who settled the area in the post-Civil War era. In the late 19th and 20th centuries, a variety of new immigrant groups – including the Irish, Italians, Bohemians, Finns, Ukrainians, Poles, Russians, and Greeks contributed to the neighborhood's decidedly ethnic character. Yet despite this diversity, residents displayed a high degree of homogeneity in regard to certain core values – namely home ownership, thrift, cleanliness, patriotism, religiosity, and tight-knit families. All of these ideals speak to the aspirations of an ethnic working class people for respectability and security. They are also symbolically captured in the neighborhood's defining image: a uniform row of polished white marble steps.[6]

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[6] In 1911, writer Harrison Rhodes rhapsodized: "To the sentimental tourist, it seems impossible to overestimate the artistic, ethical, and sociological effect of the white doorstep, which in both Philadelphia and Baltimore is the most prominent feature of the urban scene. Ideally it is of marble; failing this, of fair planks of wood. There it stands, ready to be scrubbed each morning, to be painted each spring. It is the outward and visible sign of thrift, neatness, a kind of guarantee that within, too, there are cleanliness and all the domestic virtues.... It will be an evil day for Baltimore when she gives up this emblem of her civilization." Rhodes, "Behind the White Marble Steps," *Harper's Magazine*, (February 1911), reprinted in *Baltimore: When She Was What She Used to Be, 1850-1930*, edited by Marion E. Warren and Mame Warren, Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983), pp. 73-74.

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The district's primary claim to historic and architectural significance is that, for so many different immigrant groups, its relatively high-quality houses literally embodied the American dream. In this respect, it testifies to Baltimore's reputation as a workingman's city, where home ownership and stable neighborhood life extended beyond the province of the middle-class. In 1914, an industrial survey reported that 60% of the city's dwelling places were owned by the occupiers – "a situation peculiar to Baltimore and which far exceeds the average that obtains in other cities."[7] The writer Harrison Rhodes commented on this same phenomenon in 1911. Noting the small number of apartment buildings in the city, he concluded, "Baltimore is, broadly speaking, a city of small houses.... On a modest working-man's income, you may live in a delightful toy-like little red-brick house with fresh paint, green shutters, and the whitest of white steps. Your house may be only ten feet wide and a story and a half high, but it is a dignified, self-respecting habitation, and your castle as no flat can ever be." While Rhodes no doubt romanticized working class existence, his assessment nevertheless captures the pride that many of the district's residents expressed in regard to their homes.

When contrasted to immigrant enclaves in other major industrial cities of the time, the singularity of the Patterson Park/Highlandtown District is strikingly evident. In Chicago and New York, newly arrived immigrants crowded into dark, poorly built, and unventilated tenement houses. Although certainly modest, East Baltimore's compact rowhouses were by no means run-down or substandard. Thomas Jacklin has argued that "the total absence of anything approaching an image of an ethnic 'ghetto'" is what made the area so unique.[8] High rates of home ownership also meant that residents were also willing to invest in their community, resulting in the construction of numerous churches and schools. As Jacklin concludes, "the economic status of most newcomers, combined with a compact and self-sufficient area with its own schools, churches, convenient mass transit, and the like," made the area remarkably stable. "The neighborhood showed none of the social disorganization attendant upon successive waves of migration in and out."[9]

To a large extent, the distinctive development of Patterson Park/Highlandtown District can be attributed to Baltimore's unusual ground rent system, dating back to the colonial era, which stipulated that the rent or purchase of any given building and land itself constituted two separate transactions. This gave builders an incentive to construct high-quality housing, even for workers.[10] It also made housing more affordable, since families did not have to buy the land as well (although many did after paying for their homes). In addition, the prevalence of building and loan associations proved crucial in helping families to finance home ownership. In 1914, the typical down payment on a brick rowhouse (ranging in price from $1,250 to $2,000) was between $100 and $250. However, the previously cited report on industry in Baltimore reported cases of "industrious workmen whose habits and environment were ascertained to be above reproach," who received title to a home with a down payment as low as $25.00.[11]

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[7] *Industrial Survey of Baltimore: Report of Industries Located within the Baltimore Metropolitan District,* (Baltimore, 1914), p. 67.
[8] Thomas Jacklin, "History of Highlandtown," in "Baltimore Neighborhoods," unpublished collection edited by D. Randall Beirne, Langdale Library, University of Baltimore (hereafter UB).
[9] Jacklin, "History of Highlandtown," UB.
[10] As architectural historians Mary Ellen Hayward and Charles Belfoure have explained, "...in Baltimore real estate, the long-term profits still came from the ground rents created, thus the usual notion of trying to keep construction costs down to maximize the profit on the sale of the house did not apply. The builder's goal was to construct a reasonably-priced house that would sell well, and thus ensure a perpetual, safe source of income for the landowner." Hayward and Belfoure, *The Baltimore Rowhouse,* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1999), p. 109.
[11] *Industrial Survey of Baltimore,* p.67.

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The individual blocks of rowhouses, constructed by builder developers like Edward J. Gallagher, appear quite uniform from a distance, but upon closer inspection bear unique features that distinguish one from another. An important standard feature was the corner store. These spaces typically housed grocers, bakers, saloon keepers, and repair shops, with the shopkeeper's family occupying the second floor. The provision for such commercial spaces affected neighborhood life, resulting in what Mary Ellen Hayward and Charles Belfoure have described as "urban versions of traditional small villages."[12] In addition, Eastern Avenue – historically the location of shops, breweries, and theaters – has continued to serve as thriving hub of commercial and recreational activities.

Another key feature of the neighborhood is Patterson Park itself, a 155-acre park that borders the district to the south and west. Patterson Park has long served as an important recreational center for East Baltimoreans and the city as a whole. It was originally established in 1827, when a wealthy Irish merchant named William Patterson donated six-acres of land for a "public walk." Throughout the Park's 170 year existence, its ever-evolving character has reflected historical developments within the surrounding area, as well as changing ideals regarding leisure and public space.[13]

Finally, the Patterson Park/Highlandtown Historic District reveals how immigrant groups were Americanized. Renowned for its intense patriotism, the neighborhood illustrated how different ethnic groups came to coexist peaceably and embrace a unifying American identity. In East Baltimore, this cultural process was deeply rooted in the material basis of commercial rowhouse development. Because the marketing and selling of homes occurred along class, rather than ethnic, lines, each individual block housed a diverse mixture of peoples. This was in sharp contrast to the earlier patterns of "chain migration," directed by kin and ethnic leaders, that had prevailed in older neighborhoods like Little Italy. Oral interviews conducted with long-time residents confirm a high level of harmonious interaction and mutual assistance between individuals of different ethnic backgrounds.[14] Ethnic consciousness of course persisted, but it tended to center around businesses and voluntary organizations rather than residential proximity. In short, the Patterson Park/Highlandtown Historic District demonstrates how the availability of affordable, quality housing spurred the inter-mixing of the ethnic groups and fostered the development of a strong American identity.

Development Patterns in Patterson Park/Highlandtown

North of Patterson Park

The first settled section of the district is the western section, which is located closest to the city center, just north of Patterson Park (today the eastern edge of Butchers Hill). This area, originally known as Kemp's Addition, opened for development after 1772, when the Philadelphia Road was rerouted to cross the newly constructed Baltimore Street Bridge. William Patterson purchased Kemp's Addition in 1792, and by 1810 a German immigrant named Jacob Loudenslager had leased the land. He operated as both a butcher and innkeeper near the intersection of Baltimore Street and Patterson Park Avenue. Incorporated into the city in 1816, the area was known as Loudenslager's Hill from 1822 to 1835. Well situated

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[12] Hayward and Belfoure, *The Baltimore Rowhouse*, p. 120.

[13] For a detailed description of Patterson Park's history, see: Board of Park Commissioner, "Patterson Park: One Hundred Years Old, (December 1927).

[14] These interviews were conducted by the Baltimore neighborhood Heritage Project (hereafter BNHP) and are housed at the Langsdale Library at UB. It is important to note, however, that this general climate of tolerance was premised on the complete exclusion of African Americans.

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to receive livestock from the rural east, it attracted numerous butchers, who were prohibited from operating in certain areas of the city.[15]

The western part of the district was transformed by rowhouse development in the last quarter of the 19th century and the first decade of the 20th century. During this period, streetcar lines were run through the district making it accessible to the working man. Butchers Hill was redeveloped as a middle-class residential neighborhood beginning in 1875, displacing its earlier population. Also, industry in neighboring areas across the City limits required a growing workforce. This section, therefore, became a natural place for workers to settle and savvy developers took advantage of the opportunity to provide the immigrants with homes of their own. By 1901, the Sanborn Maps showed that more than three-quarters of the blocks west of Harris Creek were platted and developed and by 1914 no lot remained open.

Edward J. Gallagher was the primary developer for the area north of Patterson Park. Gallagher's building campaign here launched a career that would create entire Baltimore neighborhoods. He is widely recognized for constructing over 8,000 houses in Baltimore and was admired as an innovator in house amenities and use of advertising. His 1933 obituary in the *Sun* (Baltimore) notes "Mr. Gallagher has been credited with introducing into small homes bath rooms, sinks in kitchens, gas instead of oil illumination and white marble base fronts." The Gallagher records, held at the University of Baltimore, include dozens of lease documents and deeds for property in the district, demonstrating that he was renting and purchasing development lots in the district as early as 1886. A flurry of transactions between Gallagher and the Patterson heirs and a host of others took place between 1890 and 1905, indicating that Gallagher built rows on every street in the district from North Kenwood Avenue west during this period.

Hayward and Belfoure's book, *The Baltimore Rowhouse*, provides an example of how Gallagher constructed these early blocks in the district. An agreement with the Pattersons in 1890 specifies that Gallagher was to build 19 houses on the north half of a block abutting Patterson Park. The contract details that Gallagher gained fee simple title to 7 of the smaller lots and the Pattersons retained ground rents on the other 12 lots. Gallagher constructed the houses in less than 11 months, before the ground rents came due. He sold the lots with the houses for the 7 properties he owned. Then, consequently, the new owners were responsible for paying the ground rents on the other 12 lots. The houses, which ranged in price from $1,100 with a $35/year ground rent for a 14 foot wide, six room house, to $500 with a $30/year ground rent for a 12.5 foot wide four room house, were sold for only $50 to $100 profit per house. Gallagher's main profit was attained in the lot sales, which netted $2,300.[16] While Gallagher's later suburban developments, such as Ednor Gardens, included covenants restricting the ethnicity of buyers, no such restrictions were placed on the Patterson Park/Highlandtown plots, allowing new immigrants to purchase homes in the district.

Highlandtown

The region directly east of the Park, known as Highland Town, developed somewhat differently. It was isolated from the city by Harris Creek and swampy flood-lands surrounding it. Development began to occur only after 1866, when Union troops abandoned Fort Marshall, located on what was then called Snake Hill (now Fleet and Highland Streets), just south of the district. An Irish immigrant named Thomas McGuiness, operating under the direction of the Philadelphia Land

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[15] Bill Pencek and Harry Andrews, " Hill," in Livelier Baltimore Committee of the Citizens Planning and Housing Association, *Beyond the White Marble Steps: A Look at Baltimore Neighborhoods*, (Baltimore, 1979), pp. 10-12.
[16] Mary Ellen Hayward and Charles Belfoure, *The Baltimore Rowhouse*, (New York, 1999), p. 108.

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Company, laid out streets and planted trees north of Eastern Avenue and east of Harris Creek. McGuiness himself lived on the northwest corner of Baylis and Bank, first in a frame house then in a 3-story brick house (3426 Bank Street).[17]

Development in Highland Town took off in the 1870s and 1880s, when residents of Butchers Hill began purchasing land in the Snake Hill vicinity, near Fort Marshall. (See Attachment C.) As Butchers Hill became increasingly residential, Snake Hill drew brewers and butchers, who needed large tracts of unregulated land for their noxious trade. Five of the first men to settle the territory were: Conrad Schluderberg, a butcher; William and Fred Wiessner, brothers who opened a brewery; Theodore Maasch, another butcher; and Adam Elgert, a saloon keeper. These merchants renamed the emerging village "Highland Town" about 1870. In 1881, Highland Town had only 644 residents, as compared to neighboring Canton's population of 2,084. Yet a distinct local identity had already begun to emerge. In 1888, when a referendum was held on the issue of incorporation—which would have extended the city's boundaries beyond East Avenue—residents rejected the measure.[18]

As the breweries established beer gardens and butchers' shops grew into meat packing plants, more businessmen who were restricted by Baltimore City land-use regulation, such as butchers, brewers, distillers, and tanners, gathered in Highland Town just east of the city limits. The location was ideal because they received many of the benefits of Baltimore City, such as streetcar lines, without having to pay city taxes, which were more than three times greater than Baltimore County. They also were free from Baltimore's Blue Laws, which prohibited serving alcoholic beverages on Sundays.

Highland Town residents' interest in annexation grew, however, as the decades passed. Although Baltimore City residents paid much higher taxes, they were provided with running water, sewers, police patrols, and fire departments. As the neighborhood became increasingly urban, concerns for services and safety came to the fore. In 1874 only 12% of the Eastern District voted for annexation. The *Sun* and *American* (Baltimore) newspapers noted that when a senator told a somewhat inebriated Highland Town assembly that with annexation they would have pure piped water instead of polluted wells; the crowd shouted back, "We don't want it, we have plenty of beer!"[19] The proportion of pro-annexation voters grew to 40% by 1888, and by 1910, the Eastern District was seeking annexation. In 1918, the City agreed to annex the Eastern District, which required a huge investment in infrastructure, but only because they could also annex the wealthy northern suburbs, which provided a large tax base and were already supplied with water and sewers.[20]

Highland Town's commercial corridors developed with a center at Eastern Avenue and Conkling Street and radiated out along these spines. Small industry in the district and large industry surrounding the district drew residential development, which filled most of the lots by 1914. As small industry grew and relocated or became obsolete in the first decades of the 20th century, open space was redeveloped for additional housing, automotive service buildings, and commercial space. A good example of this is the Schluderberg meat-packing plant on Bank Street. The company's origins date back to 1867,

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[17] Donald G. Hammen, "Highlandtown," in *Beyond the White Marble Steps*, pp. 13-15.

[18] Ibid; Burke Davis, "Highlandtown Still Remains a City Within a City," *Evening Sun*, (October 9, 1950) and Lee McCardell, "Highlandtown Is Compact Little City, Self-Sufficient Through Years," (paper and date not identified), Vertical Files, "Highlandtown," Maryland Room, Enoch Pratt Free Library, Main Branch (hereafter EP).

[19] *Sun* (Baltimore), April 21, 1874, *American*, April 17, 21, 1874, noted in Joseph L. Arnold, "Suburban Growth and Municipal Annexation in Baltimore, 1745-1918", *Maryland Historical Magazine*, June 1978, p. 125.

[20] Ibid, pp. 114-124.

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when **William Schluderberg Company** constructed the first packing house in Highlandtown, at 3701 Bank Street. In 1907, **Thomas J. Kurdel**, a major pork packer, opened a processing plant at 4020 East Lombard Street, just east of the district. Like Schluderberg's it was situated next to the railroad in order to receive livestock from Maryland and Pennsylvania farms. In 1920, Schluderberg and Kurdle merged to form Esskay (the new name linked "S" and "K") and moved to a new plant (now demolished) just outside the district.[21] After their departure, the Schluderberg slaughter house building on Bank Street was reused for a box factory, the refrigerated meat packing building was replaced with an auto body shop, and the open space used as hog pens became a used car lot.[22]

Harris Creek

The portion of the district constructed over Harris Creek is the most architecturally homogenous area of the district. Harris Creek ran through the middle of the district until the last quarter of the 19th century. (See Attachment C.) The creek and surrounding marshes frequently flooded rendering this section undesirable for early development. The drainage problem was aggravated in 1881 when Harford Run was diverted into Harris Creek. Baltimore City addressed the drainage problem in Harris Creek in 1887 and 1888 with the construction of the 6,900 foot long Harford Run Drain, diverting the waterway under Lakewood Street from Monument Street to the Harbor.[23]

The Harris Creek portion of the land was primarily owned by the Canton Company. The Canton Company was one of the largest landowners in the metropolitan region and specialized in industrial and housing development. The firm stood to benefit from Baltimore City funded improvements in the area, which would increase the value of their land. Furthermore, the Canton Company recognized the importance of Highlandtown houses to the labor force staffing Baltimore's industry. Canton Company promotional literature from 1923 included a photograph of a typical Gallagher developed block captioned "Baltimore's labor is the best housed in America. There are seven hundred Building & Loan Associations in the city."[24] Again in 1941, the Canton Company emphasized "[h]ome ownership and contented living are factors in cutting down labor turnover."[25]

In 1883 and 1908, Patterson Park was extended eastward into this section of the district helping with drainage issues as well creating higher land values in neighboring blocks. The area of the 1883 extension, from Luzerne Street to Linwood Avenue, required significant engineering to fill and grade the Harris Creek ravine. The drainage and lake in this section of the park were completed in 1893 and landscaping was installed by 1895. The Canton Company was operating a clay pit in the area of the 1908 extension, from Linwood Avenue to Ellwood Avenue, until 1904. Baltimore City purchased this section of Patterson Park between 1904 and 1908 and the annex was landscaped between 1912 and 1915.[26]

As these sections of the park were established, the surrounding blocks were also filled and graded. The homogeneity of the rows that fill the blocks surrounding the Patterson Park annexes suggest that new areas were opened and developed

[21] Anne Steele and Dennis Zembala, Maryland Historical Trust State Historic Sites Inventory Form for Esskay (B-1096), 1983.
[22] Sanborn maps, 1914, 1936, 1951.
[23] Center for Urban Archaeology, *The Lakewood Drain Project* (Baltimore, 1994) p. 14, 17.
[24] *Canton Company of Baltimore*. (Baltimore: Canton Co., 1923), n.p.
[25] *October 1785 A sea captain bought a waterfront and called it "Canton"*. (Baltimore: Canton Co., 1941), n.p.
[26] Lampl Associates, National Register Nomination for Patterson Park, Section 7, pp. 12-17.

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almost simultaneously. The long uniform blocks also indicate that a single developer was often constructing entire blocks.

Breweries and Leisure Activities in the Late Nineteenth Century

Breweries and Beer Gardens

In the 1880s, many small breweries and saloons sprang up along and near Eastern Avenue. They served as centers of male sociability, particularly for German immigrants, who often joined singing groups that practiced in adjoining rooms. "Lots of those saloons had singing societies," resident Lloyd Konigkremer recalled, "and then they'd put up like a tournament and see which was the best singers."[27] Although women did not generally drink in local bars at this time, they or their children would sometimes purchase kettles of beer and food to be consumed at home. For example, as a child, Mary Kraus Feehley would go to the saloon for her mother on summer washing-days. "...[S]he'd be washing clothes and using a board. She was all tired and sweating and all, and then for our lunch we would go to the saloon and get a kettle of soup and a kettle of beer.... children could go to the saloon and get beer."[28]

In addition to small breweries that attracted locals, beer gardens drew amusement seekers (both men and women) from Baltimore City. Because Highland Town remained outside city limits, it was exempt from the "Blue Laws" which forbade the sale and consumption of alcohol on Sundays in Baltimore proper. As former City Councilman Dominic Di Pietro explained, "On one side of East Avenue you could drink, on the other side, you couldn't drink. And all them people would come to Highlandtown because they could drink, cause it was the county then."[29] One particularly popular site was George F. Wiessner's **Fort Marshall Brewery** (later the John F. Wiessner and Bro. Brewing Company), located at the intersection of Highland and Eastern Avenues, just south of the district. The first of many beer gardens in the area, it eventually expanded to encompass a bowling alley and dancing pavilion.[30]

Horse-drawn streetcars, which began running along Eastern Avenue in 1880, played a central role in supporting the breweries and beer gardens. The first line was operated by the old Monumental City Railway and ran from the Hillen Street Station to Eastern and 8th Street (now Haven Street). Electric cable cars, introduced in the 1890s, carried passengers further east to large amusement parks and to the shore. According to the *Sun* (Baltimore), "On warm Sundays the open cars bound for Highland Town were packed to the last inch of standing room on the footboards. 'Trolley parties' to the beer gardens...were popular, too. Special cars, decorated with strings of red, white and blue electric lights, were chartered for these affairs."[31]

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[27] Oral interview with Lloyd Konigskremer, BNHP, box 1, UB.

[28] Oral interview with Mary Kraus Feehley, BNHP, box 13, UB.

[29] Oral interview with Dominic "Mimi" DiPietro, BNHP, box 120, UB.

[30] Lee McCardell, "Highlandtown is Compact Little City, Self-Sufficient Through Years, *Baltimore Sun*, (date not recorded), Vertical Files, "Highlandtown—Suburb in Baltimore," EP. This brewery should not be confused with the John F. Wiessner and Sons Brewing Company that operated on Gay Street; the two were independently owned and operated. Everett and Janice Ford, *Pre-Prohibition Beer Bottles and Breweries of Baltimore, Maryland*, (Baltimore: Professional Printing Services, Inc., 1974), p. 15, available at the Research Library Center, BMI.

[31] Ibid. For information on the streetcar system, see David B. Ditman and Bernard J. Sachs, *The Architecture of the Baltimore Streetcar System*, (Baltimore: Baltimore Streetcar Museum, Inc., 1994) and Michael R. Farrell, *Who Made All Our Streetcars Go? The Story of Rail Transit in Baltimore*, (Baltimore: Baltimore NHRS Publications, 1973). Recently, the trolley car barn

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Patterson Park

During the last two decades of the century, Patterson Park also emerged as a popular leisure site—"the foremost playground in the country." It was significantly expanded, and a conservatory, greenhouse, casino, and the ornamental observatory known as the Chinese Pagoda were all constructed. In the early twentieth century, as urban reformers championed the value of public recreational programming, athletic facilities and a state of the art field house were added.[32] Finally, locals also used the park as a refuge on hot summer nights. "[T]he people sometimes would sit out front practically half the night when it would be too warm to go to bed," Jeannette Browning recalled. "Many of the people took blankets and went over to the hills over Patterson Park and they would spend their night asleep over there. That's how safe it was, whole families would go."[33]

Commercial Development and Demographic Change in the early 20th century

Despite the commercial development of Eastern Avenue, at the turn of the century, much of the Patterson Park/Highlandtown District remained rural. Highland Town was in a stage of raw transition, with blocks of brand new rows standing alongside cattle yards, slaughterhouses, dairies, coal yards, tanneries, greenhouses, distilleries, and breweries. Few paved streets ran beyond Patterson Park, and Eastern Avenue was paved with cobblestones only as far as the bridge over Harris Creek. Thus, Jeannette Browning's family moved to the area because her mother was ill and "the doctor advised my father to take her to the country."[34] When Mary Kraus Feehley and her family moved to 3614 Lombard Street in 1902, "it was a new neighborhood.... Cow stable on the right of us and a cow stable on the left of us."[35] Likewise, Thomas G. Tochterman recalled, "When I was a boy, Eastern Avenue was made of cobblestones. Cows would be driven down the street from the freight yard. It had a rural atmosphere; everything past Ellwood Avenue was country."[36]

In the early twentieth century, as industrial growth occurred to east, the district gradually lost its pastoral character and evolved into an industrial suburb – a corridor of industry and worker housing that developed just outside the city limits. By 1908, Highland Town had 4,000 houses and a population of about 30,000. Infrastructure improvements paved the way for rapid residential development in the 1910s and 1920s. During the years 1906-1916, a new city sewer system was installed, and by the turn of the century Harris Creek was graded and covered. Major developers worked closely with neighborhood improvement associations to make the community attractive to prospective homeowners. Edward Gallagher, for example, was active in the East End Improvement Association, which promoted street openings and paving projects on Luzerne and Fairmount, a new car line on Wolfe Street, the beautification of Patterson Park and other

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located at the intersection of Lombard and Grundy has been converted into cooperative apartments for seniors. Edward Gunts, "Highlandtown Trolley Barn Converting to Apartments," *Baltimore Sun*, May 11, 1995, Vertical Files, Research File, "Neighborhoods—Highlandtown," BMI.

[32] See the National Register of Historic Places Inventory—Nomination Form, (prepared by Lampl and Associates), in Vertical Files, "Patterson Park," Commission for Historic and Architectural Preservation (hereafter CHAP), Baltimore, Maryland.

[33] Oral interview with Jeanette Browning, BNHP, box 76, UB.

[34] Ibid.

[35] Oral interview with Mary Kraus Feehley, BNHP, box 13, UB.

[36] Earl Arnett, "East Baltimore Section Is Insular in a Changing World," *Baltimore Sun*, (March 3, 1975), Vertical Files, "Description—Baltimore, East," EP.

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projects.[37] A resident of 3500 block of Claremont recalled, "As a house would open up...you never see a sign on our street. Those houses are sold before anybody knows it. By voice. Somebody finds out its sold, it's going to be sold, and before you know it, they never put a sign up."[38]

After World War I, Highland Town was finally incorporated into the city. At this point, the name was changed to "Highlandtown," and the numbered streets were renamed to prevent confusion. Prohibition forced the breweries to close. Many small-scale industrial concerns within the district were growing and moving to larger sites just east and north of the district. A predominance of the sites that had earlier been used for small industry were changed to support automobiles, whether as service stations, repair businesses, or as blocks of garages. The business district along Eastern Avenue and Conkling Street continued to thrive, supported by the growth of large industry in the area and stable population in the district. In the 1920s, a group of businessmen who hoped to "Boost Highlandtown," formed the Exchange Club.[39] The busy intersection of Conkling Street and Eastern Avenue continued to represent the hub of commercial activities. Its importance was recognized during World War II, when local committees sponsored a war bond drive just south of the crossing.[40]

Work Patterns and Workplaces in and around the District

Industrial development fueled the dramatic growth in the Patterson Park/Highlandtown District. Industrial and manufacturing concerns were located both inside and surrounding the district. While workplaces inside the district were small-scale, it was the enormous industrial expansion east and south of the district that provided the primary workplace for the residents. Both the Pennsylvania Railroad and B&O Railroad passed just east of the district, with terminals at the waterfront to the south. Canton Company enterprises, such as American Can Company and Tindeco Wharf, to the south and Sparrow's Point and Dundalk to the east provided an enormous stable job pool. Additional industry developed in a corridor alongside the tracks. Rail spurs delivered raw materials to the factories from the waterfront or from the inland region and facilitated distribution of finished goods and products. Some of the buildings that housed the industries have been demolished; some are still extant.

Residents of the Patterson Park/Highlandtown District were primarily blue-collar workers and their families. The majority of married women did not hold jobs outside the home, but they contributed to their families' economic survival by taking in washing, sewing, and often managing the household budget. The women were good managers, of course," explained Jeanette Browning, "...[T]hey were thrifty. A lot of them made their own clothes."[41] Moreover, the desire for homeownership was so strong that some married women did continue working until the mortgage was paid off. For example, Grace DiMartino worked for six years after her marriage at a downtown department store, even though her husband "didn't approve," "...I told him, I said, 'Until we pay for our home, I'm working.' And that's how it happened."[42]

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[37] Sherry Olson, *Baltimore: The Building of an American City*, (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980), p. 271.
[38] Oral interview with Grace DiMartino, BNHP, box 9, UB.
[39] Hammen, "Highlandtown."
[40] Jacques Kelly, *The Pratt Library Album: Baltimore Neighborhoods in Focus*, (Baltimore: The Enoch Pratt Free Library, 1986), p. 128.
[41] Oral interview with Jeanette Browning, BNHP, box 76, UB.
[42] Oral interview with Grace DiMartino, BNHO, box 9, UB.

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Thousands of men who lived in the area commuted by streetcar to the steel mills at Sparrows Point and Dundalk. **Bethlehem Steel** was developed in 1887 by the Pennsylvania Steel Company. Bethlehem Steel acquired the site in 1916.[43] Steelworkers received special passes from Bethlehem Steel that allowed them to ride the streetcars at discounted rates. The No. 26 line, dubbed the "Red Rocket," zigzagged through the district, beginning at the corner of Baltimore and Ellwood, and making frequent stops before heading on Eastern Avenue to Dundalk Avenue.[44]

Industrial and transportation concerns along the Canton waterfront south of the district constituted another major workplace for the residents of Highlandtown. The **Canton Company**, incorporated in 1829, was one of the most resourceful and powerful industrial developers in Baltimore. Beginning in 1785 with 2,500 acres of land, the Canton Company provided the real estate for dozens of industries along the waterfront and invested heavily in railroads to serve the area.

The meat packing industry was also a major employer. By 1961, Baltimore had become one of the nation's top ten meat-producing cities and home to the largest independent meat packer on the East Coast – **Esskay**. Industrial concerns, such as the Esskay Plant, lined the tracks that ran just east of Haven Street. The Esskay Plant, located at 3800-4000 East Baltimore Street (no longer extant), was constructed in 1920, after artificial refrigeration revolutionized the meat packing industry. The rail lines delivered animals directly to the plant. From 1920 through the 1960s, Esskay remained the largest slaughterhouse and meat packer in the city. At its height, Esskay employed 2,000 workers and slaughtered 5,000,000 hogs and 100,000 other animals each year.[45]

Other area residents worked at the **Crown Cork & Seal Company**. Founded in 1885, Crown Cork & Seal moved part of their operations to Highlandtown, just east of the district, in 1904. The popularity of bottled sodas and beers fueled the successful business. In 1947, the company constructed a large new plant at its Highlandtown location at 1200 South Newkirk Street, thus consolidating all of its Baltimore facilities into a single facility. The plants covered 63 acres of ground and approximately 1,900,000 square feet of floor space. In its hey day, Crown Cork & Seal employed 5,200 workers. Crown Cork & Seal sold its Baltimore division in 1997 to Crown Simplimatic, and the facility has subsequently ceased to operate.[46]

Another area employer was **A. Weiskittel & Company**, located at 4500 E. Lombard Street from 1902 to 1939. Founded by Anton Weiskittel, Sr. in 1850, the firm produced porcelain baths, toilets and sinks, soil pipe, "Fire King" gas stoves and ranges, and coal ranges at the Highlandtown factory. Probably the largest stove factory in Baltimore, Weiskittel employed a workforce of 600 in the mid 1920s.[47]

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[43] Dennis Zembala, ed., *Baltimore: Industrial Gateway on the Chesapeake* (Baltimore: The Baltimore Museum of Industry, 1995) p. 68-69.

[44] Linda Zeidman, "Sparrows Point, Dundalk, Highlandtown, Old West Baltimore: Home of the Gold Dust and the Union Card," in *The Baltimore Book: New Views of Local History*, edited by Elizabeth Fee, Linda Shopes and Linda Zeidman (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1991), pp. 183-188.

[45] Ibid.

[46] Sean Somerville, "Crown Cork Sells Local Division," *Sun* (Baltimore), (May 15, 1997), Vertical Files, Research File, "Crown Cork & Seal Co.," BMI.

[47] Zembala, ed., *Baltimore*, p. 79; Vertical files, Site Survey File, "A. Weiskittel Co." and Research File, "A. Weiskittel and Son," BMI.

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Immigration and Immigrant Businesses

A remarkable array of European immigrant groups contributed to the cultural character of the Patterson Park/Highlandtown District. At one point, a school survey indicated that 37 nationalities were represented among the population.[48] Immigrant groups formed their own savings and loan associations, such as the Germania Building and Loan Association and the Kosciuszko Permanent Loan Association of Baltimore, as well as numerous other voluntary organizations. These institutions, along with churches and immigrant businesses, sustained a sense of group cohesion even amidst increasing diversity. As late as the 1950s, the immigrant presence in the area was strong enough to prompt the YMCA to relocate its International Center from Fells Point to 16 South Patterson Park Avenue.[49]

German immigrants, the first to arrive, were also the first to begin moving out of the district. Their exodus began in the post-World War I era, and today little evidence of their prior dominance remains. In September 1999, one of the few surviving German family-owned businesses, **Haussner's Restaurant Masterpieces in Art and Fine Dining**, closed down. Located at 3300 Eastern Avenue and famed for the enormous nineteenth-century art collection that lined its walls, Haussner's was a major Baltimore landmark. Opened by the Bavarian immigrant William Henry Haussner in 1926, it operated for more than 72 years, serving such hearty fare as sour beef, dumplings smothered in gravy and potato pancakes. Capable of seating nearly 800, the Restaurant had its own bakery and a staff of more than 100. In November 1999, the art collection was auctioned off at Sotheby's in New York, for a total of more than $11,000,000. The original owner's daughter, Frances Haussner, donated the fully equipped building to the city's premier culinary school, the Baltimore International College.[50]

Italians, who began moving into the Patterson Park/Highlandtown District around the turn of the century, established a strong presence that continues to be visible. Beginning in 1905, Highlandtown supported its own pasta factory, the **Maryland Macaroni Works**, located in the 4200 block of East Baltimore just east of the district. In addition, two well-known Italian grocers, who continue to operate in the area, both opened during the pre-World War I era. Savino and Yolanda Santoni started **Santoni's Markets** in a rowhouse at 119 North Eaton Street. They relocated to a larger location before moving to their current site at 3800 East Lombard, just north of the district. **Di Pasquale's Italian Marketplace**, also owned and operated by third-generation immigrants, opened in 1914 at 3700 Gough Street. In the 1940s, as Little Italy became increasingly commercial and long-time residents began moving eastward, the district witnessed an additional influx of Italians.[51]

Greeks also settled in the Highlandtown, although the largest Greek community in Baltimore is still concentrated further east, beyond the underpass. Helen Kasiotis, who lived on Leverton Avenue, recalled that "we didn't have too many Greeks in that section." However, at least one Greek bakery, **Athens Bakery**, operated on 151 South Bouldin.[52]

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[48] "History of Highlandtown," Vertical Files, Research File, "Highlandtown Neighborhoods," BMI.

[49] The center closed in 1971. Unmarked newspaper clipping, Vertical Files, "Patterson Park," CHAP.

[50] See articles in Vertical Files, Research File, "Haussner's Restaurant," BMI.

[51] Nancy Torrieri, "The Geography of Ethnicity: The Residential Dispersal of Italians in Baltimore, 1920-1980," in *Italian Americans in Transition: Proceedings of the 21st Annual Conference of the American Italian Historical Association*, (New York: The American Italian Historical Association, 1990).

[52] Oral interview with Helen Kasiotis, BNHP, box 34, UB.

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East Baltimore, primarily south of the district, is also home to the greatest concentration of Ukrainians in the city. The community settled in an east-west pattern south of Patterson Park, along Eastern Avenue, spilling over the city boundary into Essex. The neighborhood boasted a youth home, a sports club, a federal credit union, and several churches. By 1922, approximately 500 Ukrainians lived in East Baltimore. This group experienced another influx during and after World War II, as displaced Eastern Europeans fled their war-torn homes.[53]

One of the major themes to emerge from the Baltimore Neighborhood Heritage Project oral interviews with East Baltimore residents is the relative harmony and mutual assistance that prevailed among immigrant groups. For example, Helen Kasiotis received assistance from Our Lady of Pompeii, the Italian church, during the Depression. Although the priest asked her why she did not seek help from the Greek Orthodox Church, he nevertheless provided her with groceries.[54] Mary Kraus Feehley, when questioned about exclusiveness within the German community, insisted that "nobody seemed to be friends because they [were German].... You were just, everybody was alike. And not just friends because you were German or any other nationality."[55] Likewise, Myrtle DeVaughn recalled few expressions of overt anti-Semitism: "We had a lot of Jewish people on the avenue [Eastern Avenue] and it didn't make any difference either. They went their way. They went to the synagogue and our people went to churches, but as neighbors they were very friendly." However, it is again critical to note that such tolerance did not extend to African-Americans, who did not own homes in the district.

Churches and Parochial Schools, Synagogues and Jewish Cemeteries

The original German settlers were largely Roman Catholic. To attend mass, they had to walk about a mile and half to St. Michael's Church and School on Lombard and Wolfe (in Fells Point). In 1870, they petitioned for a church in their own neighborhood. In 1873, the Redemptorists bought three acres of land on the abandoned site of Fort Marshall. Before construction began, the hill that had given "Highland Town" its name was leveled. The church was called **Sacred Heart of Jesus Roman Catholic Church** (located just south of the district, at Foster Street and Highland Avenue). Italians and other Catholic immigrants also attended services at Sacred Heart until they managed to build churches of their own. "[W]e couldn't afford the carfare to go to St. Luke and St. Leo's down in Little Italy," resident Grace DiMartino recalled, "We used to go to the German church. And that's a beautiful church."[56]

The first Roman Catholic church constructed in the district was **St. Elizabeth's of Hungary Roman Catholic Church** (1895-1926), at East Baltimore and Lakewood streets. St. Elizabeth's began as a single building housing a church and a school and grew to include a separate convent, school, church, and parish hall. By World War II, the church was one of the largest parishes in the archdiocese and had the largest student enrollment, 1500 students, in 1931.[57] The early parish members were predominantly German and Irish.

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[53] Hib Hayuk, "Geography of the Ukranian Population in Maryland," in *The Ukrainians of Maryland*, edited by Stephen Basarab, Paul Fenchak and Wolodymyr C. Sushko, (Baltimore: Ukrainian Education Association of Maryland, Inc., 1977), pp. 121-8.
[54] Oral interview with Helen Kasiotis, BNHP, box 34, UB.
[55] Oral interview with Mary Kraus Feehly, BNHP, box 13, UB.
[56] Interview with Grace DiMartino, BNHP, box 9, UB.
[57] Peter Kurtze, National Register Nomination for St. Elizabeth of Hungary (1994), Section 8, Page 1.

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The Italian church, **Our Lady of Pompeii**, was constructed in 1924 at 3600 Claremont Avenue. Father Scialdoni, a former missionary whose "graciousness" earned him "the rank of folk hero among all residents," headed up the effort. As one Highlandtown resident recalled, "Well, he started it from scratch. There wasn't a thing there. Was a coalyard in the beginning. He had the cooperation of the whole neighborhood. Everyone was giving him something." The church complex includes a convent at 225 South Conkling (1924) and a school (K-12) at 225 South Conkling, added to the complex in 1951 and 1965.

The first Protestant church to be built in the district was the **Abbott Memorial Presbyterian Church** constructed in 1882 at 3426 Bank Street. Horace Abbott, a wealthy Canton iron manufacturer, donated $23,000 for the building, which was constructed on the northeast corner of Bank Street and Highland Avenue, beside the McGuiness home. The church was often referred to as "Jones's Church," after the Rev. J. Wynne Jones—a forceful preacher who railed against the nearby taverns from his pulpit.[58]

Although there is little remaining evidence of a Jewish presence in the area, Highlandtown did have an active Jewish community in the early twentieth century. In April 1927, the **Beth Jacob Congregation of Highlandtown** was organized. From 1927 to 1930, they met at 3724-3726 Eastern Avenue, and in 1930, they relocated to 407 South Highland Avenue (now demolished). As one resident recalled, "It [the synagogue] was in a private house, but they had it there."[59] Known as Anshe Beth Jacob of Highlandtown and Canton, the synagogue was also called "Jake Paul's Synagogue" after Jacob M. Paul, who served as president of the congregation for at least 30 years and donated its later building. (Paul died on September 11, 1965.) The Highland Avenue building was demolished in 1987, but some elements of it were given to the Jewish Historical Society of Maryland.[60]

Cemeteries were another important land use in the area since Highland Town was outside Baltimore City limits.[61] A Jewish cemetery within the district, the **Hebrew Friendship Cemetery** at 3600 East Baltimore Street, covers 13 acres of land stretching northward to Baltimore Street to Pulaski Highway. The cemetery was authorized by its founding congregation in 1849 and recognized by the Maryland Legislature in 1868. In 1868 a stone bridge was built in the cemetery, and in 1870 the congregation made a contract to erect a gate house and chapel to be located on what was then still Philadelphia Road (now Pulaski Highway).[62] The building was finished in 1910.

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[58] Lee McCardell, "Highlandtown Is Compact Little City, Self-Sufficient Through Years."

[59] Interview with Myrtle DeVaughn, BNHP, box 82, UB.

[60] Earl Price, *Synagogues, Temples and Congregations of Maryland, 1830-1990*, (Baltimore: Jewish Historical Society of Maryland, Inc., 1993).

[61] A much smaller (and apparently unnamed) cemetery exists at **3210 Fayette Street** (between Fayette, East and Pulaski Highway), just north of the District. It was founded by the United Hebrew Benevolent Society, a now defunct organization. The cemetery is hidden behind brick walls and had fallen into a state of disrepair, but in recent years Ner Israel Rabbinical College has been providing basic maintenance. The oldest legible gravestone is dated 1856, and the most recent one is dated 1909. (See Dianne Feldman, "Gravestone Inscriptions at the United Hebrew Benevolent Society Cemetery" in Vertical Files, "United Hebrew Benevolent Society," JMM.)

[62] "Synopsis of the History of the Baltimore-Fells Point Hebrew Friendship Cemetery Congregation and Its Cemetery and the Hebrew Friendship Cemetery Company" (compiled by Benjamin Friedmann, 1910) in Vertical Files, "Hebrew Friendship Congregation," Jewish Museum of Maryland Archives (hereafter JMM). The founding of the cemetery is dated slightly earlier (1846) in Jane B. Wilson, *The Very Quiet Baltimoreans: A Guide to the Historic Cemeteries and Burial Sites of Baltimore*, (Shippensburg, PA: White Mane Publishing Co., Inc., 1991), p. 76.

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The first public school in the area, dating back to 1868, was a one-room stucco building with yellow walls, located on Bank Street, between Highland Avenue and Conkling. Residents referred to the school, which is no longer standing, as the "little yellow schoolhouse." In 1904 it was replaced by **P. S. 215**, constructed at 3223 East Pratt Street (at Pratt and Clinton).[63] **Highlandtown Elementary 215** continues to operate, but the 1904 structure and a subsequent building have been demolished. The current school was built about 25 years ago. In 1926, **P. S. 237** opened at 231 South Eaton Street. It continues to occupy its original building and, somewhat confusingly, is called **Highlandtown Elementary 237**.

Patterson Park Junior High School, at 101 South Ellwood, opened in 1934. The building was designed by architect William G. Nolting and constructed by the J. L. Robinson Construction Company. Because they were limited to a site of only 355 x 142 feet and needed to accommodate 3,200 students, the school was designed and built as a seven-story structure, with a cafeteria on the top floor. The rooftop terraces were caged to provide safe play areas. The building, which occupies an entire block of East Lombard (between Ellwood and Robinson), has been described as "the last word in modern school architecture and construction." Less reverent students dubbed it "the Factory."[64] It is currently **Highlandtown Middle School 43**.

After 1910, students and other neighborhood residents enjoyed convenient access to a public library, **Branch 13 of the Enoch Pratt Free Library**. The building was designed by Joseph Evans Sperry and located on the northwest corner of Linwood Avenue and Fayette Street. The library opened amid considerable fanfare on April 9, 1910. With residential development proceeding rapidly nearby, it soon became a popular destination. Requests for material often reflected the religious and ethnic background of area residents. For example, by 1940, a set of *The Catholic Encyclopedia* had been consulted so often that the binding needed to be completely replaced.[65]

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[63] "'Little Yellow Schoolhouse' to Hold First Homecoming," *Evening Sun*, (November 15, 1951); "Member of 1896 Class Finds No One She Knows at Reunion," (*Baltimore Sun*, November 17, 1951) in Vertical Files, "Schools—Baltimore—Highlandtown Elementary School," EP.

[64] "New Junior High School Accepted" and "200,000-Foot Gym Area in New City High School," *Baltimore Evening Sun*, (July 11, 1934); Lee McCardell, "Baltimore: Around the Clock," *Baltimore Evening Sun*, (May 27, 1937) in Vertical Files, "Schools—Baltimore—Patterson High School," EP.

[65] Kelly, *The Pratt Library Album*, p. 191.

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Patterson Park/Highlandtown Historic District (B-1337)
Name of Property

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Conclusion

The built environment of the Patterson Park/Highlandtown Historic District stands to represent its working class population. In the late 19th century, industry rapidly developed just east of the Baltimore City limit, where taxes were low and regulations few. As new immigrants flocked to industrial work in here, perceptive developers provided block after block of modest rowhouses nearby. The district resources, which include thousands of rowhouses, as well as industrial and commercial buildings, demonstrate the successful acculturation of the district residents. These rowhouses fulfilled the dream of home ownership for the ethnic groups who settled in the district. The neighborhood was dotted with corner stores, churches, and schools and developed a commercial center, which supported the insular community. The homes and amenities of the larger community served as an arena for inhabitants to uphold and demonstrate their core values: home ownership, thrift, cleanliness, patriotism, religiosity, and tight-knit families. These blocks of ordinary rowhouses; often trimmed in white marble, updated with Formstone, and displaying painted screens and flags, survive to reflect the values of urban Baltimore's working class population.

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National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

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Verbal Boundary Description:

The irregular boundary of the Patterson Park/Highlandtown Historic District encompasses approximately 120 blocks. The Historic District is roughly bounded by Pulaski Highway on the north, Grundy Street on the east, Eastern Avenue and Patterson Park on the south, and South Ellwood Avenue, South Linwood Street and North Patterson Park Avenue on the west. (See attached map.)

Boundary Justification:

The boundary for the Patterson Park/Highlandtown Historic district encompasses resources north and east of Patterson Park that are associated with the themes comprising the historic district. Its irregular outline excludes recent construction and empty lots that do not contribute to the district. Because the Patterson Park/Highlandtown Historic District sits directly east of the Butchers Hill Historic District and directly north of Patterson Park and the Canton Historic District, the western and southern boundaries also reflect the distinction between these distinct entities. Pulaski Highway, a major east-west arterial street, reflects the traditional northern boundary of Highlandtown. Furthermore large-scale new construction along this road creates a gap between the historic resources within the district and those north of the district. A major railway passes just east of the district, and large-scale industrial buildings lining the tracks retains a historic character that differs in scale from the Patterson Park/Highlandtown Historic District. The eastern boundary was drawn to exclude these resources, which constitute a separate, cohesive area.

The northern boundary follows the southern edge of East Fayette Street as it feeds into Pulaski Highway at North Lakewood Street. The boundary then follows the southern edge of Pulaski Highway including rowhouses, a branch of the Enoch Pratt Free Library, and two churches. The boundary cuts half a block south at north Ellwood Avenue to exclude a recent gas station facing Pulaski Highway while including rows of houses that face East Fayette Street and North Ellwood Avenue. At North East Avenue the boundary jogs another half block south, following East Fayette Street past North Highland Avenue to the rowhouse at 3500 East Fayette Street, in order to exclude a number of recent commercial and automotive concerns. The boundary then jogs north following the side and rear lot lines of the rowhouses facing East Fayette Street and North Conkling Street. At North Conkling Street the boundary turns north to Pulaski Highway and moves east to the eastern boundary of the Hebrew Friendship Cemetery.

The eastern boundary of the Patterson Park/Highlandtown Historic District follows the eastern edge of the Hebrew Friendship Cemetery south to Baltimore Street. The boundary then turns east following the northern edge of the block facing the cemetery to the vestiges of South Eaton Street. It then passes south to East Baltimore Street to exclude the recent shopping center facing East Baltimore Street. The boundary then travels east along the southern edge of East Baltimore Street to Grundy Street. The boundary then moves south along the western edge of Grundy Street to Eastern Avenue, jogging east at

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East Pratt Street to Haven Street to include the block of rowhouses in the 200 block and west at Chestle Place to exclude the parking lots at 3903-3925 Bank Street.

The southern boundary follows the northern edge of Eastern Avenue, abutting the Canton Historic District to Patterson Park at South Ellwood Avenue. The boundary then turns north forming a western boundary along the eastern edge of Patterson Park to East Pratt Street. The boundary then turns west following the northern edge of Patterson Park to South Linwood Street. It then follows the eastern edge of the Patterson Park northward to East Baltimore Street. The boundary then turns west again, following the northern edge of Patterson Park to North Patterson Park Avenue.

The remainder of the western boundary follows the eastern edge of North Patterson Park Avenue, returning to East Fayette Street. The houses facing onto North Patterson Park Avenue are also included in the Butchers Hill Historic District and were included within the boundaries of the Patterson Park/Highlandtown Historic District. These rowhouses constitute an integral part of these two blocks and are essential to understanding the extraordinary cohesiveness of the district.

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B: 18-365020-4350630
C: 18-365160-4349550
D: 18-364300-4349500
E: 18-363320-4350140

Even Range Odd Range Street

Even Range	Odd Range	Street
100-104		5 1/2 Street
2300-3600	2901-3529	Baltimore Street
3422-3642	3401-3925	Bank Street
320	301-317	Baylis Street
100-138	1-139	N. Belnord Avenue
	3709-3901	Benefit Street
10-426	101-419	S. Bouldin Street
2-136	1-137	N. Bradford Street
	3701-3725	Centre Place
		Chestle Place
3400-3930	3401-3723	Claremont Street
2-126	1-131	N. Clinton Street
100-418	101-419	S. Clinton Street
2-224		N. Conkling Street
2-426	1-429	S. Conkling Street
2-164	1-165	N. Curley Street
2-140	1-141	S. Curley Street
100-410	35-409	S. Dean Street
2-164	1-165	N. Decker Avenue
2-42	1-43	S. Decker Avenue
2-156	1-123	N. East Avenue
2-420	1-429	S. East Avenue
3134-3928		Eastern Avenue
100-420	101-417	S. Eaton Street
2-228	1-209	N. Ellwood Avenue
2-148	1-441	S. Ellwood Avenue
3238-3636	3201-3531	Esther Place
100-210	201-211	Fagley Street
2304-3536	2303-3537	E. Fairmount Avenue
2922-3116, 3500-3638	2313-3637	E. Fayette Street
2-138	1-139	N. Glover Street
3402-3740	3401-3925	Gough Street
200-432	201-231	S. Grundy Street
200-228		S. Haven Street
2-122	1-151	N. Highland Avenue
2-430	1-421	S. Highland Avenue
2-156	1-157	N. Kenwood Avenue
2-156	1-157	N. Lakewood Avenue

Even Range	Odd Range	Street
3208-3446	3201-3519	Leverton Avenue
1-157	2-158	N. Linwood Avenue
1-147		S. Linwood Avenue
3100-3738	3201-3927	E. Lombard Street
2-156	1-159	N. Luzerne Avenue
2-156	1-157	N. Milton Avenue
2-130	3-147	N. Montford Avenue
3400-3924	3401-3933	Mt. Pleasant Avenue
3204-3536	3201-3449	Noble Street
	15-153	N. Patterson Park Avenue
2-164	1-165	N. Potomac Street
2-138	1-139	S. Potomac Street
2-138	1-139	N. Port Street
2900-3930	3201-3931	E. Pratt Street
2901-3033, 3601-3641		Pulaski Highway
3600-3638	3601-3639	Roberts Place
2-444	1-445	S. Robinson Street
100-138	1-139	Rochester Place
2-138	1-137	N. Rose Street
2-148	1-165	N. Streeper Street

	Address			Reason	Block	Face
1	3310/3312	E.	Baltimore Street	heavily altered/modern floorplan	6275	South
2	3701-3703	E.	Baltimore Street	post-1952	6278	North
3	3705	E.	Baltimore Street	post-1952	6278	North
4	3700-3706		Bank Street	post-1952	6312	South
5	3728-3738		Bank Street	post-1952	6312	South
6	3905-3925		Bank Street	empty lot	6315B	North
7	3705		Bank Street	post-1952	6315	North
8	200-206	S.	Bouldin Street	playground	6293	East
9	Corner Dean	&	Chestle Place	post-1952	6312	South
10	123	N.	Clinton Street	heavily altered	6265	West
11	249-257	S.	Clinton Street	post-1952	6299B	West
12	321-325	S.	Conkling Street	post-1952	6312	West
13	412-425	S.	East Avenue	parking lot	6297	West
14	3604-3608		Eastern Avenue	demolished	6315	South
15	3612-3616		Eastern Avenue	post-1952	6315	South
16	3618		Eastern Avenue	demolished	6315	South
17	3728-3730		Eastern Avenue	post-1952	6315	South
18	3732-3736		Eastern Avenue	post-1952	6315	South
19	3810-3812		Eastern Avenue	post-1952	6315B	South
20	3904-3906		Eastern Avenue	demolished	6315B	South
21	3914		Eastern Avenue	post-1952	6315B	South
22	101-111	S.	Eaton Street	post-1952	6284	West
23	303	S.	Eaton Street	post-1952	6311	West
24	2410	E.	Fairmount Avenue	demolished	1708W	South
25	2417	E.	Fairmount Avenue	demolished	1725E	North
26	2805	E.	Fayette Street	post-1952	1712W	North
27	2401-2407	E.	Fayette Street	heavily altered	1708W	North
28	2601-2609	E.	Fayette Street	parking lot	1710W	North
29	3333	E.	Fayette Street	post-1952	1716C	North
30	3725-3727		Gough Street	post-1952	6312	North
31	310	S.	Grundy Street	post-1952	6311	East
32	321	S.	Highland Avenue	demolished	6313	West
33	407	S.	Highland Avenue	demolished	6314	West
34	3511-3519		Leverton Avenue	demolished	6277	North
35	3513-3515	E.	Lombard Street	post-1952	6288	North
36	3601	E.	Lombard Street	post-1952	6286	North
37	3919	E.	Lombard Street	post-1952	6282	North
38	3923	E.	Lombard Street	post-1952 or heavily altered	6282	North
39	3700-3702		Mt. Pleasant Avenue	demolished	6286	South
40	3204-3224		Noble Street	post-1952	1733A	South
41	3211-3217		Noble Street	post-1952	1733	North

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**Attachment G: Non-Contributing properties within the Historic District**

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42	3423		Noble Street	post-1952	6274	North
43	3449		Noble Street	post-1952	6274	North
44	3211	E.	Pratt Street	post-1952	6294	North
45	3601		Roberts Place	demolished	6269A	North
46	3619-3923		Roberts Place	demolished	6269A	North

Properties included in the Butchers Hill Historic District, No. B-3703
15-153 North Patterson Park Avenue (odd addresses only), 2300 East Baltimore Street

Properties included in the Saint Elizabeth of Hungary, No. B-4500
2700 East Baltimore Street, 2726 East Baltimore Street, 35 North Lakewood Avenue

Patterson Park/Highlandtown Historic District (B-1337)
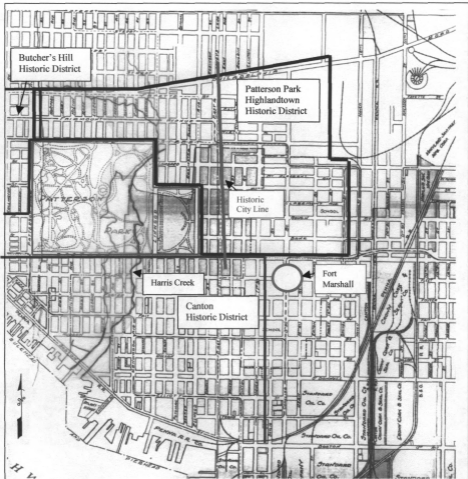**Baltimore, Maryland**
Attachment H: Properties already listed on the National Register of Historic Places
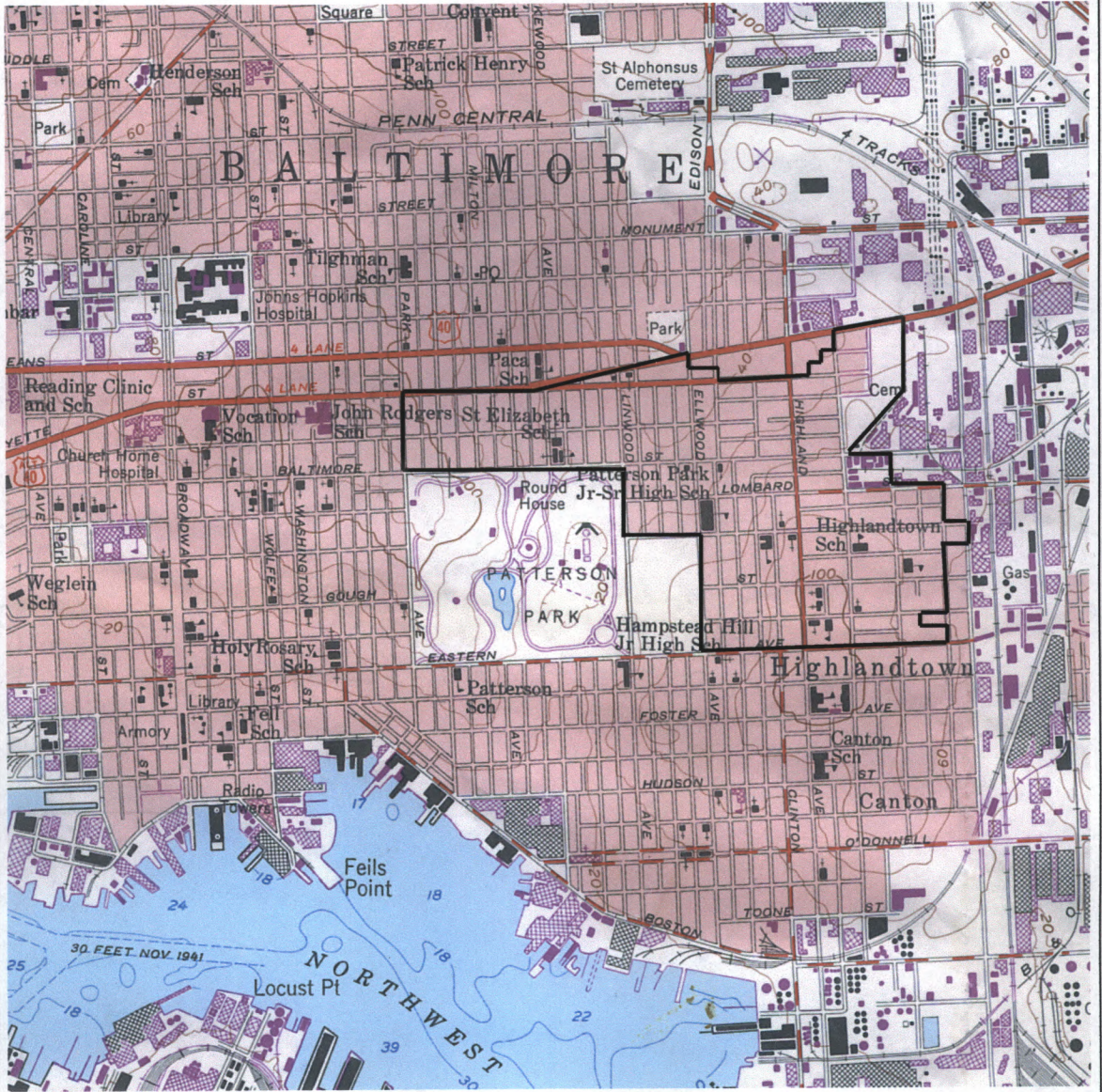
Patterson Park/Highlandtown Historic District
Baltimore City, Maryland
**Survey # B-1337**
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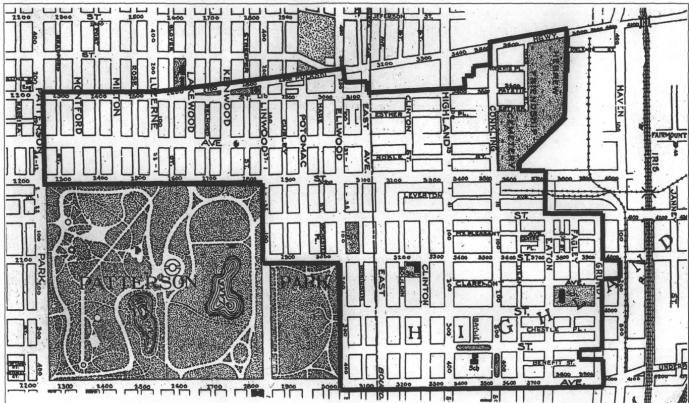
Patterson Park/Highlandtown Historic District
Baltimore City, Maryland
Survey #B-1337
Attachment B: Boundary Map

Butcher's Hill
Historic District

Patterson Park
Highlandtown
Historic District

Historic
City Line

Harris Creek

Fort
Marshall

Canton
Historic District

Base map, Canton Company, 1941
Harris Creek ca. 1838

Patterson Park/Highlandtown Historic District
Baltimore City, Maryland
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Attachment C: Locational Map

Eastern Avenue
Harris Creek
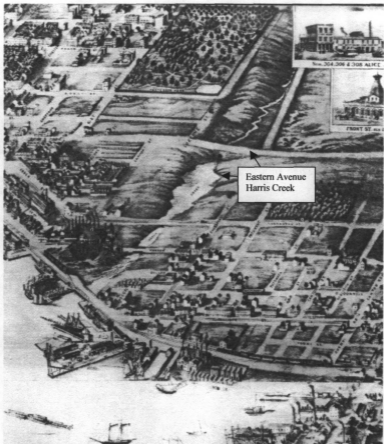
E. Sachse & Co. *Bird's Eye View of the City of Baltimore*, 1869.

Patterson Park/Highlandtown Historic District (B-1337)
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Attachment D: Historic View